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**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE INFLUENCE OF THE AVANT-GARDE, BOHEMIA AND
MODERNISM ON WOMEN'S FASHION AND LIFESTYLE, 1919 – 1929, WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO *EVE* MAGAZINE**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the
Manchester Metropolitan University for the degree of Master of Arts
(by Research)**

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ABSTRACT

This study identifies the influence of the avant-garde, modernism and Bohemia on women's lifestyle and fashion in the decade immediately following the First World War.

Existing research concentrates on the influence individual art movements had, seen in styles, or changes seen in the commercial world. This research shows that influence was more wide-ranging than individual manifestations in style and, taken as a whole, was instrumental in the widespread uptake of what many felt to be shocking new fashions.

This research discusses three main strands of importance. These were the merging of Bohemia and the avant-garde in the public's mind, the influence of what is now called lifestyle modernism and the part played by *Eve* magazine. *Eve* helped to make the avant-garde seem approachable. It also managed to normalise such styles as cross-gender dressing whilst ensuring that they were still recognised as potentially shocking.

The study features *Eve's* introduction of an avant-garde construct, the first of the type, in the character of Eve. Several scholars talk extensively about these avant-garde constructs, but the persona of Eve is never considered in research on fictional role-models of the time.

Throughout, the importance of a new attitude to life is highlighted.

The research has concentrated on *Eve* magazine, as an under-researched and under-appreciated source from the period. It has established its importance at the time. It has also identified its nuanced avant-garde content as contributing to more widespread acceptance of the avant-garde.

It has opened up the field of research by identifying a more wide-ranging influence on everyday life by the avant-garde than has been so far recognised, as well as the importance of *Eve*.

An investigation into the influence of the avant-garde, Bohemia and modernism on women's lifestyle and fashion, 1919 – 1929, with particular reference to *Eve* magazine.

Academic Aims

- 1. To examine the avant-garde content of *Eve* magazine alongside its standard fashion pages**
- 2. To investigate the merging of the idea of Bohemia with the avant-garde in the public mind in the period**
- 3. To assess the role of lifestyle modernism in influencing daily life and fashion**

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1 Introduction

This study investigates the influence of the avant-garde on women's fashion and lifestyles, with particular reference to the part played by *Eve* magazine in disseminating avant-garde ideas.

The merging of the concepts of Bohemia and the avant-garde will be discussed. This will be followed by consideration of lifestyle modernism's influence. It will be shown to have particularly favoured English sensibilities.

The importance of avant-garde role-models is demonstrated, in particular *Eve's* invention of an avant-garde character. Finally, *Eve's* part in popularizing androgynous dress as an avant-garde attitude will be discussed.

The nature of Bohemia as presented in *Eve* will be determined, along with the idea of a Bohemian or avant-garde attitude.

1.1 The Study

The study is confined to 1919 – 1929. Breward warns against limiting study of fashion by means of 'decadism' which might be arbitrary and 'unconnected to historical events' (1995:185). An explanation for the chosen dates is therefore given.

Eve began publication in November 1919 and ran until 1929. Other significant events make this period appropriate for the study.

The First World War brought great change to women's lives. Many joined the workforce, bringing greater financial independence (White, 1970:93). It has been argued that this, along with Suffragette activity, altered women's lives to such an extent that changes in clothing should hardly surprise (Lussier, 2003:8). The Peace Conference began in Paris in January 1919, with the first Armistice Day following in November (Briggs, 1962:294). Winning the right to vote in 1918 added to a sense of renewal and freedom.

The period includes much of the *Ballets Russes'* activity, ending with the death of Diaghilev, who was amongst the most important influencers and producers of art and

culture in the period. Several avant-garde art movements such as Cubism, Futurism, Dada and Surrealism¹ were active during these years.

Vorticism², an English movement, was largely over by the end of the war but will be shown to have had some influence in the later period.

Paul Poiret, one of the leading designers of the early twentieth century, widely credited with introducing the trend for *Schéhérazade*-inspired³ oriental fashions, left the firm that bore his name in 1929 due to financial difficulty (Troy, 2003:324). Man Ray noted Poiret's refusal to deliver what clients wanted, reporting an exchange overheard between Poiret and a client unhappy with her gown. Poiret shouted that

he was Paul Poiret and if he told a woman to wear a nightgown with a chamber pot on her head, she would do just that (Man Ray, 2012:130).

Eve noted in 1928

He does not care a bit what women want ... he tells them what he would like them to wear...long, full skirts and plump figures (Meander in Paris, 1928:373).

¹ The first collective Cubist exhibition was held in 1911 at the Salon des Independents representing Gleizes, Duchamp, Léger, Picabia, Delaunay and others. Gris, Reverdy and Derain are generally also considered as Cubists. However, Picasso and Braque considered themselves to be the founders of Cubism, and were not represented in 1911. Their dealer, Kahnweiler, demanded that his artists not exhibit in Paris' national galleries – to see their works you visited his gallery, the home of an art lover, or travelled to exhibitions in London or Berlin (Franck, 2002:173).

In 1909, Marinetti's Futurist Manifesto appeared in *Le Figaro* and Futurism took shape. In 1914, Balla began to design clothing for men and in 1920 the first manifesto for women's fashion appeared.

Dada was formed during World War 1 as a reaction to the horrors of war. It first appeared in Zurich in 1916 with performances at the Cabaret Voltaire. A manifesto appeared in 1918. In 1920, Tzara moved to Paris, to be joined in Dada by Man Ray and Duchamp. It is generally felt that by 1923, the movement was over with most participants moving to Surrealism under Breton.

Surrealism prospered under Breton and Aragon (both writers) from 1924, with Miró as perhaps the main artist until Dalí arrived in Paris in 1929.

² Vorticism grew from the Rebel Arts Centre, begun by Wyndham Lewis in opposition to the Omega Workshops of Roger Fry. Initially taking influences from Futurism and Cubism, it soon publicly denounced both but was not active beyond the First World War.

³ The ballet *Schéhérazade* initiated a demand for oriental-inspired clothing, coming to London in 1911 (Schouvaloff, 1997:63).

This attitude was no longer acceptable to his clients and within a year his business closed. This suggests that towards the end of the period, fashions were changing in ways that he did not comprehend.

Certainly, women's clothing changed to the extent that the novelist Warwick Deeping wrote in *Eve* in 1928

Modern woman is a more ... progressive creature. She has simplified dress and made its simplicity beautiful. She has recovered control of her arms and legs...she is burnished and bright (Deeping, 1928:221).

In 1929, modernist architect Le Corbusier (cited in Veronesi 1968:312) agreed, saying

Woman has stolen a march on us, and reformed her way of dressing. She found herself at the crossroads; if she wanted to follow the old style, she had to renounce modern life with its sport and work... so she cut her hair, shortened her sleeves and her hems, and she goes bareheaded with bare arms and unconstructed legs. She can dress herself in five minutes and the result is lovely.

While modern life with opportunities for sport and work demanded styles unimaginable in the first decade of the twentieth century, it will be shown that other factors facilitated the changes. A new attitude towards life after the war enabled the new to permeate readily. This will be shown to have come from avant-garde influence. A common attitude was to be 'gay and cynical in the modern manner' (Mannin, 1928:496). This combination will be shown to be important.

The conceptual mix of art and fashion was exciting. Man Ray's first photographs for Poiret portrayed a model in a gold brocade hobble skirt next to a Brancusi sculpture. He stated 'This was to be the picture, I decided; I'd combine art and fashion' (2012:125).

The avant-garde had many ways to '*épater* [astound] *le bourgeois*' (Cohen, 2004:1). This study will focus on its use in a magazine aimed at women. Magazines could be said to be 'the ultimate zeitgeist media form' (Forster, 2015:1) and therefore are of particular interest in understanding what influenced women.

Looking back in 1926, *Eve* summarised the effect of the avant-garde on lifestyle, saying

The years before the war were a time of excitement, when the Russian Ballet came to London, barbaric in colour and suggestion. With it came ragtime, straight from the African jungle *via* a cynical modern America. There came Futurism, Cubism, every kind of agitation. Morals, religion, convention, which had been discussed for a long time, ceased to be interesting. One did not think of them. One was free (George, 1926:325).

It is well-documented that the effects of war and suffragette activity influenced women's clothing (Lussier, 2003:13). *Eve*, though, preferred to be forward-looking, choosing to promote and acknowledge the avant-garde as the force for change.

In November 1928, judgement was reached in the obscenity trial of Radclyffe-Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness*. For Doan, this caused

a rethinking of how to interpret women previously thought simply fashionable or artistic, especially women in the arts – actors, artists, and writers – whose appearance would begin eventually to trigger associations of sexual inversion (2001:122).

If this is the case, it is a reason to close the study at a time when previous licence might be more closely questioned. Consequently, it ends in 1929. A period of austerity followed the Wall Street Crash in 1929 and spending on the high life and clothing was curtailed.

Against this backdrop, the study will demonstrate that modernism, the avant-garde and Bohemia became fused in the public mind, each having the potential and even the objective to influence fashion and lifestyle. It will also demonstrate that *Eve* helped to disseminate their ideas perfectly for widespread acceptance.

1.2 The Avant-Garde, Bohemia and Modernism

The study contends that the avant-garde and Bohemia had coalesced before the 1920s such that the terms avant-garde and Bohemia were synonymous from the public's viewpoint. It argues that the perception of the avant-garde altered; Bohemia began the period as an interesting concept which intrigued many and, in merging with the avant-garde and modernism, made them seem less high-brow and intimidating.

This section will place the avant-garde, modernism and Bohemia in context and show how the public was introduced to the new and unusual. In contrast to the hitherto dour presentation of sparsely illustrated and densely-worded publications, new technology allowed publication of visual images. *Eve* capitalised on this with artistic imagery. A new young readership searching for its own identity after the upheaval of war could be won over by impressions of Bohemia and the avant-garde, believing it could mirror aspects of their own lives.

The term avant-garde had been coined in February 1914 (Cohen, 2004:3)⁴. Allard described it as a new way of mingling self-publicity with art. As artists increasingly formed into groups, they gained greater attention than might have been possible for individuals. They rose to the challenge of self-publicity with an outpouring of manifestos, little magazines, exhibitions, lectures and 'happenings'. They shared a desire to be '...in advance of, and the cause of, significant social change.' (Russell, cited in Cohen, 2004:8).

Bohemianism suggests a carefree artistic lifestyle in which the individual's image is important. Poverty was rife in Bohemian circles but Wilson proposes that treating wealth contemptuously suited the attitude, such that rich and poor alike could consider themselves Bohemian. For example, Augustus John continued his 'lust for life' form of Bohemianism long after he had become England's highest-earning artist in the early 1920s (Wilson, 2000:64).

⁴ French critic Roger Allard in an article "Les Arts Plastiques – Futurism, simultan isme et autres m tachories" in *Les Ecrits Francaises* (Cohen, 2004:3).

Cocteau said the Left Bank 'seemed to me the intense life' (Cocteau, cited in Silver, 1989:108). Wilson agrees, calling it the 'art of living', dedicating one's life to the 'evanescent arts of adornment, outrage, wit and conversation' (2000:73). For Nicholson (2003), Bohemian dress could signify much, including an individual's artistic disposition. Whilst earlier self-styled Bohemians such as Murger⁵ had been ashamed of their poor clothing, others now flaunted an impoverished appearance to indicate their superiority over outmoded bourgeois values. Nina Hamnett, a noted 'character' on the London art scene at the time, felt that Bohemians had '... a commitment to their own dress sense' (Wilson, 2017:10). Her memoir details her contemporaries' clothing, such as the 'strangely shaped baggy trousers' and 'black velvet jumper which hung outside' worn by the artist Foujita (Hamnett, 1984:82). It was paramount that others perceived the person to be Bohemian. The lifestyle choice allowed and encouraged conspicuous rejection of standard social morals and mores.

For Cohen (2004:8), the avant-garde sought to go beyond Bohemian behaviour; it involved activism and even identified with political extremism. Seigel believes that Surrealists embraced communism as 'the only way to demonstrate the seriousness of their proclaimed commitment to revolution' (1999:385). Futurists called for an overhaul of society by overthrowing the outmoded (including, when they reached forty, themselves). Before the war, Vorticists had published lists of people and things that they despised. Dada revelled in the absurd, as a reaction to the horrors of war. Avant-garde artists tended to wear unusual clothes and Futurists and Constructivists wanted to impose their own ideas of clothing on the public. Therefore, these movements had potentially greater reach than simply production of artwork, and were positioned to influence fashion.

Modernism seems more difficult to define. Paul Reboux, son of the designer Caroline, writing in 1927, saw modernism as 'an Anglo-Saxon style composed of geometric cubes and planes' (Evans, 2013:127). For Cohen, modernism is innovative and disturbing; he considers the term interchangeable with avant-garde (2004:8). In

⁵ Henri Murger, a writer in Paris during the 1840s, based his *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* on his own life and was credited with creating the image of the poor artist in a garret. Interestingly for this study, he briefly worked as editor of *Le Moniteur de la Mode* fashion magazine.

contrast, Russell considers modernism to be conservative, even reactionary, unlike the avant-garde (Cohen, 2004:9). Garafola levels the same criticism at lifestyle modernism (Evans, 2013:55). Cocteau would have recognised the confusion, feeling that although many were impressed by ‘...our “modernism”’, it was nevertheless ‘... an absolutely meaningless word’ (1922:62).

People welcomed modernity. Doan believes (2001:xv) the term has never been well defined. Deepwell sees modernity as a complex notion and offers four definitions; one was being ‘à la mode’ or belonging to the zeitgeist’ (1998:6). In 1922, novelist Aldous Huxley explained it differently, suggesting that being ‘à la mode’ was not enough. He felt

...a thing may be fashionable without necessarily being modern... There is a great difference between mere fashionableness or contemporaneity on the one hand and modernity on the other. Crinolines and clinging draperies, waists higher or lower...alternately come and go... Only that which is really new and has no counterpart in antiquity is modern. Thus our mechanical civilization, with the conditions of life and the ideas begotten by it are modern (1922:73).

The avant-garde, striving to be ahead of, or the cause of change, represented modernity in the twenties. Bohemianism, whilst not new, and actually in decline, still seemed exciting in its ability to ‘épater le bourgeois’, making it popular.

It would be reasonable for many to scarcely differentiate between these ideas, enjoying whatever they offered if it seemed new, exciting and accessible. This study will show that proponents of the avant-garde and modernism used this enthusiasm to their advantage including exploitation of the notion of Bohemia.

1.3 The Demise of Bohemia

Bohemians were once regarded as a race apart from other folk, like Californians or musicians. Now anybody who dines in a cheap Italian restaurant on the cook's night out calls himself a Bohemian (Ford, 1920:65).

The popular idea of Bohemia and the desire to experience it remained strong but also contributed to its demise, as this article in *Vanity Fair* in 1920 suggested. An article in *The Bystander* in the same year told readers that Parisian Bohemians could be recognised because they had not bathed or shaved and wore old clothes, but outsiders, who now made up three quarters of the Bohemian scene, 'make of that only a pose' (Bystander, 1920:189).

'The great aesthetic excitement of the Twenties was undoubtedly the Diaghileff Ballet' (Mannin, 1971:31). Beginning before the war, its Bohemian influence was seen in smart society women wearing turbans, tunics and jewel-bright colours.

The *Ballets Russes* occupied a special place in pre-war Parisian culture – at once stylish and scandalous, very much a Right Bank phenomenon but highly controversial in that context (Silver, 1989:113).

The *Ballets Russes* and Cubism were both of the avant-garde, having been in 'distinct and separate realms' (Silver, 1989:114). They came together in 1917 with what Garafola calls 'the rapprochement between Left Bank art and Right Bank ideology' (1998:99) when Cocteau introduced Picasso to Diaghilev (Silver, 1989:157). It might be argued that the Left Bank and Cubism were originally of Bohemia, with its romanticised poverty and artists living in the *Bateau Lavoir*, and that this introduction subsumed the Left Bank into the Right Bank's moneyed sensibility, causing Bohemia's demise.

With financial success, few artists retained their impoverished lifestyles, changing to differing degrees. For example, visiting London to work with Diaghilev, Picasso and his wife Olga stayed at the Savoy, 'he in evening clothes, she in 'haute couture'' while Derain was happy to stay in Vanessa Bell's flat (Shone, 1976:195). Previously penniless artists now acquired prestige cars. By 1927 Derain had a Bugatti, Man Ray a Voisin, Picabia and Foujita drove Delages and Cendrars had an Alfa Romeo (Franck, 2002:447). Foujita gave his wife a yellow Ballot with a radiator knob signed by Rodin

(Franck, 2002:379). Ownership of the latest fashionable cars represents a change from the poverty of Bohemianism and appears avant-garde in itself, tying in with the Futurist fascination with speed and movement. Sonia Delaunay showed her clothes on models who posed next to matching cars at the 1925 Exposition, as seen in figure 1, Citroën (TheArtStack, n.d.:online). Successful artists no longer felt any desire to live a Bohemian life. As *Vanity Fair* noted in 1920, Bohemia had scattered; erstwhile Bohemians could now pay for their meals and preferred to eat unobserved (Ford, 1920:108).

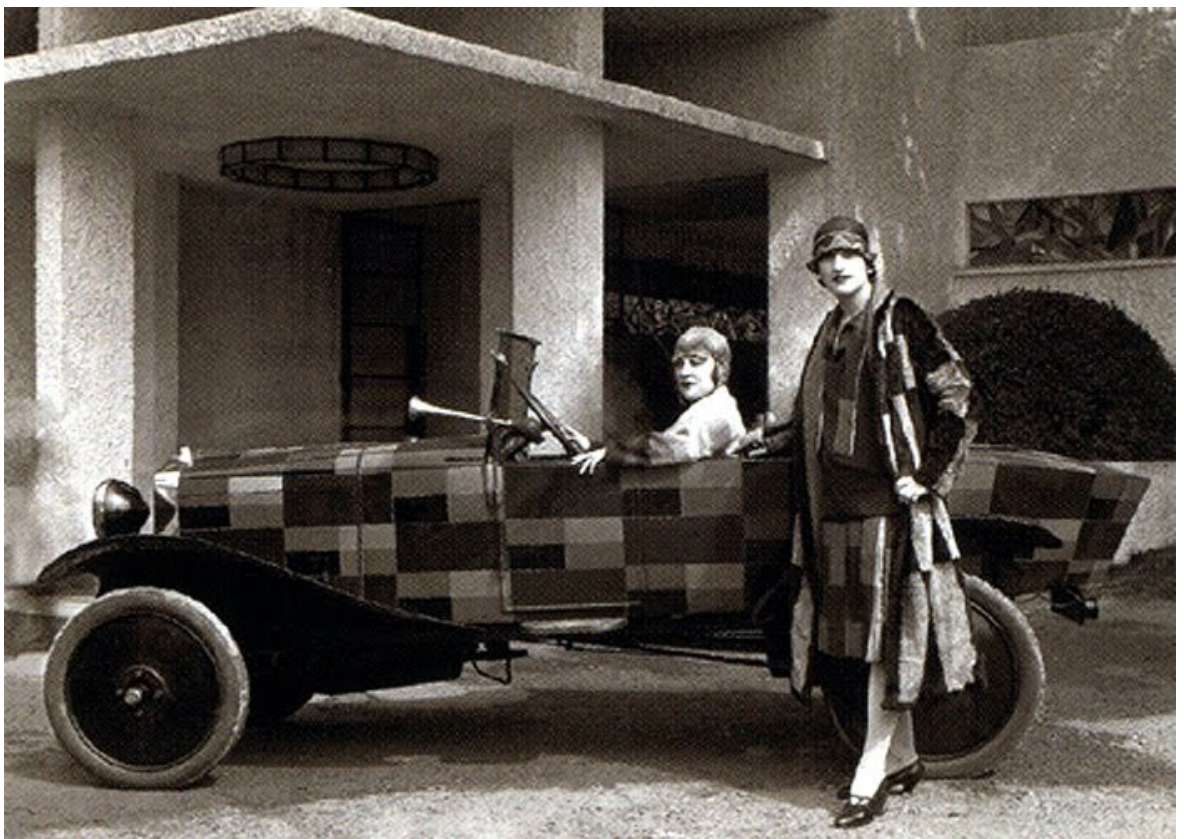


Figure 1: Citroën (Source: TheArtStack, n.d. online).

The demise of Bohemia brought opportunities for a more potent form of avant-garde. Possibilities for greater influence arose from the confrontational and provocative approach of such movements as Dadaism and Surrealism. Avant-garde movements will have seemed much more modern, with the main protagonists tending to be wealthier, more smartly yet unusually dressed and generally having strident and original views calling for some form of societal change.

In 1925, a correspondent for *The Bystander* noted 'I was struck by the change that has come over the art world in the past decade'. The article noted that in Paris and London alike

the old rakish, raffish Bohemianism of our youth is dead, and a newer if not better Bohemianism has taken its place (Bystander, 1925:19).

This 'newer if not better Bohemianism' was nearer to being avant-garde. It was a sign of the upper-classes appropriating the idea of Bohemianism to their own lives.

Artists still represented the excitement of Bohemia. Nevertheless, reading about a lifestyle in magazines was one thing, but appreciating artistic output could be laced with fear, with audiences sometimes feeling mocked. Indeed, Cocteau believed that *The Rite of Spring*⁶ upset audiences in 1913 because they realised that they were out of their depth (Roe, 2018:18). Chadd and Gage agree that when audiences laughed at ballet it was due to confusion about what they were seeing (1979:21). Even the couturier Doucet felt mocked by the very artists he employed to create his art collection, the Surrealists Breton, Aragon and Cendrars (Franck, 2002:359). Set against this fear, it will be shown that *Eve* used avant-garde content in a way that would not alienate readers, portraying a world that would interest and involve them.

The manifestos which many art movements produced were provocative, intending to exclude those with traditional views or tastes. Each grouping sought to make itself exclusive. Writing possibly the nearest thing to a Cubist manifesto, Gleizes and Metzinger (1913:57-58) labelled anyone who did not appreciate Cubism as only a 'so-called civilized man,' to be compared to a 'savage who is delighted by glass beads'. Similarly, the Futurist manifesto of 1909 was 'at war with the staid, the safe, and above all, the traditional' (Cohen, 2004:15). Meanwhile, as Futurists campaigned for entry into the First World War, the Dada manifesto of 1918 declared war on war itself as well as the old world (Franck 2002:271). In showing the absurdity of war, nothing was too absurd. For Seigel, (1999:366) Dada 'most fully embodied the spirit of unbridled revolt, dramatizing the new animosity towards bourgeois society and culture'. Surrealists, meanwhile, declared themselves communist, but Franck

⁶ *The Rite of Spring* premiered in Paris in May 1913. It was felt to have violent music and a cruel story in which a young girl danced herself to death for village elders.

(2002:437) suggests this was not wholehearted amongst all adherents. The first number of *La Révolution Surréaliste* in 1924 declared 'Open the prisons, disband the army!' Other Surrealists were '...fun-seeking, party-going, libertarian – less rigid on principles' (Seigel, 1999:385). Soupault, for example, would mischievously ask concierges for the whereabouts of Soupault (Man Ray, 2012:106). Eventually, the more serious side of Surrealism triumphed, with Soupault being thrown out in 1926 at a 'show trial' orchestrated by Breton. Later that year, Ernst and Miró were thrown out for working on Diaghilev's *Romeo and Juliet*, which Breton thought too bourgeois (Franck, 2002:442). For Rye (1972:11), Surrealism, along with Dada and Futurism, was not so much an art movement as a way of life for those closely associated with it.

As such, Bohemia and the avant-garde may have operated in ways that could influence and create fashion. Both were concerned with more than art and represented lifestyles that, in some cases, would have been conceptually attractive.

Thus the avant-garde and Bohemia brought the new and unusual to young people. Cecil Beaton saw a demand for at least the appearance of Bohemianism, saying that women 'interested in art' copied Augustus John's partner Dorelia's mix of aesthetic, gypsy and peasant dress, in blues, oranges and greens (1989:155). Bohemian dress had a romantic image, a version of which was available commercially in England. Clothes produced by the Omega Workshops⁷ prior to this period, or sold at Liberty's, were felt to be Bohemian. The styles concentrated on colour and incorporated elements of Cubist and Fauvist art in their fabrics. There was recognition of, and amusement at such style, exemplified in 1915 by Somerset Maugham in *Of Human Bondage* when Miss Chalice affected 'sweeping draperies, mauve and green. There

⁷ The Omega Workshops began in 1913 in Bloomsbury, after Roger Fry visited Poiret's Maison Martine in 1912. Fry hoped to bring elements of modern art to everyday household items, seeing no divide between the decorative arts and fine art. He aimed to offer employment to artists who might otherwise be struggling; in the six years in which the Workshops were operating, Wyndham Lewis, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Paul Nash and Nina Hamnett worked there. Their creations and designs were to be sold anonymously, forcing attention back onto design rather than name or reputation. Initial output consisted of fabrics, furniture and homewares but from 1915, dress design was added. The Workshops closed in 1919, owing, Fry felt, to the indifference of the public. Patronage had been limited to the upper-classes, in part due to the high cost of the products. Fry lost money on the venture and felt that his efforts had been regarded as a form of Bolshevism.

was about her the romantic air of High Street, Kensington. She was wantonly aesthetic' (1975:230). The shop in the novel was based on Swan and Edgar, where clothes were 'delicious' (Woodhead, 2008:99).

Confirming the demise of Bohemia, Djuna Barnes, an American writer and artist from Greenwich Village who moved to Paris in 1921, saw the Bohemian woman become dated. Covering a fashion show, Barnes felt that fashion houses, department stores and even the theatre were now influencing women to become a 'newly commercial fashionable woman' who was 'replacing the European Bohemian idols of style' (Oliver, 2014:351). Barnes felt the impecunious Bohemian woman had no voice in the fast-evolving modern economy due to having little spending power (Oliver, 2014:353). Some women with money still wanted Bohemian style and the likes of Liberty's offered a commercial version, easily found in magazines. The Omega Workshops closed in 1919, having lost money, but Liberty's, a well-established London department store, continued as what Oscar Wilde had termed 'the chosen resort of the artistic shopper' (Wilson, 2003:215). Liberty's advertised in *Eve*, highlighting individual frocks from their collections, as was the practice at the time. Here was a commercially sanitised Bohemia appearing in *Eve*, with its potentially attractive artistic image available for purchase by those with sufficient funds.

However, *Eve* was also showing women something more all-encompassing. Discussion of Bohemia in *Eve* was about lifestyle rather than dress and was as likely to be avant-garde as Bohemian. The idea of Bohemia still interested and seemed more accessible than the avant-garde. Whilst *Eve* rarely referred specifically to the avant-garde, it will be seen that it made many such subtle references.

Lussier (2003:13) suggests pleasure-seeking could include travel to glamorous destinations, a censored book, the latest dance, risqué entertainment and hearing a foreign accent⁸. Whilst these were exciting, all bar travel were essentially simple pleasures. Mannin's memoir recalls the thrill of going abroad and the condescension which might be shown to those who did not (1971:39); going to Paris was the

⁸ Nancy Cunard, in her poem *Sublunary* of 1923, wrote of the excitement of 'strange-sounding languages of diverse men' overheard in a restaurant (Gordon, 2007:28).

“Bohemian’ thing to do’ (1971:41). This reading of Bohemian appears to mean modern rather than a form of artistic rebellion. This suggests that *Eve* was using the term in a similar way, showing readers a desirable lifestyle that had its own term to distinguish it from the run-of-the-mill.

1.4 Eve as Case Study

Throughout this study, examples and evidence will be provided from *Eve*. Aimed at the upper- and middle-classes, *Eve* falls into the category of ‘formal or articulate documents of the literate classes’ (Brundage, 2013:171). This was most suitable for coverage of fashion and artistic references to the avant-garde. The target readership had more leisure time and greater independence and was in a position to follow the latest trends.

Eve may have been ‘devoted to a record of the Upper Classes’ (Dancyger, 1978:142), but for White (1970:94) it was primarily aimed at the daughters of those who had profited from the war and found themselves newly able to participate in a fashionable life. As such, *Eve*’s target audience is ideal for this study. Nonetheless, it will be seen that *Eve* appealed to a far wider readership, extending to women of all social levels interested in the lifestyle it portrayed.

Several studies consider women’s magazines but there is only scant consideration of *Eve*. White (1970) notes *Eve*’s new magazine format, which subsequent studies do not acknowledge, as being ahead of its time. In believing it aimed at the upper-classes, Dancyger (1978) makes sweeping comments conveying limited and misleading interpretation of content.

Eve carried short stories often depicting confident women getting the better of men or triumphing in business. Ballaster pays little attention to any magazines of this period but discusses a theme she finds in stories in magazines of the late twentieth century. She sees femininity often portrayed as punishable, with fiction featuring heroines suffering at the hands of bullies or romantic partners (1991:12). This storyline is noticeably absent from *Eve*.

In the most recent work, by Braithwaite, *Eve* does not merit a listing in the index. It is mentioned briefly, dismissed as the ‘‘parish’ magazine for the gay young girls’ of the twenties (1995:33). Braithwaite notes that there were important problems at the time, such as labour unrest and the Irish Troubles, but that *Eve* pandered to women whose interests were ‘fun and parties’ (1995:34). *Eve* recognised these problems, but explained the magazine’s preoccupations saying

Another Armistice Day come and gone, another day on which we go and paint the town red – a dinner, a cabaret, a rag ... We think thoughts but keep them to ourselves...What good in thinking? Only one life ... Sentimentalism? No! The last thing in the world and the unforgiveable offence (Eve, 1924:285).

This is a highly poignant comment and addresses contemporary criticism as well as that of Braithwaite. His criticism of *Eve* for its interests seems odd in comparison with his approval of *Vogue*, especially as editor-in-chief, Edna Woolman Chase, believed *Eve* to be a serious rival (1954:136).

Only Evans (2013) and Doan (2001) reference *Eve* outside of works specific to women's magazines. *Eve* is therefore largely overlooked and is a worthy subject for further research. If it rivalled *Vogue*, it must be considered of importance.

Eve began publication in November 1919 and ran for ten years. *Eve* seemed fresh, with modern illustration and exciting opinions. With fashion and appearance to the fore, its new style and content alongside discussion of the upper-classes at play, and articles and photographs about those living in the country, were an interesting mix. Chase (1954:136) explained that *Eve* appeared weekly and that most sales were on the day of publication, whereas *Vogue* had no set date for publication. Consequently, Chase changed *Vogue* from 24 to 26 editions per year, publishing every other Wednesday to create the same anticipation. Circulation figures are not available for *Eve*, but it began as a monthly magazine and after only four months, on March 11th 1920, it became weekly, suggesting popularity. It cost one shilling throughout its ten year run and it is interesting that in September 1923, *Vogue* reduced its price to one shilling, as shown in figure 2, *Vogue* cover, (Vogue, 1923,n.p). These facts suggest that *Vogue* had to take action to rival *Eve* at this time.



Figure 2: Vogue cover (Source: Vogue, 1923:n.p.)

Vanity Fair 'became modernism for many of its readers' (Reed, 2006:41). Dorothy Todd, editor of English *Vogue*, admired the work of editor Frank Crowninshield, adapting many of his features for *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926 (Reed, 2006:44). Madge Garland, also working on *Vogue*, felt that Todd tried to create a 'magazine of ... social and literary importance' (Vickers, 2002:53).

Youth was fêted and women were frequently featured in a masculine way. Reed sees this as a clear hint at lesbianism and proof that *Vogue* became a guide to recognising queerness, based on descriptions such as 'dangerously attractive tuxedo' and 'boyish hair' (2006:45) around 1925. Similar descriptions appeared in *Eve* and were seen purely as the fashion of the time rather than the lesbian allusions that Reed attributes to Todd. Vita Sackville-West, in a letter to Harold Nicolson, noted that Todd was sacked from *Vogue* because the magazine was now '...too highbrow, [and] is sinking

in circulation' (Sackville-West, 1926, cited in Reed, 2006:39). It seems that fashion, combined with a more subtle inclination towards the avant-garde, was crucial to maintaining *Eve's* readership. In common with Todd's *Vogue*, youth was prized and women were featured affecting masculine attitudes. Whilst this caused a decline in sales of *Vogue*, *Eve's* softer approach proved successful.

Eve will be investigated as a popular fashion and lifestyle magazine, ideal for promotion of the avant-garde. Women no longer dreamt of a good marriage, but were interested in the 'snob appeal of upper crust patronage' (Dancyger, 1978:147). As late as the thirties, Dancyger attests, 'snob appeal' had greater impact than sex-appeal (1978:150). *Eve* certainly featured the upper-classes in its pages. The women appeared on the society diary-style pages at country and sporting events, playing golf, or attending balls and parties, pictured in static, usually staid, posed group pictures. Full-page portraits of titled women also appeared. This would have reassured readers that they were reading the 'right' sort of magazine, but it gave them no real template for how to dress or improve their own appearance. Certainly in its coverage of the upper-classes, *Eve* offered little that was modern, avant-garde or exciting.

Fashion features appeared in every issue. These were often illustrations of a titled individual seen at an event. Much of the fashion coverage concentrated on explaining the latest trend (for example, minor change in sleeve-length or colour palette) and featured the new clothes from a range of couturiers.

Two types of beauty columns ran over the ten years. Some recommended specific products from companies who had advertised in *Eve*. Others spoke in general terms of how to look after the complexion or apply make-up. Advice was typically to use make-up sparingly. In 1925, *Eve* suggested 'startlingly carmined lips' were unattractive and reported that Parisiennes were regularly seen "'repairing" themselves in public, [although] the book of etiquette tells you "it is not done"'. (Meander in Paris, 1925:352). Figure 3, cover, shows that despite the strictures of the 'book of etiquette', in 1920 *Eve* had been happy to use a picture of a flapper 'repairing' on the cover, with the overall image suggesting carmine (Eve, 1920:n.p.). *Eve* was quite happy to '*épater le bourgeois*'.

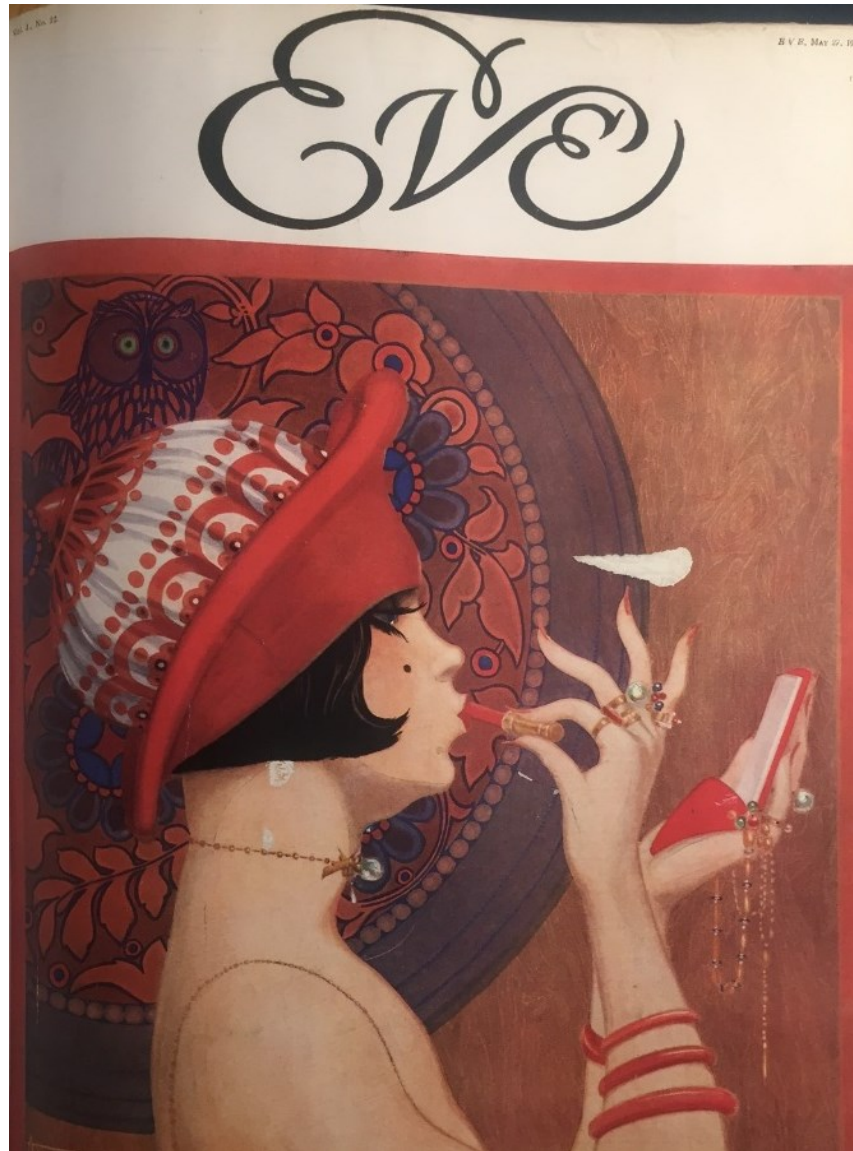


Figure 3: cover (Source: Eve, 1920:n.p.)

The most unusual articles were in the style of a diary or conversation such as *Eve in Paradise* and *Eve Said Unto Adam*, in which the character Eve spoke directly to readers about clothes, travel and major artistic events. Her lifestyle was plainly upper-class, but she had a more cosmopolitan experience than the women in factual society columns.

The character of Eve must have seemed like a more glamorous version of Peg who White notes spoke so familiarly to her readers in *Peg's Paper* (1970:97). Eve invited readers into her 'world', talking to them as if they already shared it, as a best friend might. She could address any topic and the illustrations were used to suggest avant-garde, modernist or Bohemian settings, locations or furniture.

Consequently, from its inception, *Eve* provided the 'snob appeal' Dancyger deems necessary, but speaks to a wider audience through the persona of Eve who, while clearly moneyed, is not titled and could easily be a friend.

As Ballaster (1991:11) notes, magazines often targeted the stratum below that which they portrayed, allowing women to dream. *Eve* may have been aimed at the 'overtly and frankly hedonistic' (Braithwaite, 1995:104), but 'clerks, shop girls, seamstresses or factory workers' (Mackrell, 2013:254) wanted their idols to be glamorous and in expensive frocks (2013:263), so *Eve* also catered for their aspirations and desire for escapism.

As shown on page 113, *Eve* was happy to talk directly to the 'gallery girl'⁹ fans of Tallulah Bankhead and cater for their interests alongside those of its richer readers. Other magazines were dismissive of the stratum of society that included gallery girls, but *Eve* never disparaged them. For example, *The Bystander* wrote in 1920 about the differences between fashions for 'the select few' and 'the multitude'. Clothes for the multitude, limited in range, were described as

...mercantile dressing, and amply satisfying to minds and intelligences who fail to realise that to be really well turned out and chic exacts individual study (Bystander, 1920:300).

Gallery girls would have understood this perfectly. They would have been able to afford only 'mercantile clothing' and *Eve* saw no reason to belittle the intelligence of such women because of it. If a woman read *Eve*, she was welcomed into the world that it presented.

With its exaggerated illustrations, *Eve* was lifted above the real-life photographs of the upper-class at play which bore little resemblance to the popular image of the flapper and her life. This made the magazine aspirational even for many upper-class women, offering them a more exciting version of themselves whilst retaining sufficient reassuring content. The readers' familiarity with White's suggested

⁹ Tallulah Bankhead's legions of female fans became known as gallery girls, as all her stage performances were full of fans who could only afford unreserved gallery seats, but who often came to see the same play numerous times. Some would queue for up to 48 hours to see an opening night (Mackrell, 2013:256). These women epitomised the younger but less well-off women that are likely also to have read *Eve*.

exaggeration and extravagance in *Eve* (1970:94) made it the ideal vehicle for the introduction of the avant-garde. Alongside the posed pictures of society women were pictures of actresses and dancers. It would have been easy to admire one and take inspiration from the other. Older women, too, would find articles giving advice on appearance, cookery, interior decoration and child-care. Consequently, *Eve* could interest almost any woman who chose to read the magazine and no stratum would have been intimidated by the other. Throughout, *Eve* pushed a gentle message of avant-garde influence to all its readers.

Eve's various comment columns over the ten years of publication did not explicitly tell readers what to think or want, but subtly indicated what was exciting and desirable. White suggests that *Eve* embodied the spirit of the roaring twenties by breaking with traditional magazine format. This study argues that it did so by including avant-garde and modernist content, which took a variety of forms. It continued to present traditional content such as stories, fashion, society columns, beauty and sport.

In this, it created a 'lively mixture' which also contained 'extravagantly worded, sparkling narrative interspersed with exaggerated and fanciful illustrations' (1970:94) which was a break from traditional magazine format.

2 Literature Review

The literature consulted comes from the fields of fashion history, art history, social history, study of women's magazines and biography. It has revealed a gap in knowledge about how events and interests in the arts translated to, and influenced, the lives and clothing of women. It also shows that *Eve* is an under-researched yet rich source of information. Works from the time have suggested lines of enquiry into what was of interest in the period, in order to better understand the importance or significance of information in *Eve*.

2.1 Art Influencing Fashion and Lifestyle

Authors considering the influence of art and artists on fashion define fashion before considering any influence. These definitions restrict what can be considered as fashion, such as the permanence of the design or that its creation must be within the commercial fashion system. For example, Steele considers whether fashion itself can be art. She concludes that no study has made such a claim, due to the ephemeral nature of fashion and its commercial element (2013). This discounts the idea that art, too, may be ephemeral and commercial. Steele concludes that fashion cannot be art.

Steele acknowledges links between art and fashion in that some couturiers appropriated certain features of art to their work, such as Worth introducing 'signed' one-off designs. She also notes that prior to this period, artists Morris and Klimt designed for their wives and that Futurism and Constructivism took a great interest in clothing design, with Futurists producing several manifestos on the subject. She nevertheless concludes that as artists, they could only create artistic clothing and anti-fashion. This activity may have had an influence, but it 'did not take place within the fashion system' (2013:16) and only those specifically working in the fashion business could create fashion. This suggests that an artist's designs could never be commercial fashion. It is true that Constructivist and Futurist fashion that was created did not do well commercially, but this could have been due to factors such as a lack of

commercial acumen and opportunity, shortage of materials or political expediency, as much as poor fashion design skills as Steele suggests.

If only those within the commercial fashion world can create fashion, then women of the period who wore outrageous or unusual clothes could not be credited with creating fashions, regardless of how widely aped they may have been. Even if Steele's premise that fashion cannot be art is accepted, this should not preclude the possibility that art may have influenced fashion. Interestingly, Troy observes that haute couture 'dress designers ... regarded the commercial world with disdain' (2003:192). That may have been to deny the reality of their businesses, but, if asked, they may not have agreed that fashion had to be produced within a commercial system.

Writing in Lackersteen, (1998:9), Wollen argues that fashion will not become an art until it ceases to be transient. He notes that Klimt's wife Emilie Flöge designed clothes influenced by Klimt's art. As these clothes were produced by the Wiener Werkstätte¹⁰, they combined an element of commercialism (necessary for Steele) with artistic influence, and only lacked permanence to qualify as art.

Wollen acknowledges that some artists began to design seriously, citing Goncharova at Myrbor and Delaunay at Heim, which again places artists' designs within the commercial fashion system. However there is still the problem of the ephemerality of fashion preventing it from being seen as art. Although garments are widely held in gallery collections now, their ephemerality as worn items remains. The art world at that time was subject to changing perceptions. The likes of Marcel Duchamp's 'Readymades' suggested that any ordinary object with no connection to art could have the status of art conferred upon it through the choice of an artist. Man Ray, too, began to use ordinary objects to create art with little permanence (Wiser, 1983:148).

¹⁰ The Wiener Werkstätte began to produce jewellery, ceramics and furniture in Vienna in 1903 and clothing from 1910, always with the goal of Gesamtkunstwerk (total artwork). Chief amongst their designers were Gustav Klimt and Koloman Moser. Prior to this, Emilie Flöge had run her own couture house, with her sisters, from 1904, often using material and patterns designed by the Wiener Werkstätte. As Klimt's partner, she also wore dresses he designed.

A broader definition than either Wollen or Steele have used might be helpful in investigating the influence of art on fashion. For example, fashions or trends might not be designed within the commercial system but may subsequently be incorporated into it. Poggioli (1968:79) argues that fashion's task is to put a new idea into general use then abandon it for another when it gains acceptance.

A range of studies considers art and fashion together with a varied assessment of the extent to which one influenced the other. Troy notes that up to the point of her writing, there had been few studies, most of which concentrated on stylistic affinities between art and fashion. Her own interest is the contradiction between haute couture, mass production and clothes available in department stores. She is not looking for 'the visual effects of one medium in the creations of another' (2003:3) and she only considers clothes by couturiers. She concludes that couturiers were averse to increasing commercialisation.

Evans (2013) opposes this theory. She feels that for haute couture, global export was the most important aspect. This accounts for the twice-yearly fashion shows selling to international buyers at the time, with the United States recognised as the most powerful buyer due to size of the market. She notes that the concept of French fashion was important to Americans. Evans is primarily concerned with commerce and suggests art was highly influential on fashion shows, but not on clothes themselves. She considers aspects of the fashion system such as the role of the mannequin, evolution of the fashion show and the novelty of clothes displayed via movement. Evans differentiates between modernism as a cultural entity, and as an attitude towards modernity.

Garafola identified the concept of lifestyle modernism, as 'the sophisticated commonplace' which she attributed largely to Cocteau (1998:98). This was essentially high art mixed with popular culture, creating a form of modernism acceptable to a wider audience. These ideas will be returned to at length in section 5. Evans (2013:5) considers Crow's theory that radical art would always be tainted by the ordinary and that 'the avant-garde serves as a kind of research and development arm of the culture industry', creating that which must eventually find its way into quotidian art.

Evans (2013:4) also discusses Levenson's term 'gestural modernism', for the effects of ephemeral artistic happenings, primarily by Futurists or Dadaists, on an audience who would have seen 'indelible signs of another way of life'. The majority could only see this if it was reported in a less ephemeral medium, so presumably the indelible nature of the signs was that any audience would inevitably be greatly affected by what they witnessed.

Wilson (2003) is concerned with theories of what fashion is and how it is perceived. She compares theories on the evolution of fashion and why it lasts, and the effects of city life and popular culture. She throws valuable light on the fashionable activity of the English Bohemian and artistic community in the period. Noting a shift from reform dress, which was advocated as more healthy, to clothing which symbolised one's beliefs, she is not surprised that after the misery of war, younger women should look to their femininity rather than feminism.

She questions whether fashion is located in consumerism and asks whether it might be 'a site of struggle symbolized in dress codes? Does it muffle the self, or create it?' (2003:231). For Wilson, 'an unresolved tension between 'authenticity' and 'modernism' haunts contemporary feminism' (2003:232). She suggests no resolution, instead finding many opposing views about fashion which are irreconcilable but which could all be true, such as the idea that fashion can both oppress and be pleasurable. Therein her work is more philosophical in nature.

Chadwick's work (2012) argues that many fashions during the twenties emanated directly from the work of a few avant-garde women artists, with their clothes coming to signify modernity in the public mind. She closely aligns art with fashion to make the point, and demonstrates the high regard for the decorative arts at the time. Her study of this period only refers to artists such as Delaunay and Goncharova, for whom these claims had already been made. This study will consider other aspects of the avant-garde rather than purely the direct designing of clothing.

Works covering a more specific link between art and fashion include Stern (2004), with an excellent exposition of artists who, towards the end of the nineteenth century, had begun to feel that '... dress design was something far too important to

be left to couturiers alone' (2004:3). These artists felt they should move beyond pure art to the design of clothes. Stern cites Hoffmann, founder of the Wiener Werkstätte in 1903, who 'was not willing to abandon responsibility for dress either to couturiers or to housewives' (2004:25). He felt only an artist could create clothing and this should be as part of a whole, in sympathy with its environment. Thus the Wiener Werkstätte artists also created clothing and interior design and furnishings. However, they were not dressmakers and their designs did not translate well from paper, tending not to be successful (2004:26). Many of Stern's examples have more to do with art enhancing dress design in an earlier period, than what Stern then discerns as the point at which

the historical avant-gardes would appropriate dress design as a privileged field in which the artist could overstep the limits of 'pure' art and act directly on daily life. (2004:3).

She discusses the influence of Futurists, Constructivists and the work of Sonia Delaunay, as Chadwick did, to evidence very direct action on fashion beyond mere influence.

For example, Constructivists designed simple, utilitarian yet avant-garde clothing for the population of Russia after the Revolution. Constructivists wanted their clothes to represent their artistic visions, and made no concession to a wearer's individual taste. Chadwick (1996) talks of Stepanova's designs entering the commercial fashion world. This was soviet mass-production to aid social change but the changing economic situation meant that few designs were mass-produced as intended. Thus it may not have been a commercial fashion world that Steele would accept.

Lussier's work is based around what she calls a 'unique collaboration' (2003:8) between artists of the avant-garde working with ballet and theatre to express themselves. Lussier believes avant-garde artists saw fashion as a new canvas on which to express their ideas and notes that many couturiers designed for the stage. Clothes and costume in theatre were often reported in women's magazines so the avant-garde saw this as a way to influence mainstream fashion.

Like Stern, Lussier discusses Futurism and Constructivism. She sees their activity as distinct from mainstream fashion, as it was politically motivated either to shock the establishment or for utility in service of an ideology. Lussier (2003:32) notes the *Ballets Russes* popularising evening wear with an Eastern influence and Vionnet's use of Thayaht¹¹ to illustrate what she sees as Vionnet's often Cubist-influenced models (2003:32). Figure 4, *Robe du Soir* (Courtauld, 2014:online) shows an example of Thayaht's work for Vionnet.



Figure 4: *Robe du Soir* (Source: Courtauld, 2014:online)

¹¹ Thayaht, a Futurist artist, designed a style of jumpsuit known as a 'tuta' in 1919, intended for everyday practical use. He illustrated many of Vionnet's designs in the early twenties.

Watson discusses the influence of art on fashion, but finds no reason to see Thayaht illustrating Vionnet's work as evidence that couturiers were aping avant-garde art. For Watson the 'moment when fashion and art came together' (1999:223) was in the thirties with Elsa Schiaparelli's association with Surrealism. She believes a link would have been unlikely before this, with the self-proclaimed leader of Surrealism, Breton, having little time for women in the movement (Mackrell, 2013:294). Equally, Aragon, whilst tolerant of his then partner Nancy Cunard's interest in fashion, found himself unable to accept Paris's arrogation of Surrealism as a style trend (Mackrell, 2013).

2.2 The Influence of Specific Art Movements

Works on Cubism, Surrealism, Futurism and Dada were consulted. Martin has an interest in the interplay between art and clothing in the period, arguing for Cubism as an obvious influence on 'fashion's radical transformation' (1998:13) without exploring other influences. Martin sees Cubism not only as an art form but as a complete culture aligned with new ideas in theatre, literature and film. Much of his argument is based on the sense of movement implicit in Cubism, suggesting that 'few earlier art movements had been as promising and as tantalizing to fashion's innate and necessitous energy as Cubism' (1998:53). This argument is unconvincing, as Futurism expressly featured movement and speed. It suggests that fashion already had an energy and movement which made it turn to Cubism for expression, but Cubist influence is not obvious at an early enough stage for this to be persuasive; indeed, he says 'Cubism in fashion was indubitably late Cubism' (1998:109). Helpfully for Martin, '...the multiple influences of Japonism, the Ballets Russes, and other exoticisms ... were clearly within Cubism's view and purview' (2002:91). Martin does not allow his ideas to be easily dismissed, saying

This does not mean, in the simpleton's solution, that one would seek every Sonia Delaunay and every drawing by Picasso indicating clothing but that one could imagine Cubism to allow and even to accept fashion as part of its larger principle of inclusion. (1998:90)

Veronesi, too, sees Cubism as exerting an influence, feeling that although it only took twenty years for its influence on fashion to become marked, Cubism in the plastic arts had by then all but ended. She cites Colette writing in *Vogue* that the new silhouette was 'short, flat, geometrical and quadrangular' (1968:312), although no date is given for this quote.

She also offers the Corbusier speech seen on page 7 as evidence of the new fashions and says that the new simple style he describes (short hair, sleeves and hemlines with a bare head) is the Poiret woman, *la garçonne* and the Cubist woman (1968:312). It stretches the point to suggest that all these styles are encapsulated in Corbusier's description, and certainly there seems little in it to suggest Cubism.

Baudot (2001) writes about the influence of Surrealism, that occurs right at the end of the period. It is seen most easily in the collaborations of Schiaparelli, Dalí and others. However, his detail is called into question by, for example, his reference to demi-semi-quavers on Man Ray's 1924 *Le Violon d'Ingres*, of Kiki de Montparnasse - they are not demi-semi-quavers, (*triples croches* as the original French text notes), (2001:10) but violin F-holes, as seen in figure 5, *Le Violon d'Ingres* (Getty, n.d.:online).



Figure 5: Le Violon d'Ingres (Source: Getty, n.d., online)

Wilcox makes a case for the influence of Futurism on fashion, suggesting it is usually overlooked, both because a key work on the subject was only published in Italian and because the influence of Surrealism is more easily identified (Wilcox, 2001).

2.3 Fashionable Life in London and Paris

Wilson's work (2000) is an in-depth exposition of Bohemian life in London and Paris, while Nicholson (2003) and Brooker (2007) give equally fascinating insight primarily into London. Several works focus on Paris. Seigel's study concentrates on the art, music and writing produced by the avant-garde and Bohemia. Unlike Silver's (1989:114) suggested link between Bohemia and the avant-garde, Seigel sees none, saying specifically of Dada and Surrealism, 'Neither one explicitly invoked Bohemia as an antecedent' (Seigel, 1999:366).

Wiser (1983) gives detail of artistic and society circles in Paris. He points out that many Parisian Bohemians were genuinely impoverished and lived destitute lives, whilst in London many assumed the lifestyle without the hardship. For example, he notes the Chelsea Arts Club having the stated aim of being Bohemian but only accepting moneyed members.

Many of the works focussing on the *Ballets Russes* provide detailed descriptions of each of the ballets and their creation. Other more general studies discussed above suggest reasons for the sensation they caused. The particular influence of Léon Bakst is discussed by several authors, for example Beaumont, a ballet aficionado writing in 1940. Many discuss whether Bakst or Poiret first designed the '*Schéhérazade* look,' which dominated much upper-class evening wear before the war.

2.4 Other Influences

Doan makes an in-depth study of the fashion for masculine dress in the twenties. She maintains that lesbians popularised the style, their influence being 'disproportionate to their numbers', (2001:xviii), but that contemporaries did not associate mannish dress with sapphism until the time of the *Well of Loneliness* trial in 1928. She does not suggest other reasons for the popularity of this style; this study will contend that other influences helped create and popularise it.

Souhami (1988) is the only scholar to explore the influence of individual women on fashion, in looking at the life of Gluck. Some works which single out individuals make passing reference to their appearance but there is little to show how they might have influenced wider fashion. This study will begin to address this gap in the literature by suggesting that created constructs could be used to influence women in the acceptance of new ideas.

Memoirs from those writing contemporaneously or later indicate points worthy of further consideration.¹² This category has been invaluable in suggesting what was important to people at the time and identifying points of interest to search for in *Eve* and other magazines.

¹² These include memoirs by John Dos Passos, Walter Carlos, Ethel Mannin, Cecil Beaton, Edna Woolman Chase, Nina Hamnett and Faucigny-Lucinge. Biographies include the lives of Diana Cooper, Tallulah Bankhead, Iris Tree, Nancy Cunard, Coco Chanel and Misia Sert.

3 Methodology

Eve has been used as a case study for its portrayal of Bohemia, the avant-garde and modernism in a weekly magazine. *Eve* is the primary source, having been shown to be under-researched. It gives an invaluable perspective on the time, covering both the interests of young women and anything modern, as well as a more 'country' perspective in its society columns and articles. This combination will be shown to have enabled the magazine to introduce avant-garde influences in an unthreatening manner.

3.1 Process

The study called for the impartial selection and analysis of evidence which might throw new light on whether *Eve* used the avant-garde to influence or popularise fashions. Such a study, as Brundage (2013:125) says, involves '...imposing patterns and meanings on a jumble of events'. For example, articles in *Eve* will be shown to have made unexpected allusion to events or situations other than those depicted.

Appropriate sources from the era were examined to reinterpret it without imposing current standards and beliefs on it.

A mixed methodology was used, primarily qualitative in nature. The scope of the work covered significant cultural events during the period, which prompted use of specific examples from *Eve* to illustrate the findings of the study.

3.2 Literary Research

The process began with secondary sources as discussed above, focussing on art movements and fashion of the period. This suggested several potential avenues of enquiry. Study of magazines and periodicals of the time followed, supplemented by a study day in the Blythe House archives (Pritchard, 2017) and attendance at the Gluck: Art and Identity Symposium at the University of the Arts, London in February 2018.

Novels of the time have been used, especially where reading of secondary sources has indicated that the novel was based on individuals, places or events and recognised as such at the time. Other novels have been included as research material where there is any suggestion that they had an impact, or mirrored general experience. Some featured in *Eve*, suggesting they would have been widely read by the women whose influences are of interest to this study. Interestingly, in 1920, *Eve* foresaw this use of novels, saying

... it is amusing to imagine what books the man or woman of one hundred years hence will peruse as a guide to the manners and morals of this post-war period (Kerr, 1920:170).

Autobiographical accounts were consulted. These may contain bias and inaccuracy but triangulation can help to establish veracity and it is possible to suggest motivations in their writing. For example, as will be seen, Mannin (1971:74) told readers about the jazz-inspired nature of home decoration during the twenties but did not point out that the trend was almost over by 1928, this comment only appearing in her articles for *Eve*. At the very least, such sources identify what that person felt was important, how they wished things had been or how they would like to be remembered which is, in itself, informative as well as indicative of the interest at the time. With such sources, care was taken not to impose current opinion onto the past. It must be possible to see things as contemporaries did, as well as ask questions that no contemporary did or could.

Edited compendiums of letters, diary entries, magazine excerpts and other similar collections are primary source materials, but include judgements on what is important

or of interest. The editor is not necessarily disinterested or may not have the same research aims as those of the reader (Brundage, 2013:22-23). Consequently the material may have been selected to prove certain points, and material which would have been relevant to the current study may have been omitted.

3.3 Archival Research

Archival research took place primarily at Platt Hall in Manchester for access to copies of *Eve* and *Vogue*. Manchester University Library provided access to *Vanity Fair*, the British Library for *The Bystander* and some copies of *Eve*, and the archives at the Victoria and Albert Museum gave access to Cecil Beaton scrapbooks. Some archival research took place on-line for *Vogue*.

The research includes reports, articles and advertisements of the time. Much reporting seems naïve by comparison with modern media. Some fashion and beauty editorial is obviously based on the advertisements placed in the same or recent issues, although this is not made explicit as it would be today. Comments about individuals are often fawning and supercilious or lifted from 'stock analysis.' One example is Cecil Beaton's scrapbooks of press clippings about himself. Over several years and in different newspapers, these cuttings refer to him as 'Mr Cecil Beaton...who is coming rapidly to the fore with his Futurist portraits'. The meaning of Futurist as understood by readers is difficult to determine. As a frequently repeated caption, its value is almost entirely invalidated as he apparently continued 'coming rapidly to the fore' for several years. If care is taken to note these anomalies, such limitations in contemporary reporting need not undermine the cogency of the reports in general, or obscure readers' appetite for them.

3.4 Limitations

Most of the magazines consulted have been available in physical format in archives, in which case the only limitation on their usage has been time and cost to travel to these locations. Other publications, such as American *Vogue* and newspapers, were accessible on-line. Whilst this enables access at any time, the ability to search for specific types of articles is dependent on aligning the search terms to the keywords understood by the search engine. Searches can fail to find the items of interest. Additionally, it isolates articles and loses context. Working through a physical magazine can be laborious and time-consuming in reading many articles which may prove to be of no relevance. Nonetheless seeing articles and advertisements in context gives a greater understanding of the 'sub-text' of the magazine.

4 Bohemian and Avant-Garde Ideas in Eve

This section will show that *Eve's* Bohemia was compelling for readers because it was moneyed rather than having the traditional Bohemian poverty. It took many forms, in that it could be sophisticated, intellectual and arty or appear down-at-heel, but a common attitude towards it united the images, enabling almost anything to seem exciting, new and fashionable.

4.1 Bohemian Life in Eve

In 1922, Eve appeared to deride Bohemia, discussing living in a Raymond Duncan community in Paris¹³, where people lived on rice and wore sandals, comical clothes and painted scarves rather than hats (Eve, 1922:71). This was not the Bohemia *Eve* generally depicted. In 1920, Eve noted that the Empire Ball at the Albert Hall was 'quite the right kind of Bohemia to mingle with society' (Eve, 1920:138). There might have been a desire to mix in Bohemian circles, but this had to be of the right kind.

Vanity Fair and *The Bystander* frequently wrote about Bohemia; for as long as Bohemian lifestyles were seen as dissolute and exciting, the public remained fascinated. *The Bystander* acknowledged the interest, saying 'There's mighty little Bohemian in Paris at the moment, though London editors insist on Paris correspondents providing it' (Bystander, 1925:19). The following year *The Bystander* informed readers that the demise of Parisian Bohemia was physical as well as spiritual, saying Montmartre was being 'modernised to obliteration', to replace the old lifestyle with a modern 'cocktail' one (Bystander, 1926:256).

Eve's readers welcomed articles on nightlife, Paris, flamboyant characters and the haunts of artists. For example, in 1926, the Eiffel Tower restaurant¹⁴ was described

¹³ Raymond was the brother of the dancer Isadora Duncan and he and his family hoped to start a new society. They set up a school in Paris to teach their theories of kinematic dance and movement. Merle, M. (2017:online) Isadora Duncan archive, <http://www.isadoraduncanarchive.org/dancer/8/>

¹⁴ The Eiffel Tower, run by Stulik, was a famous London restaurant on Percy Street, frequented by artists since before the war. Michael Arlen featured it as Mont Agel in his 1924 novel *The Green Hat*. Nancy Cunard was moved to write poetry about it in *Sublunary* in 1923 saying it had 'wits and glamour, strong wines, new foods' (Gordon, 2007:28).

as being 'where all the really interesting people go - writers and artists and actors' for an evening that would be 'the height and depth of Bohemianism' (Tremayne, 1926:785). *Eve's* use of the term Bohemian always conveyed what readers might think exciting and arty, rather than the down-at-heel version. Figure 6, Eiffel Tower, (Tremayne, 1926:785) accompanied the article, showing women in fur stoles and elegant frocks or with a cigarette holder and what appears to be a manly bow tie and jacket.



Figure 6: Eiffel Tower (Source: Tremayne, 1926:785)

Beaton's diary entry for April 24th 1926 notes that he visited the Eiffel Tower restaurant because 'the people who go there are smart, arty, and the set I must get in with' (1961:86). For example, Augustus John was there that night. *Eve's* readers, many from a similar background to Beaton, were therefore being introduced to such

venues. They were interested in Bohemia, but a sanitised, safe version. In common with the Chelsea Arts Club, theirs was a moneyed Bohemianism.

In November 1920 *Eve* reported 'really Bohemia hasn't got back into its pre-war stride' (*Eve*, 1920:159), paving the way for a change to the traditional Bohemia. People wanted to experience Cocteau's 'intense life' but they also wanted everything new and modern. Bohemianism might be exciting and unconventional, but it was not new and was not what it had been; now the avant-garde gave *Eve* readers the means to vicariously '*épater le bourgeois*' (Cohen, 2004:1), albeit that many young *bourgeois* themselves now wanted to do the same.

It was unsurprising that *Eve* readers accepted the lifestyle represented by the avant-garde and Bohemia. As Levenson suggests, the avant-garde showed them 'another way of life' (cited in Evans, 2013:4) and *Eve* made this more accessible by singling out two artists for frequent mention, Van Dongen and Foujita. Specific artistic happenings were not the point for *Eve*, but much more easily interpreted 'signs of another way of life', which was artistic or avant-garde.

Foujita had designed clothes for Gordon Selfridge in London. Subsequently arriving in Paris, he soon became a regular in cafés and nightclubs alongside fellow artists. Foujita was of striking appearance, frequently wearing a cape, necklace, woman's bag and sandals (Franck, 2002:297). He attended Beaumont parties often wearing a dress, ear-rings and turban and once wore nothing at all (Franck, 2002:375). His wife Youki described first seeing him with a fringe, an M-shaped moustache, horn-rimmed glasses, and a red and white checked shirt under a well-cut suit jacket of fine British cloth (Franck, 2002:295,374). As seen, Nina Hamnett recalled his 'strangely shaped baggy trousers' and that he made his own clothes (1984:82). He and Van Dongen were known for some of the best parties (Franck, 2002:335,378). This might account for their (un-named) appearance in *Eve* in 1926 in figure 7, Foujita, (*Eve*, 1926:152) and figure 8, Van Dongen, (*Eve*, 1926:153). The pictures bore no relation to the *Eve In Paris* article they accompanied. These artists might have worn unusual clothes and once lived in squalor, but clearly now they were more like the 'smart, arty... set' that Beaton craved (1961:86) in 1926 and *Eve* readers could meet vicariously.



Figure 7: Foujita (Source: Eve, 1926:152). Foujita stands 4th from the left.



Amateur in which Yvonne de Bray who was the great dramatist's favourite actress—will play the part she created. There will be two other Bataille revivals during the spring: *Le Phalène* and *Les Flambeaux*.

Figure 8: Van Dongen (Source: *Eve*, 1926:153). The host is standing.

In Paris, masquerade balls re-started in 1922 after a break (Faucigny-Lucinge, 1987:1). *Eve* reported them selectively, starting with Poiret's *Les Rois* party. Guests included '...Van Dongen – all the *beaux arts* were there'. He came as Neptune, with crown, trident and seaweed ballet skirt, and had to spend the evening by the radiator (*Eve*, 1922:203). Perhaps he had taken inspiration from his friend, Suzy Solidor, a singer who might wear a 'bathing suit made of mother-of-pearl seashells' or 'a fishing net with a bikini bottom made of cork' (Franck, 2002:376). Figure 9, *Neptun*, (WeimarArt, n.d.:online), a self-portrait, shows he saw himself as *Eve* described him.



Figure 9: Neptun (Source: WeimarArt, n.d. online)

In 1920, *Eve* reported on the *Salon de la Mode* in Paris and highlighted a Van Dongen entry (Eve, 1920:195) shown in figure 10, *Salon de la Mode* (Eve, 1920:195). This, it suggested, was a tattoo rather than embroidery on a fine material. The idea of a large tattoo was a highly avant-garde suggestion.

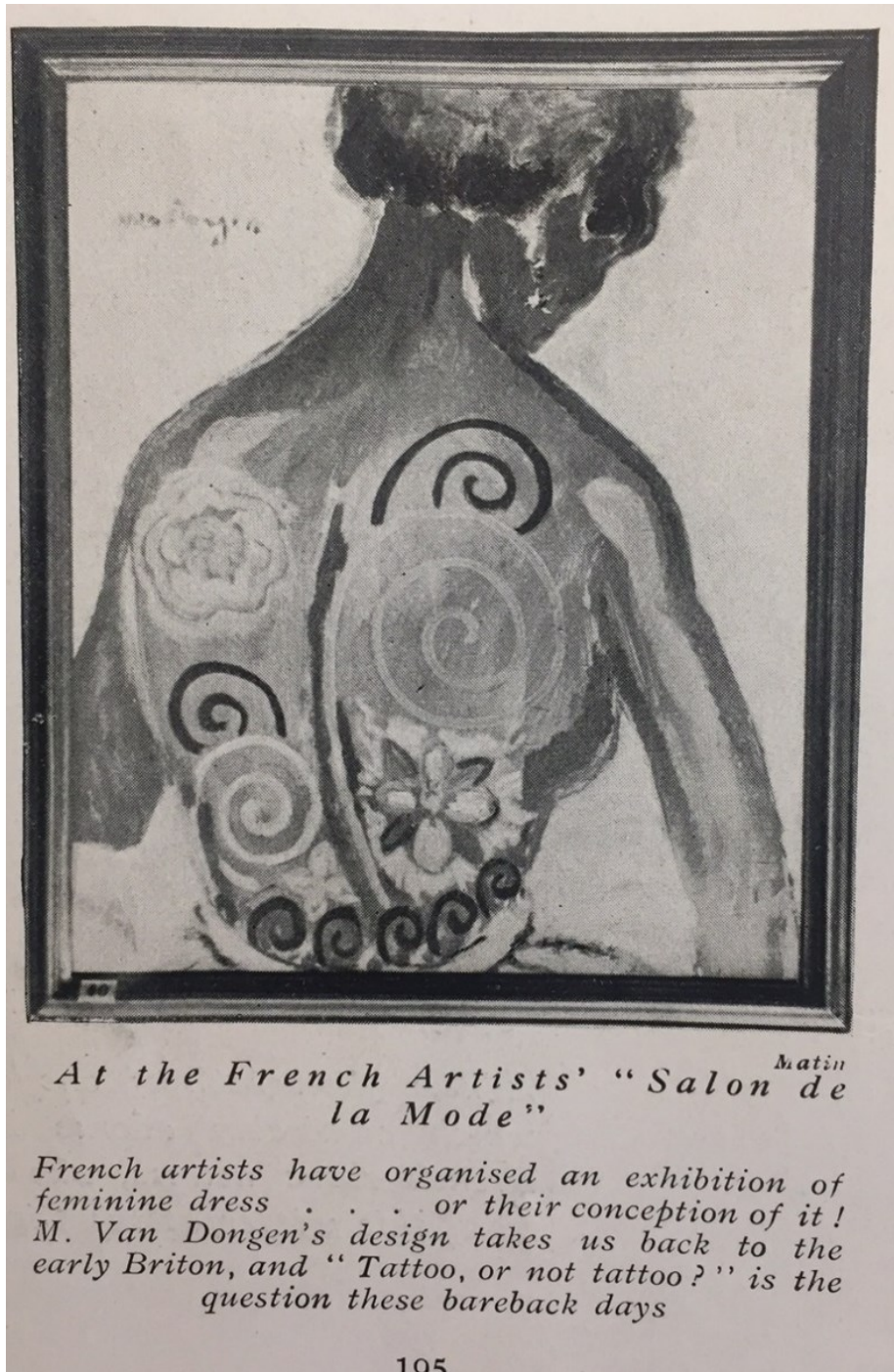


Figure 10: Salon de la Mode. (Source: Eve, 1920:195)

When Lelong showed his new collection in 1924 'all the "Fashion Press" were there'. Eve reported that artists were attending shows at this time, but named only Van Dongen and his wife 'with the young face and white hair' (Eve, 1924:330), Jasmy Jacob. Van Dongen met Jasmy when he painted the couturier (Steele, 1991:73) and Jasmy was commercial director there. Figure 11, Jasmy (WeimarArt, n.d.:online) was painted by Van Dongen in 1920.



Figure 11: Jasmy (Source: WeimarArt, n.d.,online)

In 1925, he illustrated the latest edition of the novel *La Garçonne*, which suggests that the worlds of commerce, fashion and art now met frequently, at least for some artists.

In 1925, *The Bystander* reported on a party at the home of the ‘aggressively unconventional painter’ where guests ate with their fingers. Guests found this ‘truly new’ but Van Dongen responded ‘that’s not my reason at all. Last time half my cutlery disappeared’ (Bystander, 1925:176). Insofar as there was truth in this story, Van Dongen deliberately mixed the ‘truly new’ with his mundane reasoning for it. He and Foujita must have made good copy. Others, too, recognised their popularity. In 1927, a new play *Coiffure Pour Dames* opened in Paris, featuring a well-known Parisian coiffeur, and a portrait by Van Dongen appeared on the stage (Eve, 1927:743).

In 1928, *Eve* featured ‘the celebrated Japanese artist’ Foujita, this time by name. In an article sub-titled *Fashion makes a gesture towards art*, it referred to his

...amazing bathing costumes...made of a pack of playing cards or a fishing net or a straw mat, his beach garments of rag-tag and bob-tail order are the talk and amusement of the shore... one is never sure whether he will appear ... with

a lobster on a lead, one of his pet Siamese cats stole-wise round his neck, or a couple of white mice in his pockets! (Eve, 1928:642).

It can only be speculated as to why these suggestions were made, and to what extent they might have influenced Schiaparelli and Dalí during the thirties. Figure 12, *Foujita in Paris* (Eve, 1928:642), shows how *Eve* saw him; he is smartly dressed yet more flamboyant than the other men present. Whilst fashionable, the women surrounding him do not appear Bohemian or avant-garde, so readers could see the presence of an artist transform the familiar into the avant-garde.



Figure 12: *Foujita in Paris* (Source: Eve, 1928:642)

Of other artists of that genre, only one, Nevinson, featured in *Eve*, but he seemed to live a much less interesting life. In the reports on Foujita and Van Dongen, *Eve* readers were presented with the avant-garde in an acceptable form. As suggested in section 1.3, many avant-garde artists had strident and extreme views, but *Eve's* choice of artists was amusingly different and interesting, making them ideal for *Eve* to vaunt avant-garde credentials.

4.2 Bohemian Artifice

Whilst it might have seemed that artists would accept almost anything, style-wise, Jean Cocteau believed artists 'found his chic tastes and fashion consciousness absurd' (Franck, 2002:246). His was the more studied appearance of the avant-garde rather than the 'anything goes' laxity of Bohemia. This was closer to what *Eve's* readers wanted. For all the mention of Bohemia in *Vanity Fair* and *The Bystander*, the fashions shown there were certainly not Bohemian either.

Portraying one's self as Bohemian would now be done in a different way. Previously artists might dress as gypsies, but now quotidian items, similar to Duchamp's 'Readymades', could also be accessories. Jewellery was an easy way to demonstrate alternative credentials. As will be seen in section 5.6, it had to be showy costume jewellery. Wearing thermometers as earrings, as Mina Loy does in figure 13, a Man Ray photograph from 1920, is perhaps an extreme example, (University at Buffalo, n.d.:online), but outlandish jewellery became popular. *Eve* reported 'every woman wore the armour-like jewellery of the moment' to a club (Eve, 1926:568).



Figure 13: Mina Loy (Source:University at Buffalo, n.d.:online)

Around 1920, Van Dongen created several pictures of bathers. Figure 14, *La Baigneuse* (Wikipedia, 2017:online) shows possibly the most realistic and detailed. In a report in 1920 on the Salon d'Automne, specific attention was drawn to his picture with 'complicated bracelets and ring'. Referring to the picture as a bather 'in scanty mauve covering' (*The Gentlewoman in Town and Country*, 1920:646), figure 14 is likely to be the picture in question. *Baba d'Erlanger* was known for wearing jewels on her bathing suit and was slavishly copied in whatever she did (Hall, 1983:20). In this particular quirk, it is difficult to know whether *Baba* inspired Van Dongen, or he her.



Figure 14: La Baigneuse (Source: Wikipedia, 2017:online)

Whilst Bohemia changed as artists' finances improved, the notion of Bohemia was to prove profitable in a growing consumer culture. Commerce was now able to exploit the appetite for Bohemia. The idea of Bohemians living for the moment may have been accurate, but wanting cars, modern furniture and bobbed hair is much more avant-garde. Thus the avant-garde would be highly influential in creating demand not just for fashion, but for the lifestyle seen in *Eve*, albeit introduced as Bohemian.

4.3 The Avant-Garde in *Eve*

Steele notes that in 1912, a Paquin dress looked more modern in a Barbier illustration than a photograph by Félix (1998:223) and that Steichen's 1911 photographs for Poiret were deemed less effective than Lepape's illustrations (1998:227). This may explain why fashion photography only started to replace drawings in *Eve* as late as the mid-twenties. Photographers of the age such as Baron de Meyer and Man Ray were not widely used for fashion photography in the early twenties. Those employed did not tend to try anything new or unusual in their photography.

Illustration could be much more stylised than a photograph. These were images of how women wanted life to be, including a harmonious environment. They could depict slimness, or elongate bodies and heads beyond reality. They could be 'Futurist' pictures like Thayaht or otherwise stylish pictures that did little to portray clothes clearly, but which created an impression of modernity and youth.

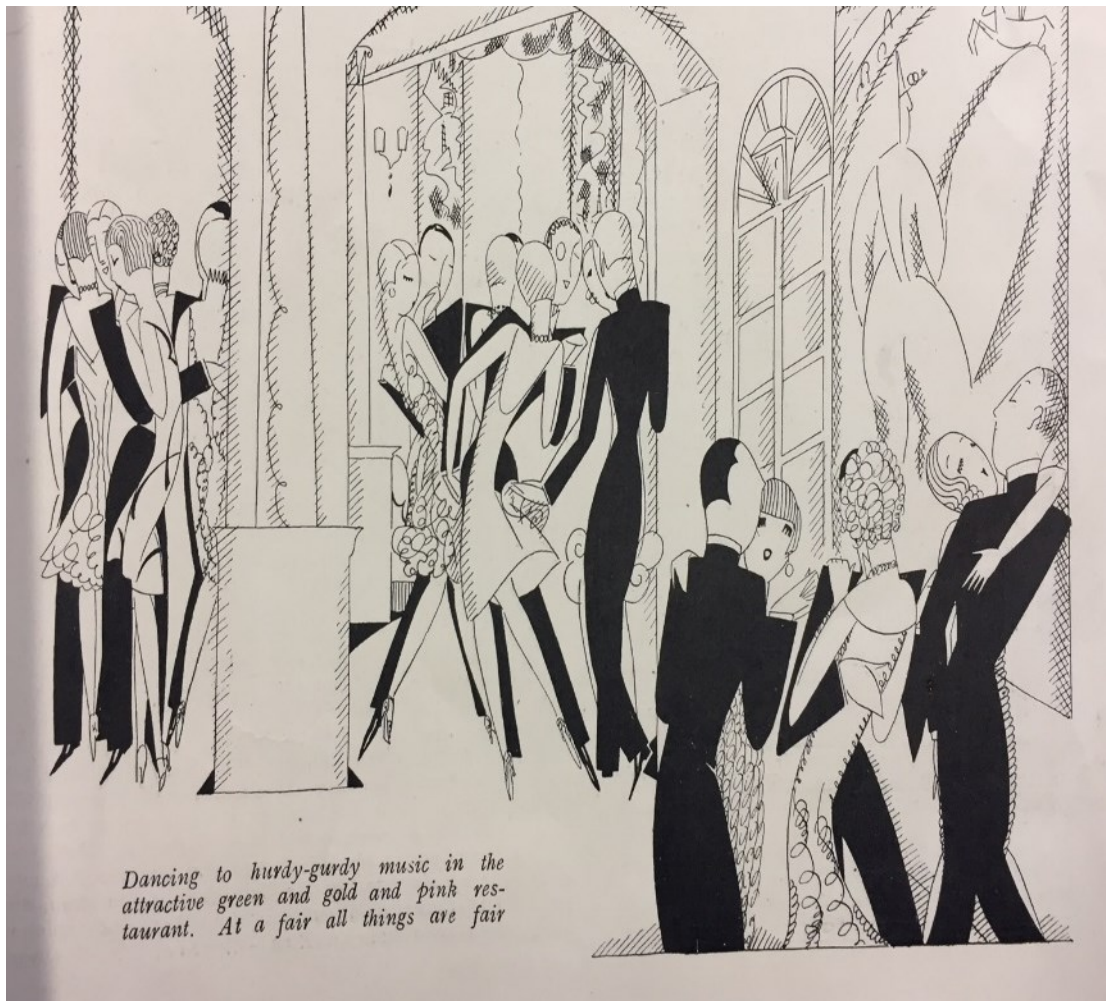


Figure 15: Boulestin's (Source: Eve, 1926:352)

For example, figure 15 shows Boulestin's (Eve, 1926:352) depicting dancers in vertiginous heels, their feet aligned with their legs. Faces are indistinct but eyes are large or with prominent eyelashes. The same article, figure 16, *Intelligenza* (Eve, 1926:353), shows young women's faces without noses, and cups and glasses are tiny in proportion to the people. It is stylised, aspirational modernity, that could not be created with photography.

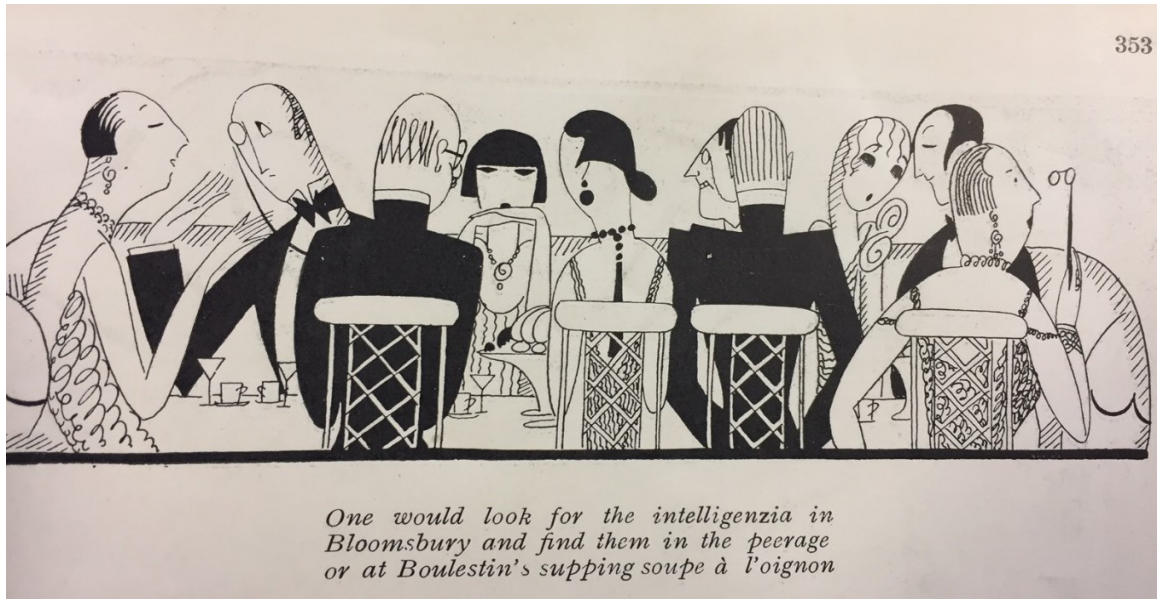


Figure 16: Intelligenza (Source: Eve, 1926:353)

A head on the right even resembles a Brancusi sculpture. Interestingly, a fashion feature shown in figure 17, *Head* (*Art Goût Beauté*, 1926:n.p.) in the English edition of *Art Goût Beauté* earlier that year featured a model holding just such a sculpted head.

Also in 1926, Man Ray photographed his muse Kiki De Montparnasse with a Brancusi head, shown in figure 18, *Kiki* (DazedDigital, 2016:online). Figure 19 shows Cocteau with mask, (AnotherMag, 2016:online) photographed by Berenice Abbott in 1927, which resembles a Brancusi head.



Figure 17: Head (Source: *Art Goût Beauté*, 1926:n.p.)



Figure 18: Kiki (Source: DazedDigital, 2016: online)

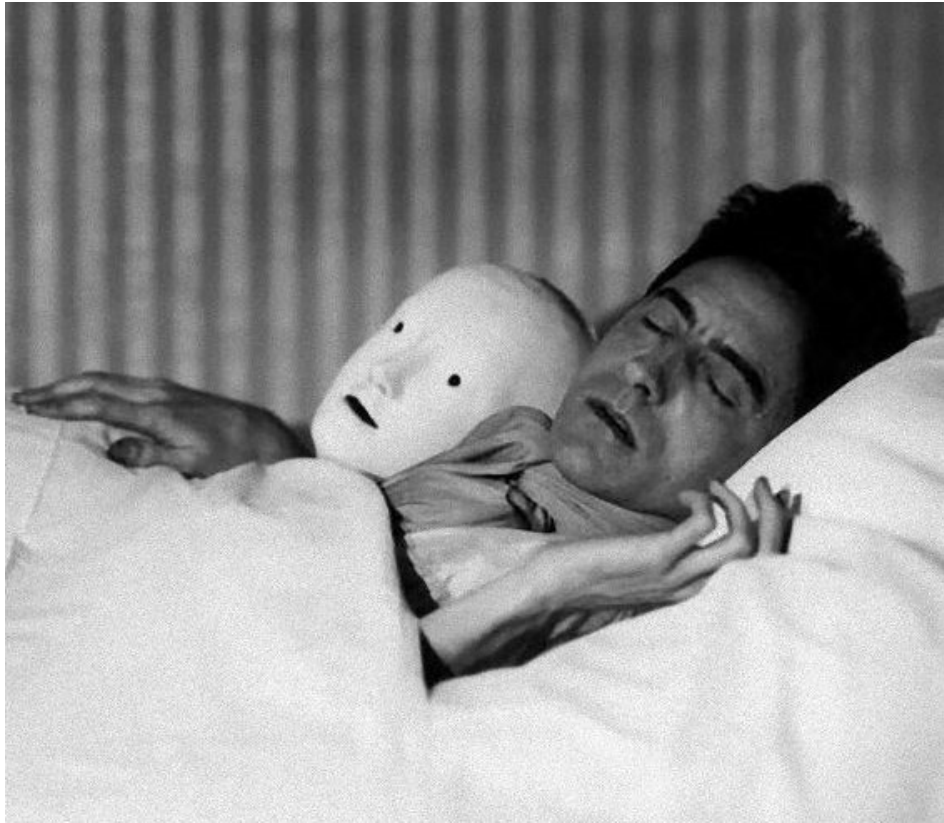


Figure 19: Cocteau with mask (Source: AnotherMag, 2016:online)

The illustrations in *Eve* show the magazine's awareness of the latest interests in the avant-garde.

In 1927, Beaton added a cutting to his scrapbook about the Marquise de Casa-Maury, saying she was 'more than ever like a beautiful statue' (Beaton, n.d.). Women certainly noticed the Brancusi look. In December 1926, *Vogue* suggested that women might physically want their heads to resemble a Brancusi, saying

The cleverest of masseurs cannot so transform the spacial (sic) relationships of women's features that their heads become as the heads of Brancusi (Partington, 1926:39).

Eve's depiction of women as actually having Brancusi-like heads was therefore much more avant-garde than simply holding the sculptures. As such it was copied by *La Revue de Femme* in 1927 (Figure 20: *La Revue* (Diktats, 2017:online), this time stylised with a cigarette, large rings and bangles. Other magazines, then, including those from Paris, were following *Eve's* lead.

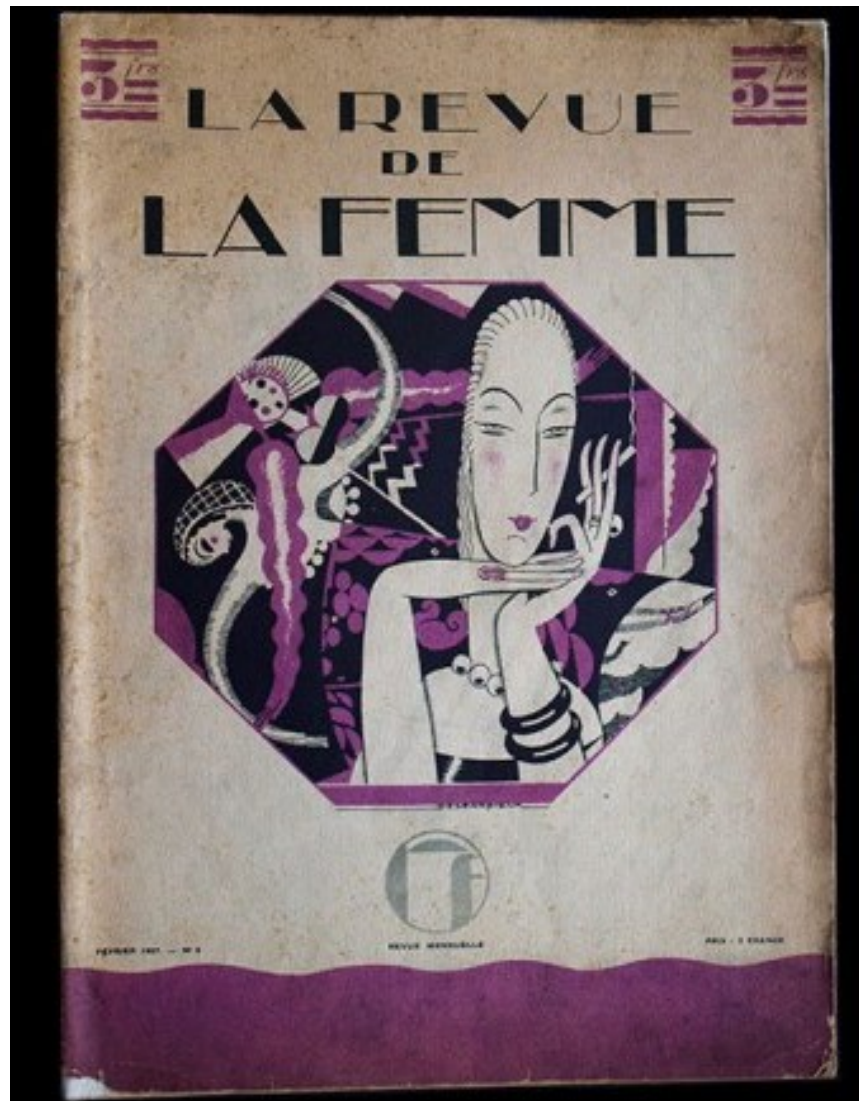


Figure 20: La Revue (Source: Diktats, 2017:online)

Other illustrations could take an artistic mien, such as figure 21, Powder Puff, (Eve, 1920:134) for the regular Powder and Puff article. In 1920, this illustration employed a recognisably art nouveau style in its depiction of the waves.

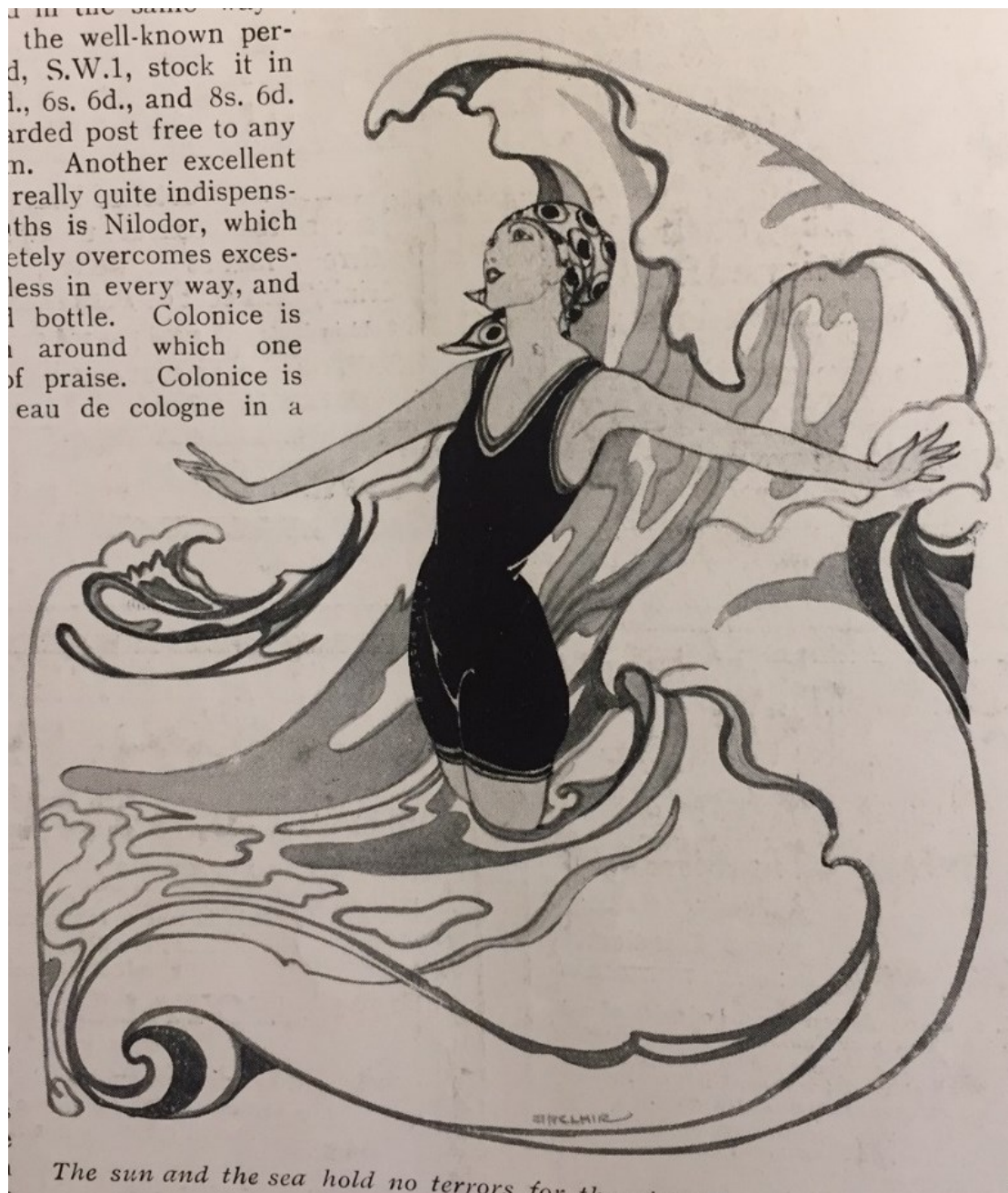


Figure 21: Powder Puff (Source: Eve, 1920:134)

Eight years later, a picture used to illustrate an article (Eve, 1928:407) still features a woman with a Brancusi-like head but the rest of the characters now resemble figures in an Otto Dix picture – the *Eve* style has clearly evolved from attractive art nouveau to the more shocking as seen in figure 22, *Dix Style* (Eve, 1928:407).

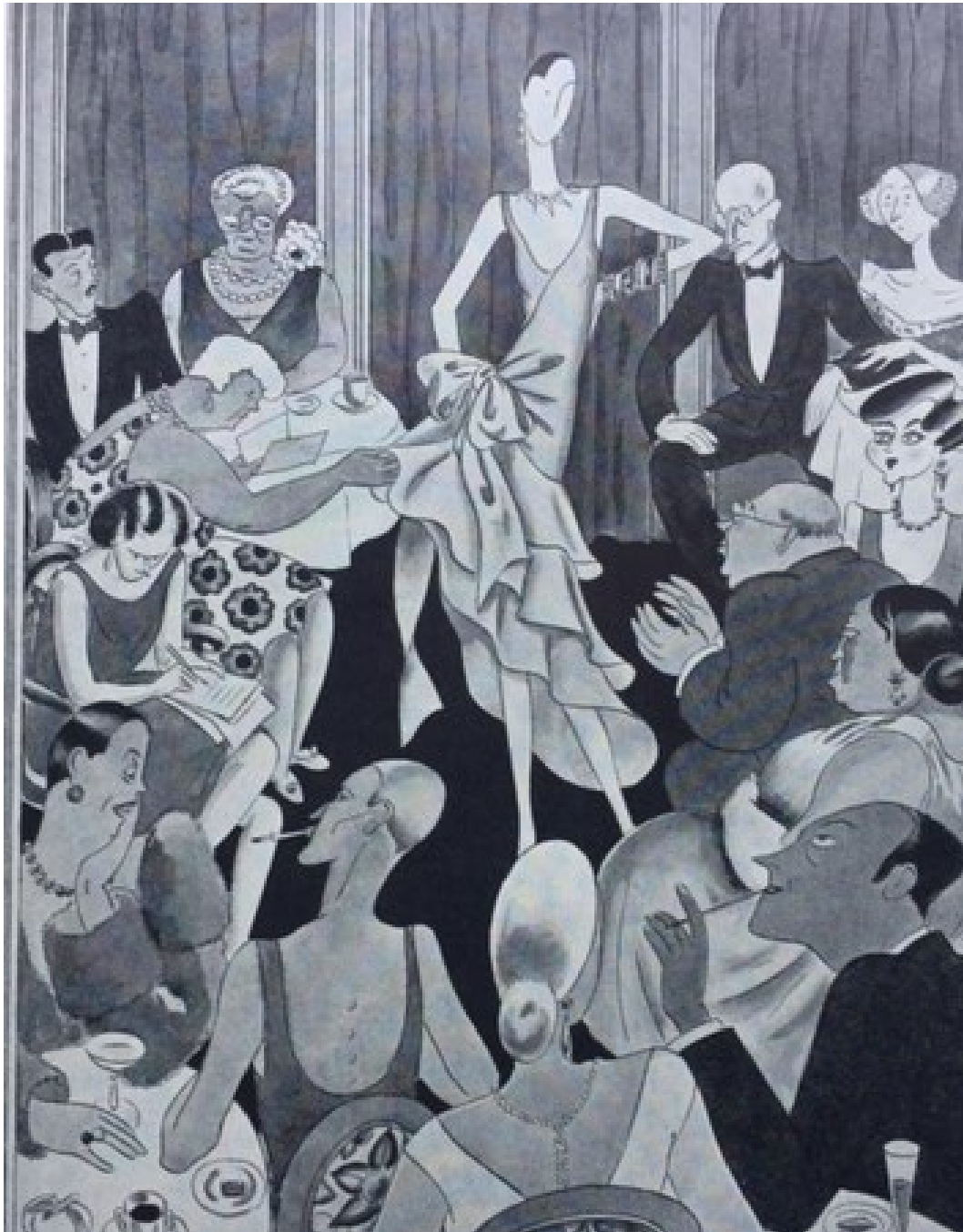
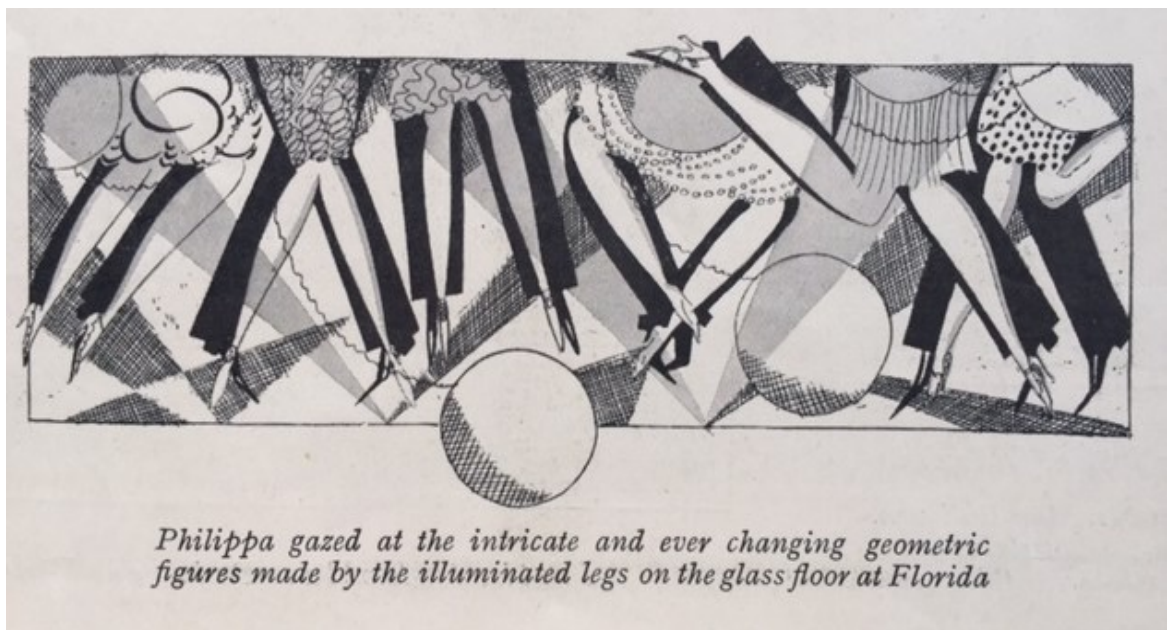


Figure 22: *Dix Style* (Source: Eve, 1928:407)

Other articles, such as the regular Nights Out feature also used artistic illustration, in one instance specifically drawing attention in the caption to geometric shapes created by dancers' illuminated legs, as seen in figure 23, *The Florida* (Eve, 1926:687).

Appearing after the London premiere, this picture also seems to be a reference to Diaghilev's English ballet, *Romeo and Juliet*¹⁵. During the entr'acte, dancers crossed the stage with the curtain partially lowered so only their legs were seen (Chadd and Gage, 1979:54). Breton caused a commotion at the premiere in May, (discussed on page 88), so readers would have known about it.



(Figure 23: *The Florida* (Source: Eve, 1926:687))

¹⁵ After the premiere in May 1926, a change to one dance was suggested and Constant Lambert was asked to provide music for a procession. Angry about the deleted scene, he refused and 'a sort of comic march-past...(without music)... in very dubious taste' (Lambert, cited in Chadd and Gage, 1979:54) was inserted, with the curtain partially lowered showing only the dancers' legs. The ballet premiered in London on June 21st and this feature appeared in *Eve* on June 30th. During rehearsals for this ballet, Diaghilev had become interested in Surrealism, sending Lifar and Kochno to a surrealist exhibition and hiring Ernst and Miró to work on sets and curtain for the ballet.

London shops seemed slow to adopt more artistic illustration. They continued to use basic illustration or photography for many years. Figure 24, Marshall & Snelgrove (Eve, 1922:D) is an example from 1922.

EVE The Lady's Pictorial

MARSHALL & SNELGROVE'S

LAST WEEK of SALE

Final Reductions.
Commencing next Monday.

24 only Model Fur Coats, of which one sketched is a typical example, in selected shagreen white coyote with insets of black monkey fur lined black satin de Chine. Original Price 69/6. Sale Price 29 Gns.

"DORIS."
Attractive Tea Frock in heavy Crêpe Delhi, bodice with neck trimmed self roses, and full skirt accordion pleated, finished taffeta sash. In several good shades. Usual Price £5 19/6. Sale Price 78/6

Practical Princess Petticoat in Japanese silk, cut on simple straight lines, trimmed with machine lace and hemstitching. Sale Price 21/9
In crêpe de Chine, in all pale shades. Sale Price 29/6

Brushed Wool Coat made from best quality yara in a new rib design, very soft and fleecy in texture. In a good range of new shades. Original Price 73/6. Sale Price 42/-

Patent Bar Buckle Brogue Shoe, as sketch, leather lined. Sale Price 18/9

Box Calf Lace Shoe, as sketch. 18/9

Remnant Day on Thursday.

MARSHALL & SNELGROVE
Vere St. and Oxford St., London, W.1

Figure 24: Marshall & Snelgrove (Source: Eve, 1922:D)

This contrasts sharply with advertisements for Parisian fashion houses or smaller concerns in London, which also appeared in *Eve*. These seemed more likely to understand the power of an artistically styled advertisement, and in some cases did not show clothes at all as figures 25, Camille Roger and figure 26, Premet, both (Eve, 1926:BB), figure 27, Ninette1, (Eve, 1924:H) and figure 28, Ninette2 (Eve, 1924:G) show.

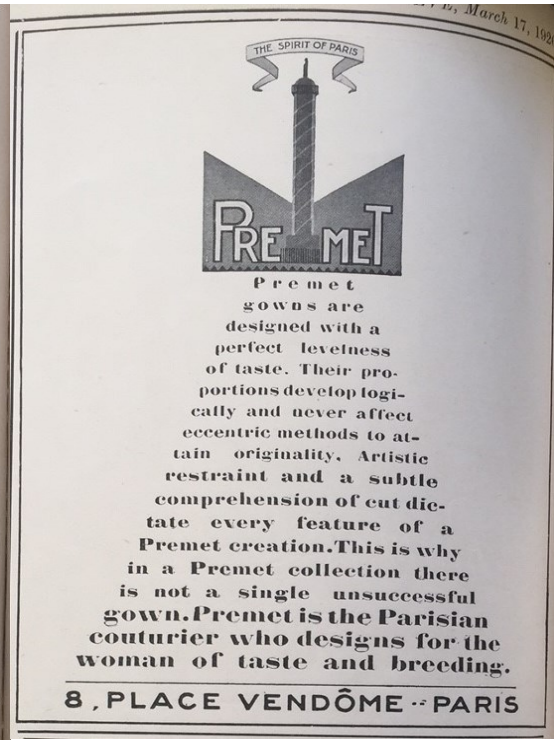
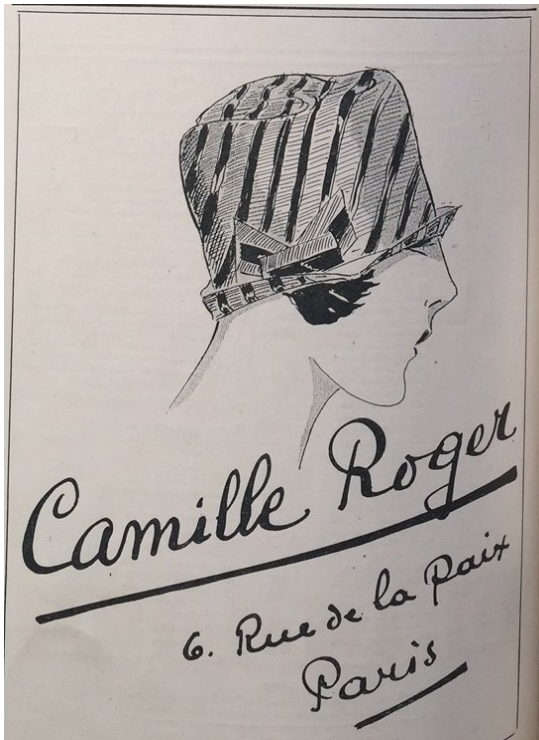


Figure 25: Camille Roger (Source: Eve, 1926:BB) Figure 26: Premet (Source: Eve, 1926:BB)



Figure 27: Ninette1 (Source: Eve, 1924:H)

Figure 28: Ninette2 (Source: Eve, 1924:G)

The potential for illustration to show a more attractive and enticing image is clear from the two Amy Linker advertisements placed in *Eve* in 1924 and 1926. The photograph in figure 30, Linker suit, (*Eve*, 1926:H) has a staid appearance by comparison with the attractive Amy Linker drawing. The composition of the stationary figure looks quite ordinary. The text speaks of ‘the verve put in the cut of this smart costume’, but it is difficult to appreciate any ‘verve’ compared to the earlier illustration in figure 29, Linker coat, (*Eve*, 1924:S). In this, the model appears elongated and has no legs or feet. She stands at a dynamic angle, impossible to replicate at that time with photography, due to long shutter speeds. The impression is of movement, slimness, a lithe and active figure in an exciting environment, displaying an attractive coat from the deck of a ship, further suggesting the excitement of travel.



Figure 29: Linker coat (Source: *Eve*, 1924:S) Figure 30: Linker suit (Source: *Eve*, 1926:H)

While *Eve* had no control over the advertisements placed in the magazine, the editorial copy strove to maintain an attractive vision of what life could be like for women with their use of illustration.

Advertisers chose magazines with a readership appropriate to their product (White, 1970:95). The spread of advertisements carried in *Eve*, from haute couture to beauty products suggests the diversity of *Eve's* readership. It is surprising that not all advertisers considered that artistic or interesting advertisements would appeal to women, especially in a magazine like *Eve*.

As this chapter has shown, *Eve* used recognised artistic styles in its illustration. A point of difference from other magazines was, for example, women having Brancusi heads rather than just holding them. Women appreciated this, as the *Vogue* comment about the desire for masseurs to recreate the appearance demonstrates. The overall effect of these illustrations will have contributed to a new and fun, yet still approachable, magazine for women to have art in their lives. Van Dongen and Foujita would have been the acceptable face of the avant-garde for *Eve* readers. Ironically, Picasso, Modigliani and Soutine believed the pair spent too much time in high society (Franck, 2002:xiv) but as readers did not know this, they were ideal for *Eve* to use. Their reported flashes of eccentricity would have made them exciting.

5 Lifestyle Modernism

The concept that Garafola termed lifestyle modernism (1998:115) was the bringing together of the many strands of modern culture, of which Cocteau was the main protagonist. This chapter will show that lifestyle modernism was a primary means by which the avant-garde gained influence. For those clamouring for the new and modern, it could affect almost every aspect of daily life and culture. A magazine such as *Eve*, with its articles on interiors, travel, fashion and entertainment was ideal to place this new set of aspirations before its readers. It will be shown that *Eve* translated this all-pervasive modernity into a reliable template for a desirable lifestyle.

5.1 Cocteau's influence

Garafola described Cocteau's 'new brand of modernism' of the twenties as 'replete with the accoutrements of modern living' (1998:115). Equating it with 'the new consumerist chic of the upper classes' (1998:115), she felt it had abandoned anything radical in modernism and now catered to urban sensibilities (Evans, 2013:5).

In fact, Cocteau had not deliberately abandoned the radical but had repositioned it with more mundane entertainments such as the circus and *bals-musettes*. It could be argued that lifestyle modernism appeared 'compromised and conservative' (Garafola, cited in Evans, 2013:55) because of the circumstances which created it. Cocteau had already begun to play with the idea of '...understanding just how far you can go too far'¹⁶ in January 1915, but attacks on the avant-garde forced him to highlight the reason and order in the avant-garde.

For Silver, Cocteau's was 'a middle road that sounds like the very definition of chic' (1989:46). The writer Raymond Mortimer felt he had '... a certainty of good taste that amounts to genius' (Mortimer, 1926:57). His ideas of simplification extended to fashion. Artist Clive Bell noted Cocteau saying 'What I propose... is to dispense with a style. Let us have style, instead of having a style.' Cocteau continued '...let us bother about having good stuff to our coat, rather than about putting smart patterns on it' (Cocteau, cited in Bell, 1924:52). Indeed, Cocteau noted the widespread influence of Mrs Reginald Fellowes' clothes, who he admired for wearing the same simple dress frequently, making other women feel overdressed (Hall, 1983:29). Some considered her the best-dressed woman in Europe for her apparently effortless yet sophisticated style (White, 1986:45). Such a simplification of style, if achieved, would be more all-encompassing than any passing trend and is in keeping with Cocteau wanting to 'become the orchestrator of a new, total art' (Franck, 2002:245).

¹⁶ '... comprendre jusqu'ou on peut aller trop loin'. Other sources translate this phrase slightly differently. Cocteau's biographer translates it as '... audacity consists in knowing how far one can afford to go too far' (Brown, 1969:13). *Vanity Fair* (Cocteau, 1922:61) translated it as 'Genius, in art, consists in knowing how far we may go too far'.

Amongst those who had seen Cubism as an attack on the old order was Robert Delaunay, husband of Sonia. Describing the pre-war period as an 'epoch of poor painting, hysterical, convulsive, destructive...' he condemned 'these Futurist [and] Cubist hoaxes ...[as] neither painting nor art' (1917, cited in Silver, 1989:150). Cocteau preferred to represent Cubism as a return to reason and order. Interestingly, later in the year that Cocteau had taken up the fight, Poiret was criticised in *La Résistance* for his supposed *boche* influences. Thus, as women's fashion progressed towards the utility and efficiency that fitted it for modern life, Cubism could inspire it and distance it from the oriental styles that were now criticised.

Nichols believes Cocteau 'absorbed, transformed, and tamed key Futurist precepts, laying the foundation for the [lifestyle modernism] trend' (2002:137) in his attempt to make the avant-garde acceptable to post-war France.

He introduced familiar elements of French entertainment into the avant-garde. In 1922, *Vanity Fair* noted that Cocteau favoured '...all the droll and homely aspects of the Parisian world – the music halls, the revues, and the bals-musettes' (Wilson, 1922:48). As he attempted to address the problem of the avant-garde art seeming less French, Blake suggests that *bals-musettes* were ideal to replace jazz clubs (1999:101). They were seen as traditionally French venues, with dancers in day-to-day clothing rather than dinner jackets and elegant backless frocks, drinking red wine rather than cocktails. Championed by Cocteau, this basic form of entertainment could be seen as avant-garde (1999:107). This was reinforced by the depiction of music-hall turns in avant-garde productions such as Cocteau's *Parade* in 1917, which included Satie's take on dance-hall music (Silver, 1989:116). Cocteau and others had always enjoyed the circus, often attending the *Médrano* in Paris, and admired cabaret artiste Mistinguett (Brown, 1969:21) and later Gaby Deslys' music-hall performances (1969:162). Considering the near-failure of *Vogue* due to its being seen as too high-brow in the mid-twenties (Reed, 2006:40), it seems that Cocteau's inclusion of low-brow entertainment into the avant-garde was well-timed.

Cocteau's position in the avant-garde had always been that of an outsider but he chose his contacts wisely (Franck, 2002:245), seeking the company of Cubists. Meanwhile Picasso and others now recognised Cocteau as a 'clever public relations

agent' (2002:250). In effecting the rapprochement discussed on page 12, by introducing Picasso to Diaghilev, Cocteau now had access to the avant-garde inner circle that fascinated him. However, he remained something of an outsider, disdained by proponents of the avant-garde (2002:251).

The public nevertheless saw him as 'the avant-garde incarnate' (Brown, 1968:202). There is plenty of evidence to suggest that people felt Cocteau brought a cachet to anything he did after the war. Clive Bell noted that 'It is still popularly supposed that Jean Cocteau is the last word in modernity' (1924:52) while *Vogue* declared him a genius (Mortimer, 1926:57). It was 'chic' to '...admire whatever Jean Cocteau wrote and, better yet, to have him as a dinner guest' (Brown, 1968:211). *Vogue* assured readers that *Le Boeuf sur le Toit* would succeed because of its association with Cocteau (Evans, 2013:221). In 1922, Eve was excited to report she had eaten at a new place on rue Duphot, (probably Cocteau's Bar Gaya, (Davis, 2006:211)) and 'Jean Cocteau was there with a few bright curly-headed youths and kindred spirits' (Eve, 1922:11). Mannin even mentions twice in her memoirs that she and her friends stayed at the Welcome Hotel in Villefranche specifically 'because Jean Cocteau had once stayed there' (1971:41,147).

For Tickner, something blurred the distinction between high and low culture, allowing popular entertainment such as music-hall to be subsumed into the avant-garde. Tickner suggests that '...works of art, and aesthetic programs were being constantly and reciprocally returned' (1997:n.p.). Mannin recalls that young women wanted to appear 'Bohemian' and enjoy entertainments such as theatre, ballet, music-hall, dancing and even eating scones (1971:72). This suggests that at the time, whatever you enjoyed could be 'Bohemian' or 'wildly modernist' (1971:34) if that was how you saw it. Cocteau, then, was the 'something' that partially undermined the division of high and low-brow to which Tickner refers.

Garafola considers that Cocteau's gift was his 'ability to appropriate the ideas of the avant-garde for essentially conservative ends' (1998:100) but this study shows that he did much more. He incorporated more mundane forms of entertainment into the avant-garde. For example, the 'turns' in *Parade* 'likened the ballet to a music-hall show' (Nichols, 2002:137).

Writing about Deslys and her partner in *Laisser-les-Tomber!* Cocteau said they

danced to this hurricane of rhythm and drumbeats of a kind of domesticated cataclysm which left them completely drunk and dazzled under the streaming glare of six air-raid searchlights. The house stood and applauded, roused from its torpor by this extraordinary number... (Cocteau, 1918, cited in Gardiner, 1986:152).

He is said to have seen parallels in this with avant-garde productions, for example the gun fire sounds in *Parade*, and frenetic dance movements, but *Laisser-les-Tomber!* was much more popular and gave Cocteau an insight into how avant-garde ideas might be conveyed.

It might seem, therefore, that Cocteau was ahead of his time in attempting to head off the criticism of the avant-garde as supposedly *boche* art forms. He deliberately distanced himself from the many artists who rallied to support Poiret, who suffered similar accusations in *La Résistance* (Silver, 1989:185). Perhaps Cocteau felt himself now representing something quite different.

North feels that by 1922, *Vanity Fair* combined the avant-garde with the ordinary in what Weiss (cited in North, 1999:153) termed 'music-hall modernism'. *Vanity Fair* dealt in the 'sensation of being up-to-date and in-the-know, a sensation that peculiarly combines elitism and commonality' (North, 1999:153). *Vanity Fair's* merging of attitude and the ordinary can be seen paralleled in Mannin's idea of sitting viciously, discussed in section 5.2. 'Music-hall modernism' fits Cocteau's concept equally well, particularly as evidenced in *Parade*. Cocteau's ideas, then, seem to have found credence in *Vanity Fair*.

Cocteau was mentioned in *Eve* a mere handful of times, a notable occasion being in 1926, when a picture of Cocteau with Diaghilev taken at the premiere of *Le Train Bleu* in 1924 featured (see figure 31, Diaghilev, (Eve, 1926:427). Nonetheless, his concept can be traced through *Eve* without attribution to him. The public were to be beguiled by the introduction of the avant-garde into everyday life, in ignorance of Cocteau's influence.

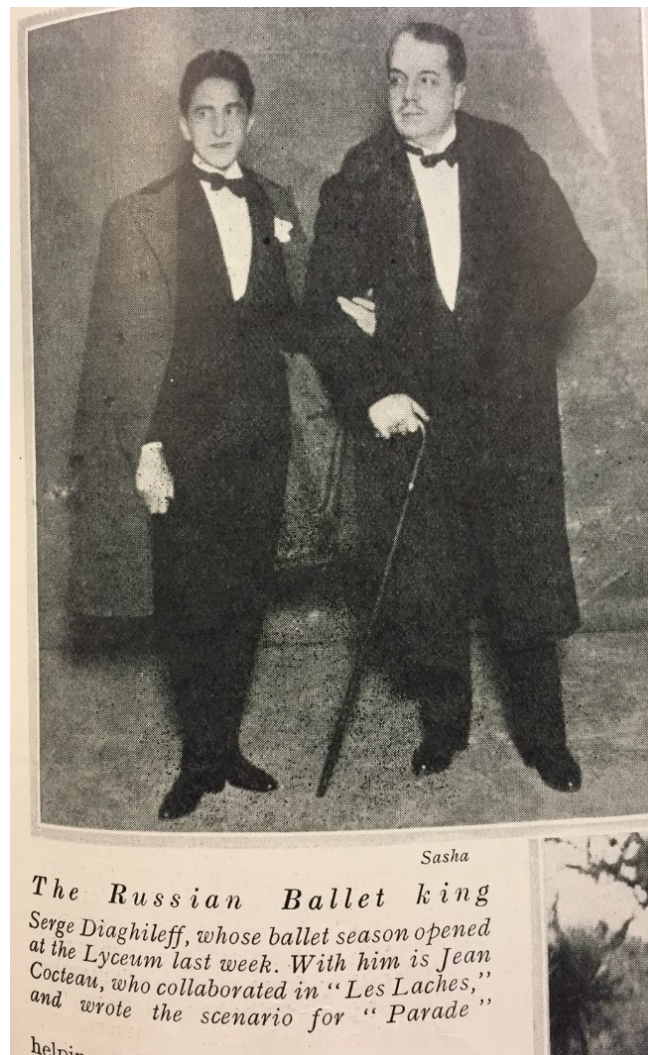


Figure 31: Diaghilev (Source: Eve, 1926:427)

Cocteau's modernism was art 'now assuming a humble utilitarian role of life-style enhancement' (Taruskin, n.d.:n.p.). Cocteau may have made a necessitous move to rescue the avant-garde from the accusations of *boche* art, but he also envisaged a complete lifestyle. For example, in 1922, he spoke of wanting music he could 'live in', rather than listen to on occasion (Cocteau, 1922:61). In the same article, he suggested that Satie was capable of the greatest audacity, namely simplicity. Indeed, Taruskin includes Satie's experimental *Furniture Music*, intended as background music, as being encompassed in the term (2013:935). Here, then, was Cocteau's goal of a life immersed in art.

Insofar as Levenson's concept of gestural modernism introduced the public to 'signs of another way of life' provided by artists, the response that the avant-garde received was a fresh attitude of daring.

Crow's belief that the avant-garde could be reduced to a 'research and development arm for the culture industry', as discussed, may have some truth. However, in this instance it was not that aspects of the avant-garde were adopted by the culture industry. Rather, the culture industry was re-packaged by Cocteau under a modernist or avant-garde banner, such that these elements became accessible to a wider audience. This was understood and grudgingly accepted at the time, as suggested by Ezra Pound in 1922. He noted that, at Cocteau's *Bar Gaya*, impromptu 'cake-walk' dancing was accompanied by Cocteau

...hammering the piano lid with his drumsticks; the elderly art critic (aesthetics *à la* 1892) tries to look as if he enjoyed it; the two editors of high-brow art magazines huddle near the door and try to look as if the cost of their soda-water didn't worry them (Pound, 1922:49).

5.2 The Ordinariness of London Life

....there is no denying it, London is dull (Eve, 1919:43).

As seen, Cocteau's influence in advancing the cause of the avant-garde and modernism is unmistakable. However, as this section will demonstrate, he was helped by the conditions prevailing in England and the pre-war work of the English avant-garde. While dissatisfaction with London life lingered in the English mind, a fully rounded picture of what life could be, incorporating more than just fashion, could be co-opted to alleviate it. It will be shown that *Eve*, especially in the persona of Eve, presented the concept of lifestyle modernism to readers, and that the ordinariness of London life was seen as a core value of being avant-garde.

In 1919, in only the second issue, *Eve* expressed her *ennui* with London. Nancy Cunard moved to Paris in January 1920, having been advised by Wyndham Lewis and Pound that she would be happier with life there (Mackrell, 2013:77). Pound wrote in 1922 that there was nothing new in London, so '...therefore, Paris is pleasanter than London' (1922:49). The avant-garde life of London was much changed after the war and it may well be that '...something was lost... and certainly lost to London' (Brooker, 2007:9). Pre-war London had been a hot-bed for avant-garde ideas and groups that, by 1918, had 'vanished forever... Vorticism was virtually forgotten' (Brooker, 2007:12). *Eve* recognised this in 1920, asking

Did you ever wonder where the Bohemians have gone now that the Café Royal is not quite the brain-storm-centre it was? (Eve, 1920:159).

Generally, *Eve* found London enjoyable, but travelling to Paris and the south of France remained a frequent distraction. *Eve* told readers that everyone took frequent short trips on the boat train rather than one longer trip (Eve, 1926:390). This will have reinforced the connection between the new pleasure of travel, particularly to Paris, where artistic society and Bohemianism were believed to thrive.

Brooker (2007:31) notes Arthur Symons in 1918, when asked where London's Latin Quarter was, remarking that it did not exist. This same quote by Symons appeared in *Vanity Fair* in 1915 -

there is no instinct in the Englishman to be companionable *in public*... for the café is responsible for a good part of Bohemianism in Paris and we have no cafés (Symons, 1915:47).

As this appeared in 1915, rather than 1918 as Brooker suggests, there is a question over Cork's assertion that

Cafés were a crucial part of a London artist's life during this exceptionally lively period: they served as informal forums where rebellious young painters could encounter other members of the avant-garde and debate the latest developments in a rapidly changing innovative momentum (1985:217).

Nevertheless, if Cork is right, perhaps the likes of the ABC Restaurants and Lyons Coffee Houses filled the void, despite Symons not seeing in them the Parisian cachet of a *La Rotonde*, or *Le Dôme*. Other venues favoured by artists included the Café Royal, the British Museum Teashop and the Sceptre Tavern and Chop House (Brooker, 2007:96), where Wyndham Lewis and Pound were regulars. These cheaper venues offered tea and cake, or perhaps scrambled eggs on toast which Brooker terms 'dainty English ordinariness' (2007:114). It may be that English tastes were more ordinary, making Parisian mores seem exotic and exciting, but these coffee houses had their Bohemian attractions. As manifestations of 'English ordinariness', they gave rise to avant-garde one-upmanship, with Wyndham Lewis 'blasting'¹⁷ Lyons Coffee Houses, the preferred haunt of artist David Bomberg (Brooker, 2007:114), in his avant-garde magazine *Blast* in 1914. The coffee houses were therefore associated with the English avant-garde. Other manifestations of ordinariness listed by Wyndham Lewis included George Robey, a popular music-hall comedian, the Gaiety Girls and Gaby Deslys, all blessed in *Blast* (Tickner, 1997:n.p.)

¹⁷ Blast was the Vorticist publication first produced by Wyndham Lewis in 1914, with a second and final edition in 1915. Lists of people and things either blessed or blasted appeared in the 1914 edition. Nancy Cunard and Iris Tree pored over it, noting the blessing of music-hall. Cunard was particularly pleased to see her mother's lover, Sir Thomas Beecham, blasted (Mackrell, 2013:67).

Beaton's *Vogue* cutting of 1927 advised readers that a more daring and 'Bohemian' venue was the Cave of Harmony. It was all a matter of attitude, as even somewhere Bohemian like the Cave served tea (n.d.:n.p). There, as Mannin relates, she and a friend, 'viciously sat, with our pot of tea and our toasted scone, *smoking* in public...' (1971:72). *Eve* devoted two pages to the Cave in December 1927, saying it was owned by Elsa Lanchester who had fashioned it with 'typical Bohemian ingenuity', employing fellow actress Kathleen Hale to decorate a refreshment room. It was inexpensive and staged plays by Cocteau. H G Wells, Charles Laughton and Arnold Bennett were regulars (Eve, 1927:693). The impression of going to a club was that it would introduce attendees to a Bohemian and artistic experience, with a chance of seeing someone famous.

The attitude at the Eiffel Tower restaurant was Parisian - an 'experiment of bringing Paris to London' (Brooker, 2007:129). Regulars who could not afford the prices might benefit from being subsidised by more affluent but unsuspecting customers. In this, it resembled some Parisian haunts which supported poor artists, such as Rosalie's (Franck, 2002:209) or Marie Wassilieff's Cantine in Montparnasse (Wiser, 1983:9).

It seems, then, that the English were conscious of the ordinariness of their lives by comparison with life in Paris. For Mannin, as discussed, this was countered by doing things with attitude, like sitting 'viciously'. As she notes, 'we were conscientiously rebels' (1971:32). Something as basic as a toasted scone, 'English ordinariness' for Brooker, could be avant-garde if eaten with a rebellious attitude.

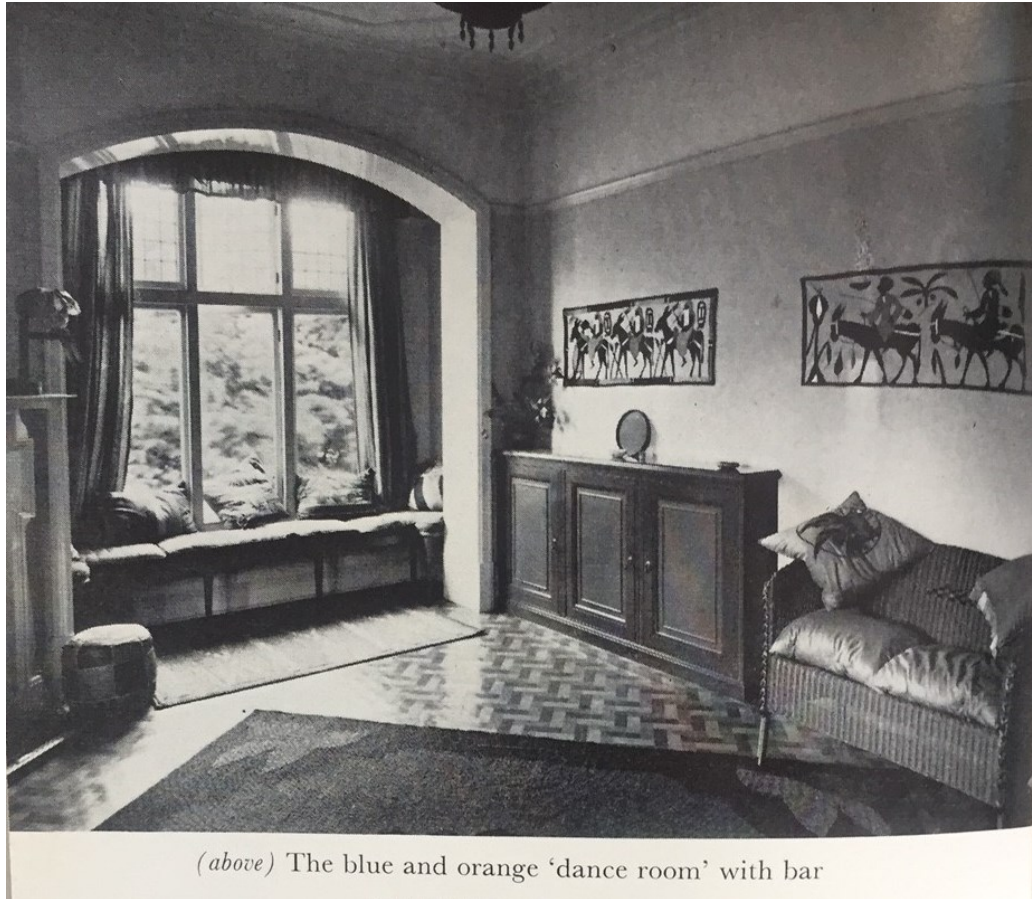
As seen, Cocteau was responsible for the introduction of less high-brow entertainment into what could pass as avant-garde or modern. However, he had been preceded in England by Wyndham Lewis, who had included music-hall turns in his lists to be blessed in *Blast* in 1914 alongside the blasting of Lyons Coffee Houses. It seems likely, then, that 'English ordinariness' influenced what is now called lifestyle modernism. As such, it must have assisted the passage of the mundane into the avant-garde, at least in the English perception.

5.3 Interior Design

Before the war, some artists, such as those in the Omega Workshops and *Wiener Werkstätte* felt their art should extend to more than just pictures. These groups included artists who created ceramics, homeware and clothing. Others followed suit. Poiret had been in contact with artists Koloman Moser and Gustav Klimt in 1905. Their interior design could have influenced Poiret when he opened his Parisian salon, Martine, for soft furnishings and textiles in 1911 (Stern, 2004:11). Wyndham Lewis had already created interiors for society women such as Emerald Cunard and Lady Drogheda (Cork, 1985:201). The Daily Mail asked Gore, Fry and Wyndham Lewis to create a Post-Impressionist room for the 1913 Ideal Home Exhibition (Cork, 1985:139), so it is clear that artistic influence, including the new and unusual, in interior decoration was already popular.

The Ideal Home Exhibition became an annual event from 1920 and Eve spoke of visiting it in 1922 (Eve, 1922:331). Interior design became a full-time occupation for some affluent women such as Syrie Maugham, wife of the writer Somerset Maugham. She understood that, unlike before the war, clients now wanted their homes to be talked about (Grey, 1984:69). Before the war, furniture was chosen once and made to last, but modern interiors were to reflect lifestyle and might therefore change frequently.

Styles and colour schemes associated with jazz became popular. Mannin had a blue and orange 'dance room' with a matching gramophone and bar in 1925, shown in figure 32, Dance Room, (Mannin, 1971:45). This was 'really modish' as 'modernity was cube-shaped and jazz-patterned' (1971:74). She felt 'the influence of Cubism on the furnishing and decoration of the home was considerable' (1971:75).



(above) The blue and orange 'dance room' with bar

Figure 32: Dance Room (Source: Mannin, 1971:45)

In 1928, Mannin wrote in *Eve* that painted walls meant 'we no longer need sacrifice the artistic to the utilitarian'. Eccentricity was now to be avoided and 'the jazz effects, so striking and amusing at a night club', were less popular in the home with more restful ambience sought. She admitted 'I know! I have just scrapped an orange and blue dance room and converted it into a sitting-room'. Anyone wanting to be artistic had used yellow or orange and blue but now other colours were deemed 'more artistic and less "arty"' (Mannin, 1928:336-337).

Amidst great publicity, Spinely modelled in the bathroom that she and Poiret designed (Troy, 2003:85). In the second issue, *Eve's* sunken bath 'just like Spinely's by Poiret, all gold and mosaic and black marble' (*Eve*, 1919:45) was discussed. As a popular actress, mention of Spinely instantly evoked the glamour of the theatre.

Hence the article links art and fashion with interior design and the decorative arts, playing with the idea of a total lifestyle for *Eve* herself. *Eve's* own bathroom is decorated in an avant-garde style; the black marble creates soft edges and is

illustrated in the style of Aubrey Beardsley, as can be seen in figure 33, Bathroom (Eve, 1919:45). The similarity with Spinelly's bathroom, reinforced in the text, shows the extent to which women in the public eye were of interest not just for their clothes, but their homes too. Davis describes Spinelly's bathroom as 'sumptuous' with 'elaborate mosaic tiling' (2006:35), as is clear in figure 34, Spinelly's Sink (Blogberth, n.d.:online) from 1920. The view in Spinelly's mirror shows that the bathroom had a curved ceiling similar to Eve's bathroom.



Figure 33: Bathroom (Source: Eve, 1919:45)



Figure 34: Spinelly's Sink (Source: Blogberth, n.d.:online)

Modern interiors appeared in illustrations where they were not the main point of interest, again hinting at a complete lifestyle. For example, figure 35, Sink, (Eve, 1925:456) is from a regular beauty article, *My Face Is My Fortune*, from 1925. The model is beautifully coiffed, dressed and made-up, and her surroundings are modern and eye-catching. Her sink is shiny and angular with sharp corners in art deco style, and the taps are stylised birds heads, not dissimilar to the Brancusi head discussed earlier. Artistic influence thus remains to the fore.



Figure 35: Sink (Source: Eve, 1925:456)

Eve gave readers ideas on what modern design could offer, perhaps just showing ‘this unusual chair’ in an article otherwise about lighting, (figure 36, unusual chair (Eve, 1928:657)) or suggesting an ochre, orange and chestnut colour scheme as in figure 37, *Harmony*, (Eve, 1929:706) from 1929. The illustration includes the latest art deco tea set in the foreground. *Eve* took care not to exclude readers, including a column by Elizabeth Ashley called *Living in a Single Room*, which it acknowledged might be necessary for matters of cost (1928:144).



Figure 36: Unusual Chair (Source: Eve, 1928:657)



Figure 37: Harmony (Source: Eve, 1929: 706)

This interest in interior design contributed to a modernism that was to encompass most areas of domestic life. In showing interior decoration, fashion and lifestyle, *Eve* was presenting a complete package of modernity for readers to emulate.

5.4 Ballet

Along with interiors, Taruskin (2013:935) equates two particular ballets with lifestyle modernism for their lack of story-line and portrayal of superficial characters, emphasising the vacuous lives of the rich. Cocteau wrote *Le Train Bleu* in 1924 featuring the rich arriving at the newly-fashionable French Riviera on the train. *Eve* noted that 'everyone is flying South on the Blue Train' (Eve, 1925:89)¹⁸ which shows that readers were expected to be familiar with the train. Diaghilev's *Les Biches* (*The Houseparty* in London) appeared in the same year, and 'was the very essence of that unique period' (Beaton, 1951:29), with its house-party setting and fashionable costumes. Indeed, Beaton felt it captured the vacuousness of the period in a way that his contemporaries did not recognise. Taruskin notes both ballets featured a leisured lifestyle, catering for a newly defined aristocratic taste. The rich enjoyed seeing their lifestyles reflected back at them, making lifestyle modernism 'art deposed, with a vengeance, from its pedestal', purely now intended for 'lifestyle-enhancement' (2013:935). Cocteau is pictured with *Le Train Bleu* dancers Nijinska, Dolin, Wolzиковski and Sokolova in figure 38, *Le Train Bleu*, (TheRedList, n.d.:online).

¹⁸ Agatha Christie later featured it in a 1928 novel, *The Mystery of the Blue Train*.



Figure 38: Le Train Bleu (Source :TheRedList, n.d.:online).

At their inception, both the *Ballets Russes* and *Ballets Suédois* were seen as avant-garde. The *Ballets Russes*, ‘at once stylish and scandalous’ (Silver, 1989:113), appeared in Paris in 1909. Over time, several especially memorable *Ballets Russes* productions garnered much publicity, keeping the ballet at the forefront of the public mind. Diaghilev was ever-keen to do for his audience what he demanded of Cocteau – ‘*étonne-moi*’ (astonish me) (Brown, 1969:90).

Before the war, the oriental theme of the set and costumes of *Schéhézade* caused a sensation that extended well beyond the ballet itself. The *Sacré du Printemps* and *L’Après Midi d’un Faune* also caused outrage which many believed was stage-

managed by Diaghilev. In Paris, *L'Après Midi* was booed by the audience, while Diaghilev encouraged the orchestra to keep playing¹⁹.

In 1920, 'a rival of the Russian ballet, but more modern in spirit' (Man Ray, 2012:238) appeared. Under Walter de Maré, the *Ballets Suédois* grew in popularity across Europe, spurring Diaghilev on to greater novelty as he sought to maintain the interest of patrons and audience alike. The two companies used designers and composers from the same artistic circle, for example the Delaunays, Cendrars, Milhaud and Léger; competition was fierce.

The *Ballets Suédois* also sought to cause a sensation. For example, in 1924, Satie and Picabia worked on *Relâche*, a Dadaist ballet. The publicity stunt arranged by de Maré for the opening night caused an uproar in Paris²⁰. Evidently de Maré could create publicity for his productions too.

There are lots of references to the *Ballets Russes* in *Eve*, for example to *Le Train Bleu*. The ballet premiered in Paris in June and Eve remarked that 'all the celebrated diamonds and pearls of the capital were present' (Eve 1924:374). The following week, six pictures of dresses worn to the premiere featured, as well as a picture of Mlle Errazuriz at the ballet in a 'novel plaid manteau' (Roberts, 1924:420). Such references were not to the ballet itself, and would not enlighten a reader about it.

¹⁹ *Schéhérazade* came to London in 1911 and was felt to have erotic dancing. It initiated a demand for oriental-inspired clothing (Schouvaloff, 1997:63).

L'Après Midi d'un Faune caused a riot in Paris due to the choreography appearing to show a lewd act. This may have been toned down for London as the ballet was well-received, with *the Times* reporting 'his last action when he lies down to dream beside the scarf...extraordinarily expressive'.

The *Sacré du Printemps (Rite of Spring)* caused disquiet for its subject-matter which showed a young girl dancing herself to death in front of village elders. It was considered to have violent music, a brutal story and stark choreography and harsh sets. At the premiere in Paris in 1913, Valentine Gross said 'people shouted insults, howled and whistled, drowning the music. There was slapping and even punching' (Chadd and Gage, 1979:22).

²⁰ Wisner explains that 'the title itself was a pun: *relâche* meaning the theatre is temporarily closed'. As a publicity stunt, the theatre was closed on the advertised first night, causing the audience to attempt to break in (1983:140).

Roe (2018:163) suggests the closure was not deliberate, saying the premiere was delayed several times with audiences left outside the theatre, sometimes waiting until 11pm. However, this was due to Borlin being ill and other operational problems. The effect on the audience would have been the same.

More general information was provided in articles such as figure 39: Diaghileff (Eve, 1927:608) but there was no serious discussion or review. The article is primarily illustration and cartoon. *Le Train Bleu* prompted figure 40: Dolin (Eve, 1924:206), just one part of a full page of pictures of various productions in Paris at that time. Most mentions concerned premieres, season ends or specific dancers.

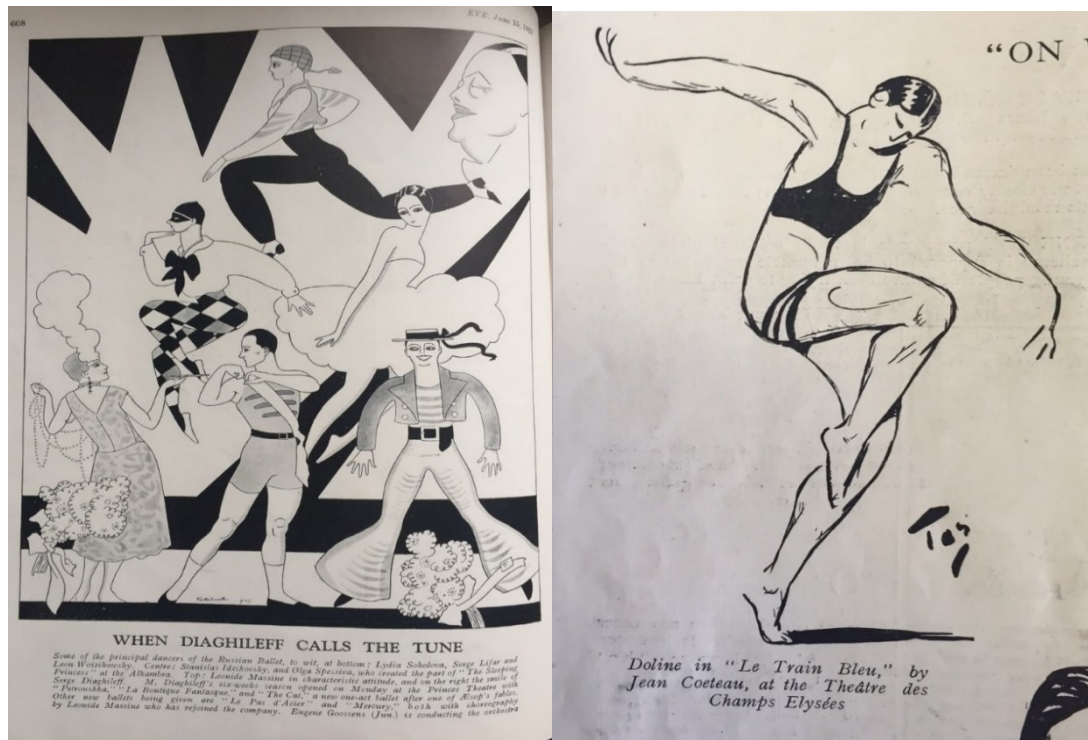


Figure 39: Diaghileff (Source: Eve, 1927:608) Figure 40: Dolin (Source: Eve, 1924:206)

The *Ballets Russes* audience consisted of 'socialites, industrialists, financiers, artists, writers and demi-mondaines; this was a stylish mix of personalities and professions', which gave it 'cultural cachet' (Davis, 2006:16). *Eve* featured the culture selectively, so readers felt they and their magazine were 'in the know' without feeling out of their depth, as Cocteau had sensed them before the war. Perhaps *Eve* perceived the ballet audience to be more interested in being seen than seeing, so there was no need to devote space to discussion of the ballet. As the *Ballets Russes* was an accepted part of the cultural landscape after the war, it served *Eve's* purpose of being both more accessible yet still recognisably avant-garde.

The only post-war shock came in 1926, at the premiere of *Romeo and Juliet* in Paris. Breton and Aragon, objecting to the collaboration of fellow Surrealists Ernst and Miró with what they still considered a *bourgeois* Right Bank institution, threw pamphlets and insulted the audience, disrupting the performance (Franck, 2002:444).

In 1921, Eve commented that the *Sacré du Printemps* had returned and

one wonders how, in 1913, it was received so ill – received by the same, or almost the same – audience *des tout premières* in Paris (Eve, 1921:11).

Eve also had fond recollections of *Parade*, contrasting with its poor reception in 1917, calling it ‘that latest mad thing, *Parade*; grimly sombre, elfishly gay...the humour of cynical worldlings’ (Eve, 1919:43).

In 1920, Eve went to see the *Ballets Suédois*, but she made little comment about the ballet itself, beyond comparison with the *Ballet Russes*, saying

this is *autre chose* than the brutal, flamboyant appeal of the Russian ballet... that dazzles and almost stuns, with its often barbaric beauty (Eve, 1920:405).

There was no secret about wanting to ogle the attractive male dancer, Borlin, as illustrated in figure 41: Borlin (Eve, 1920:407). Her comments make the ballet seem entirely accessible.

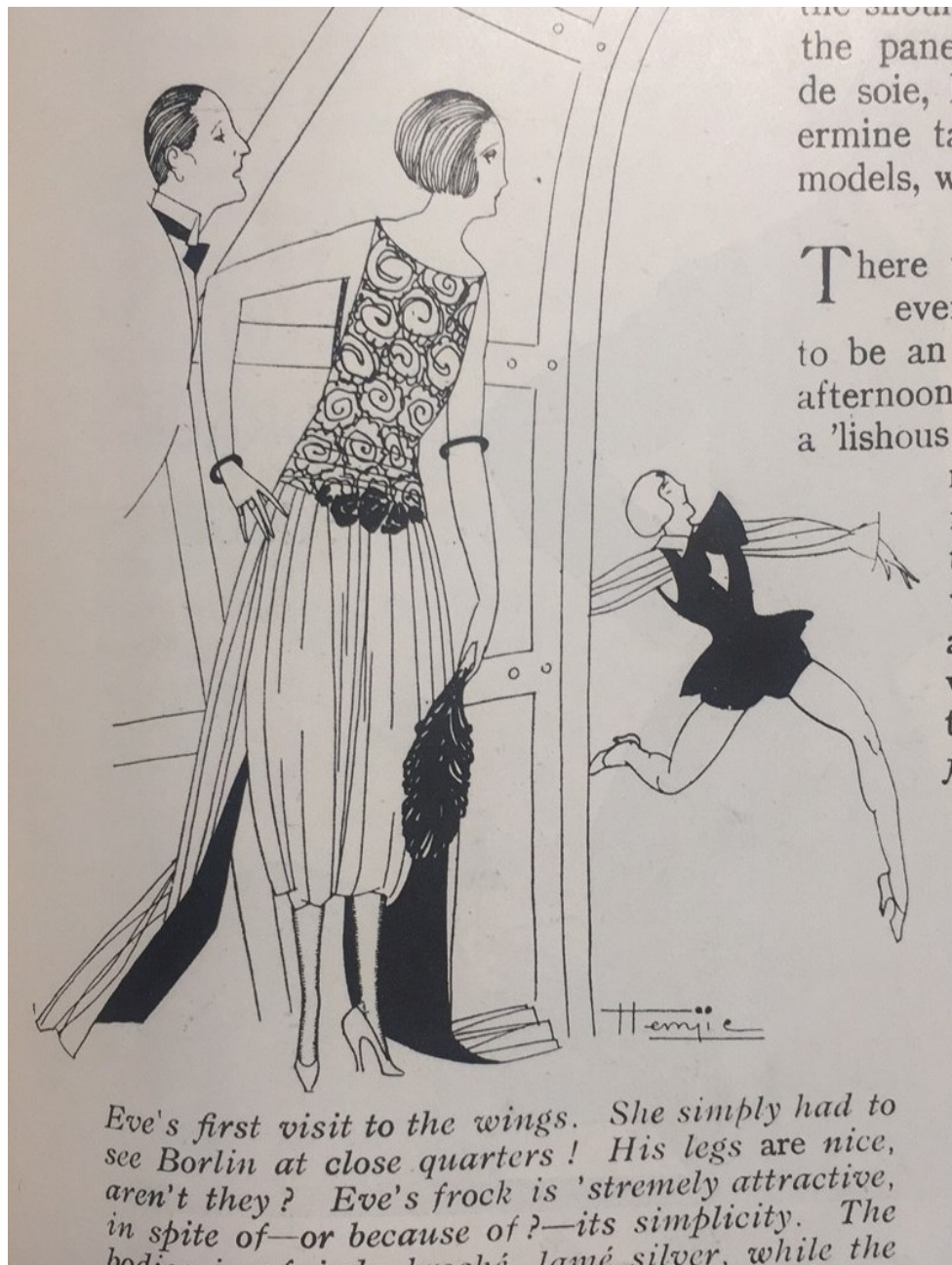


Figure 41: Borlin (Source: *Eve*, 1920:407)

Eve therefore helped to popularise a cultural phenomenon previously limited to the *bourgeois*, by suggesting that there was now nothing to fear from a ballet that had once caused outrage. Enjoyment of the ballet could legitimately owe as much to handsome dancers as to understanding the spectacle. *Eve* was helping Cocteau to render the ballet more accessible than when audiences had felt out of their depth.

5.5 Clubs and Dancing

As well as the ballet, for many the period was characterised by dance crazes. In the very first issue, Eve exclaimed ‘Dancing!...The great craze, the all-ruling, all enveloping cult of the moment’ (Eve, 1919:4). Mannin recalls that life ‘was dominated by the ‘dancing craze – the tea-dances, and dinner-dances, the night-clubs...’ (1971:31). Stravinsky wrote a ragtime piece in 1918 and *Parade* featured a Steamboat Ragtime section. Gaby Deslys’ second show in Paris had a jazz score and English lyrics. Irene Castle had brought the first tango performances to Paris before the war and danced at fashion shows (Evans, 2013:53). Paris was in the grip of American and jazz influence (Nichols, 2002:113-123); as Pound noted, ‘The French are...enlivening themselves with the discovery of America’ (1922:49). Poet William Carlos Williams, dining with Soupault and the composer Antheil, said ‘we talked of America, of which all Frenchmen are secretly jealous’ (Williams, 1967:213). Jazz was American, but its roots were seen as African. Consequently, dancing to music with a link to *art-nègre* was associated with the avant-garde. Brassai believed the craze reached its peak in 1925 when Baker performed with the American Negro Dance Company (1976:n.p).

Dancing took place almost anywhere, even between courses at restaurants, as well as at clubs (Mannin, 1971:31). Many dance floors were too small to allow much movement. In Paris this led

hordes of elegant society neurotics... avid to throw themselves – quite literally – into the arms of handsome, athletic Senegalese, Antillan, Guinean, or Sudanese men (Brassai, 1976:n.p.)

at Le Bal Nègre nightclub in Paris. Brassai saw this as ‘hysterical sorcery’ (1976:n.p). The likes of Foujita, Van Dongen, Picasso and Cocteau became regulars (Bouvet and Durozoi, 2010:392). Figure 42 by SEM, Bal Nègre, (Bouvet and Durozoi, 2010:392) shows the club in 1928.



Figure 42 : Bal Nègre (Source: Bouvet and Durozoi, 2010:392)

Like Paris, London was ‘full of dance-clubs’ (Bystander, 1920:87), with the club of choice depending on the circles one moved in. Beaton kept cuttings from October 1927, probably from *Vogue*, calling *Ciro’s* ‘the playground of the sophisticated’, with ‘amusing people in amusing new clothes’ (Beaton, n.d:n.p.). Davis notes it attracted an avant-garde clientele (2006: 221).

The Ham Bone was ‘quite chronically Bohemian’, suitable for those who were ‘young, artistic, unconventional, and, in general, what we liked to call ‘Bohemian’’ (Mannin, 1971:32). *The Bystander* concurred, writing in 1923 that those who wanted to be thought Bohemian could be found ‘sitting hunched against the wall at the Ham Bone Club’ alongside ‘the real species, rather piano and overwhelmed by the false’ (Seale, 1923:903). Mannin set her 1926 novel *Sounding Brass* in the Bacon Rind, based on the Ham Bone, and featured the Bacon Rind in a short story for *Eve* a year later. The story referred to two types of club, pseudo-society and pseudo-Bohemian, the only difference being the price of champagne (Mannin, 1927:32). Clearly, Mannin saw the artifice of being ‘chronically Bohemian’, or a ‘conscientious rebel’. *Eve* told readers ‘...a respectable nightclub seems an anomaly, something *hors nature*’ (Eve, 1919:43) but all the nightclubs reviewed were ‘respectable’. *Eve* retained a sardonic tone

when talking of an unnamed new establishment, close to the Ambassador's Club, asking readers what could compete with 'such attractions as standing for lengths of time in a queue being scrutinised before entry?' (Eve, 1926:568).

Like Mannin, *Eve* was fully aware of the contradictions and that having the correct modern credentials might involve some sacrifice. Perhaps this was the price to be paid for the popularity of 'English ordinariness' that seemed to be replicated in the form of stale sandwiches at a Parisian venue featured in *Eve*. It was desirable because of its '...discomfort – rickety chairs and tables and stale sandwiches combined with high prices – that lend an air of rustic simplicity' (Tremayne, 1926:481). Mischievously, *Eve* often found 'discomfort' was rendered palatable by high prices.

In *Vogue*, the venue of choice was *Le Boeuf sur le Toit* which 'was haunted by the newly constituted *tout Paris*' (Davis, 2006:220). It opened in 1922 and soon attracted the likes of Picasso, Brâncuși, Cendrars, Chanel, Lanvin, Poiret, Beaumont and Cocteau himself. As a small venue, there was little room for dancing but the jazz was acknowledged as the best. 'Here, "chic", talent, renown, beauty, and vice had the market value of a landed title' (Brown, 1968:219).

A range of magazines including *Eve* showed clubs as both Bohemian and avant-garde, implying that attendees were partaking of avant-garde activity. *Eve* readers were shown that the avant-garde could be quite accessible.

5.6 Art-nègre influence on Lifestyle Modernism

Dance was only one of the areas in which the *art-nègre* craze was noticeable, in that 'jazz-age entertainment carried the influence of *art-nègre* beyond avant-garde galleries' (Blake, 1999:8). Blake notes that admiration of the primitive was absorbed into 'the cult of modernity' (1999:37) and 'going primitive merged with the appeal of being up-to-date' (1999:38). However, in Huxley's definition, discussed in section 1.2, *art-nègre* was not modern. Many genuinely appreciated African culture as they did *chinoiserie* or *japonisme* at the time. Archer-Straw nonetheless believes the avant-garde appropriated *négrophilia* specifically to shock, exploiting its negative inferences of savagery (2000:11). Use of black culture set adherents in conflict with traditional values and social norms (2000:19).

In 1925, in an article about what was worn to the Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Paris, *Eve* singled out for comment a girl 'with her dark, short locks all frizzed and tortured to look like a nigger girl' (Meander in Paris, 1925:427). Offensive though such a comment would be today, *Eve's* disapproval is obvious from the use of the word 'torture' to achieve the style. This hairstyle was still under discussion in 1927, when *Eve* noted that women were looking for new styles and that some were wearing African-inspired "'cauliflower" curls' which was 'hair crimped to look like African beauties'. *Eve* (in the person of the Duchesse de Gramont, who wrote articles under the pen-name Martine Renier, (1927:652)) acknowledged '...our craze for the black continent' but doubted the longevity of this particular hairstyle which was deemed 'pitiful' (Renier, 1927:447). It seems *Eve* did not endorse a desire to emulate 'African beauties', however avant-garde.

An early indication of the influence of *art-nègre* had been the genuine interest taken by artists in African art, especially sculpture. Man Ray notes that Derain was 'one of the first to call attention to the beauties of primitive African art' (2012:220) sharing his interest with Vlaminck and Picasso (Wilson, 2000:142). Apollinaire and Picasso owned African statues in 1911 (Franck, 2002:127). The Brancusi sculpted heads discussed in section 5.3 are also reminiscent of African figures. This interest in something regarded as primitive was made to seem modern by the correlation of the

frenetic nature of modern life with barbarism. In 1919, Cendrars wrote of poets using ‘...the language of the savage’ because modernity seemed barbaric (Blake, 1999:37). Once again, this shows that almost anything could serve the avant-garde if it was assimilated with the appropriate attitude. Interestingly, the Cubist manifesto also mentioned savagery, considering a civilised man a savage if he had limited artistic taste (Gleizes and Metzinger, 1913:58).

Some transformed their homes, influenced in part by lifestyle modernism’s interest in interiors. For example, Breton filled his home on Rue Fontaine with African sculpture and African-inspired soft furnishings, as seen in figure 43, Simone Breton pictured by Man Ray in 1927, (Zazzetounmind, 2012:online).

Musically, African-inspired harmonic liberties were seen as ‘blue notes’ and orange represented tango (Blake, 1999:48), perhaps from tango wigs (Evans, 2013:53). These are the colours that Mannin called ‘the jazz effects’, as discussed on page 78. *Eve* occasionally illustrated articles with reference to *art-nègre* too, as shown in figure 44, Ragtime, (Eve, 1926:325).



Figure 43: Simone Breton (Source: Zazzetounmind, 2012:online)



Figure 44: Ragtime (Source: Eve, 1926:325)

The trend for jewellery worn in great profusion can also be linked to *art-nègre*. Jewellery was to be flaunted; no longer discreet nor genuine. Chanel advised 'it doesn't matter if they are real so long as they look like junk' (Mulvagh, 1988:48). In Delafield's novel, the 'Provincial Lady' spots the arty guest at a party immediately for her 'scarab rings, cameo brooches, tulle scarves, enamel buckles and barbaric necklaces' as late as 1930 (Nicholson, 2003:154). Many chose African bangles, as worn in profusion by Nancy Cunard in figure 45, Cunard (Fine Art Images, 2018:online) in 1925. This image by Man Ray was sufficiently interesting to Brâncuși for him to sculpt it between 1928 and 1932, creating *La Jeune Fille Sophistiquée*, seen in figure 46, Brâncuși, (Christies, 2018:online) showing the cross-fertilisation of fashion and art.

This sculpture sold in 2018 at Christie's for \$71 million so undoubtedly remains an important artwork.



Figure 45: Cunard (Source: Fine Art Images, 2018:online)

Figure 46: Brâncuși (Source: Christies, 2018:online)

Eve was happy to advise readers about artistic jewellery. While never naming Cunard, *Eve* noted the bracelet trend and linked it, obliquely, with *négrophilia*. In 1925, discussing the Exhibition of Decorative Arts, *Eve* noticed

...bracelets which were too many to be counted on the arms. This is another sign of the return to barbarism which is marking our civilised world. Rings sparkled on slim, pink tipped fingers, and pretty girls looked like degenerate boys ... (Meander in Paris, 1925:427).

This connection of multiple bracelets to barbarism did not associate barbarism with civilisation – rather, civilisation was returning to barbarism, which is a different view to that taken by avant-garde artists. Delicate fingers counterbalanced barbaric jewellery. Attractive women could look like degenerate boys, as well as carrying off an element of barbarism. *Eve* highlighted all the contradictions implicit in the modern appearance.

Such contradictions continued to be highlighted when *Eve* discussed a trend for feminine frocks 'with barbaric and gorgeous accessories'. The trend called for 'frail looking frocks', against which you could

Hang heavy chains on your wrists and ropes of pearls around your neck if you like, let your earring be barbaric if you will' (Meander in Paris, 1926:594).

In 1925, *Eve* had described a woman 'who thinks that she was a princess of the jungle in a former existence' wearing 'barbaric jewelled earrings, snaky bracelets, necklaces of elephant's teeth, and suchlike primitive ornaments' (Meander in Paris, 1925:304).

Here, then, was *Eve* informing readers about the latest jewellery trends, which owed their existence directly to the vogue for *art-nègre*. A reader with little knowledge of the trends in art would have been unaware of any avant-garde connotation. Nevertheless, seeing it endorsed by *Eve*, that reader would know it was the latest trend for fashionable wear and potentially make it part of her life.

6 The Promotion of Avant-Garde Types

This section will discuss the New or Modern Woman role-model, popular during the twenties (Chadwick, (2012:278). Women were captivated by these role-models, which could be used to commodify the female experience and create demand for goods (Chadwick, 2012:277).

Some of the most popular role-models were fictional, in the form of heroines of best-selling novels. While many scholars discuss Monique Lerbier, none discuss the character of Eve and this section will show that she was both the first such creation, copied by others, and the most avant-garde of all such constructs.

It will also demonstrate that amongst real-life role-models, Talullah Bankhead is perhaps the most avant-garde. She is not discussed by scholars in this context, but was the heroine most frequently featured in *Eve*. *Eve* will therefore be shown to have taken a leading role in disseminating avant-garde ideas successfully.

6.1 The Heroine in Fiction

Victor Margueritte dubbed her the *garçonne*, a one-word masterpiece comprising cocktails, cigarettes, and crossed legs on bar stools (Bystander, 1926:92).

This was *The Bystander's* summation of Margueritte's *La Garçonne* in April 1926. In November of that year, *Eve* pictured her in exactly that way, seen in figure 47, *Garçonne* (Eve, 1926:324).

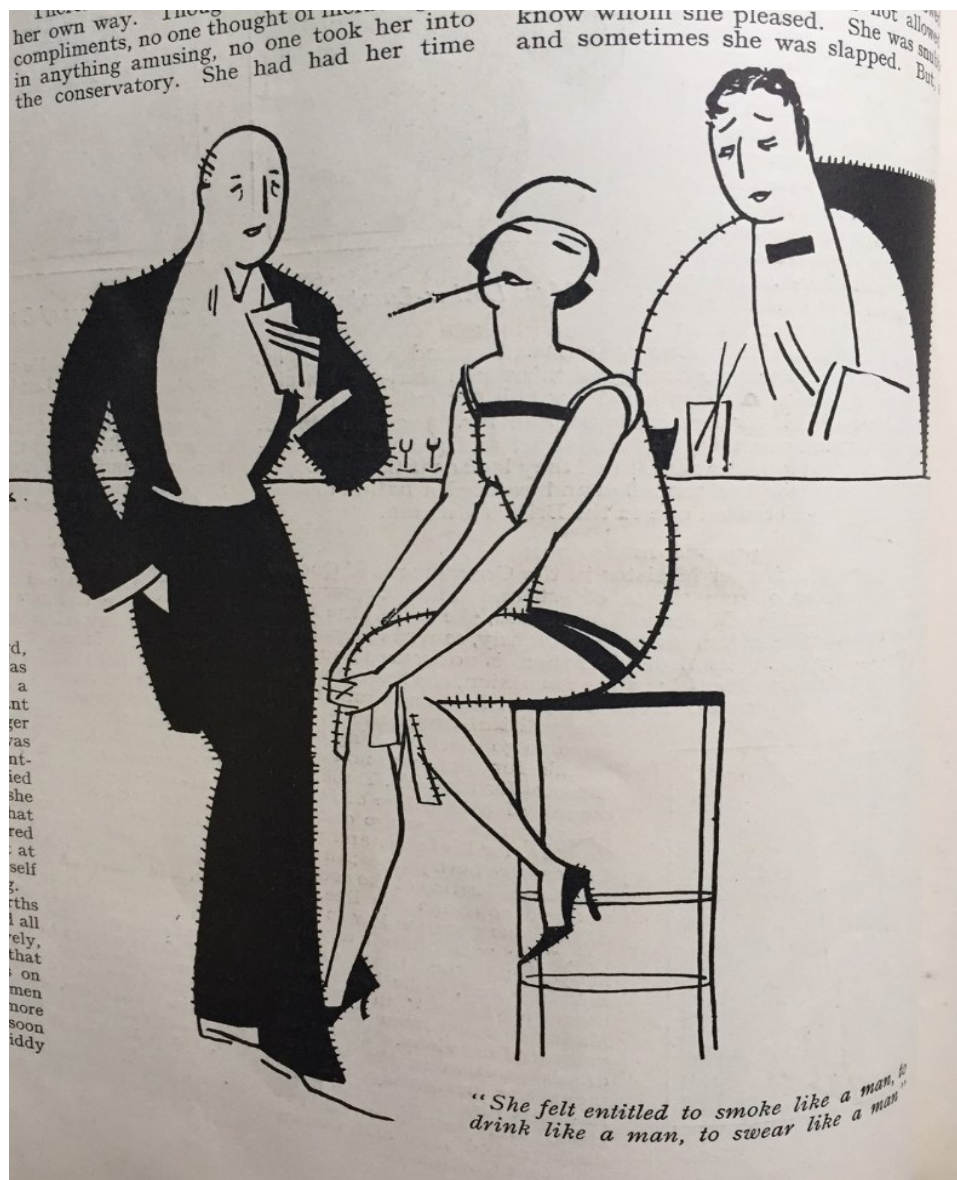


Figure 47: *Garçonne* (Source: Eve, 1926:324).

La Garçonne became a common term for both the boyish appearance of young women's fashion at the time, and a lifestyle and attitude. Steele suggests 'literary depictions of the Twenties anti-heroine are unreliable as a guide to women's behaviour,' calling the heroine, Monique Lerbier, bisexual and a promiscuous drug addict (1985:240). Perhaps few women of the time could be described in that way, but the popularity of the novel attests to Lerbier's appeal to young women who felt that she represented part of their lives, or the lives they wanted. Chadwick notes she 'wore her hair and skirts short, danced, played sports, took courses at the Sorbonne, and worked in an interesting job' (2012:277). It could be argued that the story resembles Chanel's life, with her history of establishing a successful business and a string of affairs.

It may be that the intended message in the novel was misunderstood. Lerbier only acts promiscuously after discovering her fiancé's infidelity and her opium addiction (1923:22) is not depicted attractively. She has short hair but it is her friends who flaunt 'nakedness from the shoulder to the hips' (1923:65). Her 'interesting job' is a successful interior design business, which her addiction causes her to leave in the care of a manager. She has a relationship with a man who cannot accept her previous affairs, finally finding a traditional love so that the story ends well. Perhaps Margueritte intended his novel as a call to morality rather than a blueprint for flapperdom, as scholars suggest²¹. If this were the case, she was not intended as an

²¹ Towards the end of the novel, Lerbier '...the haughty bachelor girl, found herself once more a woman, and weak before the grandeur of love's reality' (1923:278). This suggests that Margueritte saw her returning to the natural way of things after her debauched life. A loving relationship was still the desirable outcome, albeit that Margueritte acknowledged 'the falseness and brutality of man' which could make this desirable end difficult to achieve. The French version reads *La révoltée d'autrefois devant le mensonge et la brutalité de l'homme, la garçonne orgueilleuse se retrouvait femme, et faible, devant la grandeur du véritable amour*.

The novel delivers a heroine who epitomises the life of the garçonne, who eventually triumphs and finds happiness, but it is difficult to read into this that the author approved of her or intended her lifestyle to inspire women.

avant-garde construct but was nevertheless readily taken as a heroine-figure by women keen to read about such a lifestyle.

The popularity of her character was used to commodify the female experience and create demand for goods (Chadwick, 2012:277). *The Bystander* revealed it had been the first English magazine 'to condemn the book that made her famous', but perhaps by January 1923 saw the value and popularity of the image and backtracked to the extent that it found 'nothing horrible about her stockings' (The Bystander, 1923:199). Others had seen her value earlier, as Premet named a black satin dress with white collar and cuffs *La Garçonne* in 1922. The dress sold 1000 original copies but millions more were pirated (Evans, 2013:255).

In 1928, *Eve* published a book review, saying 'the Modern Girl is always represented' as

a flamboyant, heartless, over-sexed, under-dressed young woman, perpetually doing the things she ought not to do and doing them with the blinds up (King, 1928:121).

This description, which the reviewer recognised as potentially inaccurate, must have owed much to the image women wanted to read about, regardless of how little it resembled them. It also owed much to the perception of *Lerbier* and *Iris Storm*, another heroine from a novel, *The Green Hat*, the 'literary sensation' of 1924 by Michael Arlen (Mannin, 1971:86). When *The Green Hat* was turned into a play in 1925, *Eve's* reviewer called *Iris* '... a combination of nymphomaniac and imbecile whose proper place is in the asylum' (Sir Topaz, 1925:483), denouncing the play for suggesting women could 'commit any vice with impunity'. The next issues of *Eve* simply discussed who would take the part of *Iris*, reporting finally that it would be Tallulah Bankhead, so distancing *Eve* from its earlier criticism.

6.2 The Heroine in Fashion

While couturiers dictated fashion by designing for women of means, affluent young women were becoming much more independently-minded. Like Lerbier, they favoured short hair and skirts, bare arms and legs, simpler frocks and lowered waistlines.

These changes amongst the young began before *La Garçonne* appeared and had not gone unnoticed, with *The Bystander* proclaiming 'How youth is wiping the floor with us these days!...In the realm of dress-design, immaturity now takes the floor' (1920:87). A year later, Begbie (1921:152) noted that this new demand also came from ordinary women who '...come from offices and shops'. This suggests that even women of relatively slender means now wanted to dress in a different way whilst pursuing a new social freedom. Most young women were now interested in fashion.

The persona of Eve was the earliest manufactured role-model for the modern woman, appearing in the first issue in 1919. Observing that women '...desire the life of fashion, the life of indelicate clothes, gilded restaurants, the theatre, the nightclub', Begbie (1921:152) could have been describing Eve. While several studies discuss the personas of Lerbier and Storm, none consider Eve.

Advertisements often show the 'fashionably dressed flapper at work', encouraging her to buy 'youth, beauty and leisure'. For Chadwick, this would merely have masked the routine nature of women's supposedly exciting working lives (2012:277). By contrast, Eve never mentions work, so neither drawing attention to the tedium of readers' working lives, nor alienating readers who did not work. Eve spoke to readers likely to have spending power for clothes and 'youth, beauty and leisure'. For others, beyond any cachet they might have felt in earning, readers wanted to read about the life they dreamt their wage might command rather than their working day.

This was well understood at the time. *Vanity Fair* noted in 1924 that 'catering upon a regal scale to feminine vanity has proven a lucrative and pleasant occupation' (Le Gallienne, 1924:28). It claimed 'beauty has become democratised; the pulchritude for the proletariat is the latest extension of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'. The article discussed women's

...impatience of restraint, their pagan pursuit of pleasure, their craving for excitement, their absorption in their looks and their clothes, their determination to be beautiful, and let who will be humdrum. These characteristics of the modern girl (from fifteen to fifty) are causing much disquietude, much shaking of serious heads (Le Gallienne, 1924:27).

The character of Eve embodied all these traits. The *Vanity Fair* article remarked on a 'vast system of skilful, creative advertising'. Lerbier could be co-opted for commercialisation as Chadwick (2012:277) suggests, but the earlier introduction of Eve, whilst not an advertisement, would have appealed to women and raised awareness of a lifestyle and fashions which could be dreamt of by all readers.

Eve therefore most fully embodied '...the "new look"²², which had come from the innovations of the avant-garde' (Chadwick, 2012:278). Most mass market magazines throughout the twenties talked of the New Woman and the Modern Woman, effectively the same idea (Chadwick, 2012:276), with Lerbier, Cunard and Chanel as examples. Few women would have had such lives themselves (2012:276-277), but magazines must have thought them of interest to their readers. *Eve* presented things differently in that it never featured the lives of these women. Interestingly, *Eve* made only one allusion to Cunard, when Pippa says

There is Pansy Durand, the poetess. Isn't she divinely thin? They say she is the heroine of one of Michael Arlen's books (Tremayne, 1926:480),

thus attention is drawn to Cunard by means of the literary heroine Iris Storm²³.

In the created character of Eve, *Eve* could craft her story and illustrate her life as it chose. Eve is a liberated woman, the better to be a consumer, who frequently muses on the things she would like or already has. She has a voracious appetite for clothes and travelling to Paris. She is the earliest example of the genre Chadwick describes. As this idea became more widely recognised, it must have helped *Eve* to become a

²² The term 'new look' is more usually associated with Christian Dior's 1947 collection, when the editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, Carmel Snow, is said to have described it as 'such a new look'. (V&A, 2018:online). (<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O138234/new-look-jacket-dior-christian/>)

²³ Nancy Cunard, who had had an affair with Arlen, was generally felt to be the inspiration for Iris Storm, but Tallulah Bankhead, who played the part in the stage version of the novel, was in Arlen's social circle and many noted the similarity of the part of Napier Harpenden with her lover Naps (Mackrell, 2013:257). Interestingly, the novel also features Boy Fenwick who kills himself, mirroring in some way Boy Capel, Coco Chanel's lover who died in a car crash in 1919.

magazine in which companies would want to place their advertisements. That *Eve* pitched the character well is borne out by the descriptions of the New Woman by Begbie in 1921 and *Vanity Fair* in 1924, (seen on pages 102 – 103), which accurately describe her.

For Chadwick, the popular depiction of the new woman had a 'coherent visual imagery celebrating the sexually free working woman' which was standard throughout the world (2012:278). In *Eve's* case, she is more suited to the target audience of her magazine, as daughters of the newly rich. Although she is not seen working, it is never stated that she does not. Equally, readers meet her in conjunction with Adam, but he is not introduced as her husband and consequently she retains a frisson of sexual freedom without any implication of impropriety. Furthermore, she voices sexually free opinions even though she does not live that lifestyle. For example, in the second issue, *Eve* decries marrying one's co-respondent as being like buying a book one has surreptitiously read on the newsstand (*Eve*, 1919:43).

Eve is evidently a fantasy figure, as the first issue of the magazine introduces the couple arriving from a garden and needing to buy clothes. This immediately introduces *Eve's* relationship with fashion. The importance of her being a created figure is that she is not limited by any realism in her depiction. She can have any experience and can impart any sentiments directly to the reader. She portrays perfection in appearance and lifestyle, as Chanel and Cunard seemed to, but they were not 'ordinary' working women either. Unlike the other role-models, real or created, *Eve* could be seen every week in many guises. As such, she was very much a modernist or avant-garde construct.

Subtle aspects of her portrayal would have made her recognisable to a broad swathe of women. For example, Cecil Beaton spoke of a type of woman who was 'undoubtedly the spearhead of those who broke down conventions' (1989:153). These were the London Bright Young Things who acted more outrageously and carelessly than the majority of young people. Beaton noted they spoke a 'private language of eggy-peggy' which was incomprehensible to those outside their circle (1989:153). Whilst *Eve* does not behave like that and her speech is not 'eggy-peggy', she is portrayed using unusual words such as 'dorglums' (*Eve*, 1920:83) for dog, and

repeatedly referring to things as being “cessively’ or ‘aw’fly’, as seen in figure 41 on page 89. This use of speech was a clever device to place her in a different bracket depending on the understanding of the individual reader.

The likelihood of readers attaining her lifestyle would vary according to their means. Some aspects would be unattainable even for the wealthiest, making her aspirational for everyone. For example, in her second appearance in the magazine, she is shown engrossed in a novel. She takes the one comfortable chair while an adoring Adam sits at her feet, with nothing to do but gaze at her longingly as seen in figure 48: *Eve in Paradise*, (Eve, 1919:vi). It seems unlikely that even the most privileged readers had adoring men who gazed at them whilst being ignored. Importantly, as the illustrations are drawn, Eve is attractive, slim and thoroughly modern in pose and attitude, against a modern and luxurious background. This combination was rarely shown in photographs of the day.

Insofar as the overall image might have been unattainable even for *Eve’s* moneyed readers, it provided similar escapism for both rich and not-so-rich. It is likely that these early, stylish, illustrations of clothes, so soon after the war, contributed to women wanting the new fashions. Women must have been captivated by what the clothes could mean for their lives, the more so for being in stark contrast to the recent privations of war. In that sense, the rapid growth of new and changed styles might be attributable to the way in which Eve portrayed them. As discussed in section 4.3, fashion photography and illustrations were rarely so attractive, and were not shown in ‘lifestyle’ poses or against aspirational interiors until later, so *Eve* was quite avant-garde in the use of the character.



Figure 48: *Eve in Paradise* (Source: *Eve*, 1919:vi)

American *Vogue* featured a similar idea from August 1922, in the form of Palmyre and her friends, which suggests that *Eve* was a popular feature of the magazine, to be copied by *Vogue*. Davis discusses Palmyre, noting one story about nightlife, when Palmyre visits *Le Boeuf Sur Le Toit* (2006:220). Palmyre is shown mixing with the likes of Satie, and dining with the novelist and close friend of Cocteau, Raymond Radiguet. As Davis points out, *Vogue* described this as Palmyre's 'escapades in the world of artists' (2006:1). What Davis fails to say is that this is the only article to discuss Palmyre with artists. It situates Palmyre in the avant-garde but other articles about her do not.

Further, it is doubtful that readers would have identified readily with the six friends. They were introduced with pen portraits of their lives and interests. The overall sense of the women is of a dreamy, romantic quality that does not seem modern. Figure 49, *Six Friends* (*Vogue*, 1922:45) harks back to ancient Rome in its styling, rather than the twenties, despite having some classic, *Ballets Russes*-style influence. They are each depicted by their choice of artist, such as Marty, Benito and Lepape (*Vogue*, 1922a:45) but there is nothing modern about the depictions. The friends had limited

interest in Bohemia; Françoise and Sophie were astonished by Bohemian nightlife and Sylvie would not be amused by it. Only Toinon would add to the gaiety, high spirits and wit of an evening (Vogue, 1923:110). In this respect, the friends hardly hinted at avant-garde influence, being of dated appearance and less Bohemian attitude than Eve.



Figure 49: Six Friends (Source: Vogue, 1922:45).

Eve does not want for anything. Her finances are discussed only to show an amusing problem with the taxman which readers might have recognised, as shown in figure 50, Taxman (Eve, 1920:390). Even then, financial worries do not curtail her consideration of clothes.

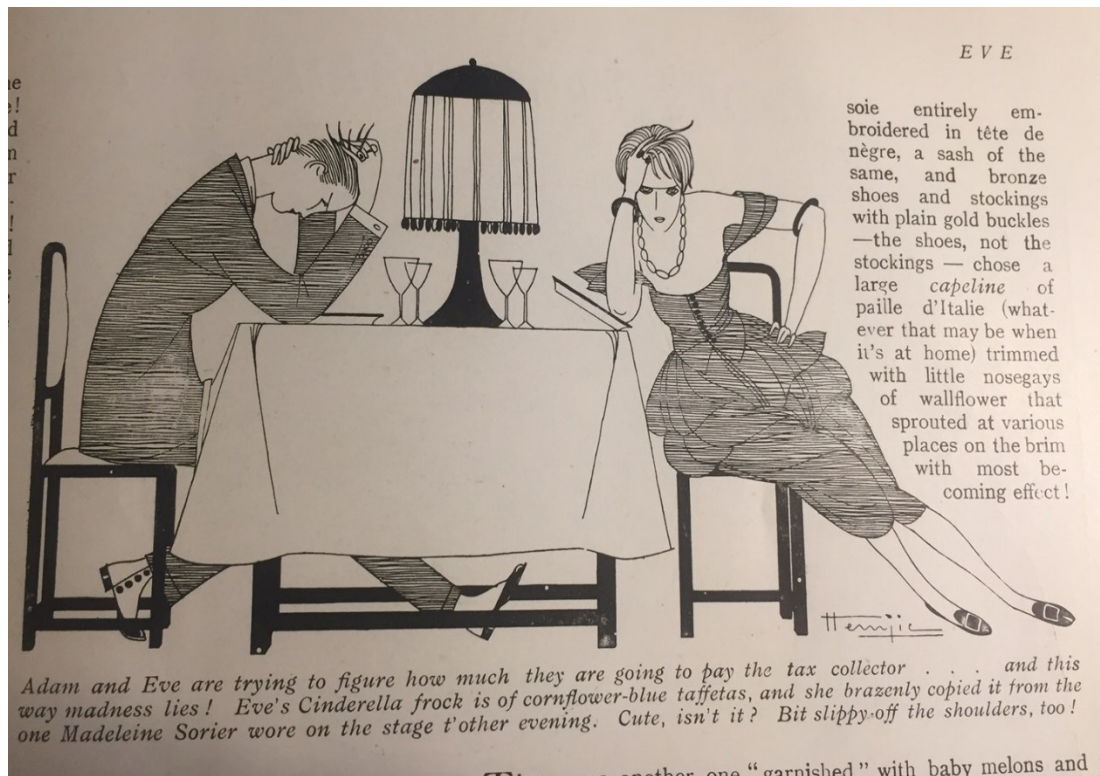


Figure 50: Taxman (Source: Eve, 1920:390)

Palmyre, by contrast, married into money, keeping her jewellery in a bank vault (Vogue, 1922b:49). She is a 'mysterious young woman, very beautiful, and dressed with exquisite taste' and 'always calm, always mistress of her manner' (Vogue, 1922b:49). Even in the article about Bohemia, she is described as '...Palmyre, the stately, the aristocratic'. She has two bodyguards, provided by her husband who 'she sees but rarely'; he is 'cold' and 'correct' (Vogue, 1923:48). This is not an approachable or sympathetic role-model for readers, especially if, as Dancyger contends, women no longer dreamt of a good marriage (Dancyger, 1978:147).

However, she hosts parties which bring together aristocracy, diplomats, financiers and even some from Saint Germain who hope to overthrow manners (Vogue, 1923:49). She makes an 'obstinate search for genius hidden in the environs of Montparnasse, and principally about the Café de la Rotonde' (Vogue, 1923:110). Interested in the society of young artists, she finds herself distracted by their woollen waistcoats and 'very dirty nails'. Going to *Le Boeuf sur le Toit* she sees Satie and *Les*

*Six*²⁴ but there is no mention of her knowing them. Nevertheless, she has the obligatory mention of Cocteau and he appears on the left of the accompanying illustration, in figure 51, Palmyre, (Vogue, 1923:49). These are said to be her favourite evenings, as she 'shares the present taste of the smart Parisienne for the cabaret' (Vogue, 1923:110).

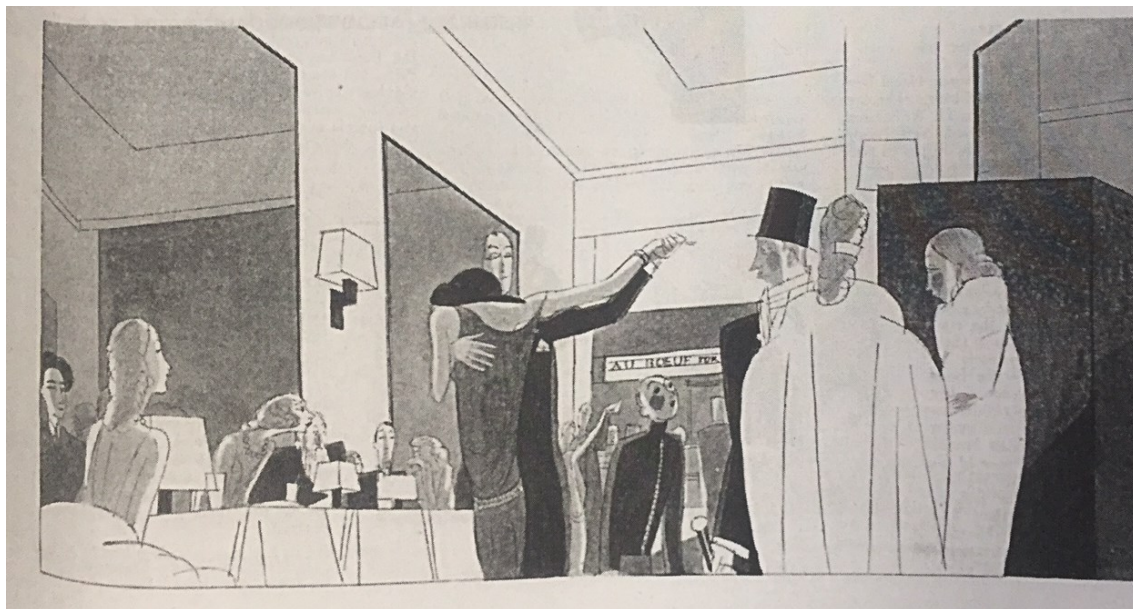


Figure 51: Palmyre (Source: Vogue, 1923:49).

Consequently, whilst there appears to be some similarity to Eve, she is much less a role-model for women and not an avant-garde construct, despite her interest in it. As someone who is distracted by 'dirty nails', she seems unlikely to nurture new talent as the likes of Misia Sert or Coco Chanel did. As 'stately' and 'aristocratic', it is unlikely that she would sit viciously smoking as Mannin did, or display the necessary attitude. Despite this, her creation appears to have been inspired by Eve, particularly as Chase was in charge at American *Vogue* at that time and was clearly aware of *Eve*.

Whilst the character of Eve continued throughout the lifetime of the magazine, another, short-lived, character was introduced in June 1926, specifically to visit nightclubs and restaurants. In a regular article running for six months, Pippa dreamily allows a variety of men to escort her to a selection of the most exclusive venues such

²⁴ Les Six were a group of composers, Milhaud, Auric, Tailleferre, Poulenc, Honegger and Durey, who, with their unofficial mentor Erik Satie, regularly appeared at *Le Boeuf Sur Le Toit* (Franck, 2002:378).

as the Eiffel Tower restaurant, and Boulestin's. The character of Pippa was not intended for readers to identify with, as she was the subject of gentle fun. Readers might still envy her experiences, or be familiar with the establishments. Pippa speaks fondly of the ambience of the places she visits, with comments such as Boulestin's being 'a little place with some sort of mysterious renown' (Tremayne, 1926:269).

Eve had told readers of a new restaurant, the Eiffel Tower, in 1920²⁵, 'where the august John and his followers are often to be found', the new haunt of Bohemians (Eve, 1920:159). This was where Beaton hoped to meet the 'smart, arty... set I must get in with' in 1926 (1961:86). At the end of that year, Pippa told readers it was 'where all the really interesting people go - writers and artists and actors'. Pippa's mother knew one of the artists and remarks 'such a clever artist...but such a despicable house - none of the china matched' (Tremayne, 1926:785) so *Eve* points gentle fun at Pippa and her mother whilst highlighting the Bohemian. Pippa supposed the restaurant to be the 'height and depth of Bohemianism and she would have eaten any number of unaccustomed meals in the interest of art' (Tremayne, 1926:785). That might well have been a sentiment readers could understand. Readers were informed that there was a room decorated by Wyndham Lewis. Beaton's *Vogue* cutting (n.d.:n.p.) suggested visitors might be 'embroiled in some thrillingly intellectual argument'. Clearly, both Pippa and Eve introduced readers to the best avant-garde places.

Pippa, then, was not the sympathetic or sophisticated avant-garde role-model that *Lerbier* or *Eve* were, but she is a similar device that *Eve* used to introduce women to avant-garde possibilities in an accessible way. She would certainly have seemed more approachable than *Palmyre*.

²⁵ In fact, The Eiffel Tower restaurant had been open since 1896, under the proprietor Stulik. Iris Tree and Nancy Cunard visited as early as 1916 (Mackrell, 2013:44).

Interestingly, just as *La Garçonne* was published in France, *Eve* suggested yet another role-model for women. Jean Gabriel Domergue²⁶ was an artist whose pictures of women had appeared several times in the magazine. *Eve* said his ‘pictures have created a feminine type in Paris’, where it was fashionable ‘to be *une femme à la Domergue*, as in America it was once *mode* to be a Gibson Girl’ (Une Philosophe, 1922:275). Whether *Eve* chose to feature the *femme à la Domergue* as a feminine counterbalance to the image of Lerbier is unclear; it is difficult to find any other reference to the *femme à la Domergue* as a recognised feminine concept at the time. Nonetheless, types were obviously popular for women to understand how to create their image in their preferred form, and this ‘feminine type’ was there to be copied - the illustration suggested that it ‘shows us how it is achieved’. Insofar as she had any purpose for *Eve*, she exemplified a graceful feminine appearance, as no personality or adventures were attributed to her. Figure 52 shows Mlle. Fargette (*Eve*, 1922:379), the painting used to illustrate the ‘Domergue Type’.

²⁶ Domergue is said to have invented a new type of woman – *Eve* may have been the first to have suggested this in 1922. His woman was thin, graceful and sophisticated with almond-shaped eyes. She was of unusual appearance for the twenties. The women usually appeared in a languid but elegant pose. Domergue later declared he had invented the pin-up. He had a prodigious output of pictures, some of which were much-prized society portraits. (Galerie de Souzy, n.d.:online) <http://www.domergue-paintings.com/biographie/?lang=en>



Figure 52: Mlle. Fargette (Source: Eve, 1922:379)

6.3 The Real-life Avant-Garde Heroine

Alongside its two created role-models, *Eve* also featured women in the public eye. As seen, many felt Chanel and Cunard epitomised the New Woman, but *Eve* made little mention of either.

Of the women that *Eve* featured, Tallulah Bankhead appeared regularly, from her arrival in England in 1923 to act in *The Dancer*. Her life-story contained all the elements of the New Woman, in having a successful career and being known for lesbian affairs while in America. She used coarse language, smoked and was 'fashionably blasé about sex' (Mackrell, 2013:132). The plays she appeared in often depicted the same lifestyle, which must have reinforced the idea and shows that such life stories were popular entertainment. Tallulah was one of the most featured women in *Eve*, along with Diana Cooper and Irene Castle. She was certainly the only one with a risqué lifestyle in terms of affairs and sexual orientation. She became popular with gallery girls who regularly and repeatedly attended all her plays, following her every move. Tallulah's racy one-liners off-stage, and her openness about casual affairs with both sexes, appealed to these women. There can have been little more exciting and unconventional than the life she seemed to live (Mackrell, 2013:250). The article in figure 53, *Beauty*, (*Eve*, 1927:662) refers to her ongoing popularity with the gallery girls, which was still to the fore in 1927. It depicts her in camiknickers and highlights her undressed state in the play by referring to 'the torn-off wedding dress'.

Beauty in distress discards from strength

Tallulah Bankhead minus
the torn-off wedding dress
in "The Garden of Eden"

Miss Bankhead has a tremendous following—the gallery girls adore her. A Bankhead first night is an affair of almost hysterical heroine worship. One of her girl admirers saw "The Gold Diggers," sixty-five times!

Photographs by
Cecil Benson



How Tallulah Bankhead dresses
for the Riviera in the second
act, where the cabaret girl
finds and loses a lover



"The Garden of Eden" is another Avery Hopwood comedy. It is the story of a cabaret dancer who foils her seducer in the first act with a champagne bottle, masquerades on the Riviera in the second, and marries in the third, not the young lover, who is ignorant of her identity till the villain gives the show away on the eve of the wedding (result—bride tears off wedding dress before French Prime Minister!), but an eighty-year-old millionaire

Figure 53: Beauty (Source: Eve, 1927:662)

When Tallulah shingled her hair during *The Dancers* run, the gallery girls followed suit, even cutting their hair during a performance and throwing it onto the stage (Mackrell, 2013:245). This is surely as avant-garde as the occasion in 1926 when Breton and Aragon threw pamphlets and insulted the audience, disrupting a *Ballets Russes* performance, (discussed on page 88), or any Dada event.

Her plays regularly ended with her wearing only camiknickers on stage. By 1929, some elements of the press were starting to mock fans for their sapphic tastes in watching their heroine in her underwear after the play *He's Mine* (Mackrell, 2013:271). It may be that this idea was based purely on reaction to the *Well of Loneliness* trial which had concluded the previous year as discussed in section 7.3. The roles Tallulah chose, as well as some elements of her lifestyle, served to 'épater le bourgeois'. It was no coincidence that most of these parts portrayed women who enjoyed 'jazzing' (Mackrell, 2013:243). Along with jazz, 'to Tallulah' soon became a verb meaning to act with provocative exuberance (Mackrell, 2013:255).

Tallulah's gallery girls were entranced with her glamorous lifestyle, as evidenced by their dislike of the play *They Knew What They Wanted* in 1926, in which her character had a stable marriage and wore cheap dresses (Mackrell, 2013:259). This shows that, whilst the image of Tallulah in camiknickers may have been popular, she inspired in couture too. Indeed, young women in all strata of society wanted to see these fashions.

When *The Green Hat* was turned into a play in 1925, Tallulah took the part of Iris. *Eve* told readers the play was 'one more nail in the coffin of the West End stage' in a damning review of the play and its heroine (Sir Topaz, 1925:483). This made Iris a character Tallulah wanted to be identified with, saying the late night swim scene was based on her experience. Others saw similarities between the affair with Napier in the novel and her own affair with an Englishman, Naps (Mackrell, 2013:258). While one *Eve* writer chose to fulminate against the play, the magazine nevertheless featured Tallulah on the cover the following month, dubbing her 'the heroine of the Green Hat', as seen in figure 54, Green Hat (Eve, 1925:n.p.). Individual writers may have expressed their own views, but the overall tone of the magazine was to promote the New Woman.



Figure 54: Green Hat (Source: Eve, 1925:n.p.)

In featuring Tallulah so heavily, *Eve* recognised that the readership comprised many gallery girls as well as daughters of the newly rich; Tallulah demonstrated that with the right attitude and lifestyle, a woman could transcend class. This chimed with the

concept of Bohemia, where anyone might choose a Bohemian life regardless of their wealth.

It is clear that the lives of actresses were of interest, including what they wore and where they went. *Eve* featured Tallulah in camiknickers but made no reference to her coarse language, shocking one-liners or alleged lesbian affairs. Perhaps *Eve* understood that readers were interested but, much as with society columns, this was all that could be said.

Occasionally, *Eve* alluded to matters that might have been fact, and must have expected most readers to understand these allusions. One such was Pippa's reference to a poetess who readers were expected to recognise as Cunard, on page 103. Other allusions were as subtle as the juxtaposition of an article and a photograph where a connection was suspected but could not be openly stated.

For example, the novel *Serena Blandish* by Enid Bagnold was probably based on socialite Paula Gellibrand. Paula often featured in the press for her beauty and clothes. Beaton noted her 'perfect egg-shaped head' which made her look like a Modigliani painting (1989:142). The high level of interest in Paula at the time is not reflected in histories of the period. She secured a good marriage, becoming the Marquise de Casa-Maury, after being 'discovered' by the d'Erlanger family. The plot bears a striking resemblance to her story. Bagnold knew her personally, having lived near the d'Erlanger family home. Only Rintoul makes any connection, equating the aristocratic mother character with Baroness d'Erlanger, but she does not associate Serena with Paula (1993:397).

However, as shown in figure 56: Books (*Eve*, 1924:631), although making no explicit connection, *Eve* featured a review of the novel (King, 1924:631) facing a picture of Paula - see figure 55: Paula (*Eve*, 1924:630). This is a strong hint at the connection. Interestingly, while Paula featured regularly in other magazines and papers, none referred to her life before joining the d'Erlanger family, but the *Eve* picture refers to her mother, Mrs W. Clarke Gellibrand. Clearly, *Eve* was happy to do things differently.

In alluding to the connection between Paula and the character of Serena, *Eve* reinforced Paula's rags-to-riches story. This, and her widely-acclaimed beauty, made

her another of the role-models that so many women enjoyed reading about. As other magazines did not mention Paula's background, this allusion to it would have been of interest to *Eve's* gallery girl readers. It is an example both of a real-life role-model becoming a fictional one and *Eve's* willingness to cater for gallery girl readers.

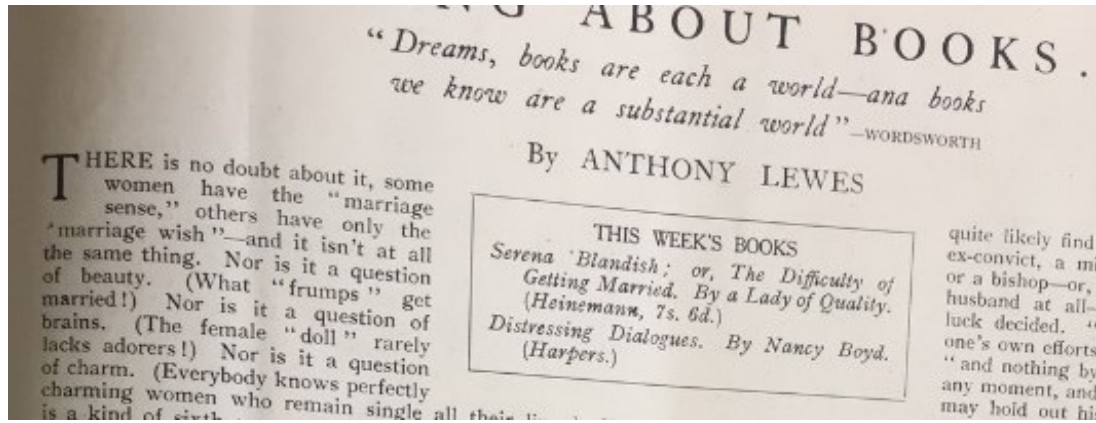


Figure 55: Paula (Source: *Eve*, 1924:630)

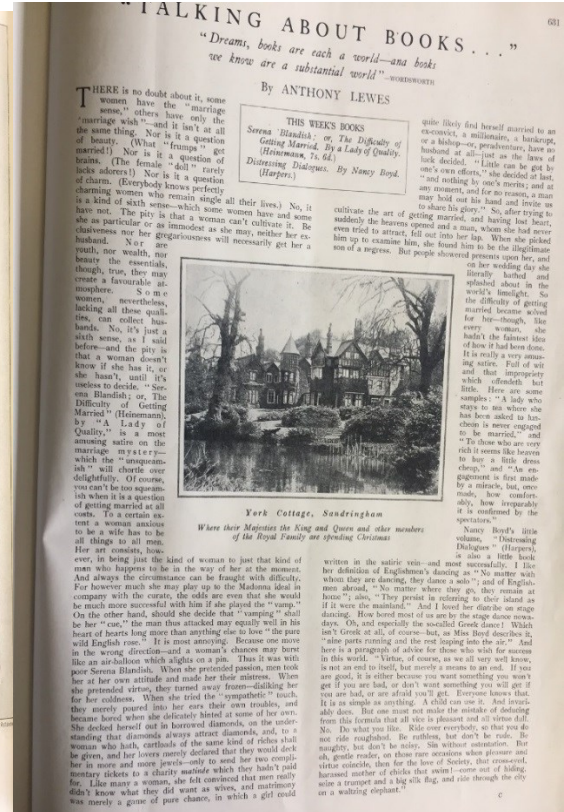
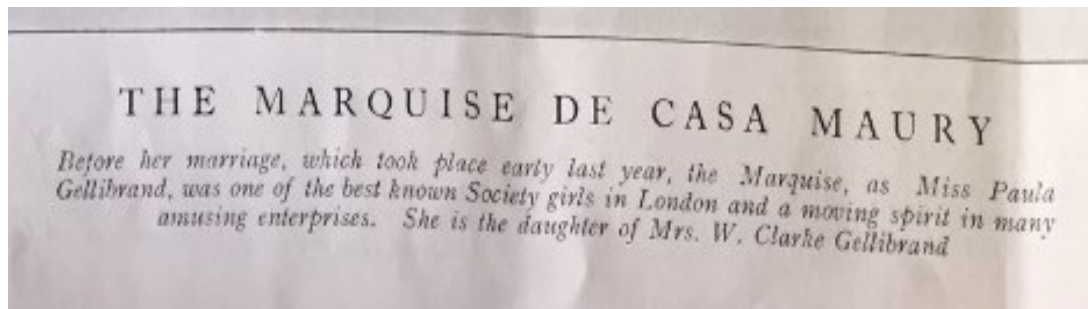


Figure 56: Books (Source: *Eve*, 1924:631)



Eve, then, was the first magazine of its type to include a character who could speak directly to women and 'normalise' an avant-garde or modernist lifestyle. As seen, *Vogue* followed suit with Palmyre. This suggests that *Eve* was a popular persona, that *Vogue* chose to emulate. Another fictional character, Lerbier, found world-wide female fans from 1922. Of all the stars of entertainment who featured in *Eve*, Tallulah Bankhead had amongst the most coverage and the raciest lifestyle.

Eve mirrored the lifestyle that Mannin felt women wanted, or at least to be seen to assume. On reflection, Mannin considered herself to have been snobbish and uppity in affecting a Bohemian attitude (1971:18), but the attitude was important (1971:32). *Eve* does not necessarily appear snobbish, but she could take a high-handed, entitled tone that assumed the right to live the lifestyle she chose. She certainly only entertained the idea of the moneyed Bohemianism that *Eve* placed before readers.

Eve, Lerbier, Storm and Tallulah are heroines and role-models. Whilst the first three were creations who could take on avant-garde connotations, Tallulah also styled herself deliberately as an avant-garde figure. She deliberately likened herself to Iris Storm, admired as she would '*épater le bourgeois*'. She had the ability to inspire avant-garde acts in her gallery girl fans, such as the cutting of their hair at performances.

None of these role-models espoused English ordinariness but Tallulah, Storm and Lerbier highlighted personality flaws. They were ordinary in their short-comings. Women obviously related to them, surely for their ordinariness as well as their excitement. Readers would have appreciated that this made Bohemia or the avant-garde accessible.

7 Androgynous Style

This chapter will show that androgynous style for women stemmed from the avant-garde and was popularised through its depiction and treatment in *Eve*. It will be seen that wearing more manly clothes tended to pass unremarked more readily than the addition of masculine pieces to a feminine outfit. This was because the former was accepted as aristocratic style and the latter drew attention to the contradiction inherent in the wearing of masculine items. As such, it tended to involve a certain attitude and even a slouching posture.

Eve frequently applied the terms masculine and feminine to fashion, with feminine simply meaning clothing usually associated with females, and masculine that which was traditionally male wear. Coverage of masculine styles concentrated on the femininity inherent in masculine styling for women.

Redfern had pioneered masculine-styled jackets for wear with feminine items in the nineteenth century. The French knew the style as *l'anglaise* and wore the jackets for travel or sport. It was practical, rather than oppositional (Crane, 2000:106). As flapper styles caught on, there were various levels of co-opting masculine items into an outfit, such as the addition of a practical Redfern jacket, regular wear of country tweeds, a more stylised masculine outfit or the simple addition of a couple of masculine items to a dress.

7.1 Avant-garde androgyny: cross-dressing

Crane identifies a distinct trend for cross-dressing emanating from lesbian subculture. Rather than the integration of traditionally masculine and feminine garments, some wore only male clothes. She maintains it was not seen outside the lesbian milieu (2000:107). In Paris, wearing trousers was illegal for women, but independent wealth enabled the upper-classes to reject social strictures and share a dismissive attitude to social propriety with Bohemia (Nicholson, 2003). Wealthy women such as Natalie Barney and Romaine Brooks in Paris found their lesbianism necessitated a 'closed cultural economy' (Elliot and Wallace, 1994:29), which Wilson feels had merged with Bohemia by the 1920s (2000:132). Both women spent lavishly on clothing and their often masculine style was read as aristocratic eccentricity, entirely in keeping with Bohemia (Elliot and Wallace, 1994:52). Doan agrees that there was no suggestion of lesbianism in the style at the time (2001:99).

Cross-dressing was not new. It had been seen in most societies for both men and women throughout history and for a variety of reasons. It had been popular in pre-war music-hall, and as such was already equated with fashion. In 1915, *Vanity Fair*, an avant-garde publication, had featured 'The Vesta Tilleys²⁷ of Piccadilly', suggesting that women who did not wear 'mannish costumes' looked 'quite out of it' (*Vanity Fair*, 1915:56). Whilst the article was light-hearted, it clearly showed a link with the influence of Vesta and music-hall. Inspiration came from looks seen in theatre productions, which were often mentioned in fashion articles. For example, *Eve* reported that the actress Edna Best caused some surprise with a close crop and monocle, while a waistcoat accentuated the 'mannish look of her coatfrock' (Roberts, 1925:245).

²⁷ Vesta Tilley herself had been popular in both Britain and America for many years as a male impersonator during the nineteenth century. Her act tended to portray young men misbehaving. She appeared, along with George Robey, at the first Royal Command Variety Performance in London in 1912 (Sketch, 1912:38). Something of sensation was caused when King George and Queen Mary took their seats in a music-hall venue (Baily, 1957:233).

Cross-dressing entered the avant-garde proper in 1920 when Duchamp used his alter ego, Rose Sélavy²⁸ to publicise a perfume. Figure 57, Rose Sélavy (Man Ray Trust, 2015:online) shows Man Ray's photograph of Rrose. This would have created an alternative focus on cross-dressing.



Figure 57: Rose Sélavy (Source: Man Ray Trust, 2015:online)

Consequently, as many would readily associate it with the avant-garde and Bohemia, *Eve* could normalise such style and attitude. As *Eve* frequently highlighted the femininity inherent in such dressing, or the femininity of the wearer, it is perhaps difficult to understand that many found mannish dress shocking. *Eve's* championing of the style began in 1919, before Duchamp's alter ego appeared, and sought to make androgyny in all its forms both exciting and acceptable.

²⁸ Rose Sélavy was a play on words, intended to rhyme with 'c'est la vie' (that's life). Sélavy was Duchamp's second alter ego - he had signed his first 'Readymade', a urinal, R. Mutt (Franck, 2002:268). The perfume was called La Belle Haleine (beautiful breath).

7.2 Degenerate Boys

The idea of women being attractive yet 'like degenerate boys' (Meander in Paris, 1925:427) was widely accepted throughout the twenties. Many felt that short hair and a shapeless figure made a woman look boyish despite her make-up and flimsy, short frock. It was the incongruity of the two looks juxtaposed that thrilled. The effect was a source of pride; in 1924, Eve exclaimed that short hair could look neat and

...so boyish, and yet utterly contradicted below by the entire softness swish and fall of our slim gowns, gowns of chiffon or of that sheer metal cloth... (Eve, 1924:179).

In 1926 an article urged women to 'cut out every superfluous ornament of the "pretty" order' and not be 'fluffy'. Nevertheless, in their pared back state,

No-one can call the fashions of today masculine!...Nothing could be more feminine, but feminine in the sense of what that word means to-day, not yesterday (Meander in Paris, 1926:594).

This was a new definition of feminine, which avoided delicate or womanly ornamentation, but still encompassed frocks. *Eve* continued to promote mannish style whilst always drawing attention to femininity. In 1925, Mrs Tudor Wilkinson was described as beautiful, with a 'perfect profile'. Along with her 'boyish coiffure', she wore a shirt and tie, in figure 58, Perfect Profile (Eve, 1925:446)²⁹.

²⁹ This article was followed by an apology two weeks later, for having wrongly featured Mrs Tudor Wilkinson as Dolores, a dancer and Epstein model. Mrs Tudor Wilkinson was, apparently, a different Dolores, popular on the American stage. This time, the same picture appeared as a full-page portrait and *Eve* said 'how becoming to the perfect profile is the boyish shingle...' (Eve, 1925:560).



Figure 58: Perfect Profile (Source: Eve, 1925:446)

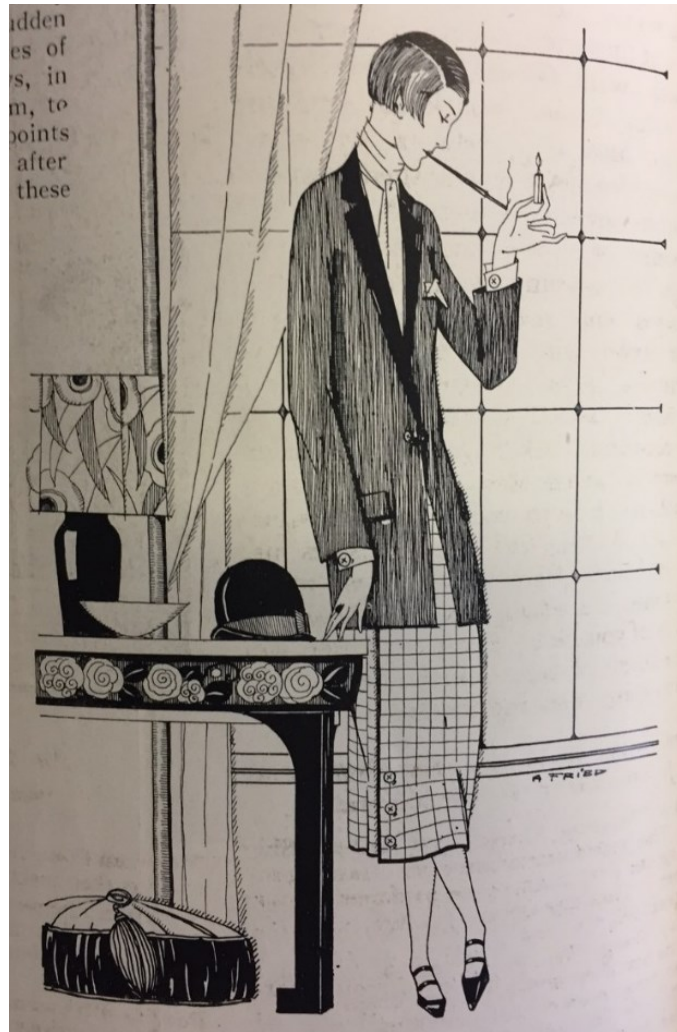


Figure 59: Slender (Source: Eve, 1925:338)

The look appeared frequently. In this instance, the elongated body and seemingly foreshortened legs in figure 59, Slender, (Eve, 1925:338) may be a deliberate attempt to draw attention away from the skirt; this model has a mannish, slouching pose and the long jacket is the most obvious item of clothing. She smokes and is described as having 'boyish straightness'. She illustrates the regular 'My Face is My Fortune' beauty article, so looking attractive was still the primary point. The modernity is heightened by the pattern of the lampshade and Cubist rendering of the window and Futurist lines to the curtains, reminiscent of those seen in Thayaht illustrations as discussed on page 30.



Figure 60: Hat Cover (Source: Eve, 1926:n.p.)

Evidently, a shirt and tie with jacket was nothing unusual and perfectly acceptable as a cover picture for the 'autumn fashion number' of *Eve* in 1926, as seen in figure 60, Hat Cover (Eve, 1926:n.p.).

Masculine items were 'no longer an oppositional style' (Crane, 2000:106). Boyish style with its inevitably youthful connotation would have seemed newer than the wearing of a tweed jacket of the style and function that Redfern had introduced.

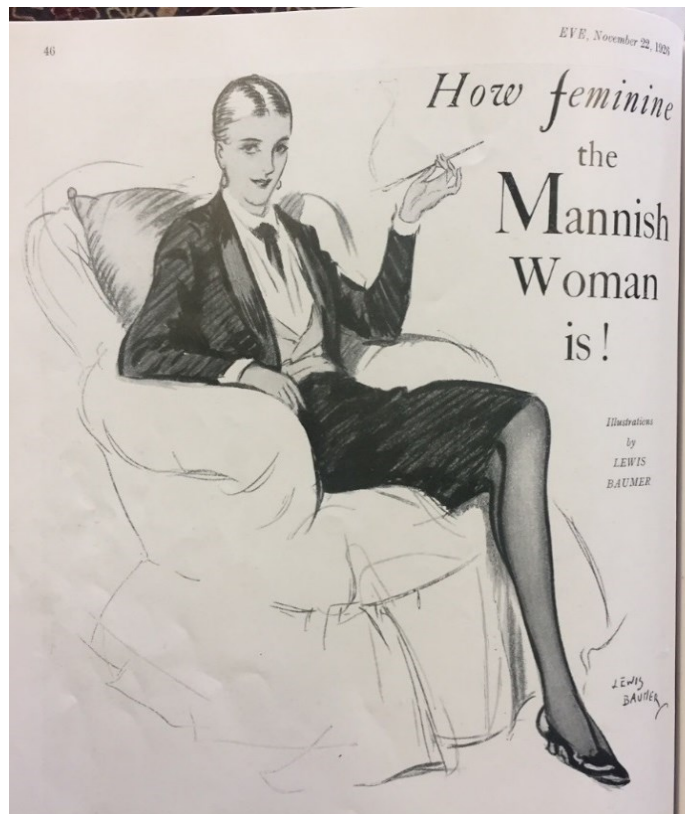


Figure 61: Mannish Woman (Source: Eve, 1926:46)

The article illustrated in figure 61, Mannish Woman (Eve, 1926:46) is titled 'How feminine the Mannish Woman is!' Again, the model wears a shirt, tie and waistcoat with severely cropped hair. She is attractive, smokes and engages the viewer with confidence. This is not just a woman in masculine clothing, but a feminine woman who is mannish. Despite her femininity, clothes and attitude could make her mannish.

The article asks whether there are now more mannish women than previously and concludes that they are now found in cities, whereas previously they were only in the country, which must be an allusion to the country tweed style that readers would have known from society pages. The country woman is considered far more mannish than 'than the Eton-cropped, monocled, mannish woman in the Mayfair dance clubs' (Muir, 1926:48). Thus the point is attitude; mannish style could represent an old standard of country life or sophisticated life in Mayfair. Being a drawing, the illustration could easily have depicted a less attractive woman, but there was a great desire to equate mannish women with sophistication and beauty.

In 1927, the leading female characters in short stories had men's names such as Dale (Mannin, 1927:32) or Harry who appeared in *The Opportunists* (Jameson, 1927:26). Despite having male names and clothing, women in clothes borrowed from 'masculine mode' were depicted as feminine such as in figure 62: Pyjamas (Eve, 1927:32). The article considers '...the trouser - least romantic of garments' as emancipation from the shackles of a skirt, which has been transformed 'with feminine genius' 'into something charming, piquant and significantly feminine' (Eve, 1927:32).

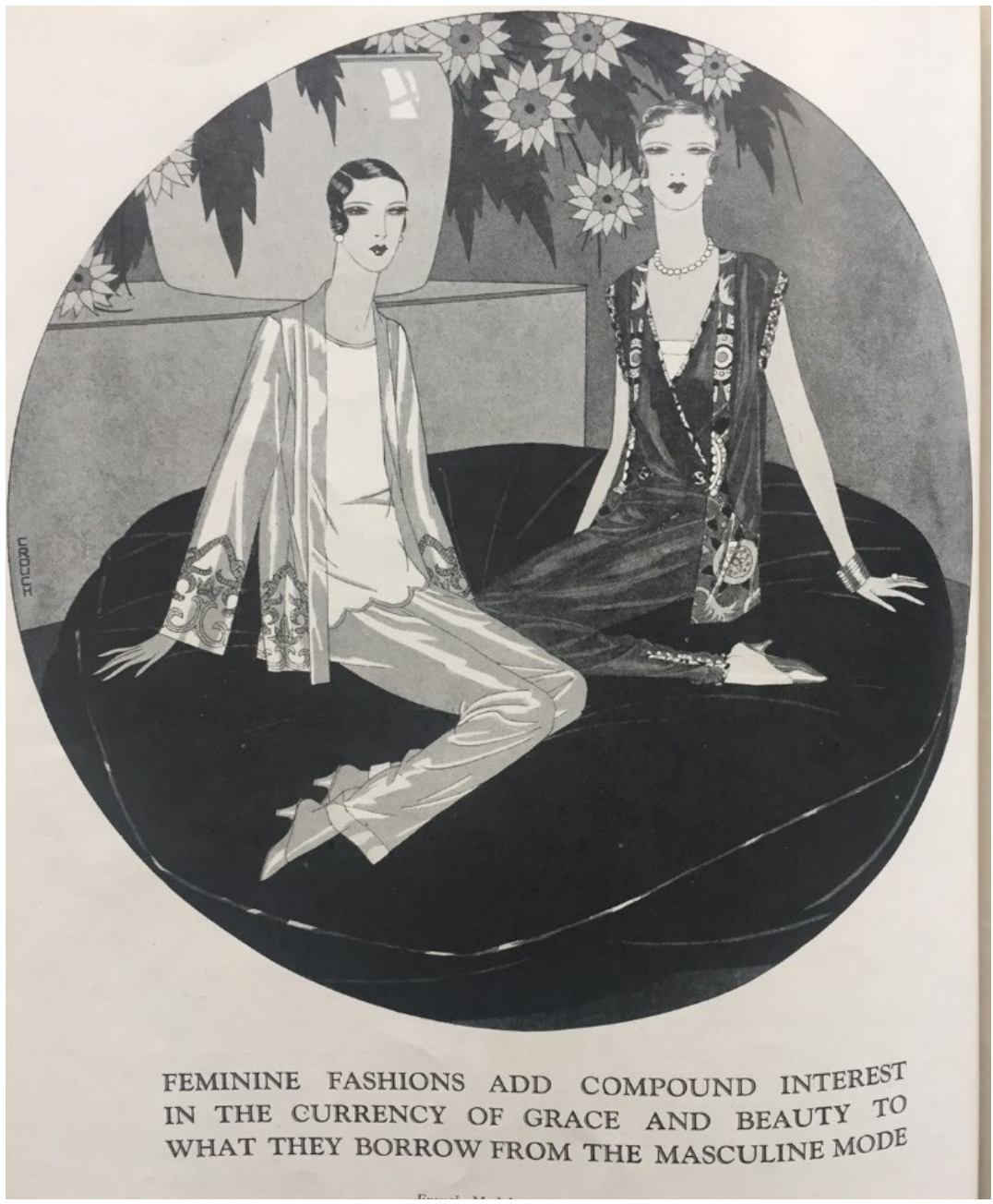


Figure 62: Pyjamas (Source: Eve, 1927:32)

The Marshall and Snelgrove advertisement the previous year for a smoking suit, seen in figure 63, Marshall & Snelgrove Pyjama (Eve, 1926:219) is quite different in that it makes few concessions to femininity. It is clearly a suit with bow tie and waistcoat, yet it is also a pyjama. It contrasts with the softer draping fabrics above, but sophistication is still apparent.



Figure 63: Marshall & Snelgrove Pyjama (Source: Eve, 1926:219)

Eve had spoken about Pyjamas in 1919. They appeared as an indoor item, in this case a 'thinking suit', to be '...*chic*, and masculine... How nice and boyish she would look' (Eve, 1919:47). As seen in figure 64, Thinking (Eve, 1919:47), Eve actively welcomes the opportunity to look boyish. Practicality may have been involved in being a degenerate boy, but style was paramount.



Figure 64: Thinking (Source: Eve, 1919:46)

In 1927, *Eve* recommended 'Degenerate-looking pyjamas' for mornings at home (Meander in Paris, 1927:375). Women sought to look degenerate whilst exquisitely dressed. As pyjamas had long been available and came in brocade and satin, their degenerate nature must have come from the attitude of the wearer.

7.3 Degenerate Women

Women in Bohemia often cross-dressed (Nicholson, 2003:152; Crane, 2000:105). Brett bought *pantaloons d'ouvriers* (workers' trousers) in Paris that she and Dora Carrington wore (Nicholson, 2003:153). Some women, such as Gluck and Radclyffe-Hall, cross-dressed in public, whilst in Paris Romaine Brooks did so at Natalie Barney's salon. With hindsight it is understood that Gluck, Radclyffe-Hall and Brooks were lesbians, but at the time this was not obvious. Consequently the style was seen as aristocratic dressing (Rolley, 1990:55; Doan, 2001:99), or Bohemian (Wilson, 2000:132) and, in any case, not solely worn by lesbians as Crane believes (2000:107) as Brett and Carrington were not.

Certainly *Eve* featured photographs of aristocrats throughout the period, frequently dressed in masculine-styled tweeds and waistcoats. It is easy to identify 'the clumsy, thick-ankled, untidily tweed-clothed hoyden' recognised by Doan (2001:101), so the manly style would readily have been associated with the upper-classes. In 1922, *Eve* saw nothing wrong with it, saying 'The county squire type of woman, with a single eye glass (or not) is rather pleasant' (Eve, 1922:43). Figure 65, *Our Girls* (Eve, 1925:97) is an amusing picture of the type, from *Eve* in 1925 – it appeared without comment, other than the caption 'Our girls'.

In November 1926, an article suggested that '...the bobbing and shingling of hair, and suchlike vogues, have given us an illusion of mannishness, certainly of boyishness'. Country women were deemed far more mannish than those in the city suggesting that contemporaries also recognised Doan's 'clumsy...hoyden'. The article concluded that mannish clothing was just an attractive city style (Muir, 1926:48). It is therefore clear that the long-held respectability of the country woman allowed the city style to pass largely without adverse comment.



Figure 65: Our Girls (Source: *Eve*, 1925:97)

As this was accepted, the more stylised version of masculine fashions which *Eve* promoted would have given little reason to consider lesbianism. Doan maintains that the style was popularly held to be boyish, rather than youthful as Steele contends (1985:239). It might have been both; clearly there were choices from feminine dresses and make-up through to monocles, tailored suits and severe crops.

Countering Doan's assertion that lesbians popularised the style, their influence being 'disproportionate to their numbers' (2001:xviii), it is more likely that magazines such as *Eve* and *Vogue* popularised the look. *Eve* presented the style in a feminine way that would have reached a wide audience unaware of lesbianism. This fits with Doan's other contention that whilst cross-dressing might have appeared transgressive, indeed illegal, in Paris, in London it only seemed to be '...slavish compliance to the dictates of high fashion' (2001:xix), albeit daringly avant-garde. *Vogue* had shown masculine styles to a declining readership, making it likely that *Eve*'s constant suggestion of femininity made the difference to acceptance or otherwise.

In 1920, *Eve* talked of using a man's tailor and finding the experience exciting.

Awf'ly fascinating, I think, a real tailor's shop for a woman! One feels strangely *en travesti*. And indeed in these times of excessively feminine dress... there is an element of dressing up in a severe and "classic" tailor-made suit! (Eve, 1920:407).

The use of a man's tailor created excitement, especially as this was at a time when, as seen, Brett bought men's trousers without trying them, and could only find them in Paris. Figure 66, *en travesti*, (Eve, 1920:407) shows visiting a tailor as being like visiting the couturier, with the added pleasure of entering a man's world. Eve's use of the French term *en travesti* may have implied delight in dressing as a member of the opposite sex, with a hint of social unacceptability. Additionally it may have been a play on the word travesty, suggesting pretence. However interpreted, use of a French phrase would instantly have implied sophistication and style.



Figure 66: *en travesti* (Source: Eve, 1920:407)



Figure 67: short hair (Source: Eve, 1921:148)

Figure 67, short hair (Eve, 1921:148) shows *Eve's* picture of the American actress Shirley Mason in 1921, observing only that her short hair suited her style. Her image is highly masculine with shirt, jacket, trousers and braces and the requisite slouch. This was evidently not in need of further comment, with no link between masculine style and sapphism (Eve, 1921:148).

Of a 1926 visit to the Eiffel Tower restaurant, Beaton wrote that he saw 'a group of women 'dressed up as Sapphists', short hair, tailored suits collars and cuff, watch chains and buttonholes' (1961:89). Perhaps Beaton's sensitivities were finely tuned, or perhaps his use of the words 'dressed up as' (highlighted in his piece) is significant and the women were appropriating lesbianism, an affectation aimed at shocking. Generally, though, there is little evidence that such an appearance was widely understood to represent lesbianism.

On occasion, *Eve* drew attention to sapphism, but subtly so that those who did not understand could have interpreted the article differently. As Doan notes (2001:122), the *Eve* editor, Sybil Cookson, had a lesbian affair with the artist Gluck. It is therefore

highly likely that oblique references to lesbianism were deliberate, but no more than a rallying-cry to those who understood, and certainly not enough to alienate readers as Todd seemed to do at *Vogue*.

For example, an article in November 1924 stated that women could now do almost all that men do, so suggesting that magazine articles should be relevant to everyone. The author noted that women were not becoming any less feminine. To illustrate this, he spoke of 'a sprinkling of rather unfeminine women' who had always existed, saying 'there are not more of them ... now than there used to be', but they were more visible as they no longer stayed at home. In the past 'they had a miserable time' but now they 'have as good and busy a time as they want'. Other women who 'like clothes just as much as ever' can 'work at professions and all that sort of thing without losing a scrap of their womanliness' (Gray, 1924:355).

This seems to be a subtle suggestion that unfeminine women might be lesbians. Whether more feminine women, liking clothes 'just as much as ever', could also like masculine attire 'without losing a scrap of their womanliness' is unclear. The implication about 'unfeminine women' is clearly more than that they simply appropriated masculine styles.

The article faced a picture of Una Troubridge, Radclyffe-Hall's lover, so it can be interpreted as a reference to lesbianism, as the same technique of inference was used when Paula Gellibrand's picture appeared, as discussed on page 117. Interestingly, Una tended to be the more femininely dressed of her partnership. Her hair is not severely cropped as was the style for many, and she wears jewellery. Figure 68, Interested (Eve, 1924:354) is as she appeared opposite the article.



Figure 68: Interested (Source: Eve, 1924:354)

In 1927, *Eve* noted that couturiers had decided, in introducing longer skirts, that ‘a woman must look like a woman, and not like some sort of mannish creature’. For *Eve*, Chanel ‘understands her public better than almost any other living dressmaker’ and so did not champion longer skirts. This comment equates shorter skirts with masculinity, and, mannish or not, as being what women still wanted (Meander in Paris, 1927:139). There seem to have been many interpretations of what constituted a mannish creature, especially when the ‘clumsy ...hoyden’ had always worn a longer skirt. It is interesting, too, that in the 1926 article, ‘mannish’ was used alongside the words woman and feminine. Now it appeared with ‘creature’. This should be read as a comment on the unwelcome changes decreed by couturiers rather than *Eve*’s criticism of a mannish woman. Creature was often a term of endearment, for example Deeping’s reference to a ‘progressive creature’ seen on page 7.

Eve singled out Radclyffe-Hall for particular comment in July 1927 as a woman ‘in the front rank of those active women who really carry off modern fashions in dress’ (King, 1927:72), illustrated in figure 69: Front Rank (*Eve*, 1927:72). Before the *Well of Loneliness* trial ‘her whole aura is highbrow modernism’, leading the way, style-wise, due to wearing masculine fashions (Doan, 2001:113). *Eve* even mentions her monocle, despite it not featuring in the picture. This clearly aligned culture with masculine dress.

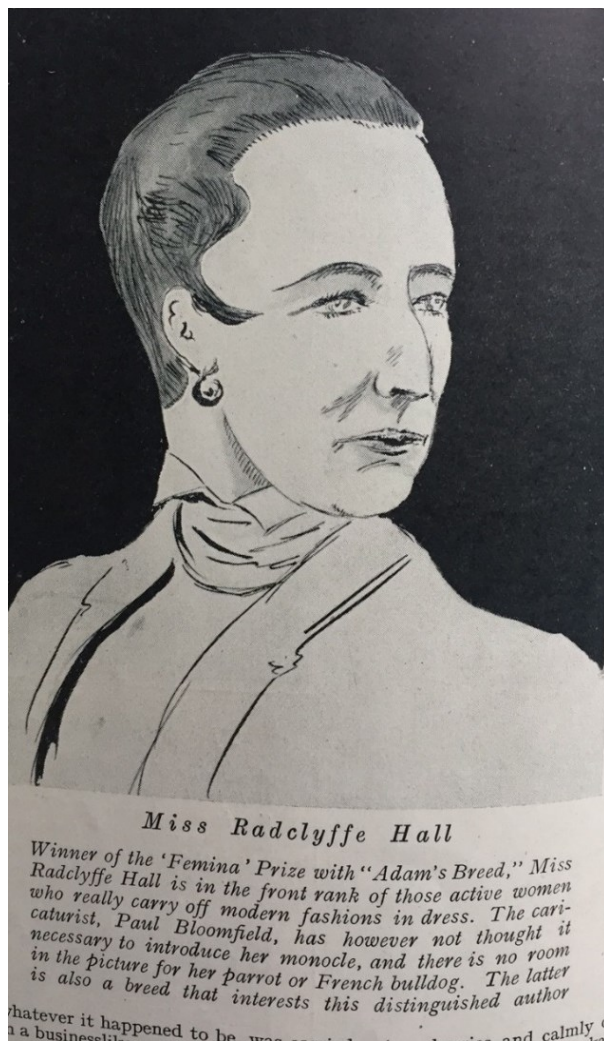


Figure 69: front rank (Source: *Eve*, 1927:72)

In August 1928, before the outcome of the *Well of Loneliness* trial, *Eve* made it book of the week. *Eve* understood the story but did not elucidate for those unaware of lesbianism. Only the narrow-minded could object to it, as

This is an intensely poignant and tragic study of a woman who is...well, who is not as normal women are. That it will cause a “sensation” goes without

saying, though there is absolutely nothing in it to offend anyone [except those who] condemn everything they do not understand (King, 1928:364).

Subtly telling readers not to be offended by the novel, perhaps *Eve* did not anticipate the verdict, or strength of feeling aroused by the trial, as afterwards *Eve's* reference to masculine style changed slightly. *Eve* immediately decided 'the masculine woman is as dead as the dodo in the streets of fashion' (Meander in Paris, 1928:409; Doan, 2001:122). If, then, the 1924 article above indicates a hint from *Eve* about what masculine styling could signify, the trial outcome made the publication distance itself from it. Nevertheless, the same issue mentioned Radclyffe-Hall's style again, adding only that 'the book has been banned in libraries' (King, 1928:407). *Eve* thus retained a sense of playfulness.

Consequently, Doan's assertion that it was only with the *Well Of Loneliness* trial in 1928 that people came to associate masculine style with lesbianism is entirely plausible. If this is so, the mannish style, insofar as anyone objected, must previously have been seen as daring and indicative of the wearer's attitude. This is especially likely as it was usually accompanied by a slouched or masculine pose. Thus it must have seemed avant-garde and been accepted as such, at least by *Eve* readers. *Eve's* oblique reference, on occasion, to lesbianism, may have impressed some readers. Nonetheless, portrayal of masculine style and the highlighted contradiction with femininity would have made an avant-garde association more obvious for most readers.

Undoubtedly, the style became unfashionable and more feminine styles replaced it after the trial, but *Eve* did not entirely abandon it. Following the trial there were four months in which newspapers published numerous pictures of Hall, keeping her and the trial in the public mind (Doan, 2001:123). Despite this, *Eve* featured the popular actress 'Beatrice Lillie [who] seldom lets a revue pass without slipping her slim, boyish figure into male attire' (Eve, 1928:652). The implication is clearly that she enjoyed it. She is seen in the usual slouched pose in figure 70, Beatrice Lillie (Eve, 1928:652). Beatrice had previously featured several times in *Eve* with her titled husband, so her use now served to distance the style from lesbianism.

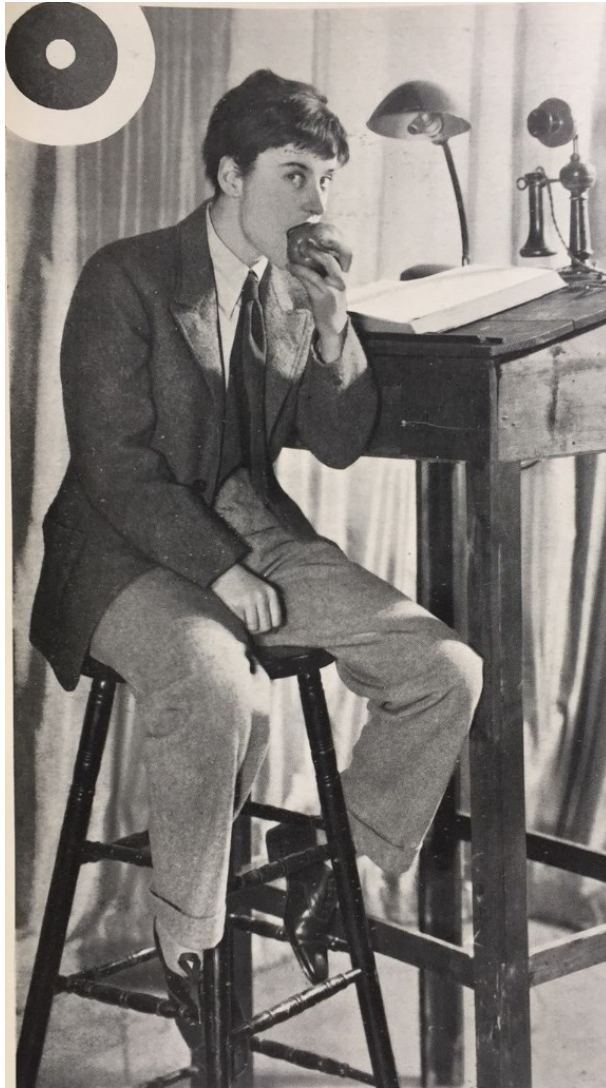


Figure 70: Beatrice Lillie (Source: Eve, 1928:652)

In the same issue, Hamley's advertised a 'Boudoir Mascot Doll', *La Garçonne*, with a monocle as seen in figure 71, Doll (Eve, 1928:B). The doll could have had *la garçonne's* qualities of short hair and skirt, without adding extra masculine styling such as a monocle. *Eve* and Hamley's do not seem to have been worried about continued association with masculine styling. The idea of lesbianism might have shocked many after the trial, but masculine styles had been popular and, in offering practicality, were still not necessarily seen as lesbian when so many role-models affected them without a hint of lesbianism. The style had been fashionable for over a decade and, if only to benefit commerce, had to change eventually.



Figure 71: Doll (Source: Eve, 1928:B)

Eve ceased publication in April the following year. The final issue informed readers that the new magazine, '*BRITANNIA and EVE*' would now include housekeeping and house management, social etiquette and a paper pattern service with its usual articles (Eve, 1929:D). This almost reads as if *Eve* felt defeated by the trial outcome and saw little future for avant-garde influence on life.

Another feature told readers that the latest fashions were now only to be found at the couturiers as women themselves were not wearing them. Indeed, *Eve's* final piece of fashion advice was to

Economise on dresses and coats but spend on the right make-up, hairdressing, shoes and stockings, the right jewels, gloves and lingerie – then don't worry about the latest fashion in dresses and coats (Meander in Paris, 1929:869).

This sounds like Bell's quote from Cocteau, 'Let us have style, instead of having a style' (1924:52). It is also the 'very definition of chic', Silver's term for Cocteau's style concept (1989:46). Perhaps *Eve* felt that after a decade of promoting new and daring ideas bound up with the avant-garde, fashion was now at a point where style, incorporating almost any influence, could now triumph.

Highlighting the contradiction between the feminine and the masculine, and how feminine a masculine style might look, ostensibly rendered the fashions acceptable. *Eve's* actual intention was to draw attention to the fact that here were women wearing male clothing. This was different to the aristocratic or country style generally accepted. If women were to *épater le bourgeois*, their attitude and mixed-gender attire was paramount. Mixed-gender attire would serve more to astound than simply wearing a full male outfit as the bourgeois would.

8 Conclusion

The literature review showed that avant-garde influence on style is most usually seen as Cubist, found in 'flat, geometrical and quadrangular' (Veronesi, 1968:312) fashions. Futurist and Constructivist action to create clothing has been highlighted (Wilcox, 2001; Lussier 2003; Stern, 2004). The *Ballets Russes' Schéhérezade* costumes and staging are also seen as influential (Lussier, 2003:32).

The avant-garde were dismissive of those who did not appreciate their art and in turn, the public felt themselves ridiculed. Accusations of *boche* tendencies were levelled at the avant-garde.

This study demonstrates that, following the avant-garde's negative reception, it was transformed into a popular cultural phenomenon. It was seen as bold, daring and exciting at a time when change in society was inevitable. Its influence on fashion was wider than the simple use of specific designs, as it was driven by a new attitude.

The three important factors in this were the merging of the avant-garde with the established notion of Bohemia, the creation of what is now termed lifestyle modernism, and the frequent publication of content associated with these in *Eve*.

The widespread interest in Bohemia facilitated the acceptability of the avant-garde. The fusion of the concepts is exemplified by *Eve's* frequent references to Bohemia whilst actually describing the avant-garde. *Eve's* sophisticated version bore little resemblance to impoverished Bohemia.

The retrospective phrase lifestyle modernism covers the eclectic mix of everyday entertainment and the experimental. This made the avant-garde more accessible to those who otherwise felt alienated. Commentators have seen it as a complete lifestyle, as illustrated in ballets such as *Les Biches*.

The study shows that, alongside its traditional magazine content, *Eve* used avant-garde imagery and content in an approachable manner, such as features on the lives of artists rather than art itself. *Eve* referenced the avant-garde obliquely, rather than by name, by featuring its art as illustration. This contrasts with the more confrontational use in *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*.

The fabricated persona of Eve was intended to have a broad appeal to women on a variety of levels, as a means of influencing fashion and lifestyle. She was the first of the constructs of the type that Chadwick identified as avant-garde. Her creation was followed by Lerbier in *La Garçonne* and Palmyre in *Vogue*, but unlike them, Eve is not discussed in literature.

Eve carried lifestyle content similar to other magazines, but presented it in an innovative way. The attractive, modern backgrounds were aspirational, subtly prompting women to transform their lives. *Eve* was clearly influential as evidenced by its acknowledged rivalry to *Vogue*.

The avant-garde subsumed a wide range of influences, re-packaging the ordinary with an attitude of extraordinariness. Ordinarity was now an unlikely aspect of the avant-garde. Cocteau was an enthusiast of the day-to-day absurdity of music-hall, and Duchamp showed how commonplace objects could be viewed as art, in his 'Readymades'.

The glamour of Paris, as featured in *Eve*, naturally resulted in London seeming dull by comparison. However, as the ordinary now seemed exciting, Cocteau's mix of high and low-brow culture had great appeal, seeming avant-garde. The avant-garde had become a cultural rallying cry for those who wished to express their cynical or casual attitude, and be seen as modern.

Cross-dressing had been a staple of music-hall entertainment. When it was adopted by Duchamp, with careful attention to style, it became avant-garde. Some women in Bohemian circles wore masculine styles, which was taken as an oppositional statement. Male-inspired attire for women was well represented in *Eve*. Eve herself enjoyed the frisson of being *en travesti*. Eve highlighted the contrast between the masculinity of the clothing and the femininity of the wearer, or the mix of clothing with cross-gender associations. Whilst seen as challenging, it was more readily accepted than *Vogue's* suggestion of lesbianism, which appeared to cause a decline in sales.

The introduction of the avant-garde into women's lives was achieved through an interest in Bohemianism and widespread desire for a modern way of life. Lifestyle

modernism allowed access to the avant-garde via the very ordinariness of music-hall and tea and scones.

Once the excitement of the avant-garde was seen as approachable by readers of *Eve*, it was much easier to progress to radical fashions, such as shorter skirts, mixed-gender clothing, and even a new body-shape. Importantly, in not including serious features on the arts themselves, as *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair* and *The Bystander* did, there was still an element of the distant and redoubtable about the avant-garde. Thus it maintained the air and mystique needed to '*épater le bourgeois*' and maintain interest.

This study shows that *Eve* is more important than so far acknowledged, in promoting new artistic culture and suggesting modern styles. The study has begun the detailed research that can throw new light on the period in general and the role of women's magazines in particular. It shows that the influence of the avant-garde was strengthened by the adoption of a new, rebellious attitude. This facilitated the great changes seen in the period and was a more all-pervading influence than has been recognised to date, so adding to new knowledge.

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