INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

JOHN TWACHTMAN (1853-1902) AND THE AMERICAN SCENE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE FRONTIER WITHIN THE TERRAIN OF THE FAMILIAR

Volume I

by Lisa N. Peters

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1995

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 9639442

Copyright 1995 by
Peters, Lisa Nicol

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9639442
Copyright 1996, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 1995

Lisa N. Peters

All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the disseration requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

January 13, 1995
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

1.24.95
Date

Executive Officer

Dr. Barbara Dayer Gallati

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

JOHN TWACHTMAN (1853-1902) AND THE AMERICAN SCENE
IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
THE FRONTIER WITHIN THE TERRAIN OF THE FAMILIAR

by

Lisa N. Peters

Advisor: Professor William H. Gerdts

The art of John Henry Twachtman exemplifies the essential changes that occurred in late nineteenth-century American landscape painting. A leading figure in a cosmopolitan generation of artists, Twachtman studied in Munich and Paris, painted in several prominent European art capitals, and was influenced by many aspects of European painting. After settling in Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1889, he formulated a highly original Impressionist style combining vital, direct brushwork, an abstract understanding of form, and a sensitivity to tonal harmonies. He used this approach to create his best known images, intimate views of his Greenwich home and property in all seasons of the year.

Most previous studies on Twachtman have concentrated purely on the formal dimensions of his art, downplaying the impact of his European influences. I explore Twachtman's sources and demonstrate their importance to his stylistic evolution. I argue,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

however, that the changes in Twachtman's treatment reflected not only the impact of new influences, but also his responses to the places where he worked and lived. In each of his painting locales, including Venice; New York harbor; the Jersey City shore; the Cincinnati suburbs; Tuscany; Holland; Normandy; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Newport, Rhode Island; Greenwich; and Gloucester, Massachusetts, he modified his approach to convey his impressions of his sites. Often drawn to types of landscapes that had not been painted previously, he recorded new realities of urban, suburban, and resort life. His works thus reflect fundamental changes that occurred in America during a period of tremendous change. He expressed the dynamic qualities of the city in the 1870s and the decade's optimistic attitude toward urban progress. Conversely, in the late 1880s and 1890s, he conveyed the antipathy toward the city that arose toward the century's end when the American suburbs expanded into anti-urban, countricized enclaves and coastal areas became popular places to escape the bustle and noise of the metropolis. His works also reflect the American response to the idea that the nation's western frontier had closed. Finding freshness and rejuvenation in nature within the limited arena of his Greenwich property, he perpetuated the frontier experience, seen by Frederick Jackson Turner and others as still important to the American psyche, within a familiar, private domain, a type of settled landscape that characterized much of the country at the turn of the century.

I approach Twachtman's work both from a monographic and a thematic viewpoint, exploring images chronologically and within a socio-cultural framework. As Twachtman's art characterizes a changing American scene, it illuminates the cultural history of his era.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Acknowledgments

I became interested in the art of John Twachtman in the fall of 1986 when I began work on a catalogue raisonné of his work for Spanierman Gallery, New York. My first gratitude is due to my co-author on this forthcoming publication, Ira Spanierman, who, throughout the eight years I have worked with him, has constantly shared his genuine and inspired understanding of Twachtman's art with me, teaching me not only how to look at stylistic aspects of paintings, but how to understand their spirit. Mr. Spanierman has also supported my research on Twachtman, allowing me time to travel to the artist's sites and giving me the freedom to explore new approaches to his art. I also owe deep appreciation to my advisor, Dr. William H. Gerdts. His consultation on the catalogue raisonné and on my dissertation have been invaluable, and his high standards for scholarship, research, and writing have been a model I have attempted to emulated. Ready access to his immense library has greatly facilitated my work.

I am also grateful to my three other readers, Dr. H. Barbara Weinberg, Dr. Sally Webster, and Dr. Barbara Dayer Gallati for their astute comments and recommendations.

Dr. John Douglass Hale and Richard J. Boyle, Twachtman scholars who are also advisors on the catalogue raisonné, deserve my special gratitude. Both have been extremely responsive and helpful over the course of many years, thoughtfully offering their views of the artist's works and career development.

Many museum professionals, private collectors, gallery staff members, auction house employees, and librarians have willingly furnished information that contributed both

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to the catalogue raisonné and to this undertaking. I would especially like to acknowledge the the Archives of American Art, New York; the New York Public Library; the New York Society Library; and the Archives of the Cincinnati Art Museum.

A great number of friends and colleagues have offered support during the course of my work. M. Elizabeth Boone supplied extremely helpful comments on my first three chapters which led to significant revisions. Fellow staff members at Spanierman Gallery provided encouragement, and many research assistants over the years have gathered material, adding to the catalogue raisonné archives. In particular I would like to acknowledge Jean Carlson, Karen Lemmey, Christine Rossi, and Amy L. Young. My family has also been a source of support and encouragement. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Jerry, for constant inspiration, wisdom, and patience during the long process of my research and writing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Introduction 1

Introduction 1
Bibliographic Review 7
Special Considerations in Twachtman Scholarship 12
Notes 13

Chapter One
Twachtman's Early Cincinnati Years (1853-1975) 14

Youth and Early Training 14
Study under Frank Duveneck 24
Cincinnati in 1875 28
Notes 32

Chapter Two
The Emergence of a Realist Painter: Scenes of Modern Life in Venice, New York, and New Jersey (1875-1879) 40

Study and Experience in Munich (1875-1877) 40
Polling (1875-1876) 47
Venice (1877-1878) 51
A Move to New York 61
The Tile Club (1879) 68
Views of New York and New Jersey Harbors and Coasts (1879-1880) 72
Notes 106

Chapter Three
Cultivated Countrysides and Suburban Places: Images of Tuscany, Holland, and the Cincinnati Hills (1879-1883) 123

Cincinnati (1879-1880) 123
First Etchings 125
Florence (1880-1881) 131
European Honeymoon (1881) 135
Avondale (1882-1883) 149
Closson's 1883 Show 168

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes 171

Chapter Four

"The Essential Nature of Things": Tranquil Visions of Normandy and Holland (1883-1885) 185

Life in Paris and Training at the Académie Julian 185
Landscape Painting in an Academic Context 194
Summers in the Country (1884-1885) 197
French Period Art 208
Criticism of the French Period Works 218
French Period Art Summary 221
Notes 222

Chapter Five
A Prelude to Impressionism: Images in Oil and Pastel of Bridgeport, Newport, and the Branchville Hills (1886-1889) 231

Cincinnati and the Midwest (1886-1888) 231
New York and the Brooklyn Bridge 238
Branchville (1888) 243
Bridgeport (1888) 246
Fifth Avenue Art Galleries Exhibition and Sale (1889) 251
Summer in Newport (1889) 255
Pastels (1888-1902) 262
Notes 275

Chapter Six
The Frontier within the Terrain of the Familiar: Twachtman's Greenwich Art and Career (1889-1900) 287

Home and Property in Hang Root 287
Twachtman's Property and the American Suburban Life Movement in the 1890s 296
Family and Friends in Greenwich 314
Cos Cob and the Holley House 325
New York Teaching 330
World's Columbian Exposition, Professional Affiliations, and the Ten American Painters 334
Greenwich Paintings: Style and Technique 340
Greenwich Paintings: Chronology 345

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Exhibition at Wunderlich Gallery, New York (1891) 347
Exhibition at American Art Galleries, New York (1893) 352
Niagara Falls (1893-1894) 362
Yellowstone Park (1895) 367
Exhibitions at St. Botolph Club, the Cincinnati Art Museum, Art Institute of Chicago, and Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York (1900-1901) 378
Twachtman's Greenwich Art in Perspective: Questions of Tonalism, Seriality, Modernism, and the Importance of Familiarity 390
Twachtman's Greenwich Art in the Context of the American Suburban Movement: An Iconographical Study 405
Notes 427

Chapter Seven
"A New Personal Force": Winter Solace in Cos Cob, Connecticut, and Summer Holidays in Gloucester, Massachusetts (1900-1902) 463

A Second Home in Cos Cob 463
Summers in Gloucester 470
Gloucester Period Art: Style and Criticism 475
Gloucester: An American Fishing/Resort Town 482
Reactions to Twachtman's Art in the Early Twentieth Century 491
Twachtman's Legacy 501
Notes 509

Conclusion 519
Conclusion Notes 525

VOLUME II

Chronology 526

Appendix One: Twachtman's Correspondence 535

Appendix Two: Twachtman's Students 558

Appendix Three: Twachtman's Illustrations 560

Figures 568

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bibliography, Part One 1035

Bibliography, Part Two 1054

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figures

1. Photograph, Building located in Cincinnati at 15th and Race Streets where Twachtman's family may have lived..... 568

2. Twachtman, *The Loyal Hotel*, ca. 1871-1872, oil on canvas, 9-3/4 x 13-1/8 inches, private collection..... 569

3. Twachtman, *Tuckerman's Ravine*, 1872, oil on canvas, 15-1/2 x 18 inches, private collection..... 570

4. Thomas Cole, *Lake with Dead Trees (Catskill)*, 1825, oil on canvas, 27 x 34 inches, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio..... 571

5. Thomas Cole, *In the Catskills*, 1827, oil on panel, 18-5/8 x 25-7/16 inches, Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, New York..... 572

6. Frederic E. Church, *Mt Ktaadn*, 1853, oil on canvas, 36-1/4 x 55-1/4 inches, Yale University Art Gallery, Stanley B. Resor, B.A. 1901 Fund..... 573

7. William Sonntag, *Landscape*, 1854, oil on canvas, 16 x 22-1/8 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, gift of Alfred T. Goshorn, 1886..... 574

8. Twachtman, *Head of a Boy*, oil on canvas, 13 x 10 inches, Cincinnati Art Galleries, Cincinnati..... 574

9. Frank Duveneck, *Portrait of a Boy*, oil on canvas, 22 x 18 inches, The Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio..... 575

10. Lithograph, Cincinnati from the hills, 1875. From Luke Feck, *Yesterday's Cincinnati* (Miami, Fla.: E.A. Seeman, 1977), pl. 37..... 576

11 Frank Duveneck, *Portrait of Professor Ludwig Löfftz*, ca. 1873, 37-15/16 x 28-11/16 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum..... 577

12. Ludwig Löfftz, *Am Strande*, oil on canvas, Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich..... 578

13. Ludwig Löfftz, *Überschewemmung*, oil on canvas, Staatsgemälde-sammlungen, Munich..... 578

14. Ludwig Löfftz, *Tannenwald*, oil on canvas, Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich..... 579

15. Sketch, letter from Twachtman, Munich, to Miss Alice Minning, Cincinnati, 16 November 1876, private collection, Cincinnati..... 580

16. Twachtman, *Head of a Man*, ca. 1875-1877, oil on panel, 14-7/16 x 10-11/16 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum..... 581

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

17. Postcard, Polling, 1937. 582

18. Postcard, Polling, 1949. 582

19. Twachtman, *Cows*, ca. 1876-1877, pencil on paper, 16-7/8 x 12 inches, private collection. 583

20. Twachtman, *Cow's Head*, ca. 1876-1877, monotype on paper, 14-1/4 x 11-5/8 inches, location unknown. 584

21. Photograph, Polling environs, 1987. 585

22. Photograph, Polling environs, 1987. 585

23. Frank Currier, *Moors at Dachau*, ca. 1875, oil on canvas, 51 x 81 inches, Collection of Mr. George Cooke White. 586

24. John White Alexander, *Currier and His Friends at Polling*, pencil drawing, illustration in Nelson C. White, *The Life and Art of J. Frank Currier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1936), opp. p. 22. 586

25. Frank Duveneck, *Landscape, Polling, Bavaria*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 23 x 31 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, 1915.127. 587

26. William Merritt Chase, *View near Polling* (*Landscape with Sheep*), ca. 1875, oil on canvas, 36-1/4 x 48 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York. 587

27. Twachtman signature, early May, 1876, Streicher Inn Guestbook, copy, Library, Spanierman Gallery, New York. 588

28. Twachtman, *View near Polling*, ca. 1876-1877, oil on canvas, 35 x 55 inches, private collection. 589

29. Twachtman, *Along the Fence*, ca. 1876-1877, oil on canvas, 24 x 20 inches, private collection. 589

30. Twachtman, *Forest Scene*, ca. 1876-1877, oil on panel, 12 x 21 inches, private collection. 590

31. Duveneck, *Beechwoods at Polling*, ca. 1876, oil on canvas, 45-1/2 x 37 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum. 591

32. Twachtman, *Old Barn*, oil on canvas, 25-1/2 x 20-1/2 inches, private collection. 592

33. Johann Sperl, *Bauernhaus*, ca. 1880, oil on canvas, 52 x 64 centimeters, Munich, Neue Pinakothek. 593

34. Hans Thoma, *Geborgenheit*, 1878, oil on canvas, 74.5 x 63 centimeters, Neue Pinakothek, Munich. 593

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

35. Canaletto, *Grand Canal Looking East from the Campo S. Vio*, oil on canvas, 55-1/2 x 80-1/2 inches, Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, Lugano, Switzerland..... 594

36. Twachtman, *Venice*, 1877, oil on canvas, 13-3/16 x 22-3/4 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum..... 595

37. Twachtman, *View of Venice*, 1877, oil on canvas, 18-1/4 x 27-1/4 inches, Berry-Hill Galleries, New York..... 596

38. Twachtman, *Venice*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 16 x 20 inches, I. David Orr..... 597

39. Joseph Mallord Turner, *Venice*, 1834, oil on canvas, 35-1/2 x 48 inches, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..... 598

40. Twachtman, *View of Venice*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 10 x 16 inches, private collection..... 598

41. John Linton Chapman, *Venice in the Distance*, ca. 1870, oil on panel, 8 x 19-1/4 inches, Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York, Gift of August Heckscher..... 599

42. Twachtman, *Venice Landscape*, 1878, oil on canvas, 12 x 20-1/2 inches, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston..... 600

43. Twachtman, *Ship and Dock*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 14-3/4 x 10-5/8 inches, private collection..... 601

44. Twachtman, *Venice, Campo San Marta*, ca. 1878, oil on panel, 17 x 23 inches, Joan Peterson Klimann..... 602

45. Twachtman, *Venetian Sailing Vessel*, oil on canvas, 15-1/4 x 10-1/2 inches, Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Smolev..... 603

46. *Le Bassin de Saint-Marc de S. Biagio*, photograph reproduction from *Calli e canali in Venezia*, 1895, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Library, New York..... 604

47. James McNeill Whistler, *Campo S. Marta: Winter Evening*, 1880, pastel on paper, 22.7 x 27.7 centimeters, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C..... 605

48. Twachtman, *Venice*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 7-1/4 x 13-1/4 inches, private collection..... 606

49. Twachtman, *The Grand Canal*, Venice, 1878, oil on canvas, 10-3/4 x 16 inches, location unknown..... 607

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

50. Thomas Moran, *View of Venice*, 1895, oil on canvas, 16-1/2 x 26-1/2 inches, Wellesley College Museum, Massachusetts. 608

51. Ippolito Caffi, *Venezia sotto la neve*, oil on canvas, 44 x 63 centimeters, Museo Civico Revoltella, Trieste. 608

52. Illustration by Ettore Tito, "The Fondamenta delle Zattere," from Henry Perl, *Venezia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 155. 609

53. Illustration by Ettore Tito, "Lloyd's Steamship 'Trieste,'" from Henry Perl, *Venezia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 159. 609

54. "At the Dock, Foot of Tenth Street," unattributed illustration, "The Tile Club Afloat," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* (March 1880), p. 642. 610

55. Twachtman, *Restaurant Du Grand Vatel*, illustration from "The French Quarter of New York," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 19 (November 1879): 3. 611

56. E. & H.T. Anthony, *Looking Along the Docks, from Fulton Market*, stereoscopic photograph, ca. 1870. 612

57. "The Brooklyn Pier--General View of Foundation," illustration, from "The East River Bridge," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 December 1870, p. 812. 612

58. Twachtman, *New York Harbor*, ca. 1879, oil on pressed board, 8-15/16 x 12-1/16 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, bequest of Mr. and Mrs. Walter J. Wichgar. 613

59. Francis A. Silva, *Sunrise at the Tappan Zee*, 1874, oil on canvas, 20-1/16 x 36-1/8 inches, Jo ann and Julian Ganz Collection. 614

60. Twachtman, *Oyster Boats, North River*, 1879, oil on canvas, 16-1/8 x 24 inches, The Art Museum, Princeton University, New Jersey, bequest of Gilbert S. McClintock. 615

61. Illustration, "Oyster Boats, North River, from William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 20 (July 1880): 334. 616

62. Illustration, "Opening of the Oyster Season," drawn by Dan Beard, *Harper's Weekly* 26 (16 September 1882): 584. 617

63. Photograph, Oyster shack-barges, 1875. From Harry Johnson and Frederick S. Lightfoot, *Maritime New York in Nineteenth-Century Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), p. 73. 618

64. Illustration, "Boat Stores," from James D. McCabe, *Lights and Shadows of New York Life; Or the Sights and Sensations of the Great City* (New York: National Publishing Co., 1872; facsimile, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970), p. 836. 619

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

65. Sanford R. Gifford, *Sunset over New York Bay*, ca. 1878, oil on canvas, 8-1/4 x 13 inches, Jo Ann and Julian Ganz, Jr. 620

66. Twachtman, *End of the Pier, New York Harbor*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 12-1/8 x 18 inches, private collection. 621

67. Twachtman, *The Old Pier*, oil on canvasboard, 9 x 13-1/2 inches, Tweed Museum of Art, University of Minnesota, Duluth. 622

68. Twachtman, *Dredging in the East River*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 11-9/16 x 17-5/8 inches, Elie Hirschfeld. 623

69. Illustration of Twachtman, *Dredging in New York Harbor*, *Harper's Weekly* 26 (10 June 1882): 356. 624

70. Samuel Colman, *Storm King on the Hudson*, 1866, oil on canvas, 32-1/8 x 59-7/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly 625

71. Samuel Colman, *Becalmed in the Highlands*, 1865, oil on canvas, 12 x 21-1/2 inches, Collection of Mrs. Charles C. Shoemaker. 625

72. Twachtman, *Coast Scene*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 22 x 36 inches, The Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery, Pennsylvania, Foundation Purchase. 626

73. Illustration, Twachtman, "Study of New Jersy Shore," engraved by W. Miller from George McLaughlin, "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School," *American Art Review* 2 (December 1880): 45. 627

74. *1883 Bird's Eye View Map of Jersey City* (Boston, Mass.: H. Bailey & Co., 1883), Jersey City Public Library, New Jersey Room. 628

75. 1887 Map of Jersey City, L.D. Fowler, *Atlas of Jersey City* (Philadelphia, Pa.: G.W. Bromley), 1887. 629

76. *North River, Jersey City, Central Railroad of New Jersey*, photograph file, Museum of the City of New York. 630

77. Thomas Moran, *Lower Manhattan from Communipaw*, 1880, oil on canvas, 25 x 45-1/4 inches, Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Maryland. 631

78. Twachtman, *The Shore*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 14-1/2 x 24 inches, San Diego Museum of Art. 632

79. Samuel Lockett, *View of the Morris Canal, Jersey City*, 1887, illustrated in Joan F. Doherty, *Hudson County: The Left Bank* (Northridge, Calif.: Winsor Publications, 1986), p. 85. 633

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

80. Photograph. St. Patrick's Church, Jersey City, from Joseph Flynn. *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*. Morristown, N.J.: Joseph Flynn, 1904, p. 411. 634

81. Twachtman, *Harbor View*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 14-1/4 x 22 inches, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas at Austin, Michener Art Fund. 635

82. Twachtman, *The Boat Yard*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 7-1/2 x 13-1/2 inches, location unknown. 636

83. Twachtman, *Shanties*, etching on paper, ca. 1879. 636

84. Childe Hassam, *Washington Arch in Spring*, 1890, oil on canvas, 26 x 21-1/2 inches, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C. 637

85. Paul Cornoyer, *Washington Square*, 1900, oil on canvas, Museum of the City of New York. 637

86. Edward Willis Redfield, *Between Daylight and Darkness*, ca. 1909, oil on canvas, 50 x 56 inches, Private Collection, New Jersey. 638

87. Childe Hassam, *Manhattan's Misty Streets*, oil on canvas, 1911, 18 x 22 inches, Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio. 638

88. William Glackens, *East River from Brooklyn*, 1902, oil on canvas, 25-1/8 x 30 inches, Santa Barbara Museum of Fine Arts, gift of Mrs. Sterling Morton. 639

89. George Luks, *Roundhouse at Highbridge*, 1909-1910, oil on canvas, 30-3/8 x 36-1/8 inches, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York. 639

90. John Sloan, *Nursemaids, Madison Square*, 1907, oil on canvas, 24 x 32 inches, Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery Association, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, F.M. Hall Collection. 640

91. Illustration, "The New Music Hall, Cincinnati," *Harper's Weekly* 22 (11 May 1878): 377. 641

92. Martha Scudder (Twachtman), *A Ruin on Mill Creek*, Cincinnati, 1880, etching on paper, 4 x 5-1/8 inches, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 642

93. Twachtman, *Miami River, Near Cincinnati*, ca. 1880, etching on paper, 4 x 5-1/8 inches. 642

94. Photograph, Millcreek, Near Spring Grove, Cemetary, *Kramer's Picturesque Cincinnati* (1898, reprint Cincinnati: Ohio Book Store, 1985), p. 79. 643

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

95. Twachtman, *Autumn, Avondale*, ca. 1880, etching on paper, 4-1/2 x 6-3/4 inches.....644

96. Twachtman, *Willows and Footbridge Near Cincinnati*, ca. 1880, etching on paper, 3-1/4 x 4-15/16 inches.....644

97. Twachtman, *Storm Clouds*, 1880, oil on canvas, 12-1/2 x 20-1/2 inches, Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. A. Everett for the Dorothy Burnham Everett Memorial Collection.....645

98. Twachtman, *Inner Harbor, Bridgeport*, ca. 1880, etching on paper, 6-1/4 x 9-3/4 inches.....646

99. Label on back of frame of two etchings, "received August 11 1880," courtesy of Mary Baskett.....647

100. Label on back of frame of two etchings, "received August 11 1880," courtesy of Mary Baskett.....648

101. Twachtman, *Florence, Near Fiesole*, ca. 1880-1881, oil on panel, 14-1/2 x 17-3/4 inches, Virginia Couse Leavitt.....649

102. Camille Corot, *Old Bridge at Limay, on the Seine*, ca. 1870, oil on canvas, 16 x 26 inches, The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Paul Rodman Mabury Collection.....650

103. Twachtman, *River Village, Tuscany*, oil on canvas, 12 x 23-1/2 inches, private collection.....651

104. Twachtman, *Landscape*, ca. 1880-1881, oil on canvas, 16-1/2 x 26 inches, private collection.....652

105. Twachtman, *San Miniato, Florence*, ca. 1880-1881, oil on canvas, 13 x 19 inches, Kennedy Galleries, New York.....653

106. State of Ohio, Hamilton County, Probate Court, marriage certificate for John H. Twachtman and Mattie H. Scudder, 21 April 1881, by Minister of the N.J. Church, John Goddard.....654

107. Twachtman, *The Inlet*, oil on canvas, 14 x 19-1/2 inches, Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.....655

108. Paul Gabriël, *Een Vaart Bij Kortenhoef*, oil on canvas, 53.2 x 83 centimeters, Museum Mesdag, The Hague.....655

110. Twachtman, *Coastal View* (recto of two-sided work), 1882, oil on panel, 14-5/8 x 25 inches, private collection 656

111. Twachtman, *The River, Holland*, ca. 1881, oil on canvas, 8-7/8 x 12-1/2 inches, Mark Twain Memorial, Hartford, Connecticut.....657

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

112. Twachtman, *Holland Meadows*, ca. 1881, oil on panel, 11-14 x 18-1/2 inches, location unknown. 658

113. Twachtman, *Landscape with Windmills*, ca. 1881, oil on canvas, 14 x 22 inches, private collection. 659

114. J. H. Weissenbruch, *Sunset Near Boskoop*, mid-1860s, oil on canvas, 49 x 85.5 centimeters, private collection. 660

115. Paul Gabriël, *Windmill by the Water*, watercolor on paper, 23.5 x 57 centimeters, Wassenaar Collection, A.A.M. Ruygrok. 660

116. Twachtman, *Windmills, Dordrecht*, ca. 1881, oil on panel, 14-1/2 x 20-1/2 inches, Charles and Emma Frye Museum, Seattle, Washington. 661

117. Twachtman, *Holland*, 1881, oil on panel, 15 x 23 inches, private collection. 662

118. Vincent van Gogh, *Farmhouses*, ca. 1883, oil on canvas, 36 x 55.5 centimeters, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam. 663

119. Twachtman, *A Dutch Farm*, 1881, oil on panel, 10 x 15 inches, private collection. 664

120. Twachtman, *Canal Scene, Holland*, 1881, oil on panel, 9-3/4 x 13 inches, private collection. 665

121. Twachtman, *Landscape*, ca. 1881, oil on panel, 11 x 16 inches, Phoenix Art Museum, Arizona, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Walter R. Bimson. 665

122. Postcard of Dordrecht dam, from J.J. Beyerman, *Dordrecht in oude ansichten* (Zalbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1967), p. 20. 666

123. Twachtman, *Windmills Dordrecht*, ca. 1881, etching on paper, 4-1/8 x 7-1/2 inches. 667

124. Twachtman, *Evening, Dordrecht*, ca. 1881, etching on paper, 5 x 7-1/2 inches. 667

125. Jacob Maris, *Souvenir of Dordrecht*, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 125.5 centimeters, Glasgow, The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. 668

126. Twachtman, *Holland Dykes*, ca. 1881, etching on paper, 10-1/2 x 15 inches. 669

127. Twachtman, *Holland Dykes* (proof), ca. 1881, etching on paper, 10-1/2 x 15 inches. 670

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

128. Twachtman, *Boats on the Maas*, ca. 1881, etching on paper, 12-3/8 x 17-3/4 inches.....671

129. Twachtman, *Dutch Boats*, ca. 1881, watercolor on paper, 12 x 18 inches, private collection.....672

130. Twachtman, *Harbor Scene*, ca. 1881, watercolor on paper, 10 x 14 inches, Mattatuck Museum, Waterbury, Connecticut.....673

131. Twachtman, *Venetian Scene*, ca. 1881, oil on panel, 4-3/4 x 7-3/4 inches, private collection.....674

132. Frank Duveneck, *View of the Bay of Venice* or *Venetian Sketch*, 1881, oil on canvas, location unknown.....675

133. Otto Bacher, *Fondamenta Della Zattere*, unlocated painting, reproduced in Otto Bacher Papers, Archives of American Art, roll 1654, frame 601.....675

134. Twachtman, *Venetian Study*, ca. 1881, oil on panel, 3-13/16 x 7-1/8 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Louise Drûde.....676

135. Frank Duveneck, *Harbor Chioggia*, ca. 1880, oil on canvas, 19-1/2 x 27-3/4 inches, Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, Candace C. Stimson Bequest.....677

136. Photograph, Mt. Auburn Incline (Main Street), from Richard M. Wagner, and Roy J. Wright, *Cincinnati Streetcars: No. 2, The Inclines* (Cincinnati: Wagner Car Company, 1968), p. 29.....678

137. Illustration, "The View from Mount Adams," from "The Hill-Suburbs of Cincinnati," *Lipincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 7 (May 1884): 427.....679

138. Illustration, "Bellevue House and the University," from "The Hill-Suburbs of Cincinnati," *Lipincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 7 (May 1884): 431.....680

139. Poster, "Cincinnati and Clifton Incine Plane R.R.," from Wagner, Richard M. and and Wright, Roy J. *Cincinnati Streetcars: No. 2, The Inclines*. Cincinnati: Wagner Car Company, 1968.....681

140. Illustration, "The Zoological Gardens," from "The Hill-Suburbs of Cincinnati," *Lipincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 7 (May 1884): 435.....681

141. Twachtman, *View in Cincinnati*, 1880, oil on canvas, 15 x 19 inches, private collection.....682

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

142. Twachtman, *Cincinnati Landscape*, 1880, oil on canvas, 20-1/2 x 24 inches, private collection.....683

143. Twachtman, *Cincinnati Landscape*, 1880, oil on canvas, 11-3/4 x 23-1/2, location unknown.....684

145. Twachtman, *Landscape with Cottage*, ca. 1880, oil on panel, 12-3/4 x 19-3/4 inches, private collection, Houston.....685

146. Twachtman, *Avondale, Ohio*, ca. 1880, oil on board, 7 x 13 inches, private collection.....686

147. Twachtman, drawing, sketchbook, pencil on paper, private collection, Connecticut.....687

148. Twachtman, drawing, sketchbook, pencil on paper, private collection, Connecticut.....688

149. Twachtman, drawing, sketchbook, pencil on paper, private collection, Connecticut.....689

150. Twachtman, *Bloody Run*, 1882, oil on canvas, 12 x 24 inches, Proctor & Gamble Collection, Cincinnati.....690

151. Twachtman, *Twachtman's Home, Avondale, Ohio*, ca. 1882, oil on canvas, 18-3/4 x 27 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Rafael Aryeh.....691

152. George Durrie, *Farmstead and Sleigh in Winter Landscape*, 1860, oil on canvas, 12 x 18 inches, Richard High Carleton Collection.....692

153. Anton Mauve, *Winter Landscape*, ca. 1875, oil on canvas, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.....692

154. Twachtman, *Snow Scene*, 1882, oil on canvas, 12-1/16 x 16-1/16 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Louise Drude.....693

155. Twachtman, *Dark Trees, Cincinnati*, 1882, oil on canvas 48 x 32 inches, private collection.....694

156. Twachtman, *Landscape*, ca. 1882, oil on canvas, 35 x 46 inches, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York.....695

157. Twachtman, *Early Winter*, ca. 1883, oil on canvas, 17 x 14 inches, private collection.....696

158. Twachtman, *Winter in Cincinnati*, ca. 1883, oil on panel, 13-1/4 x 15-1/2 inches, David Findlay Galleries, New York.....697

159. Twachtman, *Winter Landscape*, ca. 1883, 16-1/8 x 17-7/8 inches, Brooklyn Museum, New York.....698

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

160. Twachtman, *Winter Landscape*, 1883, oil on panel, 27 x 40.2 centimeters, New Jersey State Museum, Trenton. 699

161. Twachtman, *The Winding Path*, ca. 1883, oil on canvas, 27-1/2 x 41 inches, private collection. 700

162. Twachtman, *Gray Day*, ca. 1883, oil on canvas, 22 x 28 inches, location unknown. 701

163. Twachtman, *Winter Landscape*, ca. 1882, oil on panel, 15-1/2 x 24 inches, private collection, Houston. 702

164. Photograph, 80 East Washington Square, New York today, once the "Benedick Building," 1988. 703

165. Twachtman, *Arques-la-Bataille*, 1885, oil on canvas, 60 x 78-7/8 inches, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Morris K. Jesup Fund. 704

166. Twachtman, *Arques-la-Bataille*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 18-1/4 x 25-7/8 inches, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Charles Englehard Foundation Gift. 705

167. Twachtman, *Sailing Boats, Dieppe Harbor*, ca. 1884, oil on panel, 13-1/2 x 15-1/2 inches, private collection. 706

168. "Dieppe: La Vieux Château vue de la Plage," 1900, postcard. 707

169. "Dieppe: La Jetée--Entrée du Steamer 'France,'" 1900, postcard. 707

170. "Dieppe: L'Estacade," 1900, postcard. 707

171. The Béthune River, Arques-la-Bataille, France, photograph. 708

172. The Béthune River, Arques-la-Bataille, France, photograph. 708

173. The Béthune River, Arques-la-Bataille, France, photograph. 708

174. Twachtman, *Springtime*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 36-7/8 x 50 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum. 709

175. Twachtman, *View on the Brette, Béthune*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 18 x 21-1/2 inches, location unknown. 710

176. Twachtman, *The River*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 18-1/4 x 22-1/4 inches, Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago. 711

177. Twachtman, *L'Etang*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 19-1/2 x 24 inches, Erving and Joyce Wolf. 712

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

178. Twachtman, *Lake Under the Hills*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 15 x 22 inches, location unknown. 713

179. The Church at Arques, photograph. 714

189. "En Avion Au-Dessus de Honfleur (Calvados): Le Vieux Bassin," n.d., postcard. 715

181. "Honfleur: La Digue-Promenade et le Port," n.d. postcard. 715

182. "Honfleur: L'Eglise Sainte-Catherine et le Marche," n.d., postcard. 716

183. "En Avion Au-Dessus de Honfleur (Calvados): Le Phare du Butin, n.d., postcard. 716

184. Homer Martin, *Old Manor of Criqueboeuf*, ca. 1882-1886, oil on canvas, 25-1/4 x 37-1/2 inches, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, bequest of Daniel M. Stimson, 1922. 717

185. Homer Dodge Martin, *Harp of the Winds*, 1895, oil on canvas, 28-3/4 x 40-3/4 inches, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 717

186. Twachtman, *Mouth of the Seine*, ca. 1884, oil on canvas, 15 x 22-1/8 inches, Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah, Georgia, Bequest of Elizabeth Millar Bullard. 718

187. Twachtman, *Mouth of the Seine*, etching. 719

188. Twachtman, *Road near Honfleur*, ca. 1884, oil on paper mounted on canvas, 32 x 21 inches, Terra Museum of American Art. 720

189. Twachtman, *Road Near Honfleur*, etching. 721

190. Twachtman, *Shrine on the Bridge, Honfleur, Normandy*, ca. 1884, oil on panel, 10 x 17 inches, private collection. 722

191. "Panorama Molens Kinderdijk," n.d., postcard. 723

192. Robert Blum, Venice, *Xmas/New Years card*, to Otto Bacher, 1886, Otto Bacher Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll. 1654, frame 369. 724

193. Robert Blum, Venice, to William Merritt Chase, New York, 26 December 1885, Chappellier Gallery Papers, Robert Blum Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll N68-101, frames 28-29. 725

194. Twachtman, *Windmills*, ca. 1885, oil on canvas, 38 x 51-1/2 inches, private collection. 726

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

195. Twachtman, *Landscape with Windmill*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 19-5/8 x 25-1/8 inches, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, Gift of Mr.s William Dodge Gray (Henrietta Sheldon Seelye '98)..... 727

196. Anton Mauve, *The Marsh*, oil on canvas, 60 x 90 inches, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam..... 728

197. Twachtman, *French Road Scene*, oil on canvas, 15 x 22-1/2 inches, private collection..... 729

198. Anton Mauve, *A Dutch Road*, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 36.8 centimeters, Toldeo Museum of Art, Ohio, Gift of Arthur J. Secor..... 730

199. Paul Gabriël, *Train in Landscape*, oil on canvas, 67 x 100 centimeters, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo..... 730

200. Twachtman, *In France*, oil on canvas, 18 x 10-3/4 inches, private collection..... 731

201. Jacob Maris, *Allotments near The Hague*, oil on canvas, 62.5 x 54 centimeters, Haags Gemeentemuseum, The Hague..... 732

202. Twachtman, *Single Windmill with Reflection*, oil on canvas, 12-3/4 x 17-1/4 inches, private collection..... 733

203. Paul Gabriël, *In the Month of July*, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam..... 734

204. Twachtman, *Normandy Landscape*, oil on panel, 12-1/4 x 16 inches, private collection..... 735

205. J. H. Weissenbruch, *On the Banks of the Dekkersduin*, watercolor on paper, 280 x 330 millimeters, Haags Gemeentemusuem, The Hague..... 736

206. Twachtman, *Moonlight*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 7-1/2 x 14-1/2 inches, private collection..... 737

207. Twachtman, *Ocean View*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 8 x 18-1/2 inches, private collection..... 738

208. Twachtman, *Dutch Landscape (Night Scene)*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 12-1/2 x 12-1/2 inches, Melton-Park Gallery..... 739

209. Twachtman, *Harbor at Night*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 13 x 22 inches, George and Frances Ball Foundation, on loan to Ball State Uniiversity, Muncie, Indiana..... 740

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

210. Twachtman, *The Lagoon, Venice*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 13-1/2 x 15-3/4 inches, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts.....741

211. Robert Blum, *The Lagoons--Venice*, ca. 1885, pastel on paper, 7 x 12 inches, private collection.....742

212. James McNeill Whistler, *Venetian Scene*, ca. 1879-1880, pastel on paper, 11 x 7-1/2 inches, New Britain Museum of American Art.....743

213. Henri Harpignies, *Le paysage à L'étang*, ca. 1885, oil on canvas, 50 x 65 centimeters, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes.....744

214. Charles Daubigny, *Evening on the Oise*, 1863, oil on canvas, 39-1/4 x 78-3/4 inches, The Taft Museum, Cincinnati, Bequest of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Phelps Taft.....745

215. Line drawing after cyclorama of The Battle of Gettysburg from *The Battle of Gettysburg as Exhibited by the Pittsburgh Cyclorama Co., Giving a Succinct and Accurate Account of the Great Battle, with May and Key, explanatory of the Painting* (Pittsburgh: H.H. Gross, [1887]).....746

216. Twachtman, *Landscape*, 1887, oil on panel, 15-1/2 x 12-3/8 inches, Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Carl F. Clarke.....747

217. Twachtman, *Along the River, Winter*, ca. 1887, oil on canvas, 15-1/8 x 21-5/8 inches, High Museum of Art, J.J. Haverty Collection, Atlanta, Georgia.....748

218. Shinsai Ryuryukc, *Susaki*, 22.8 x 34.3 centimeters, Ancienne collection, Wakai Oyaji.....749

219. Twachtman, *Landscape*, ca. 1887, oil on panel, 12-1/4 x 14-3/4 inches, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, William I. Monroe Bequest.....750

220. Twachtman, *Miami River Scene*, ca. 1887, oil on canvas, 36-1/4 x 48-1/4 inches, Proctor & Gamble Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio.....751

221. Twachtman, *Landscape*, ca. 1887, oil on canvas, 20 x 29 inches, Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio.....752

222. Twachtman, *Cincinnati Landscape*, ca. 1887, oil on canvas, 15-1/2 x 19-1/2 inches, location unknown.....753

223. Twachtman, *Brooklyn Bridge*, ca. 1887-1888, oil on panel, 16 x 10 inches, private collection.....754

224. Twachtman, "Below the Brooklyn Bridge," illustration engraved by J. Clement, from John Bogart, "Feats of Railway Engineering," *Scribner's Magazine* 4 (July 1888): 2.....755

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

225. Twachtman, *Cincinnati and Covington Suspension Bridge*, recto of two-sided work, pencil on paper, 8-1/2 x 11-1/8 inches, private collection.....756

226. *Cincinnati and Covington Bridge*, lithograph, Strobridge and Company. Reproduced in Daniel Hurley, *Cincinnati: The Queen City* (Cincinnati, Ohio: 1982), p. 78.....757

227. *Cincinnati and Covington Suspension Bridge from Covington*, photograph. Reproduced in Daniel Hurley, *Cincinnati: The Queen City* (Cincinnati, Ohio: 1982), p. 91.....757

228. Twachtman, *Two Landscapes*, verso of two-sided work, pencil on paper, 8-1/2 x 11-1/8 inches, private collection.....758

229. Twachtman, Pencil drawing, sketchbook, 1880, private collection.....759

230. Twachtman, Pencil drawing, sketchbook, 1880, private collection.....760

231. Twachtman, Pencil drawing, sketchbook, 1880, private collection.....760

232. John Mackie Falconer, *Fireworks at the Opening of the Brooklyn Bridge*, 1883, oil on canvas board, 7 x 9-7/8 inches, The Long Island Historical Society, New York.....761

233. William Bliss Baker, *View of New York Harbor with Brooklyn Bridge in the Distance*, 1883, oil on canvas, 36 x 50 inches, private collection, Michigan.....761

234. Albert Gleizes, *Brooklyn Bridge*, 1915, oil on canvas, 40-1/8 x 40-1/8 inches, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.....762

235. John Marin, *Brooklyn Bridge*, ca. 1912, watercolor on paper, 18-1/2 x 15-1/2 inches, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949.....763

236. Joseph Stella, *New York Interpreted: The Bridge*, 1920-1922, oil on canvas, 88-1/2 x 54 inches, Newark Museum.....764

237. Max Weber, *Brooklyn Bridge*, 1912, watercolor, chalk, and charcoal on paper, 19 x 24-1/2 inches, Lionel Kelly, England.....765

238. J. Alden Weir, *Portrait of John Twachtman*, 1888, etching, 6-5/8 x 5-1/16 inches, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.....766

239. J. Alden Weir, *Bas Meudon*, No. 2, 1889, etching, 3-7/8 x 5-5/16 inches, private collection.....767

240. Twachtman, *Branchville*, ca. 1888, etching on paper, 3-9/16 x 4-5/8 inches, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Reverend DeWolf Perry.....768

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

241. Twachtman, Sketch Fields, etching on paper, 9-7/8 x 11-1/4 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York.....769

242. Twachtman, *Spring Landscape*, ca. 1888-1889, pastel on paper, 12 x 20 inches, Huntington Museum of Art, Huntington, West Virginia.....770

243. Twachtman, *Old Mill, Branchville*, ca. 1888, etching, 4-1/4 x 3 inches, private collection.....771

244. Twachtman, *Mill Scene*, ca. 1888, pastel on paper, The Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Gift of the John C. Van Dyke Collection.....772

245. Bridgeport Harbor, looking north up the Pequonnock River on a winter day, ca. 1890, photograph, Historical Collections, Bridgeport Public Library.....773

246. Bridgeport Harbor, Water Street Dock, ca. 1888, Historical Collections, Bridgeport Public Library.....774

247. Twachtman, *Gloucester Harbor* (probably once entitled *Snowbound*), ca. 1888-1889, oil on canvas, 12 x 24-1/2 inches, location unknown.....775

248. Twachtman, *Connecticut Shore, Winter*, oil on canvas, 24 x 30 inches, Fine Arts Collection of the Hartford Steam and Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut.....776

249. Stratford Avenue Wooden Bridge in Bridgeport, ca. 1888, illustrations from unsourced and undated newspaper clippings, Historical Collections, Bridgeport Public Library.....777

250. Toll House on the Stratford Avenue Wooden Bridge in Bridgeport, undated illustration from the Bridgeport Post, Historical Collections, Bridgeport Public Library.....778

251. Twachtman, *Footbridge, Bridgeport*, ca. 1888, etching on paper.....778

252. Twachtman, *Footbridge at Bridgeport*, pastel on paper, 11-3/4 x 19-1/2 inches, Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Maryland.....779

253. Twachtman, *Bridgeport*, watercolor, private collection.....780

254. Twachtman, etching proof for *Footbridge, Bridgeport*.....781

255. Okazaki, from *The Fifty-Three Stages of the Takaido*, 1833-1834.....782

256. Fifth Avenue Galleries, 366 and 368 Fifth Avenue, photograph, reproduced in *King's Handbook of New York City*, 1893 (Boston: Moses King, 1893; facsimile, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), p. 314.....783

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

257. Twachtman, *Branchville*, ca. 1888-1889, oil on canvas, 60 x 80 inches, Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio. 784

258. Twachtman, *Landscape with Haystack*, ca. 1888-1889, oil on canvas, 19 x 15 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Charles C. Hermanowski. 785

259. J. Alden Weir, *The Laundry, Branchville*, ca. 1894, oil on canvas, 30-1/8 x 25-1/4 inches, private collection. 786

260. Twachtman, *Apples and Grapes*, oil on canvas, 20-3/8 x 16-3/8 inches, private collection. 787

261. Edouard Manet, *Fruit on a Table*, 1864, oil on canvas, 17-3/4 x 28-7/8 inches, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. 788

262. Twachtman, *Old Mill*, ca. 1888-1889, oil on canvas, 18 x 24 inches, Queen City Club, Cincinnati. 788

263. Map of Newport, ca. 1890s, Newport Historical Society. 789

264. Twachtman, *Pier near Newport*, ca. 1889, watercolor and gouache on board, 15 x 19 inches, location unknown, photograph, courtesy, Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York. 790

265. Twachtman, *Dock*, ca. 1889, pastel on paper, 13-1/8 x 10 inches, private collection. 791

266. Twachtman, *Two Boats*, ca. 1889, pastel on paper, 10-5/8 x 13-3/8 inches, private collection. 792

267. The New York Yacht Club Station, Sayer's Wharf, photograph, Providence Public Library. 793

268. Twachtman, *Waterside Scene*, ca. 1889, watercolor and gouache on yellow cardboard, 9-3/4 x 6-1/2 inches, Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Bequest of William R. Mead. 794

269. St. Paul's Methodist Church, Newport, photograph, courtesy, Newport Historical Society. 795

270. Hiroshige, *Cherry Blossoms on the Banks of the Tamagawa*, from *One Hundred Views of Eido*, ca. 1856-1858, ukiyo-e print. 796

271. Twachtman, *Newport Harbor*, ca. 1889, pastel on paper, 12 x 9-1/2 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York. 797

272. Twachtman, *Dock at Newport*, ca. 1889, etching on paper. 798

273. Twachtman, *The Landing, Newport*, ca. 1889, oil on wood panel, 8-1/8

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

x 12-1/8 inches, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin.....798

274. Twachtman, *Newport*, etching on paper, 8 x 12 inches.....799

275. Twachtman, *Pier*, oil on paper board, 18-1/2 x 15-9/16 inches, private collection.....800

276. Twachtman, *Paradise Rocks, Newport*, ca. 1889, oil on canvas, 31-1/4 x 46-1/4 inches, private collection.....801

277. John Kensett, *Among the Rocks of Great Waters at Newport, Rhode Island*, 1859, oil on canvas, 18 x 30 inches, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.....801

278. Twachtman, *Willows*, pastel on paper, 18-1/4 x 22-1/2 inches, Museum of Art, Brigham-Young University, Provo, Utah.....802

279. Twachtman, illustration accompanying a poem by G. Melville Upton, "The Season's Boon," *Scribner's Magazine* 8 (August 1890), p. 223. Engraved by Norman William Kingley.....803

280. Twachtman, *Elsie*, pastel on paper, 18 x 11-5/8 inches, location unknown, photograph courtesy of Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York.....804

281. Twachtman, *Haystacks at the Edge of the Woods*, pastel on paperboard, 9 x 15-5/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly.....805

282. Twachtman, *Three Trees*, pastel on paper, 14 x 18 inches, The Brooklyn Museum, Collection Fund.....806

283. Twachtman, *J. Alden Weir's Cottage*, ca. 1890, pastel on paper, 8-1/2 x 7 inches, private collection.....807

284. Twachtman, *The Little Red Shack*, pastel on paper, 9-3/4 x 8-1/4 inches, private collection.....808

285. Twachtman, *House and Tree*, pastel on paper, 25.4 x 25.4 centimeters, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., Bequest of Harriet P. Winslow, 1964.....809

286. Twachtman, *Late Spring, Connecticut*, pastel on paper, 14-1/4 x 20-3/8 inches, private collection, England.....810

287. Twachtman, *The Stream*, pastel on paper, 11-1/2 x 8 inches, Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Robert G. McIntyre.....811

288. Twachtman, *Landscape*, pastel on paper, 9-3/4 x 7-1/8 inches, Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, gift of William Macbeth, Inc., 1951.....812

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

289. Twachtman, *Flowers*, pastel on paper, 19 x 15-1/2 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly.....813

290. Twachtman, *Spring Flowers*, pastel on paper, 9 x 15 inches (sight), Museum of Art, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.....814

291. Twachtman, *Wild Flowers*, pastel on paper, 19 x 11-1/2 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly.....815

292. Twachtman, *Tiger Lilies*, pastel on paper, 17-1/2 x 11-3/4 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly.....816

293. Twachtman, *Wildflowers*, pastel on paper, 17-1/2 x 13 inches, private collection.....817

294. Twachtman, *Two Children (Marjorie and Elsie)*, ca. 1891, pastel on cardboard, 23-1/2 x 14-1/2 inches, private collection.....818

295. Twachtman, *Landscape*, pastel on paper, 9-1/4 x 12 inches, private collection.....819

296. Twachtman, *Path in the Hills, Branchville, Connecticut*, pastel on paper, 10 x 12 inches, private collection, England.....820

297. Twachtman, *Chesnuts*, pastel on paper, 15 x 19-1/2 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly.....821

298. Twachtman, *Landscape*, pastel on paper, 13-7/8 x 17-1/2 inches, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1925.....822

299. Twachtman, *The Ledges*, pastel on pumice board, 8-3/4 x 13 inches, private collection.....823

300. Twachtman, *Woodland Path*, pastel on paper, 14 x 8 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York.....824

301. Asher B. Durand, *In the Woods*, 1855, oil on canvas, 60-3/4 x 48 inches, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, new York, Gift in memory of Jonathan Sturges by his children, 1895.....825

302. Twachtman, *Gloucester Harbor*, ca. 1900-1902, pastel on paper, 8-1/2 x 9-1/4 inches, Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of E.R. Brumley.....826

303. Twachtman, *Landscape with Stream*, pastel on paper, 13-3/4 x 10-3/4 inches, Connecticut Gallery, Marborough, Connecticut.....827

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

304. Twachtman, *Bush by a Road*, pastel on paper, 22 x 13-3/4 inches, location unknown.....828

305. Twachtman, *Horseneck Falls, Greenwich*, pastel on paper, 22-1/2 x 26 inches, private collection.....828

306. Map of Connecticut, showing railroad routes, reproduced in *Cos Cob and American Impressionism*, exh. cat. (Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, University of Connecticut, 1980), p. 85.....829

307. Photograph, Indian Harbor Hotel, from *Greenwich in Illustrated History: A Celebration of 350 Years* (Greenwich, Conn.: Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1990), p. 64.....829

308. Photograph, Twachtman's house from the front, Greenwich, Connecticut, early 1890s, private collection.....830

309. Photograph taken by Theodore Robinson, Twachtman's house from the back, Greenwich, Connecticut, early 1890s, Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago.....831

310. Photograph, "The South Front: A Triumph of Remodeling," ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 626.....832

311. Photograph, "A Pergola Treatment for the Open-Air Eating Hall," ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 629.....833

312. Photograph, from Alfred Goodwin, "An Artist's Unspoiled Country Home," *Country Life in America* 8 (October 1905): 627.....834

313. Photograph, "The South Front," ca. 1902, from Alfred Goodwin, "An Artist's Unspoiled Country Home," *Country Life in America* 8 (October 1905): 627.....835

314. Photograph, front of Twachtman's house featuring the portico, ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 628.....836

315. Gertrude Käsebier, photograph, Twachtman and family at the front of the Greenwich house, ca. 1900, from *Craftsman* 14 (June 1908), p. 344.....837

316. Photograph, back of Twachtman's house, ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 630.....838

317. Twachtman, *Wildflowers*, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 25-1/4 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York.....839

318. Twachtman, *In the Greenhouse*, oil on canvas, 25 x 16 inches, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.....840

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

319. Twachtman, *In the Garden*, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, private collection. 841

320. Twachtman, *Azaleas*, oil on canvas, 30 x 24 inches, Maier Museum of Art, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia. 842

321. Photograph, "How an artist handled native stone work," ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 629. 843

322. Photograph, ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 629. 844

323. Photograph, "The brook that led to the discovery of the home site," ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 625. 845

324. Photograph, "The charm of nature undisturbed," ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 630. 846

325. Twachtman, *A Summer Day*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30-1/8 inches, The Indianapolis Museum of Art, John Herron Fund. 847

326. Photograph, "Horse Neck Falls," ca. 1902, from Goodwin 1905, p. 630. 848

327. Photograph, Horseneck Falls, ca. 1988. 849

328. Photograph, Horseneck Falls, ca. 1988. 849

329. Photograph, Horseneck Falls, ca. 1988. 850

330. Photograph, Horseneck Falls, ca. 1988. 850

331. Photograph, Hemlock Pool on Twachtman's Greenwich property, ca. 1988. 851

332. Twachtman, *The Little Bridge*, oil on canvas, 24-1/2 x 24-1/2 inches, Georgia Museum of Art, The University of Georgia, Eva Underhill Holbrook Memorial Collection of American Art, Gift of Alfred H. Holbrook. 852

333. Photograph, Twachtman's house and barn (reconstructed) on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 852a

334. Photograph, Twachtman's house on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 852a

335. Photograph, Twachtman's house on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 853

336. Photograph, Twachtman's house on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 853

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

337. Photograph, Twachtman's house on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 854

338. Photograph, Twachtman's house on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 854

339. Photograph, Twachtman's house on Round Hill Road, Greenwich, 1988. 855

340. Photograph, "The Brook in Springtime," from Helena Rutherfurd Ely, *The Practical Flower Garden* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1911), opp. p. 192. 856

341. Twachtman, *Sailing in the Mist*, oil on canvas, 30-1/2 x 30-1/2 inches, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Temple Fund Purchase. 857

342. Twachtman, *Sailing*, oil on canvas, 30-1/8 x 25-1/8 inches, private collection. 858

343. Twachtman, *Sailing*, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 22 inches, private collection. 859

344. Twachtman, *Elsie*, pastel on paper, 16-1/2 x 12 inches, private collection. 860

345. Twachtman, *Portrait of Elsie*, ca. 1894, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, private collection. 861

346. Photograph, *The Players Club*, Robert Blum Papers, Archives of American Art Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll [], frame 398. 862

347. Childe Hassam, *The Children*, 1897, 18-1/4 x 14-1/2 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Ruth Harrison. 863

348. Henry Fitch Taylor, *Landscape*, ca. 1911, oil on canvas, private collection. 864

349. Theodore Robinson, *Twachtman's House*, oil on canvas, 18 x 22 inches, private collection. 864

350. Theodore Robinson, *Stepping Stones*, 1893, oil on canvas, 21-1/2 x 28-1/2 inches, Senator and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller IV. 864

351. Photograph, The Holley House, Cos Cob, Connecticut, ca. 1900. Now, the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, Archives, The Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. 865

352. Photograph, Twachtman at the Art Students League, Archives, Art Students League, New York. 866

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

353. "An Alcove in the Preparatory Class--J.H. Twachtman, Instructor," from John C. Van Dyke, "The Art Students' League of New York," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 83 (Oct. 1891): 692. 867

354. Twachtman, *World's Fair*, oil on canvas, 12 x 16-1/4 inches, Tweed Museum of Art, University of Minnesota, Duluth. 868

355. Theodore Robinson, *World's Columbian Exposition*, 1894, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Manoogian Collection. 869

356. Twachtman, *Court of Honor, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Columbus Museum of Art, bequest of Frederick W. Schumacher. 870

357. Twachtman, *Mother and Child*, ca. mid-1890s, oil on canvas, 30-1/8 x 25-1/8 inches, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Jacob Stern Family Loan Collection. 871

358. Twachtman, poster, lithograph, *Le Gorge d'Enfer (Throat of Hell)*, advertising Harold Frederic's book, *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, published by Stone and Kimball publishers, New York and Chicago, in 1896. 872

359. Twachtman, book cover for William Canton, *W.V. Her Book*, published by Stone and Kimball, 1896, New York Society Library, New York. 873

360. Twachtman, *Frozen Brook*, ca. 1893, oil on canvas, 30 x 22 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York. 874

361. Hiroshige, ukiyo-e print, *Kameyama*, from The Fifty-three Stages of the Tokaido. 875

362. Twachtman, *Icebound*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 25-1/4 x 30-1/8 inches, The Art Institute of Chicago, Friends of American Art Collection. 876

363. Twachtman, *The Twachtman House*, oil on panel, 13 x 20 inches, Wichita Art Museum, Wichita, Kansas. 877

364. Twachtman, *Snowbound*, oil on canvas, 30 x 22 inches, Montclair Art Museum, Museum purchase, 1951. 878

365. Twachtman, *The Hay Stack*, oil on canvas, 15-5/8 x 23-1/2 inches, location unknown, photograph courtesy of Spanierman Gallery, New York. 879

366. Twachtman, *Hayrick*, oil on canvas, 22-1/8 x 29-7/8 inches, The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia, Friends of Art purchase. 880

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

367. Twachtman, *Winter Harmony*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 29-1/4 x 32 inches, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of the Avalon Foundation..... 881

368. Twachtman, *Winter Harmony*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 18 x 25 inches, private collection..... 882

369. Twachtman, *Winter*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 21-5/8 x 26-1/8, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C..... 883

370. Twachtman, *Snow* Scene, oil on canvas, 31-5/16 x 25 inches, private collection..... 884

371. Twachtman, *February*, oil on canvas, ca. 1893, 30-1/4 x 48 inches, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston..... 885

372. Twachtman, *The Brook, Greenwich, Connecticut*, oil on canvas, 34-7/8 x 25-1/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly..... 886

373. Twachtman, *Horseneck Brook in Winter*, oil on canvas, 26 x 36 inches, Huntington Museum of Art, Huntington, West Virginia..... 887

374. Paul-Albert Besnard, *Portrait of Madam Réjane*, reproduced in Frances Keyzer, "The Work of Albert Paul Besnard," *International Studio* 20 (1903): 88..... 888

375. Paul-Albert Besnard, Reverie, reproduced in Frances Keyzer, "The Work of Albert Paul Besnard," *International Studio* 20 (1903): 88..... 889

376. Claude Monet, *Monet's Garden at Vétheuil*, 1881, oil on canvas, 150 x 120 centimeters, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C..... 890

377. Twachtman, *In the Sunlight*, ca. 1893, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, private collection..... 891

378. Twachtman, *Flowers*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 25 inches, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Gift of Mrs. Edward H. Coates (Edward H. Coates Memorial Collection)..... 892

379. Twachtman, *Meadow Flowers*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 33 x 22 inches, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, Caroline H. Polhemus Fund, 13.36..... 893

380. Twachtman, *Tiger Lilies*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 22 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin..... 894

381. Twachtman, *Last Touch of Sun*, ca. 1893, oil on canvas, 24-3/4 x 30 inches, Manoogian Collection..... 895

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

382. Twachtman, *Greenwich Hills in Winter*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Denver Art Museum.....896

383. Twachtman, *The Pool*, oil on canvas, 26 x 31 inches, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Michigan, Gift of Charles Lang Freer.....897

384. Twachtman, *Snowbound*, ca. early 1890s, oil on canvas, 22 x 30-1/8 inches, Scripps College, Claremont, California, Gift of General and Mrs. Edward Clinton Young, 1946.....898

385. Twachtman, *Hemlock Pool--Autumn*, ca. 1894, oil on canvas, 15-1/2 x 19-1/2 inches, Tom and Ann Barwick.....899

386. Twachtman, *Niagara Falls, Winter*, 1879, oil on canvas, 23-1/4 x 20 inches, private collection.....900

387. Stereograph, *"Beauteous Queen of the Cataracts"--American Falls, Niagara Falls, N.Y., U.S.A.*, Keystone View Company, 1901.....901

388. Twachtman, *Reflections*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30-1/4 inches, The Brooklyn Museum, New York, Dick S. Ramsey Fund.....902

389. Twachtman, *Niagara Falls*, ca. 1893-1894, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly.....903

390. Twachtman, *Niagara Falls*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz.....904

391. Twachtman, *Niagara Gorge*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, The Fortier Collection.....905

392. Frederic Edwin Church, *Niagara Falls*, 1857, oil on canvas, 42-1/2 x 90-1/2 inches, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Museum purchase.....906

393. Twachtman, *Niagara in Winter*, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, New Britain Museum of American Art, Harriet Russell Stanley Fund.....907

394. Twachtman, *Emerald Pool*, ca. 1895, oil on canvas, 25-1/4 x 30-1/4 inches, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, Bequest of George A. Gay by exchange and the Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection.....908

395. Photograph, Upper Falls of the Yellowstone, reproduced in Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1911), p. 321.....909

396. Photograph, Lower Falls through Rain Mist, reproduced in Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park: Historical and Descriptive* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1911), p. 322.....910

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

397. Yellowstone Map, Yellowstone National Park, National Park Service, Department of the Interior..... 911

398. Twachtman, *Morning Glory Pool*, oil on canvas, 29-3/4 x 24-1/2 inches, private collection..... 912

399. Twachtman, *Canyon in the Yellowstone*, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 25 inches, location unknown..... 913

400. Twachtman, *Yellowstone Park*, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, private collection..... 914

401. Thomas Moran, *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, 1893-1901, oil on canvas, 96-1/2 x 168-3/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. gift of George D. Pratt..... 915

402. Twachtman, *Waterfall, Yellowstone*, oil on canvas, 25-3/8 x 16-1/2 inches, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming..... 916

403. Twachtman, *Lower Falls of the Yellowstone*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, private collection..... 917

404. Twachtman, *Geyser Pool, Yellowstone*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, private collection, Texas..... 918

405. Twachtman, *Edge of the Emerald Pool*, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, private collection, Texas..... 919

406. Twachtman, *Emerald Pool*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C..... 920

407. Twachtman, *The Rapids, Yellowstone*, ca. 1895, oil on canvas, 30 x 30-1/8 inches, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts..... 921

408. Twachtman, *The Barnyard*, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, Fine Arts Collection of the Hartford Steam and Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut..... 922

409. John Henry Twachtman and John Alden Twachtman, *Greenwich Garden*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York..... 923

410. Twachtman, *Waterfall, Blue Brook*, ca. 1899, oil on canvas, 25-1/8 x 30-1/16, Cincinnati Art Museum, Annual Membership Fund..... 924

411. Twachtman, *The Torrent*, oil on canvas, 25-1/4 x 30-1/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., gift of William T. Evans..... 925

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

412. Twachtman, *Horseneck Falls*, ca. mid-1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot (1876-1967), 1967. 926

413. Twachtman, *The Cascade*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, IBM Corporation, Armonk, New York. 927

414. Twachtman, *Falls in January*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 25-1/8 x 30 inches, Wichita Art Museum, Wichita, Kansas, The Roland Murdock Collection. 928

415. Twachtman, *The Waterfall*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 30-1/4 inches, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts. 929

416. Twachtman, *Snow*, ca. late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin. 930

417. Twachtman, *Hemlock Pool*, ca. 1900, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, The Addison Gallery of Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. 931

418. Twachtman, *Summer*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 53 inches, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C. 932

419. Twachtman, *On the Terrace*, ca. 1897, oil on canvas, 25-1/4 x 30-1/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly. 933

420. Twachtman, *The Portico*, ca. late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, private collection. 934

421. Twachtman, *My House*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30-1/8 x 25 inches, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Gift of the Artist. 935

422. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 30-1/4 inches, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minnesota, The Martin B. Koon Memorial Collection. 936

423. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 30-1/4 inches, The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection. 937

424. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, ca. 1900, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 25-1/8 inches, Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, Gift of Emily Sibley Watson. 938

425. Twachtman, *My Autumn Studio*, ca. late 1890s, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C. 939

426. Twachtman, *Summer Afternoon*, ca. 1900-1902, oil on canvas, 25 x 16 inches, private collection. 940

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

427. Twachtman, *The Hidden Pool*, ca. 1900-1902, oil on canvas, 22 x 27-1/8 inches, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 941

428. Twachtman, *Misty May Morn*, 1899, oil on canvas, 30 x 25-1/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of John Gellatly. 942

429. Charles Warren Eaton, *Winter Sunrise*, ca. 1890-1900, oil on canvas, The Muskegon Museum of Art, Michigan, Hackley Picture Fund. 943

430. Lowell Birge Harrison, *Winter Sunrise*, oil on canvas, Haig Tashjian, President, Sterling Regal, Inc. 944

431. Charles Harold Davis, *Evening*, 1886, oil on canvas, private collection. 945

432. Claude Monet, *Grainstacks* (*Snow effect; sunlight*), 1890-1891, oil on canvas, 25 x 36-1/4 inches, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh. 946

433. Claude Monet, *Grainstacks* (*Winter*), 1890-1891, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. The H.O. Havemeyer Collection. 946

434. Claude Monet, *Poplars* (*Banks of the Epte*), 1891, oil on canvas, 36-3/8 x 29 inches, Ise Cultural Foundation, Tokyo. 947

435. Claude Monet, *Poplars* (*Giverny, Cloudy day*), 1891, oil on canvas, 36-1/4 x 28-3/4 inches, MOZ Museum of Art, Atami. 948

436. Twachtman, *Hemlock Pool, Autumn*, oil on canvas, 22-1/4 x 30-1/4 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., gift of John Gellatly. 949

437. Twachtman, *End of Winter*, oil on canvas, 22 x 30-1/8 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Gift of William T. Evans. 950

438. Thomas Cole, *View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts after a Thunderstorm* (*The Oxbow*), 1836, oil on canvas, 51-1/2 x 76 inches, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1908. 951

439. Thomas Cole, *The Arcadian or Pastoral State*, second of *The Course of Empire* series, 1836, oil on canvas, 39-1/4 x 63-1/4 inches, New-York Historical Society. 951

440. Asher B. Durand, *Progress*, 1853, oil on canvas, 48 x 71-15/16 inches, The Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. 952

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

441. Thomas Cole, *Sketch for The Oxbow*, ca. 1853, pencil on paper, 8-7/8 x 13-3/4 inches, from sketchbook no. 8, p. 67. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, William H. Murphy Fund. 952

442. Frederic Edwin Church, *New England Scenery*, 1851, oil on canvas, 36 x 53 inches, George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum, Springfield, Massachusetts. 953

443. John F. Kensett, *Lake George*, 1869, oil on canvas, 44-1/8 x 66-3/8 inches, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Maria DeWitt Jesup, from the collection of her husband, Morris K. Jessup, 1914. 953

444. Twachtman, *The Cabbage Patch*, ca. mid-1890s, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, private collection. 954

445. Twachtman, *From the Upper Terrace*, ca. mid-1890s, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Pfeil Collection. 955

446. Jasper Cropsey, *Bareford Mountain, West Milford, New Jersey*, 1850, oil on canvas, 23-1/4 x 40-1/8 inches, Brooklyn Museum, New York, Dick S. Ramsay Fund. 955

447. Frederic Church, *Home by the Lake*, 1852, oil on canvas, 31-7/8 x 48-1/4 inches, Jo Ann and Julian Ganz, Jr. 956

448. Sanford Gifford, *A Home in the Wilderness*, 1865-1867, oil on canvas, 9-1/8 x 14-7/8 inches, Jo Ann and Julian Ganz, Jr. 957

449. Berthe Morisot, *Villeneuve-la-Garenne*, 1875, oil on canvas, 26 x 50.2 centimeters, location unknown. 957

450. Twachtman, *Old Holley House, Cos Cob*, ca. 1900-1902, oil on canvas, 25-1/16 x 25-1/8 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, John J. Emery Endowment. 958

451. Claude Monet, *Houses at the Edge of a Field*, 1873, oil on canvas, 54 x 73 centimeters, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz. 959

452. Claude Monet, *Monet's Home at Argenteuil*, 1873, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 74 centimeters, The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Memorial Collection. 959

454. Claude Monet, *The Luncheon (Decorative Panel)*, 1874, oil on canvas, 160 x 201 centimeters, Musée D'Orsay, Paris. 960

455. Claude Monet, *Train in the Country*, ca. 1872, oil on canvas, 50 x 65 centimeters, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. 960

456. Armand Guillaumin, *Soleil couchant à Ivry*, 1873, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. 961

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

457. Camille Pissarro, *Factory near Pontoise*, 1873, oil on canvas, 18 x 21-1/2 inches, Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts. 961

458. Claude Monet, *Le Pont de péage à Argenteuil*, 1874, oil on canvas, private collection. 961

459. Claude Monet, *The Railroad Bridge, Argenteuil*, 1873, oil on canvas, 58.2 x 97.2 centimeters, private collection. 962

460. Georges Seurat, *Banks of the Seine at Asnières*, 1883, oil on cradled panel, 6-11/16 x 10-7/16 inches, Cleveland Museum of Art. 962

461. Berthe Morisot, *Dans les blé*, 1875, oil on canvas, Musée D'Orsay, Paris. 962

462. Twachtman, *Round Hill Road*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 963

463. Twachtman, *Road to Round Hill*, oil on panel, 19 x 20 inches, private collection. 964

464. Photograph, Mills of the Mianus Manufacturing Company at North Mianus, from Spencer P. Mead, *Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1911), p. 343. 965

465. Photograph, Plant of the Palmer Brothers at Cos Cob, from from Spencer P. Mead, *Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1911), p. 347. 965

466. J. Alden Weir, *The Factory Village*, 1897, oil on canvas, 29 x 38 inches, jointly owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (through Gift of Cora Weir Burlingham), Charles Burlingham, and William Carlin. 966

467. Photograph, Cos Cob mill and Lower Landing, ca. 1890s, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. 967

468. Twachtman, *The Old Mill at Cos Cob*, oil on canvas, 24 x 20 inches, Cleveland Museum of Art, bequest of Julia Morgan Marlatt. 968

469. Twachtman, *Cos Cob*, oil on canvas, 21 x 26 inches, private collection. 969

470. Twachtman, *Bridge in Winter*, ca. 1901, oil on canvas, 30-1/8 x 30-1/8 inches, private collection. 970

471. Twachtman, *View from the Holley House, Winter*, ca. 1901, 25-1/8 x 25-1/8 inches, private collection. 970

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

472. Photograph, Cos Cob mill, ca. 1890s, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. 971

473. Photograph, Twachtman at charades, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, Connecticut. 972

474. Letter, Twachtman to his son, Alden, ca. 1901, private collection. 973

475. Twachtman, *Country House in Winter*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Massachusetts. 975

476. Twachtman, *The Brush House*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Jacob Stern Family Collection, on loan to The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. 976

477. Twachtman, *October*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, gift of Walter P. Chrysler. 977

478. Twachtman, *The Artist's Home*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, The Dayton Art Institute, gift of Mr. William P. Patterson. 978

479. Twachtman, *Springtime*, oil on canvas, 25 x 38 inches, Graham Gallery, New York. 979

480. Twachtman, *From the Holley House, Cos Cob*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Halff. 980

481. Twachtman, *Winter*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, private collection, photograph courtesy of Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., New York. 981

482. Twachtman, *On the Balcony*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, private collection. 982

483. Postcard, *Rockaway Hotel, Rocky Neck, Gloucester, Massachusetts*, Cape Ann Historical Association, Gloucester, Massachusetts. 983

484. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection. 984

485. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection. 985

486. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection. 986

487. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection. 987

488. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection. 988

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

489. Postcard, *Harbor View Hotel, East Gloucester, Massachusetts*, before 1920, Cape Ann Historical Association, Gloucester, Massachusetts. 989

490. Twachtman's gravestone, Oak Grove Cemetery, Gloucester, Massachusetts. 990

491. Twachtman, *Boat at Pier, oil on panel, 5-1/2 x 11 inches*, Mr. and Mrs. Meredith Long. 991

492. Twachtman, *Harbor Scene*, oil on panel, 5 x 5-1/2 inches, Manoogian collection. 992

493. Twachtman, *Fog and Small Sailboats*, oil on panel, 6-3/16 x 5-1/8 inches, private collection. 993

494. Twachtman, *On the Ways*, oil on panel, 13-1/2 x 9-1/2 inches, private collection. 994

495. Twachtman, *Bark and Schooner (Italian Salt Bark)*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, F.M. Hall Collection. 995

496. Twachtman, *Fishing Boats at Gloucester*, oil on canvas, 25-1/8 x 30-1/4 inches, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., gift of William T. Evans. 996

497. Twachtman, *Beach at Squam*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Ira and Nancy Koger. 997

498. Twachtman, *Gloucester, Fishermen's Houses*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25-1/2 inches, Fraad Collection. 998

499. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection. 999

500. Twachtman, *Waterfront Scene--Gloucester*, oil on canvas, 16 x 22 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz. 1000

501. Twachtman, *Little Giant*, oil on canvas, 20 x 24 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York. 1001

502. Twachtman, *Harbor View Hotel*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. 1002

503. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, recto and verso, ca. 1901, private collection. 1003

503a. ad, "The Harbor View Hotel, East Gloucester, Mass.," in *Picturesque Cape Ann* (Gloucester, Mass.: E.C. McIntire, 1909). 1003

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

504. Twachtman, *Gloucester Harbor*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, Canajoharie Library and Art Gallery, Canajoharie, New York.....1004

505. Twachtman, *View from East Gloucester*, oil on panel, 12x 9-1/4 inches, private collection.....1005

506. Twachtman, *Gloucester*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Fine Arts Collection of the Hartford Steam and Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut.....1006

507. Photograph, East Gloucester viewed from Banner Hill, ca. 1903, Herman W. Spooner Collection, Cape Ann Historical Association, Gloucester, Massachusetts.....1007

508. Twachtman, *Wild Cherry Tree*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30 inches, Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.....1008

509. Twachtman, pencil drawing from Gloucester sketchbook, ca. 1901, private collection.....1009

510. Twachtman, *Inner Harbor, Gloucester*, oil on canvas, 25 x 25 inches, location unknown.....1010

511. Twachtman, *White Dories*, oil on canvas, 9-3/4 x 10-3/8 inches, Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, Massachusetts.....1011

512. Twachtman, *Aboard a Steamer*, oil on panel, 14-1/2 x 9-1/2 inches, Kennedy Galleries, New York.....1011

513. Twachtman, *Drying Sails*, oil on canvas, 26 x 19 inches, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.....1012

514. Twachtman, *River in Winter*, oil on canvas, 36-1/2 x 48-1/2 inches, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.....1013

515. Twachtman, *Sea Scene*, oil on canvas, 28 x 34 inches, Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.....1014

516. Elmer MacRae, *From the Holley House*, oil on canvas, 30 x 24-1/2 inches, Adele A. Prayias Fine Art Inc., Greenwich, Connecticut.....1015

517. Carolyn Mase, *From the Holley House*, gouache on paper, 12 x 17 inches, private collection.....1016

518. Carolyn Mase, *From the Holley House*, gouache on paper, 13 x 15 inches, private collection.....1016

519. Elmer MacRae, *Old House, South End*, oil on canvas, 24-1/2 x 24-1/2 inches, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.....1017

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

520. Carolyn Mase, *Old House, Cos Cob*, oil on canvas, 20 x 25 inches, private collection.....1017

521. Elmer MacRae, *Ship at Dock*, pastel on paper, 17-3/4 x 13 inches, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Vanderbilt.....1018

522. Carolyn Mase, *Waterfall*, pastel on paper, 23 x 14 inches, private collection.....1019

523. Daniel Putnam Brinley, *Mary Roberts Ebert with Betty*, ca. 1906, oil on canvas, 30 x 36 inches, Robert P. Gunn.....1020

524. Daniel Putnam Brinley, landscape reproduced in Peter Brent Weaver, "The Development of Daniel Putnam Brinley," *International Studio* 83 (June 1921): 53.....1020

525. Alice Judson, *Cos Cob Spring*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, The Connecticut Gallery, Marlborough, Connecticut.....1021

526. Katherine Levin Farrell, *Summer Cottage*, oil on panel, 10 x 14 inches, location unknown.....1021

527. Allen Tucker, *October Cornfield*, 1926, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Art Students League, New York.....1022

528. Allen Tucker, *Winter Landscape*, 1920, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 25 inches, location unknown.....1022

529. Arthur Merton Hazard, *Gloucester Scene*, oil on canvas, 14 x 19 inches, Alexander Raydon Gallery, New York.....1023

530. Twachtman, *Landscape with Boat*, oil on panel, 13-1/2 x 9-1/2 inches, private collection, Texas.....1024

531. Eliot Clark, *Under the Wharf*, oil on canvas, 20 x 27 inches, R.H. Love Galleries, Chicago.....1025

532. Twachtman, *Boat Shed*, oil on panel, 5-1/2 x 10 inches, private collection.....1026

533. Albert C. Fauley, *Sail Boat*, ca. 1905, oil on canvas, 20 x 16 inches, Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio, gift of Hervey Whitaker.....1027

534. Ernest Lawson, *Spring Thaw*, 1907, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, The Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago.....1028

535. Ernest Lawson, *Hudson River Scene*, ca. 1900-1910, oil on canvas, 18 x 1/4 x 24-1/4 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York.....1029

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

536. Ernest Lawson, *Garden Landscape*, oil on canvas, 20 x 24 inches, The Brooklyn Museum.....1029

537. Ernest Lawson, *The Harlem River*, ca. 1904-1910, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York.....1030

538. J. Alden Weir, *Early Spring at Branchville*, 1888-1890, oil on canvas, 20-1/4 x 25-1/4 inches, private collection.....1031

539. Theodore Robinson, *White Bridge on the Canal*, 1893, oil on canvas, 15 x 22 inches, private collection.....1032

540. Frank Duveneck, *Gloucester Pier with Figures*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Liz Duveneck Dana and Hope Williams.....1033

541. Frank Duveneck, *Gloucester Harbor*, oil on canvas, 14 x 18 inches, Liz Duveneck Dana and Hope Williams.....1033

542. Frank Duveneck, *Three Boats by the Shore*, oil on canvas, 25 x 30 inches, Liz Duveneck Dana and Hope Williams.....1034

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction

John Twachtman (1853-1902) began his career in the 1870s, during an era of change in American art, when the Hudson River School, which had dominated the country's exhibitions from the 1820s through the 1860s, had fallen into disfavor. The 1870s saw the rise of a new generation of native artists who rejected a descriptive and literal art in favor of more subjective and innovative modes of expression and who turned to the art of Europe for inspiration and direction. Their aim were to leave behind what they perceived to be a provincial tradition and to participate in an international art arena.

Twachtman was at the forefront of this transition and he remained an important member of the American avant-garde art scene until the end of his life. He studied in Munich at the Royal Academy in the mid-1870s, at a time when the city was a vital international art center, overtaking Paris as a mecca for aspiring American art students. In the early 1880s, he continued his education in Paris, attending the Académie Julian, the most popular training ground for American artists abroad. During other foreign sojourns, he worked in prominent European painting locales, including Venice, Tuscany, Holland, and Normandy.

His art incorporates the principal modernist movements in late nineteenth-century American landscape painting. In the 1870s, he began as a realist artist, working in a dynamic *alla prima* style that owed to the radical approach of the German painter Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900). Absorbing influences from the French Barbizon School and the Dutch Hague School, in the early 1880s he explored subtleties of light and mood in nature. He

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

furthered this exploration of poetic qualities in nature during the years 1883 to 1885, when he painted in the countrysides of Normandy and Holland. The influences of James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1885) are merged in his art of the time. In the 1890s, he became a convert to the French Impressionist style, while maintaining the individuality that informed all of his art. Created largely on his property in Greenwich, Connecticut, Twachtman's Impressionist works are his best known, esteemed for the quiet appreciation of the rhythms and spiritual aspects of nature that they reveal. Spending his last three summers in Gloucester, Massachusetts, Twachtman combined an Impressionist palette with an approach that recalled the direct manner of his art of the 1870s. The abstractly composed works he produced forecast aspects of twentieth-century modernism.

Twachtman's art follows a pattern typical for an American landscape painter in the late nineteenth century, complying with what the Indiana Impressionist, Otto Stark (1859-1969) defined in 1895 as the essential American landscape periods that took place during the era. Stark identified each period by color: the "black movement," characteristic of the Munich school, the "gray movement," revealing the influence of Bastien-Lepage, the "white movement," demonstrative of the "glare" approach (an effort to capture sunlight but not transitory sunlit effects), and "high key" painting, representative of the Impressionist movement in this country.[1]

While Twachtman's art illustrates the basic progression that Stark outlined, he created a unique body of work, reflecting a highly original point of view. Throughout his career, he maintained a commitment to expressing his personal responses to nature,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

portraying the world not as others saw it, but as he saw it for himself. To achieve this goal, he rendered sites that were often unusual and developed stylistic approaches that were distinctly his own. The changes that occurred in his methods were the result of new influences, but they also demonstrated his own evolving interests and concerns.

Although Twachtman, like other American artists of his era, turned for inspiration to many European modes, he never used his sources slavishly. Instead, modifying and synthesizing a variety of approaches, he employed a method only to the extent that it allowed him to reach an expressive goal. He also relied to a large degree on intuition, and, in most of his art he painted directly, letting his responses to a locale guide his handling. His works reflect this process. Their tactile surfaces engage us in them and encourage our appreciation of sensuous aspects of nature. Twachtman had a compulsion to see and express the world around him as he felt and perceived it. This drive led him to experiment and paint in ways that were different from those of fellow artists despite his use of sources that were popular.

The uniqueness of Twachtman's art was acknowledged and commended by American critics throughout his career, who praised his originality and the essential truths that his works revealed. He also received acclaim from many of the best known artists of his era, several of whom were close friends and associates from the Ten American Painters. In the early twentieth century, he was respected by American modernists, who valued his independence and commitment to a personal vision. However, the same individualism for which he was esteemed was responsible for his lack of public attention.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A painter's painter, he created works that fell outside the mainstream of popular taste and therefore never brought him commercial success.

Due to the fresh, dynamic, and innovative qualities of Twachtman's images, his art may be enjoyed for its purely formal qualities, and its modernity was recognized during his era. But he did not adhere to the art-for-art's-sake stance of Whistler. Committed to a realist perspective, he maintained a faithfulness to the facts of his sites. Although his works reveal an awareness of abstract values that anticipate directions in twentieth-century painting, he held a viewpoint in keeping with his era, deriving inspiration from the world around him rather than purely from his subjective impressions. He was thus a transitional figure between nineteenth-century realism and twentieth-century formalism. He used modern means, but not to explore purely aesthetic issues or to probe psychological concerns. Instead, he employed them to communicate what a site evoked for him personally, and to convey this experience to the viewer. For Twachtman, a driving aim was to put nature on canvas, so that the experience for a viewer was as close as possible to being in a landscape. Yet, his works do not grab our attention forcibly. Taking hold of us gradually, they transport us from immediate impressions of sensuous aspects of nature into a transcendent realm.

I have had two aims in this dissertation. First, I have sought to chart the course of Twachtman's career and to discern how he used his European sources to create a highly original art. In contrast to other studies of his work which have de-emphasized the impact of his influences, I suggest that he derived both stylistic vocabulary and ways of seeing and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

perceiving nature from them. I propose that his sources had a liberating impact on him, enabling him to break from formulas, develop independence, and produce images that have a quietly absorbing quality, never losing their freshness or ability to surprise.

To understand the evolution of Twachtman's stylistic modes and his sources, I take a chronological approach to his art, and each of my chapters deals with a particular time period in his career. This approach has served a dual purpose. It has allowed me to answer many previously unresolved questions as to the dating of Twachtman's works, and it has provided essential material for the catalogue raisonné of Twachtman's art I am compiling for Spanierman Gallery. As my focus is on Twachtman's art, I have de-emphasized biographical information, including it only when it is relevant as background or for determining his chronology.

My second aim is to examine Twachtman's subject matter, identifying his sites more precisely than have scholars in the past. My objective in this regard is to explore not only what he chose to paint, but what he revealed of the world around him through his selection of subjects and the way he portrayed them. The purpose of this exploration is to suggest both how Twachtman's art reflected the places, experiences, and attitudes of his time, and how the cultural history of the period is illuminated by his imagery.

Along with other late nineteenth-century landscape painters, Twachtman is often considered an artist who held to a genteel point of view, using stylistic means simply to bring out delicate and beautiful qualities in nature. I suggest that while his art does reveal such a perspective, it may also be seen in a broader context. In my discussions, especially of works that Twachtman created in America, I propose that he responded directly to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

environments in which he worked. My view is that, just as the French Impressionists are now seen to have created images reflecting changing social attitudes, customs, and lifestyles in France, the works that Twachtman rendered relate to changes in American life in the late nineteenth century.[2] I suggest ways that his images reflect the places that he painted, both their specific qualities and the attitudes of the populace of his day toward them. I also point out how his art may be connected to general developments that took place in America as it became understood that the Western frontier had closed and as the urbanization, industrialization, and the settlement of the nation occurred. Whereas most scholars in the recent past have looked into what is European about Twachtman's art, my focus will be on what, if anything, is American about them.

Twachtman's approach makes his images especially conducive to a study of the relationship between art and life. Often seeking motifs that had not previously been deemed worthy of artistic representation, he frequently depicted places where modern life and its changes were in evidence. In addition, as he was committed to a personal point of view, he revealed truths of his locales that more conventionally inclined artists overlooked.

I analyze Twachtman's works in relation to his context only when it is relevant to understanding a work or group of works, and I attempt not to reach conclusions that are untenable or too broad. My aim is, nonetheless, to explore how his works relate to a time of change in America. As I investigate the general chronology of Twachtman's career and the issue of how his art reflects the American scene of his era, this dissertation is intended as a monograph as well as a thematic study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bibliographic Review

Twachtman has been the subject of several important publications. Eliot Clark, the author of the first significant study, *John Twachtman*, published in 1924, divided Twachtman's career into three periods (Munich, French, and Greenwich), providing the framework for all subsequent discussions of his art. The 1957 dissertation (Ohio State University) on the artist by John Douglass Hale, *The Life and Creative Development of John H. Twachtman* has been the standard survey of the artist's life and work since. Expanding on Clark's writings, Hale provided a great deal of biographical information, analyzed Twachtman's stylistic development, and described his techniques. He also compiled a catalogue raisonné of located and unlocated works. Hale divided Twachtman's art into five periods, which I essentially retain for purposes of clarity and continuity (Munich, Avondale, French, Greenwich, and Gloucester). A general review of Twachtman's career is furnished in Richard Boyle's 1979 monograph, *John Twachtman*. William H. Gerdts also featured Twachtman in *American Impressionism* (1984), focusing on the work Twachtman produced during his Impressionist years.

These sources have supplied me with invaluable information, and I have consulted them throughout my work. At the same time, I have attempted to bring out aspects of Twachtman's career that have not previously been considered as well as to discuss new questions of his stylistic approach and iconography. I have included biographical material

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

only when it is pertinent to a discussion of Twachtman's career, chronology, or as background for a particular period in his art.

In addition to the writings mentioned above, I have made use of many sources. Unfortunately there is limited primary material on Twachtman. He kept no journals, notes, or records, and his letters to J. Alden Weir and to Josephine Holley (included in Appendix I) constitute almost all of his extant correspondence. Twachtman is mentioned frequently in the diaries of Theodore Robinson, which date from 1892-1896 and at times in the papers of J. Alden Weir, John Ferguson Weir, and Otto Bacher. Significant discussions of Twachtman's career are found in a number of periodical articles from the 1910s and 1920s by Carolyn Mase, Charles de Kay, Charles Curran, Jonathan Thorpe, Katharine Metcalf Roof, as well as by Clark, who, in addition to his 1924 book, published articles on Twachtman in 1919 and 1921. See my bibliography, part I, for these references.

Aside from Hale's dissertation, from the late 1920s through the mid-1960s, little of substance was written about Twachtman. It has only been with the reappraisal of American Impressionism in the last few decades that attention has been given to Twachtman's work by scholars and general audiences. A retrospective exhibition held in 1966 at the Cincinnati Art Museum, organized by Boyle, began the revival of interest in Twachtman's art. The catalogue that accompanied this show consisted of essays by Boyle (on Twachtman's paintings and pastels) and Mary Welsh Baskett (on Twachtman's prints). Two years later, Twachtman was the subject of a small show held at Spanierman Gallery. Over the last two decades, Twachtman's work has been included in many general

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

surveys of American Impressionism, including those by Donelson Hoopes (1972), Boyle (1974), and William Gerdts (1981 and 1984).

In the last five years, Twachtman has been featured in several significant shows and publications. These include two exhibitions at the Spanierman Gallery that I organized: *Twachtman in Gloucester: His Last Years, 1900-1901* (1987), which was accompanied by a catalogue with essays by Hale (on Twachtman's Gloucester period art), Boyle (on the context in which Twachtman worked in Gloucester), and Gerdts (on the colony in Gloucester of which Twachtman was a part), and catalogue entries by me; and *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman* (1989), which was accompanied by a catalogue with essays by me (on Twachtman's Greenwich garden), Hale (on Twachtman's figure paintings), Gerdts (on Twachtman's floral imagery), Boyle (on Twachtman's technique), and catalogue entries by me. In 1989, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. organized an exhibition of Twachtman's paintings of Greenwich, and Cos Cob, Connecticut, which followed shows held in previous years featuring the art of William Merritt Chase and Childe Hassam. This exhibition, *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, was accompanied by a catalogue with essays by me (on the context of Twachtman's Greenwich period and the chronology of his art), Kathleen Pyne (considering Twachtman's work from the perspective of intellectual history), and Deborah Chotner (on Twachtman's winter scenes).

The references that I consulted on American art of Twachtman's era and on the artists with whom he was acquainted are too numerous to detail here. Many of these are cited in footnotes and more important sources are listed in my bibliography, part I.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, a few publications were invaluable to my work and deserve mention. Gerdts's *American Impressionism* (1984) is noteworthy for analyzing Twachtman's Impressionist works and establishing their place in the context of the Impressionist movement in America. H. Barbara Weinberg's *The Lure of Paris* (1991) and Albert Boime's *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (1971) were significant sources of information on the context of Twachtman's academic training in Paris. Michael Quick's and Eberhard Ruhmer's *Munich and American Realism in the 19th Century* (exh. cat. 1978) and Quick's *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years* (exh. cat. 1987) added greatly to my understanding of Twachtman's Munich years and his relationship with Frank Duveneck. I also derived important information from writings by Dorothy Weir Young and Doreen Bolger on J. Alden Weir; Josephine Duveneck and Quick on Frank Duveneck; Ronald G. Pisano on William Merritt Chase; Susan Larkin on the Cos Cob colony and Elmer MacRae; Bruce Weber on Robert Blum; and John Baur and Sona Johnston on Theodore Robinson. Johnston also made available to me her typed transcripts of Robinson's diaries, which were a crucial source of material on Twachtman's Greenwich period.

In considering issues of Twachtman's iconography, I was inspired by a number of texts that relate art and culture, including Robert Herbert's *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (1988), *A Day in the Country*, a catalogue for an exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (1984); Elizabeth Johns's *Thomas Eakins: The Heroism of Modern Life* (1983), and Sarah Burns's *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (1989). Charles Eldredge's seminal article

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Connecticut Impressionists: Spirit of Place" (1974) provided me with ideas as to how works by Twachtman could be connected with cultural factors in turn-of-the-century America. A few months after I completed my writing, *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*, the catalogue for spring 1994 exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art by H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry, was published. This illuminating source, which considers American Impressionist imagery thematically and in cultural perspective, takes an approach to which I have aspired in my work. I have added some references to this publication in my text.

I used a large number of historical references to study Twachtman's contexts at different phases in his career. These sources are listed under relevant categories in my bibliography, part II.

This dissertation has been coordinated with my work on a catalogue raisonné of Twachtman's art, which was begun in the fall of 1986. As a co-author (with Ira Spanierman) of this forthcoming publication, I have been able to gather, with research assistance, an extensive archive of material on Twachtman, and have benefited from the advice of the publication's advisors, William Gerdts, Richard Boyle, and John Douglass Hale.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Special Considerations in Twachtman Scholarship

Many problems are encountered in a study of Twachtman's art. He left no records--archival or photographic--that would help to determine the development of his oeuvre. Before 1883, he often did not date his works, and after that time, he ceased to date them altogether. Over one quarter of his production is unsigned. Twachtman also had little interest in naming his paintings, and often reused the same titles over and over, making it difficult to link an extant work with one included in an exhibition during the artist's era. Since only a small proportion of Twachtman's works was sold during his lifetime, it is likely that many of the current titles of his paintings were assigned posthumously. Determining the original title of a work is often not possible. Therefore, I generally employ titles used by current owners of works, while indicating original titles or possible original titles in notes or in the text. Since so many of Twachtman's works bear the same titles, the owner of a work is supplied in the text when necessary to distinguish the work from others with the same name. Owners for works not illustrated are also provided. All undated works are listed with circa dates, even if the date of a work is relatively certain.

All footnote references are provided in full when they are first cited in a chapter, with the exception of Clark's 1924 monograph and Hale's 1957 dissertation, which are abbreviated throughout.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction: Notes

[1] Otto Stark, "The Evolution of Impressionism," *Modern Art* 3 (Spring 1895): 53-56. The only part of Stark's chronology with which Twachtman did not comply was the "white movement," which William Gerdts has associated with the glare aesthetic. On the glare aesthetic, see William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), pp. 17-21.

[2] A book in which this approach is taken successfully is, Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1988).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter One

Twachtman's Early Cincinnati Years (1853-1875)

Youth and Early Training

At the time of John Twachtman's birth on the fourth of August 1853, his hometown of Cincinnati, Ohio, was a thriving and lively city situated at the edge of what was then the American western frontier.[1] During the early nineteenth century, the "Queen City of the West" had steadily increased in population and in commercial production, its expansion facilitated by its active river trade, an extensive canal system, and, beginning at mid-century, an ever-increasing number of rail links with large cities to the north, south, and east. In the 1850s, gaslights appeared in the city, horsecars began to operate, and industrial manufactures flourished, especially the pork-packing business for which Cincinnati gained the dubious nickname of "Porkopolis."[2] Cincinnati's progress slowed in the next decade as a result of the Civil War, and by 1870 it had ceded its position as the largest and most important city in the American West to Chicago.[3] Nonetheless, throughout Twachtman's formative years, Cincinnati was a place of optimism, bustling vitality, and raw energy. In addition to its burgeoning trade, it had an active intellectual and cultural life, stimulated largely by a significant influx of German immigrants who sought refuge from Prussian oppression.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It was in Cincinnati's extensive German district, popularly known as Over-the-Rhine, that Twachtman grew up, the third child and the first son of Frederick Christian Twachtman (1815-1878) and Sophia Droege (1823-1895).[4] Both natives of Hanover, Germany, Twachtman's parents were part of the wave of Germans who came to Cincinnati in the 1840s.[5] Settling in the heart of Over-the-Rhine, Twachtman's family lived at 500 and 520 Race Street, at the corner of Race and Fifteenth Streets.[6] A building located at the 520 address, which still stands in a now derelict area of Cincinnati, was possibly the artist's early home (fig. 1). As his parents and many of his neighbors were immigrants, Twachtman is likely to have been fluent in German, although there is no evidence in archival material that this was the case.

During his childhood, Twachtman was surrounded by a lively atmosphere where shopkeepers spoke in their mother tongue, hung colorful signs, and where narrow streets were lined with beer gardens and houses with painted shutters. Music was a passion in Cincinnati's German community, and sangerfests and outdoor concerts were a common phenomenon within Over-the Rhine.[7] Willard Glazier wrote in 1884 of the German flavor of the area, stating that upon visiting it, "one seems to have left America entirely, and to have entered, as by magic, the Fatherland. . . . The beer gardens will especially recall Germany to the mind of the tourist. The Grand Arbeiter and Turner Halls are distinctive features of this quarter of the city."[8] The area was described similarly in an 1879 guidebook:

> The visitor leaves behind him at almost a single step the rigidity of the American, the everlasting hurry and worry of the insatiate race for wealth, the inappeasable [sic] thirst of Dives, and enters at once into the borders of a people more readily happy, more readily contented, more easily pleased, far more closely wedded to museum and the dance, to the song, and life in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> the bright open air. . . . The people are Germans; their faces are German; their manners and customs are German.[9]

Many residents of Over-the-Rhine carried on traditional woodworking crafts learned in Germany. This seems to have been the case for Twachtman's father. Although Frederick Twachtman was a descendant of property owners who had achieved some stature in German society, in Cincinnati, he settled for a modest existence.[10] As Cincinnati city directories reveal, he worked mainly as a carpenter and cabinetmaker, although occasionally practicing other trades, including candymaker, chair maker, grocer, and policeman.[11] According to a number of biographical accounts, Frederick Twachtman also at one time worked for the decorating firm of Breneman Brothers, where he painted window shades with images of fruit, flowers, and landscapes.[12] It was at the Breneman company that Twachtman is thought to have been first exposed to art. Carolyn Mase, his student in the 1890s, wrote that Frederick Twachtman gave his "son studies to paint during the noon day rest," and after gaining some expertise by helping his father at home, Twachtman worked for the factory himself.[13] In an 1880 article in the *American Art Review*, Cincinnati writer George McLaughlin confirmed that John Twachtman's "first occupation was the decoration of window-shades, a calling which he followed for five years in the manufactory of H.H. Breneman."[14]

When Twachtman decided to take his interest in art beyond window-shade decorating, his family supported his choice. Mase noted that, "Twachtman wanted to study drawing, and he persisted until a family conclave was called . . . and he was allowed to study in night school. On a second demand, half a day was allowed for study--and finally he wished to give up everything for the study of art."[15] This occupation was not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unusual for Over-the-Rhine youths.[16] Fellow artist, William Baer (1860-1941) recalled in 1929:

> As a boy, I was sandwiched in between Twachtman and [Robert] Blum, for Twachtman lived a half block to the east, at Race and Fifteenth, and Blum a block to the west, on Fifteenth and the old canal. . . . Blum was three years older than I and Twachtman seven years older, and we all knew each other as boys. All three of us played around the old canal and rode the canal boats to picnics. . . . We played around Washington Park and the city lot where Music Hall now stands. . . . Twachtman, Blum and I all attended the Third Intermediate School. Even as boys we became interested in art.[17]

In addition to Baer and Blum (1857-1903), other Over-the-Rhiners of Twachtman's generation had productive art careers, including Charles Kaelin (1858-1929), Henry Muhrman (1854-1916), Charles Henry Niehaus (1855-1935), and Edward Potthast (1857-1927).

Another precedent for Twachtman's choice of art as a profession lay in the city's art tradition in general. Since the first decade of the nineteenth century, Cincinnati had been distinguished from other cities of its size for the strength of its visual arts resources and the number of its successful local artists. The city's first art academy opened in 1812, and there were schools and art organizations in operation continuously throughout the nineteenth century.[18] By 1847, the view that Cincinnati had become the major hub of art in the American West was promulgated with the founding of the Western Art Union. Established by a group of local businessmen, this organization was modeled on the American Art-Union in New York. Like its eastern counterpart, it distributed engravings to its members and supported local artists. Brought down by a number of personality and political conflicts, the Union was disbanded in 1851. But within a few days of its closing,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

William Wiswell, a frame dealer, opened a free gallery that remained in business through at least the late 1860s.[19]

Among the artists active in Cincinnati who rose to prominence in the early nineteenth century were sculptors Hiram Powers (1805-1873), Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1866), and Shoval Clevenger (1812-1843), and portrait and genre painters Miner Kellogg (1814-1889), James Henry Beard (1811-1893), Joseph Oriel Eaton (1829-1875), and Lily Martin Spencer (1822-1902). The most popular subject for Cincinnati artists at mid-century was landscape, and, during the period, the careers of Godfrey Frankenstein (1820-1873), Worthington Whittredge (1820-1910), William Sonntag (1822-1900), Robert Duncanson (1821-1872), and Alexander Wyant (1836-1892) were launched. While these artists turned to landscape undoubtedly because of the popularity of the Hudson River School on the east coast, they were also inspired by the plenitude and attractions of the landscape material around Cincinnati, the forested hills of the city that billowed out in all directions. The journalist Frank Mayer recognized this phenomenon in 1851. Upon visiting the rooms of the Western Art Union, he wrote that the city's "painters are mostly landscape Artists and the beautiful country by which they are surrounded supplies them with ample material for study & subject."[20]

Twachtman's decision to focus on landscape painting may well have had a root in the Cincinnati landscape tradition. At exhibitions in his hometown, he would have been exposed to the collections of local patrons, such as those of Henry Probasco, Joseph Longworth, Reuben Springer, William Groesbeck, and George Schoenberger.[21] While featuring works by German artists associated with the Düsseldorf School, these collections

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

also included landscapes by local painters and members of the Hudson River School. For example, at an exhibition held at Wiswell's Gallery in the summer of 1868 in which local collectors displayed their holdings, Düsseldorf works were prominently featured, but a reviewer noted that the display "numbers one hundred and eleven pictures, chiefly by American artists."[22] Another show at Wiswell's in the winter of 1868-1869 included works by native landscape painters James Brevoort (1832-1918), Robert Duncanson (1821-1872), Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904), George Inness (1825-1894), Clinton Ogilvie (1838-1900), Alfred Ordway (1819-1854), James Smillie (1833-1909), Thomas Lochlan Smith (1835-1884), Worthington Whittredge, and Alexander Wyant.[23]

Twachtman would later be dismissive of the art interests of his hometown. Writing to his friend J. Alden Weir (1852-1919) in 1882, he proclaimed the city to be a "very old foggied place" where "only one kind of art is considered good. The old Dusseldorf school comes in for its full share of honor. There is no good art influence here and I shall be glad to leave."[24] Cincinnati, nonetheless, provided Twachtman with an environment where art was taken seriously and landscape painting popular, encouraging the direction that his career would take.

In 1868, when Twachtman was fifteen, he began to study art when he enrolled at the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, a school run by the city of Cincinnati to train young tradesmen.[25] Even though he attended the school's art program, rather than its mechanical or architectural divisions, he would have received instruction given to those learning a variety of professions. Painters were taught the same skills as "sculptors, ornamenters, plasterers, engravers, designers, carvers, gilders, and cabinet makers."[26]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Details of the instruction Twachtman would have received at the Mechanics' Institute are not known although presumably classes were in conventional draftsmanship exercises and cast copying. Twachtman clearly met the school's standards for achievement as he received awards during his second and third years there, in 1869-1870 and 1870-1871.[27]

In 1871, Twachtman completed his final term at the Ohio Mechanics' Institute and enrolled at the McMicken School of Design.[28] Since its founding in 1868, the latter school had been growing in stature. Equipped with a large collection of antique casts and an art library, the McMicken School had become the most prominent art institution in the city by the early 1870s.[29] For Twachtman, a compelling feature of the school was undoubtedly the camaraderie it offered. His classmates included Blum, Baer, Muhrman, and Niehaus, as well as other artists who would further their art careers in the years ahead, including Alfred Brennan (1853-1921), Kenyon Cox (1856-1919), Joseph DeCamp (1858-1923), John Ward Dunsmore (1856-1945), George Hopkins (1855-1923), Mary Louise McLaughlin (1847-1939), Thomas Satterwhite Noble (1835-1907), Elizabeth Nourse (1859-1938), John Rettig (1855-1932), Louis Ritter (1854-1892), and Frank Strobridge (1855-1879).[30]

Twachtman was a part-time student at the school and attended for five years, rather than the customary four. Despite an extra year, his studies no doubt followed the school's standard program.[31] In their first year students spent their time creating outline drawings of geometrical forms and copying illustrations. During their second year they moved on to drawing studies of plaster objects such as architectural ornaments. In the third year they continued drawing still lifes and began to render copies of antique statuary,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and, in their final year, they drew from live models, although apparently not from the nude. Twachtman's progress at the school is demonstrated by his contributions to three of its annual shows. At the 1871 exhibition of student works, he displayed a drawing of flowers in the section of the show that included works done "from the flat" (drawn after a print source).[32] In 1874, when he next participated, he showed in the "drawings and paintings from life" section of the exhibition, displaying three studies of heads and a drawing of a "Guardsman," probably a model in costume.[33] In 1875, Twachtman showed a still life and a drawing from nature; the latter could have been a study of a model or a landscape--the subject to which he would devote his career.[34]

Although Twachtman's training was primarily in figural rendering, his earliest extant painting is a view of urban Cincinnati. Entitled *The Loyal Hotel*, this work features a boarding house and saloon located at Smith and Second Streets (two blocks from the river and just west of the center of town) that was operated by the artist's uncle and namesake in the years 1871-1872 (fig. 2).[35] The work is undated, but it may be assumed that Twachtman executed it at that time. In the painting, Twachtman presents the site in literal terms, including the commercial buildings that flanked the boarding house, a chimney spewing smoke into the air, and a lighthouse, which identifies the riverside location of the hotel. Above the door to the central building, he carefully printed the lettered signs that stood above the corner entry with "J. Twachtman Beer Saloon," while just below the gable on the tall building at the right, he wrote out, "John Twachtman, Loyal Hotel." Perhaps in deference to his father's business, he also included in his image

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the painted sign identifying the building to the left of the boarding house as a cabinet-making firm.

In *The Loyal Hotel*, Twachtman wrote out commercial signs and detailed windows, demonstrating a concern for explicit fact that he would eschew during the rest of his career. The painting also demonstrates deficiencies in his technical skills. He made mechanical errors in the rendering of architectural forms, disclosing a lack of understanding of perspective; his figures are stick-like; and he made little effort to convey the scene's atmospheric qualities. He did, however, attempt to animate the work, by including men and horses in casual poses and suggesting the play of light and shadow on the street in front of the hotel. The fluid brushwork that he used for the centrally positioned horse hints at his future style.

Despite its primitive handling, *The Loyal Hotel* is noteworthy as it demonstrates Twachtman's commitment to realism at an early point in his career. While no doubt his pigments were dictated by his training or by art that he was seeing at the time, the dark brown tone in building facades and in the street and the hazy gray color of the sky suggest that Twachtman was responding to conditions of urban Cincinnati, where a constant pall of thick smoke hung over the river valley.

Dated 1873, the other landscape extant from Twachtman's early Cincinnati years is *Tuckerman's Ravine* (fig. 3). In this painting, which Twachtman exhibited at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition of 1873, he attempted a more ambitious subject and composition.[36] The work features mountains emerging from a mist-shrouded sunset and looming over a dark body of water. Surrounding the water are knarled trees, their boughs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reflecting the sunset's glow. Similar trees were a trademark of the art of Thomas Cole (1801-1848). Indeed, *Tuckerman's Ravine* demonstrates that at this point in his career, Twachtman had embraced the romantic approach to nature that was characteristic of the Hudson River School. His composition evokes early works by Cole such as *Lake with Dead Trees (Catskills)*, 1825 and *In the Catskills*, 1827, and the sunset-infused scheme is suggestive of paintings by Frederic Church (1826-1900) such as *Mount Ktaadn*, 1853 (figs 4-6). Twachtman may also have been looking at the work of Cincinnati artists working in the Hudson River School idiom, such as William Sonntag (fig. 7).

The influence of the Hudson River School even extended to Twachtman's choice of site. Entitling the work, *Tuckerman's Ravine*, he intended it as a depiction of this gorge in the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and he possibly meant to represent Hermit Lake, from which the ravine may be seen.[37] The White Mountains were frequently painted by the Hudson River School, but living in the Midwest, Twachtman presumably did not visit them, nor was the terrain of a type with which he would have been familiar.[38] It is assumed that he created the work from a photograph, engraving, or a chromolithograph after a painting.[39] Twachtman exhibited a second painting along with *Tuckerman's Ravine* at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition of 1873. Entitled *View in Tennessee*, this work was probably also after a print or photograph source.[40]

Twachtman would take exactly the opposite stylistic approach in the years to come. He never again worked in such a derivative manner or, except in the case of a few illustrations, rely on secondary sources. More significantly, he would reject stock subjects

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and conventional arrangements, choosing to capture qualities of places that he observed firsthand.

Study under Frank Duveneck

In the winter of 1874-1875 Twachtman's career changed course when he joined an evening class at the Mechanics' Institute taught by Frank Duveneck (1848-1919), who had recently returned from a four-year period of study in Munich.[41] Five years older than Twachtman, Duveneck was raised in the German section of Covington, Kentucky, a suburb of Cincinnati. The two artists may have known each other as youths due to close ties between Covington's and Over-the-Rhine's German communities, and Twachtman would certainly have been aware of Duveneck's return home, which was widely reported on by the local press.[42] Announcing a reception to be held in Duveneck's honor in mid-December 1873, the *Cincinnati Commercial* stated that in Munich, Duveneck had "soon distinguished himself by the masterly treatment of study heads. He carried off two of the Academy's medals, and last year was awarded a prize for composition--*the highest prize in the gift of the Academy.*"[43]

Although Duveneck had originally gone to Munich to improve his skills in church mural work in which he had been engaged in Cincinnati, he had quickly left this pursuit

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

behind on his arrival in Munich. Adopting a style inspired by the dissident German realist painter, Wilhelm Leibl, Duveneck soon rose to prominence among the city's young artists, receiving awards and recognition from the Munich art community.[44] Yet, despite attention from the press, Cincinnati audiences were not receptive to Duveneck's work, and he was forced to return to church decoration and to exhibit his works individually in the store window of a local auction house.[45] When his *Circassian Soldier* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which had won him a prize in his Munich class, was put on view in this fashion, the *Cincinnati Times* reported that work was considered "a matter of jest to the connoisseur and received no attention from buyers."[46] This statement reflects the Cincinnati public's disdain for new art, the stodgy attitude that Twachtman later denounced.

It was perhaps due to his frustration with the lack of an audience for his work in Cincinnati and a desire to ignite at home some of the spirited adventure of his time abroad that Duveneck organized a free class for local young artists. Held at the Mechanics' Institute from the fall of 1874 until the late spring of 1875, the class launched a number of artist's careers. Among the sixteen pupils enrolled were Twachtman, Blum, Brennan, DeCamp, Cox, Clement Barnhorn (1857-1935), Joseph Sibbel (?-1907), and Henry Altevers (?-?).[47]

For Twachtman, this was a time of full immersion in art as he was simultaneously continuing his studies at the McMicken School, but the two courses of instruction would have been dissimilar. Whereas at the McMicken School, Twachtman's focus was on cast drawing and some drawing from models in costume, in Duveneck's class, he was exposed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to the innovative techniques and the realist approach to portraiture that Duveneck had embraced in Munich. Duveneck encouraged his students to use charcoal rather than graphite, focusing their attention on texture rather than on line.[48] Instead of copying casts, Duveneck's students worked from life, and, rather than hiring professional models, Duveneck found sitters for his class in the streets of Cincinnati.[49] He encouraged his students to bring out the character of their subjects rather than merely to record their anatomy. Duveneck also held the first class in Cincinnati in drawing from the female nude. According to Lafcadio Hearn, a reporter for the *Cincinnati Enquirer* who attended one of Duveneck's sessions disguised as an artist, the art students were engaged in portraying a tall blond model with "extraordinary loveliness of form."[50]

Although the oil painting methods that Duveneck taught cannot be ascertained exactly, he undoubtedly encouraged his students to try out the new strategies he had learned in Munich, to adopt the *alla prima* method that he was himself using, to employ a range of rich, dark toned pigments inspired by the palettes of the Old Masters, and to eschew standard finishing processes. When the works produced by Duveneck's class were shown at the Ohio Mechanics' Institute's exhibition of 1875, they stood out from others on view. A writer for the *Cincinnati Commercial* reported that the class displayed images "painted from life and life-size for the most part. The subjects were street characters--some of them picked up at station-houses, and the attitudes and positions given are intended to present the best idea of anatomy and physiognomy of which the student is capable. The coloring is remarkably good for a class so young. The crayon

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sketches in this department are equally good and also possess the merit of being taken from the living model."[51] A critic for the *Cincinnati Enquirer* remarked:

> But the wonder of the exhibition was the display by the Life Class. A room on the second floor of the Mechanics' Institute building was devoted to these pictures, and its walls were literally covered with them, as were both sides of a couple of display boards erected in the center of the room. About one-fourth of these studies were in oil, and the remainder in crayon. With these faces on the walls, the hall was powerfully suggestive of the interior of an infirmary or municipal lodging-house. A few subjects, not paupers, contrasted in the drawings most powerfully with the predominating pictures.[52]

A portrait of a young boy was possibly rendered by Twachtman while a student of Duveneck's (fig. 8). This work depicts a model also painted by Duveneck in a similar portrait, and it is conceivable that the boy was one of the "street characters" who modeled for Duveneck's class. (fig. 9).[53] Twachtman's painting mimics many of the features of Duveneck's more competently executed work, such as the frontal positioning of the model seen from the shoulders up, the strong contrast of light and dark, and the outlining of the subject's white upturned collar. After receiving training in Munich, Twachtman developed a more expressive and confident style, and it seems highly possible that this portrait was created at a time when Duveneck's own art would have provided Twachtman with the only exposure to the new methods that he would soon take up more fully. It is also conceivable that Twachtman simply used Duveneck's image as his model.

Indeed, Duveneck extended special consideration to Twachtman, as he is known to have invited the younger artist to work in the Pike Street studio he shared with two other Munich-trained artists, Henry Farny (1847-1916), a painter who became known for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scenes of American Indians in the southwest, and Frank Dengler (1853-1879), a sculptor who would die at the young age of twenty-six.[54]

After a successful show of his art in Boston, Duveneck decided to return to Munich. He departed in mid-August 1875, accompanied by his three studio mates, Farny, Dengler, and Twachtman. Twachtman was the only student from Duveneck's Cincinnati class to go with him to Munich, although DeCamp and Barnhorn would follow in the years to come.[55]

Cincinnati in 1875

The city in which Twachtman was born was very different from the one he left in 1875, and he was undoubtedly aware of the significant physical changes that had taken place over the course of a few decades. At mid-century, Cincinnati had been the subject of numerous accounts that focused on the beauty of its rural surroundings. For example, English writer, Harriet Martineau, described the city's outskirts in pastoral terms in her 1838 *Retrospective of Western Travel*, making note of the "little settlements sprinkled over it," "shady creeks and sometimes a boat and figures under the trees."[56] Martineau concluded her description of her Cincinnati visit by stating: "For more reasons than one I should prefer Cincinnati as a residence to any other large city of the United States. Of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

these reasons, not the last would be that the 'Queen of the West' is enthroned in a region of wonderful and inexhaustible beauty."[57] Portrait painter John Cranch (1807-1891) described the appeal of the Queen City's setting in a letter of 1840 to his friend, landscape painter Charles Lanman (1819-1895):

> This is beautiful country--the beautiful Ohio--winding among lovely hills--crowned with forests--The scenery round Cincinnati is rich in varied beauties of hill and valey [sic] and wood--you have only to take a few steps out of the city to find yourself rambling over green hills and through tall dense forests--and such trees--as we have out here . . . the famed Valombrosias of Tuscany is nothing to the thousand valombrosias here--a fig for your Italian scenery.[58]

On his journey across the West in 1851, Frank Mayer wrote: "Cincinnati is one of the most beautiful and attractive cities I have yet seen, situated on a gently rising plain & surrounded on three sides by hills, the fourth bounded by the river which here takes a simicircular [sic] curve."[59]

In the years following the Civil War, the appearance of the city began to change as industrial manufactures increased, urban areas became crowded, horse-car lines spread out chaotically throughout the river basin, and a suspension bridge designed by John Roebling was completed across the Ohio River between Cincinnati and Covington, Kentucky, in 1866.[60] Whereas in her 1832 *Domestic Manners of the Americans* Frances Trollope had given praise to Cincinnati for its pure and clear air, by the mid-1860s, Cincinnati had become encased in a smoky film.[61] Suggesting that Cincinnati was quickly approaching London in its "dinginess," James Parton wrote in 1867 of the city in his series on American cities in the *Atlantic Monthly*:

> Over Cincinnati. . . a dense cloud of smoke usually hangs, every chimney contributing its quota to the mass. The universal use of the cheap bituminous coal (seventeen cents a bushel,--twenty-five bushels to a ton) is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> making these Western cities almost as dingy as London. Smoke pervades every house in Cincinnati, begrimes the carpets, blackens the curtains, soils the paint, and worries the ladies. Housekeepers assured us that the all-pervading smoke nearly doubles the labor of keeping a house tolerably clean, and absolutely prevents the spotless cleanliness of a Boston or Philadelphia house. . . . The smoke deposits upon all surfaces a fine soot, especially upon men's woolen cloths, so that a man cannot touch his own coat without blackening his fingers. The stranger, for a day or two, keeps up a continual washing of his hands, but he soon sees the folly of it, and abandons them to their fate. A letter written at Cincinnati on a damp day, when the Stygian pall lies low upon the town, carries with it the odor of bituminous smoke to cheer the homesick son of Ohio at Calcutta or Canton. The universal smoke is a tax upon every inhabitant, which can be estimated in money, and the sum total of which is millions per annum. . . .[62]

For Harriet Martineau in 1832, the Kentucky shore across the Ohio River from Cincinnati had "looked rich and beautiful" with the bustle of rivercraft and steamboats which "gave us a highly respectful notion of the commerce of the place."[63] By contrast, Parton in 1867 noted that on the Kentucky shore "lies Covington, dark and low, a mass of brick factories and tall chimneys, from which the blackest smoke is always ascending, and spreading over the valley and filling it with smoke."[64] Parton also described blighted industrial areas that, instead of being restricted to the waterfront, were now situated at low elevations in the city's hills. Whereas Trollope had found Cincinnati's hills too wild to be negotiated, Parton, writing of an excursion to a summit, remarked on an industrial site he encountered en route:

> When the stranger has panted up the slope on which the city is built, to a point one mile from the river, he sees looming up before him an almost precipitous hill, four hundred and sixty-two feet high, which has been dug into and pared down, until it has about as much beauty as an immense heap of gravel. Around the base of this unsightly mountain are slaughter-houses and breweries, incensing it with black smoke, and extensive pens filled with the living material of barrelled pork. The traveller who has already, as he thinks, done a fair share of climbing for one day, naturally regards this hill as the end of all things in Cincinnati; but upon coming up to it he discovers the zigzag road . . . which leads by an easy ascent to the summit.[65]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Parton observed that on reaching the top of the hill, one left "the city to its smoke and heat," and he pointed out that the view from the hills was not of the open countryside, but of "the industry of the low smoky town."[66] A lithograph rendered in 1875 reveals such a view from the hills showing Cincinnati layered in smoke (fig. 10).

The changes occurring in Cincinnati could not have escaped Twachtman. The landscape that had been painted in the idealized modes of the Hudson River School by earlier Cincinnati painters was quickly disappearing, and a new type of terrain was emerging in which man's presence and impact were increasingly becoming apparent. Twachtman would portray aspects of this new landscape when he returned to Cincinnati in the early 1880s, and a discussion of the works he produced at the time is included in chapter three.

The transformation occurring Cincinnati was also taking place in America as a whole, and the view of the nation as a boundless wilderness with civilization in pockets at its fringes was rapidly losing a bearing in reality. The works Twachtman created of American sites in the course of his career reflect this understanding. Instead of suggesting the pristine and Edenic qualities of the American landscape, he would focus on places where settlement was occurring, through which travel routes passed, and where nature had been modified by man. Rather than places that evoked awe at nature's grandeur, he would choose intimate and familiar landscapes that could be experienced on a casual basis. Twachtman's vantage point complies with that of countless other American artists of his era and reflects the influences of European sources. At the same time, it demonstrates his personal response to the changing American scene of his era.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter One: Notes

[1] For sources used on the history of Cincinnati, see my bibliography, part II, under Cincinnati, History.

[2] In 1883, Olive Logan attributed the nickname of Porkopolis to an English businessman who, in 1825, was the recipient of promotional material from a Cincinnati banker regarding the pork trade in the city. According to Logan, the Englishman was inspired by materials he had received to hire an artist to create papier maché effigies of pigs which he sent "To Mr. George Jones, as the worthy representative of *Porkopolis*." Olive Logan, "Cincinnati," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67 (July 1883): 263.

[3] At mid-century, with a population of 115,435, Cincinnati was the largest city in the western United States, far surpassing Chicago, then with a population of 20,000. By 1870, Chicago had overtaken Cincinnati's dominant position with a population of about 298,000, but Cincinnati was not far behind, having doubled in twenty years to become a city of 216,239. Population statistics from the Cincinnati Public Library Government and Business Division and the Chicago Public Library Social Sciences Department.

[4] For sources on the German population of Cincinnati, see Carl Wittke, "The Germans of Cincinnati," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 1 (January 1962): 7 and G. A. Dobbert, "The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Cincinnati* 23 (October 1965): 229-242. Other sources on the history of Cincinnati are listed in my bibliography, part II.

[5] Carolyn Mase states that Twachtman's "parents were Germans, coming from Hanover. And they came here to be free of the German curse--tyranny. They were farmers of some importance, small landed proprietors." Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxiii. Clark writes that Twachtman's "forebears were prosperous farmers, living in the little town of Erichagen in the free State of Hanover, Germany. . . . Conditions becoming unfavorable, partly due to political changes, Twachtman's father, Frederick Christian Twachtman came to America where he settled in Cincinnati and where he later married Sophia Droege also from the province of Hanover." Clark 1924, p. 19. Twachtman's siblings were Amilia (Minning) (1846-?), Alvina (1851-?), George (1856-?), Edward (1859-?), and Sophia (Bell) (?-?). In 1876, Twachtman wrote an affectionate letter to the daughter of Amilia Minning, but there is otherwise no evidence that he remained close to his family. Twachtman, Munich, to his niece, Alice Minning, Cincinnati, 16 November 1876, private collection.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[6] See Cincinnati city directories for the years 1853 to 1875 for listings of the Twachtman family at these addresses.

[7] A good source on music in nineteenth-century Cincinnati is Robert C. Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts: Cultural Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989).

[8] Willard Glazier, *Peculiarities of American Cities* (Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1885), Chapter 7, "Cincinnati," p. 131.

[9] D.J. Kenny, *Cincinnati Illustrated: A Pictorial Guide to Cincinnati and the Suburbs* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1879), p. 85.

[10] According to Hale, Twachtman's mother had come from a family of higher social standing than his father. Relying on the unpublished and now lost notes of Carolyn Mase, Hale wrote that Twachtman's mother might have married "beneath herself, at least intellectually, a condition possibly conducive to family friction noticeable to a sensitive child." Hale also quoted an unsourced comment made by Twachtman's wife that the artist's mother had been "a woman of great shrewdness, of remarkable intelligence; and [John Twachtman] was disctinctly more like her than his father." According to Mase's notes, Twachtman's mother was "a thrifty woman who was later able to purchase a home with the family savings." Hale 1957, p. 10.

[11] On the background of Twachtman's father's family, see Hale 1957, p. 8; Clark 1924, p. 18; and Mase 1921, p. lxxiii. Twachtman's father's appearance in Cincinnati directories is sporadic. He is listed as a cabinet maker in 1853, 1860, 1861, and 1864; a carpenter in 1865, 1866, and 1872; a candy maker in 1857; a chair maker in 1858; a policeman in 1862, 1863; and in dry goods business in 1867, 1869, 1870. See *Williams' Cincinnati Directory, City Guide, and Business Mirror* (Cincinnati, Ohio: C.S. Williams) for the years 1853-1875. There are no listings for Twachtman's father between 1871 and 1875.

[12] Information about Frederick Twachtman's employment under Breneman Brothers derives only from reference material on John Twachtman. There is no mention of the company in Cincinnati directories or other sources and no primary source material has been found to confirm that Twachtman or his father was hired by this firm, the nature of his work, or the length of time that he worked for the company. Since there are no listings in Cincinnati directories for Twachtman's father between 1871 and 1875, it was perhaps at that time that he was employed at Breneman's. See following note.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[13] Mase 1921, p. lxxiii. Hale 1957, pp. 8-9, mentions that the artist's son J. Alden Twachtman confirmed his father's employ with Breneman; Clark 1924, p. 19.

[14] George McLaughlin, "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School," *American Art Review* 2 (December 1880): 45.

[15] Carolyn Mase unpublished notes, cited in Hale 1957, p. 10. Although Hale had access to these notes, their location is not known today.

[16] See Bruce Weber, *Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903 and His Milieu*, 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1985), pp. 4-5.

[17] Quoted in Charles Ludwig, "City Block Produced Three Great Artists Who Won World Fame," *Cincinnati Times-Star*, 4 July 1929, p. 7. A related article by Ludwig was published in the paper: "What Streets Produced Most of Cincinnati's Great Men," *Cincinnati Times-Star*, 29 July 1929, p. 14.

[18] The most comprehensive recent survey of the history of art in Cincinnati is Vitz 1989. For other sources, see my bibliography, part II, under Art in Cincinnati.

[19] On Wiswell's, see Charles Cist, *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851* (Cincinnati: William H. Moore and Company, 1851), p. 121 and Denny Carter, "Cincinnati as an Art Center, 1830-1865," in *Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979), p. 14. Reviews of the Wiswell shows include: Academy of Fine Arts." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 23 May 1868, supplement, p. 1; Academy of Fine Arts." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 13 June 1868, p. 7; "Academy of Fine Arts: Landscapes," *Cincinnati Commercial*, 22 November 1868, p. 8.

[20] Frank Blackwell Mayer, *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, Bertha L. Heilbron, ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1932), p. 44.

[21] Publications focusing on Cincinnati collectors include: George Ward Nichols, "Private Picture Collections in Cincinnati," *Galaxy* 10 (October 1870): 511-520 and Joseph E. Holliday, "Collector's Choice of the Gilded Age," *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

28 (Winter 1970): 295-316. For other pertinent material on this topic, see entries in my bibliography, part II, under Art in Cincinnati.

[22] [?] Suburran, in "Art Galleries in Cincinnati," *Art Journal* (1 July 1868): 119-120.

[23] Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts, *Second Exhibition at Wiswell's Gallery* (Cincinnati: 1868-1869).

[24] Twachtman, Avondale, to Weir, [New York], 5 March 1882, Weir Family Papers, MSS 41, Harold B. Lee Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[25] Twachtman's name appears in a list of students in the Artistic Department of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute for the session lasting from March 1868 to March 1869: *Forty-first Annual Report of the Board of Directors, from March, 1868, to March, 1869* (Cincinnati: Ohio Mechanics' Institute, 1869), p. 24.

[26] Ohio Mechanics' Institute, *Forty-first Annual Report* 1869, p. 23.

[27] Ohio Mechanics' Institute of the City of Cincinnati, *Forty-second Annual Report of the Board of Directors, from March, 1869, to March, 1870* (Cincinnati: Ohio Mechanics' Institute, 1869), p. 25, lists Twachtman as one of four second class students to receive a first degree award. Ohio Mechanics' Institute of the City of Cincinnati, *Forty-third Annual Report of the Board of Directors, from March, 1870, to March, 1871* (Cincinnati: Ohio Mechanics' Institute, 1869), p. 25, lists Twachtman as one of two second class students to receive a first degree award.

[28] Initiated as a division of the McMicken University, the School of Design was established in 1868 when a group of casts were donated to the university by the Woman's Art Association. In the year that Twachtman entered, the McMicken University was taken over by the city of Cincinnati, and its name was changed to the Cincinnati University, although the art school retained the McMicken name until 1887, when it was renamed the Cincinnati Art Academy. Twachtman may have started at McMicken in the middle of the year when classes ended at the Mechanics' Institute or attended concurrently.

[29] For information on the McMicken School, see Bruce Weber, "Frank Duveneck and the Art Life of Cincinnati, 1865-1900," in *Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979), pp. 23-32; Weber 1985, pp. 9-10; and Robert Vitz, *Cincinnati Art and Artists, 1870-1920*, unpublished master's thesis, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 1967, pp. 20-24.

[30] See University of Cincinnati, Academic Department, *Catalogue for the Year 1876-'77, Appendix II: A List of Those Students in the Art Department from 1869 to 1877, Who Have Turned the Instruction Received There to Practical Account.*

[31] The courses of study are described in, University of Cincinnati, Academic Department, *Catalogue for the Year 1876-'77*, "School of Design," pp. 55-56.

[32] *Catalogue of the Third Annual Exhibition of the McMicken School of Design of the Cincinnati University*, 1871, lists no. 166, *Flowers* by J. Twachtman in works "from the flat," done by students from the Night School, Antique Department.

[33] *Catalogue of the Sixth Annual Exhibition of the School of Design of the University of Cincinnati*, June 1874, lists no. 1, *Head*; no. 2, *Head*; no. 3, *Head*, no. 67, *Guardsman* by John Twachtman in the section of the catalogue for "Drawings and Paintings from Life."

[34] See *Catalogue of the Seventh Annual Exhibition of the School of Design of the University of Cincinnati*, June, 1875, lists no. 193, *Still Life* and no. 197, *Drawing from Nature* by J. H. Twachtman.

[35] The 1868 Cincinnati city directory lists a saloon located at the south west corner of Smith and Second Streets, run by "John Twachtman." In 1870, the saloon was expanded to include a boarding house, and in 1871 and 1872, the directory lists: "Twachtman, John, Proprietor, Loyal Hotel, s.w.c. Smith and 2nd." Hale 1957, p. 11 writes of a story circulating in the Twachtman family that John Twachtman was sent to live with his uncle at some point at the Hotel.

[36] *Catalogue of the Art Collection, Cincinnati Industrial Exposition*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1873), p. 5, no. 18.

[37] One source on the site is Julius H. Ward, *The White Mountains: A Guide to Their Interpretation* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1890). See Chapter VIII, "Tuckerman's Ravine," pp. 77-85.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[38] For a study of images of the White Mountains by painters and popular artists, see *The White Mountains: Place and Perceptions*, exh. cat. (Durham, N.H.: University of New Hampshire, 1980, essays by R. Stuart Wallace, Donald D. Keyes, and Robert L. McGrath.

[39] Twachtman might have seen books on American scenery that contained engraved images of the White Mountains, including *The Northern Traveller* (1826), *Scenery of the White Mountains* (1848) *Picturesque America* (1872), See *The White Mountains: Place and Perceptions* 1980 for further information on popular sources.

[40] *Catalogue of the Art Collection, Cincinnati Industrial Exposition* 1873, p. 5, no. 24.

[41] Duveneck's early career and art are discussed in Norbert Heerman, *Frank Duveneck* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1918); Josephine W. Duveneck, *Frank Duveneck: Painter-Teacher* (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, 1970); Michael Quick, *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987); and Robert Neuhaus, *Unsuspected Genius: The Art and Life of Frank Duveneck* (San Francisco: Bedford Press, 1987).

[42] Clark reported that Duveneck was a family friend of the Twachtmans. Clark 1924, p. 19.

[43] "Mr. Frank Duveneck," *Cincinnati Commercial*, 18 December 1873, p. 4.

[44] Duveneck's honors in Munich included being asked to organize a show of his own work at the Munich Kunstverein and to become an assistant to Franz von Lenbach (1836-1904), a prominent teacher at the Munich Royal Academy. See undated letter from Frank Duveneck to his parents, 22 July 1871, estate of Frank B. Duveneck, translated and quoted in Quick 1987, p. 25. See also Quick 1987, pp. 25-26.

[45] On Duveneck's reception in Cincinnati, see Quick 1987, pp. 33-34.

[46] "Duveneck's Soldier," *Cincinnati Times*, 18 March 1876, n.p.

[47] Information derived from Clement J. Barnhorn, Cincinnati, to John H. Faig, Ohio Mechanics Institute, Cincinnati, 11 June 1930, Archives, University of Cincinnati. See also, Weber 1985, pp. 13-16 and Quick 1987, p. 31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[48] The use of charcoal in Duveneck's class was noted in reviews of the display of works by his students in the Mechanics' Institute exhibition of March 1875. See notes 50 and 51.

[49] See notes 50 and 51 on the subjects depicted by the students in Duveneck's class.

[50] Quoted in Robert Allen, "Wrecking of Duveneck's Downtown Atelier Recalls the One He Had in 1873-75--Farny's Early Adventures--A Girl Model Who Posed Without Assistance," *Cincinnati Enquirer Sunday Magazine*, 8 June 1930, p. 3.

[51] "Ohio Mechanics' Institute: Exhibition of the School of Design," *Cincinnati Commercial*, 10 March 1875, p. 3.

[52] "Nineteenth Exhibition of the School of Design, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 10 March 1875, p. 8.

[53] Neither Duveneck's nor Twachtman's paintings are dated, although Duveneck's has been assigned a date of 1882 by the Butler Institute. If this date is correct, then Twachtman's painting could not be a product of his early Cincinnati years. However, for a number of reasons, the Butler Institute's dating appears to be wrong: the subject and style of Duveneck's canvas are more characteristic of his work of the mid-1870s, when he used dark tonalities and painterly handling, than that of the early years of the next decade when he had begun to use a lighter palette and a more finished technique; he concentrated on painting street boys during his first term in Munich, and did fewer images of the subject during his second term, and even fewer in the 1880s. In addition, by the early 1880s, Twachtman had developed a more confident and individualistic style than that exhibited in *Head of a Boy*.

[54] McLaughlin 1880, p. 46.

[55] Clark wrote that Duveneck had recognized Twachtman's aptitude and advised him to study in Munich, and Mase writes that Duveneck persuaded Twachtman's family to allow him to go to Munich. Clark 1924, pp. 19-20 and Mase 1921, p. lxxiii. Mase also commented that Twachtman was able to pay for his trip to Europe from what he had saved from working at Brenemans; "[H]e always carried his entire weekly wages home to his mother, which she thriftily put away, and which money, later on carried him to Europe, and supplied him with necessities during his Munich days." Mase 1921, p. lxxiii.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[56] Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, vol. 2 (1838, reprint New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 216.

[57] Martineau 1838, reprint 1969, p. 254.

[58] John Cranch to Charles Lanman, 25 July 1840, Charles Lanman Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[59] Mayer 1932, p. 45.

[60] See Daniel Hurley, *Cincinnati: The Queen City* (Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982), p. 79 and other sources on the history of Cincinnati for information on the spreading of streetcar lines.

[61] Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1832), "Cincinnati," pp. 29-41.

[62] James Parton, "Cincinnati," *Atlantic Monthly* 20 (August 1867): 234.

[63] Martineau 1838, reprint 1969, p. 222.

[64] Parton 1867, p. 234.

[65] Parton 1867, p. 236.

[66] Parton 1867, p. 236.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Two

The Emergence of a Realist Painter: Scenes of Modern Life in Venice, New York, and New Jersey (1875-1879)

Study and Experience in Munich (1875-1877)

Choosing to study in Munich in the mid-1870s, Twachtman joined a generation of American artists who were turning away from the nativist directions of Hudson River School painting and looking to the art of Europe for new methods and inspiration.[1] The event most frequently cited as the turning point for the new era was the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. As the critic William C. Brownell remarked in an article of 1880, the Exposition had marked "the beginning of an epoch. . . . Before that year we had what was called, at any rate, an American school of painting; and now the American school of painting seems to have disappeared. . . We are beginning to paint as other people paint."[2] In keeping with the desire to "paint as other people paint," the young artists of the age sought to create an art of international stature that reflected the great developments in Western art history and that was up to date with recent aesthetic trends.

During the 1870s, two art centers vied for popularity among native artists seeking foreign training: Paris, which had held the position as the premier western art capital for generations, and Munich, which had recently become a vital gathering place for artists of many nations, and where a spirit of modernism presided. Like other art students in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Munich in the 1870s, Twachtman enrolled at the Royal Academy in October 1875 and adopted the innovative methods popular among progressive Munich artists of the day.

Growing up in Over-the-Rhine would have given Twachtman some preparation for life in Germany, but Munich presented a significant contrast with his hometown. Whereas Cincinnati was a bustling industrial town that had recently arisen on the American frontier, Munich, the Bavarian capital, was an elegant city, rich in evidence of the past. Its streets were lined with palaces, churches, and theaters that exemplified the architectural achievements of the Medieval, Baroque, and Renaissance eras. Munich had also been recently modernized by the campaigns of a number of successive Bavarian rulers who had opened up narrow alleyways to carve wide graceful avenues, installed plazas and parks, constructed opulently decorated and monumental new buildings, and established museums and opera houses. Twachtman's sojourn took place during the reign of Ludwig II, whose support of the arts further established Munich's role as an international cultural center.[3]

The Royal Academy had benefited from Munich's recent renaissance as it had grown in stature and size since 1850.[4] During the 1860s, major changes were made in the school's curriculum. Under the guidance of professor Karl von Piloty (1824-1886), who had been a student of the French romantic painter Paul Delaroche (1796-1856), the school gave greater emphasis to painting than it had in the past.[5] Four levels of instruction were instituted in the painting division: drawing from the antique; life drawing; painting technique; and multi-figure composition.[6] This program was innovative. Whereas in most European academies of the day, figural drawing from casts and from the nude was emphasized, in Munich during the 1870s, figural skills were taught, but students were also

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

encouraged to develop strong paint handling methods, and they focused on portrait studies rather than exclusively on the figure's anatomy. In most Parisian academies, methods of execution were standardized and careful draftsmanship stressed.[7] By contrast, in Munich individual approaches and the mastering of painting techniques were encouraged.[8]

The Munich art scene was further stimulated by Wilhelm Leibl, who introduced local painters to French realist art and originated his own spirited realist approach. Following the advice of his mentor, Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) (who had come to Munich in 1869 when a group of his works were on view at the Munich International Exposition), Leibl spent time in Paris in 1869-1870 where he became familiar with works by Courbet, Edouard Manet (1833-1883), Henri Fantin-Latour (1836-1904), and other French realists. On his return to Munich, Leibl merged French realist influences with an *alla prima* technique that was inspired by the powerful painterly methods of certain Old Masters--in particular Frans Hals (ca. 1580-1666), Diego Velásquez (1599-1660), and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669). Eliminating unnecessary detail and employing bravura brushwork to define masses and create rich, textural effects, he rendered strong, unidealized images of ordinary citizens. Instead of adhering to standard finishing methods, he left the raw force of his brushstrokes present in completed works and he eliminated the retouching process, resulting in animated images in which the freshness of his first impression of a subject remained. This style was emulated by a group of German painters who became known as "the Leiblkreis."[9]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although Leibl and his circle generally worked in isolation, spending time together in country retreats, Leibl's methods were disseminated to the Munich art community at large: several members of the Leiblkreis had been students at the Royal Academy, and Leibl himself was a friend of Academy professor Wilhelm von Diez (1839-1907).[10] During the early 1870s, Leibl occasionally participated in classes that Diez taught. A student in Diez's class at the time that Leibl made appearances, Duveneck had become one of the most avid proponents of Leibl's approach and, as noted in the previous chapter, it was the manner of Leibl that he communicated to his Cincinnati students on his return to America. Duveneck later acknowledged that Leibl "had more influence over me than any of the other men in Munich, although I never studied with him."[11]

Twachtman's instructor in Munich, Ludwig von Löfftz (1845-1910) had also been a student in Diez's class in the early 1870s. It may, in fact, have been Duveneck who recommended Löfftz to his Cincinnati student, and, in Cincinnati, Twachtman may have seen the portrait in a Leiblesque style that Duveneck created of Löfftz (fig. 11).[12] At the time that Twachtman entered his class, Löfftz had only been a professor for a year, and it was likely to have been Leibl's painterly methods that he transmitted to his students in 1875-1876. In the early 1880s, Löfftz changed his style, emulating the velvety surfaces and dark chiaroscuros of Spanish Baroque painters such as Velásquez, José de Ribera (1591-1652), and Francisco de Zurburan (1598-1664) (ca. 1497-1543). However, several undated landscape studies by Löfftz indicate that at one point he worked in the dynamic *alla prima* manner of Leibl (figs. 12-14). Indeed, he might have spurred Twachtman to apply Leibl's techniques to outdoor work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Even though Leibl had retreated to the country with his coterie of followers and away from active involvement in the Munich art scene by the time Twachtman arrived, his influence continued to dominate, as suggested in a description of standard Munich practices by Samuel Benjamin in his 1877 book, *Contemporary Art in Europe*:

> The leading characteristics of the new Munich School seem to be . . . greater breadth in the treatment of details, preferring general effect to excellence in parts of a work, greater boldness and dash, and consequently more freshness in the handling of pigments, the suggestion of texture and substance by masses of paint, handling the brush in accordance with the nature of the object represented, and, finally, a more correct eye in perceiving the relations of colors to each other--the quality of subtle tints in flesh, for example--and therefore a more just representation of the mysterious harmonies of nature . . . .[13]

In an 1876 article in the *Hartford Courant*, American essayist and novelist Charles Dudley Warner also described the Munich approach:

> There were eight years ago about a thousand artists and students at work here, and they were nearly all going on in the same hard, tame, mechanical way. Whether the change now observable here is due to French influence I do not know; I suspect it is largely; but it has been emphasized by the example of a few men, and by a new conception of what painting is. This new conception is the old one after all. It aims at reality and the truth, and it improves on the old masters in that it includes historical truth, as well as the truth of color and feeling. The Munich school is, however, not the Paris school, but it is just as realistic, just as bold in the free use of paint, and has more than its neighbor's contempt for prettiness and the finish which seeks to disguise the want of strength.[14]

The registration records from the Royal Academy (the only documents of Twachtman's attendance at the Academy not destroyed by bombing during World War II), indicate that Twachtman initially enrolled in a life-drawing class at the academy on the 15th of October 1875.[15] Since he later claimed that he had not learned to draw in Munich, he perhaps quickly progressed to a painting technique class in which Löfftz may

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

have been his instructor.[16] However, Twachtman studied under other teachers in Munich as he drew caricatures of two of them in a letter he sent to a niece in Cincinnati in 1876--the identity of these figures is unknown (fig. 15).[17] In addition, in Munich, there is evidence that Twachtman continued his instruction with Duveneck, who had charge of a studio at the Academy.[18]

Proof that Twachtman adopted the standard Munich idiom of his time is demonstrated in his *Head of a Man*, a treatment of the popular Academy subject of the "study head" (fig. 16). Although similar in format to his presumably earlier *Head of a Boy*, a number of significant advances are noticeable. The subject's ruddy cheeks and nose, pinched lips, wrinkled brow, and broad forehead reveal a strong-minded, distinctive individual, more believable and realistic than the boy. Twachtman handles his brush more adeptly and notes tonal modulations more precisely, in particular conveying the flesh tones of the man's face and integrating the figure more firmly in the dark atmospheric background.

After leaving Munich, Twachtman continued to use a style informed by Leibl's dynamic realist approach, and the work he created until around 1880 will be identified as his Munich period art. It is important, however, to keep in mind that he explored a range of different styles and aesthetic issues during this phase of his career.[19]

A significant factor in Twachtman's Munich experience was the community of American artists that had been growing steadily in the city since the late 1860s, and Twachtman's arrival in Munich in the fall of 1875 coincided with the founding of the American Artists'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Club of Munich.[20] This was the first organization of many that Twachtman would join in the course of his career that combined art and social activities. Modeling its programs on German artist-associations of the era, the club organized a variety of events, such as performances of *tableaux-vivants* after paintings by Dutch and Flemish masters. The club also mounted exhibitions and held festivities on particular occasions, including an extravaganza in a Munich hotel that celebrated the American Centennial in July 1876.[21] In an 1886 recollection, G. Henry Horstman, the American consul in Munich during the 1870s, described the club:

> Many are the pleasant nights that have been spent there, many the festivities and varied performances that have taken place, many the sketches, caricatures, and comic illustrations that have been produced there, many the jokes and good sayings that have been made there. . . . When [the artists] congregate at night this slight mantle . . . is thrown from their shoulders. The cloud of smoke hanging through the room seems to wrap them together as with one common cover, and the beer-mugs on the table are the connecting link of a chain that binds them to each other.[22]

Benjamin also reminisced about the club:

> The writer regards as among the most improving and delightful evenings he has enjoyed those passed with some of these talented and enthusiastic art students at the table where a number regularly met to dine, at the Max Emanuel cafe in Munich. Dinner over, huge flagons of beer were placed before each one, and pipes were lit, whose wreaths of upward-curling smoke softened the gleam of the candles, and gave a poetic haze to the dim nooks of the hall highly congenial to the hour and the topics discussed. The leonine head of Duveneck, massively set on his broad shoulders, as from time to time behind a cloud of smoke he gave forth an opinion, lent much dignity to the scene, while the grave, thoughtful features of Shirlaw and the dreamy, contemplative face of Chase, occasionally lit by a flash of impetuous emotion, aided by an eloquent gesture, made the occasion one of great interest. Others there were around the board whose sallies of humor or weighty expressions of opinion made an indelible impression.[23]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although the club did not offer classes, it provided a forum for artists to exchange ideas about art, and it was undoubtedly in club gatherings that Twachtman solidified friendships with several leading figures in the American art scene of his day who were also studying in Munich at the time including William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), Walter Shirlaw (1838-1909), and J. Frank Currier (1843-1909).

Polling (1875-1876)

Twachtman had further opportunities for contact with American colleagues in Polling, a small town located in the Bavarian countryside around thirty-five miles south of Munich. Polling had a long tradition as an artists' colony. From the eighth until the end of the eighteenth century, the town had been dominated by the Polling Monastery, which throughout its history, hired local painters, stain glass artists, sculptors, and metalworkers to adorn its churches, as well as churches in nearby towns that the monastery governed.[24] After Napoleon's siege of Bavaria in 1803, the monastery was secularized and its vacant rooms were used by overnight guests (figs. 17-18). From 1855 to 1905, the monastery's accommodations were administered by a town inn that kept a register of visitors.[25] This guestbook, which has recently come to light, reveals that, although a wide variety of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

travelers stopped in Polling, a large proportion of the town's overnight visitors were artists.

From the 1830s through the 1860s, Polling's visiting artists were mainly Germans, but in the late 1870s and early 1880s, American artists constituted a significant presence in the town.[26] For Americans, Polling was an appealing place to visit as it was a short train trip from Munich and offered cheap housing. In addition to the inn, some Americans are thought to have stayed in an old barn that was part of the monastery. In her 1917 biography of Chase, Katharine Metcalf Roof described this accommodation:

> At Polling the students worked in a deserted monastery for which they paid a small rent, using the monks' cells for studios and utilizing the picturesquely costumed peasants for models. The lower part of the monastery had been turned into a cattle-stable, and of the material it offered they also availed themselves, painting the cattle and sheep.[27]

In his 1930 monograph on Currier, Nelson White described the setting similarly:

> The old Holy Cross Monastery in Polling, secularized in 1803, was . . . abandoned and the lower parts used as stables for cattle. The artists were prompt to see that the vacant cells could be utilized as studios, and they took possession of the old building for a small rent, and with the peasants as models, together with the cattle, and of course, the fine and varied landscape, they created for themselves an ideal milieu. It was a happy and industrious colony and they were exceedingly stimulating to each other.[28]

In Polling, many visiting painters practiced the portrait skills they were absorbing at the Academy by depicting local peasants.[29] Bearing out Roof's account, some artists rendered sketches of animals. Twachtman's only studies of cows were perhaps executed in Polling (figs 19-20). Walter Shirlaw also spent his time in Polling drawing animals; he used many of his Polling sketches for his once well known genre scene, *Sheep Shearing in the Bavarian Highlands*, ca. 1876 (location unknown).[30]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

But, Polling was primarily a place for artists to paint landscapes. Information obtained from the town's archives and from the inn's guestbook indicate that German landscape painters were working in Polling continuously from the 1830s until the end of the century.[31] Many Americans visiting Polling similarly made landscape painting a focus. Polling's setting encouraged this choice. Beyond the village walls, rolling hillsides, occasional farmhouses, herds of sheep and cows, and overgrown marshes provided ready material for sketching and painting outdoors (figs. 21-22).

Although Löfftz may have inspired Twachtman and other American students to use the painterly manner of Leibl for outdoor sketches, the American artist Frank Currier was probably the main instigator among his compatriots of such an approach.[32] Currier developed a highly unusual landscape approach. Working in the open air, he loaded his brushes with thick, dark pigments which he mixed on canvas in a wet-into-wet method with vigorous, unbridled brushstrokes. Often portraying dark glowering skies and storm-struck landscapes, Currier created emotionally powerful images that expressed feelings of brooding melancholy and angst (fig. 23). Although he may never have taught formally, Currier willingly communicated his methods to his colleagues. A sketch by John White Alexander shows Currier giving outdoor painting tips to a group of American artists in Polling, and Polling scenes by Duveneck and Chase reveal Currier's influence (figs. 24-26).

Twachtman signed the Polling register only once, in mid-May 1876, when he seems to have visited the town in the company of Wilder Darling (1856-1933), from Toledo, Ohio, and Charles Ulrich (1858-1908), from New York, who was a fellow

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

classmate under Löfftz (fig. 27). Although Twachtman's name does not again appear in this book, he possibly made additional trips to Polling that went unrecorded by the guestbook (as would have been the case if he did not stay at the inn).

Several early landscapes by Twachtman were likely to have been the result of visits to Polling. A depiction of a dark green meadow edged with tall trees and set under a threatening stormy sky, Twachtman's *View near Polling* (not an original title) points convincingly to the influence of Currier on Twachtman (fig. 28). The large size of the canvas (32 x 53-1/2 inches), the lustrous dark tones that resonate throughout, a wet-into-wet method of painting, and forceful, unrestrained brushstrokes all indicate Currier's guidance. In *Along the Fence*, Twachtman also adopts a Currier-like approach, using long fluid strokes to convey the general textures and shapes of a fence in a forest clearing (fig. 29). Similar in palette to Duveneck's *Beechwoods at Polling,* Twachtman's *Forest Scene* is another plein-air sketch possibly rendered on a Polling visit, although Twachtman's treatment of light is far less adept than Duveneck's and his trees are flimsy in comparison with Duveneck's robust beechwoods (figs. 30-31). In *The Old Barn*, Twachtman portrays a subject that was popular among the artists in Leibl's circle, a modest country cottage (fig. 32). As in works by Johann Sperl (1840-1914) and Hans Thoma (1839-1924), he takes a close-up vantage point on this motif, and uses his paint textures to simulate the scene's textures, the cottage's roughly constructed wood walls, thatched roof, and forested surrounding. (figs. 33-34). Such subject matter may be seen as a landscape corollary to the portraits of ordinary citizens popular among Munich artists of the 1870s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's decision to paint this imagery demonstrates his absorption not only of the stylistic traits of the Leibl circle, but also his understanding of their realist point of view.

Venice (1877-1878)

In the spring of 1877, Twachtman joined Frank Duveneck and William Merritt Chase in Venice for a sojourn of around a year's duration.[33] This extended Italian visit proved consequential to the development of Twachtman's art.[34]

Duveneck probably proposed the trip as he had ended a visit to Venice in 1873 "with a keen desire to return and enjoy a longer period in this exquisite city."[35] Additionally, for the three artists, a motivation for traveling to Venice was the possibility of finding patrons, an aim in which they had experienced some success in Munich. But, upon arrival in Venice, they found the city filled with other artists who had similar intentions, many of whom were more well known, and they were compelled to abandon commercial hopes. Living frugally, they shared a three-room apartment and lived on dried beef and beans.[36] As Chase's biographer, Katharine Metcalf Roof, wrote: "the three painters lived together in the simplest and most economical fashion. Indeed their stay was prolonged to a greater length than they had originally intended because they lacked the funds necessary for the act of departure."[37] Their return trip was also delayed as Chase

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

became ill with malaria. His two companions took turns caring for him until he recovered. A relief from the trials of bohemian life came from Katherine Bronson, sister-in-law of *Scribner's Magazine* editor Richard Watson Gilder, who occasionally invited the artists to soirées at her palatial Venetian home. It was only when Duveneck was paid for a portrait commissioned by an American who was visiting Venice that the artists were able to return to Munich. They were back in the German city probably in March 1878.[38]

In Venice, the artists explored outdoor painting as they had in Polling. Roof noted that their sojourn "was one full of interest, and as they painted outdoors together, the art of the associated painters grew steadily stronger and more individual."[39] Clark reported: "numerous studies of the [Venice] period bear witness to [Twachtman's] industry. . . and much of the time was passed out of doors along the waterways of the picturesque city."[40] Despite reports of shared outdoor painting ventures, no extant works by Duveneck done during this trip have been definitively identified and Chase created few landscapes; his production consisted mainly of detailed interiors and still lifes.[41] Thus, it is not possible to determine exactly the sorts of exchanges that took place among the three painters in their landscape endeavors.

In contrast to his companions' output, there are many extant works by Twachtman that may be identified as products of his Venetian sojourn. These works demonstrate a fundamental shift that occurred in his art during his stay in Italy: a shift seen in the differences between works that he created in 1877 and those he created in 1878. Whereas the radical methodologies that he had absorbed in Munich are not present in his 1877

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scenes, in his 1878 works, the impact of his Munich experience and his growing commitment to realism are apparent.

In two 1877 paintings, *Venice* and *View of Venice*, Twachtman attempted topographical accuracy and his images follow conventions of the *vedute* of eighteenth-century painters Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768) and Francesco Guardi (1712-1793) (figs. 35-37). As in typical *vedute*, Twachtman portrays colorful, brightly lit panoramas in which sparkling clear water and open skies are divided by land masses lined with architectural structures that lead on diagonal axes into the distance.[42] Traditional rules of pictorial construction are observed in these works in their careful perspectives, clear distinctions between foreground and background, and the detailed rendering of buildings (more detail is present in *View of Venice* than in *Venice*). Instead of the rough impastos in contemporary works by Leibl, Currier, and Duveneck, Twachtman established smooth, finished surfaces.

A change in Twachtman's style is readily apparent in his 1878 Venice scenes. Whereas his 1877 scenes have the studied look of having been done in the studio, his 1878 works exude a feeling of having been rendered directly in the outdoors. Some of his images of this time portray popular Venetian locales and buildings, often included in traditional view paintings--the Dogana di Mare (the Custom's House built in the seventeenth century), the Grand Canal, and the Doge's Palace. The popularity of these sites and other Venetian monuments had been spurred by John Ruskin's famous *Stones of Venice* (1851-1853). Ruskin's call for artists to depict Venetian monuments in painstaking detail as a way of preserving historical truth, and his romanticized descriptions

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the city, encouraged a generation of artists to glorify Venice and see it as it once was.[43] In his Venetian images, Twachtman took the opposite of a Ruskinian approach, creating quick oil sketches in which he captured the modern city as perceived in momentary impressions.

This approach may be seen in Twachtman's paintings that may be identified as works of 1878 due either to dates inscribed on them or on stylistic factors. In *Venice*, for example, Twachtman depicts the same scene from the same angle as Joseph Mallord Turner (1775-1851) in a work also entitled *Venice* (figs. 38-39). Both artists present a view towards the Dogana with the church of San Giorgio Maggiore in the distance, but the differences between these two paintings are quickly discernible. Portraying gleaming white structures that stand on a glistening waterway under an open cloud-swept sky, Turner creates an idealized image of Venice. The perfection of architectural and landscape forms suggest the city's timelessness. A host of colorful gondolas add a festive note, reminding viewers of the pageantry that characterized the city's past. By contrast, using a close-up vantage point, Twachtman conveys his immediate experience of his site as glimpsed in passing and plays down the grandeur of the architecture. Letting his strokes remain purposefully sketchy and choppy and showing only partial views of buildings, he focuses on the animated aspects of structures and water. His interest in expressing what he saw and in showing the Venice of his own time is demonstrated in his decision to give as much emphasis to a group of roughened pilings as to the Dogana.[44]

Twachtman's *View of Venice*, another image in which the Dogana appears, further demonstrates his approach (fig. 40). This work may be contrasted with *Venice in the*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Distance, rendered in the 1870s by American painter John Linton Chapman (1839-1905), a work in which the Dogana is also featured in the left middleground (fig. 41). Following *vedute* traditions, Chapman lays out an extensive detail-filled panorama in which the role of the Dogana as a guidepost may be discerned. Twachtman departs from such a format. Taking an oblique view on the structure, he ignores its position in Venice's skyline, instead focusing on the effect of bright sunlight on its white brick walls and contrasting its reflective surface with the worn gray stone of the steep pier that crosses in front of it. Rather than following set modes of portraying Venice, Twachtman brought out qualities in the scene that he found personally compelling.

The uniqueness of Twachtman's viewpoint may also be seen in his selection of sites that were not on popular tourist routes. In *Venice*, he depicted a wooded landscape crossed by a narrow path (fig. 42). No recognizable structures may be seen in this work; only an inscription identifies it as a Venetian locale. The browns and dark greens that dominate the work's palette belie the sunlit conditions in which Twachtman was working. However, using an agile brushwork to capture the rhythms of bare trees and light filtering through the verdant scene, he achieves a sense of the real place, enticing the viewer to travel through the landscape to the white facades seen shimmering in the background. Instead of using the bravura brushwork with the flashy and theatrical flourish seen in works by other Munich artists, Twachtman employed the Leibl-inspired style only to the extent that it conveyed what he saw; he never used his brush in a showy fashion merely for dramatic effect.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ship and Dock, Venice--Campo San Marta, and *Venetian Sailing Vessel* further demonstrate Twachtman's preference for locales that were off the beaten track (figs. 43-45). In *Ship and Dock*, he concentrates on a group of warehouses lining a wharf, painting their large blocky shapes with strong strokes of thick, dark paint (fig. 43). The site's identification with Venice is made clear only by the white spire of a church that rises above the warehouses. Whereas other artists painting Venice concentrated on grand and glimmering palace facades, Twachtman did not shy away from the lowly districts of Venice that had little overt picturesqueness. Such an area was the Campo San Marta, a square dominated by a cotton factory, where factory workers and fishermen resided. In his painting of this locale, Twachtman depicted his subject accurately while taking account of its design possibilities (figs. 44, 46).[45] Including sketchily rendered figures of a woman in peasant garb and a man carrying what appears to be carded wool who have recently passed each other, he establishes a casual feeling appropriate to this slow out-of-the-way corner of Venice. He brings out the lazy, quietude of the scene through his composition. Standing further from the square than the photographer, he accentuated the wide angle of the wharf at the water's edge and brought out the way it receded in a gradual curve, its line reinforced by buildings rising in the distance. Twachtman's use of compositional means to convey the character of a locale demonstrates his affinity with James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), who would visit Venice for the first and only time in the following year. Indeed, in a pastel, Whistler also created an image of the Campo San Marta and used the same vantage point as Twachtman (fig. 47). The similarities between the two artists' conceptions reveals their parallel quests to find aesthetic qualities in places that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were overlooked by other artists; Twachtman would continue to seek out such locales as his career progressed. Twachtman must have been satisfied with *Venice--Campo San Marta*, as he probably showed this work with the title *Campo Marti* (*sic*), *Venice* at the National Academy of Design in the spring of 1879.[46]

Twachtman's interest in painting everyday life as he experienced it in Venice may be further observed in his inclusion of steamboats in two images of the Grand Canal (figs. 48-49). In one of the works, he portrays a view looking toward the Riva degli Schiavoni and prominently features the Doge's Palace. This was one of the most popular views for artists sojourning in Venice. For example, featuring the same site, Thomas Moran (1837-1926) shows the palace and the spire of St. Marks illuminated by the orange afterimage of the sun while filling the rest of the work with the glow of a sunset that casts shimmering reflections across the smooth surface of the water and lights up the sky in brilliant peach and yellow tones (fig. 50). Following in the mode of Turner, Moran depicts Venice as a romantic spectacle, a realm beyond ordinary human experience. By contrast, Twachtman expresses his direct response to the scene, rendering buildings, water, and sky in an *alla prima* fashion and using animated strokes of wet pigment that make forms flow together. Instead of focusing our attention on the Doge's Palace, he draws us to the dark industrial barge in the work's right foreground. This element along with his asymmetrical composition suggest the intrusive presence of modern progress in Venice.

In *Grand Canal, Venice*, Twachtman was even more adventurous, positioning a steamboat in the center of his composition and letting it take a role traditionally reserved for a famous church, palace, or many-masted schooner in full sail (fig. 49). He clearly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

took pleasure in the visual similarities between the industrial vessel and the smaller gondola at its left, suggesting the aesthetic possibilities found in both old and new Venice.

Twachtman's inclusion of steamboats in his images is unusual. Indeed, with the exception of a few paintings rendered in the 1860s by the Italian artist Ippolito Caffi (1809-1866) and in illustrations such as those created by Ettore Tito in 1894, which show vessels pouring smoke in the air, in scores of depictions of Venice and its waterways by artists of all nations, industrial craft were simply left out (figs. 51-53). This phenomenon was explained by Elizabeth Pennell, who wrote in 1890 of the foreigner's tendency--and by implication the visiting artist--to see only the Venice of the past, overlooking the dominating presence of the steamships which were crowding out the gondola:

> The poetry, which is not of the people, but of the foreigner, seldom recognizes the presence in Venice of any other boat but the gondola. Real life, however, knows an infinite variety, from the great P and O steam-ships with their white-tunicked, red-turbaned Lascars, to the little dragon-shaped canoes, in which all day long small boys as much at home in the water as fish, paddle from the Riva to San Giorgio and even to the Lido. . . . The glory of the gondola was doomed. For two centuries it has worn its black livery, as if still in mourning for its departed greatness--for the days when its color rivalled that of the frescoes on the palaces by which it glided. . . . But the gradual narrowing of its usefulness thus threatening in the end to banish it altogether is more serious. Canals have been filled up, new bridges built and, greatest evil of all, steamers sent steaming up and down the chief waterway of the city, from the station at the far end of the Grand Canal to the Public Gardens at the extremity of the Riva degli Schiavoni. In vain have the gondoliers struck against this latest innovation. The spirit of modern progress whose influence in Venice men who do not live there resent so bitterly, has asserted itself, and the Venetian, now he has learned their merit, is not willing to sacrifice for mere sentiment's sake boats which carry him for one-tenth the price and double the speed of the more picturesque gondolas.[47]

The vast majority of the artists of Twachtman's time who painted in Venice preferred to dwell on the Venice of times past rather than to observe what was around

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

them. Evoking an age of past glory, their works provided a means for the viewer to escape from worldly concerns into a timeless golden age preserved forever on canvas. Twachtman broke from this pattern. Recording his direct impressions of ordinary and unglorified Venetian locales and of the changing city with a dynamic, spontaneous technique, he captured the aesthetic possibilities in the contemporary scene. His perspective was explained in 1880 by George McLaughlin, who noted: "Mr. Twachtman is a realist in theory, and in the practice of his art. The selection of commonplace subjects is with him an important consideration, and, in fact, forms the most thorough exemplification of his realism."[48] As McLaughlin suggests, Twachtman chose his subjects intentionally as a way of demonstrating his realist affiliation.

Twachtman, in fact, characterized, to a degree, the type of artist, who in breaking from the mode of Ruskin, could be identified as a Venetian "modern."[49] In a three-part article in *The Portfolio*, Julia Cartwright described the different types of artists working in Venice, distinguishing between two in particular:

> There are two classes of artists, more especially who will always find a wide field in Venice. In the first place, there are those who, taught by Mr. Ruskin and fired with his ardour, devote their powers to the faithful reproduction of great monuments of the past. To them the very stones of Venice are dear. No task is too wearisome, no toil too severe, for their indefatigable zeal. They paint every angle of the Ducal Palace, every pillar of jasper and serpentine and alabaster in the portico of St. Mark. The veining of a block of marble, the curve of an acanthus leaf on the top of a pinnacle, is copied by them with the same precision. . . . And then there is the artist of a different type, the man who delights in passing impressions and changing effects, who, sensitive to each new loveliness of shape and hue, knows how to seize the quickly shifting scene and give us a swift, yet accurate and learned picture of its manifold beauty. For him Venice is the place of all others. For him the Riva glows and the lagoon flushes. . . .More than all for him is the play of light and colour in the tremulous waves, the ceaseless motion of their gleaming surface, catching every spark

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> of glory in rising or setting sun . . . and blending . . .scattered hues into one magical harmony.[50]

Yet, Twachtman does not fit exactly into Cartwright's definition of the second type of artist. Although like the painter described, he conveyed the transitory beauty of Venice, he did not glorify or idealize the city or seek to magnify its "gleaming surfaces" and "scattered hues." Instead he revealed its rough, dark, and gritty underside. Although informed by the realism and the painterly method popular in Munich, his approach was candid and personal. This aspect of his art was recognized when he showed Venetian works in New York in 1878, 1879, and 1880. For example, a *New York Tribune* writer stated: "there is a whole world between this naturalism and Turner's fairy visions, where Venice looks like some gay creature of the elements that in the colors of the rainbow lives and plays." The critic further reported that in contrast with Twachtman's works, the pictures of the French artist Félix Ziem (1821-1911) and his school, "do not give us the real Venice," but show "the Venice of the grand opera."[51] (The reception in New York of Twachtman's Venice scenes is discussed later in this chapter.)

Breaking from the idealized images of such artists as Ziem, the English artist, Samuel Prout (1785-1852), and Americans such as Henry Roderick Newman (1843-1921), William Gedney Bunce (1840-1916), Chapman, and Moran, Twachtman created depictions of everyday life in Venice that, indeed, have more in common with contemporary works by Claude Monet (1840-1926) and Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), such as those depicting railway stations, steamers on the Seine, and railroad bridges passing through the countryside. Twachtman's paintings also set precedents for images created in the next decade, the tenements and back alleys of the city depicted by Whistler

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and Duveneck, the genre scenes of Blum and Ulrich, the works of European artists including Eugene de Blaas (b. 1843), Luke Fildes (1844-1927), Cécil van Haanen (1844-1886), Ettore Tito (1859-1941), and Giacomo Favretto (1849-1887), and the interiors and streets painted by John Singer Sargent (1856-1925).[52]

Twachtman later derided his Venetian works, calling them "images of sunny Venice done under the influence of the Munich School," but in his Venetian scenes of 1878 he established the basis for the art he would create for the rest of his career: a rejection of officially sanctioned artistic subjects in favor of commonplace scenery, an understanding of the expressive potential of technique, a commitment to a personalized art, and a desire to capture qualities of his sites as they affected him visually and emotionally.[53]

A Move to New York (1879-1880)

Twachtman was planning to extend his stay in Europe after visiting Venice, but news of his father's death hastened his return to Cincinnati.[54] He may have arrived in his hometown by late April 1878, as he showed four works at the Women's Art Association of Cincinnati in the next month.[55] But, by early in the next year, he had moved to New York, where he took an apartment in the University Building on Washington Square.[56]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

He is listed at this address in the New York City Directory for the year ending 1 May 1880.[57]

Designed by Alexander Jackson Davis and opened in 1835, the University Building was the most famous artist residence of the early nineteenth century.[58] Among its first occupants was Samuel F.B. Morse (1791-1872), the president of the National Academy of Design. Others who lived or worked in the building over the years included Daniel Huntington (1816-1906), William Page (1811-1885), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), Winslow Homer (1836-1910), Edwin Austin Abbey (1852-1911), Walter Shirlaw, and George Inness (1825-1894). Despite this illustrious group of tenants, by the late 1860s, the University Building was no longer a prestigious address and had become run-down. In 1866, Thomas Bailey Aldrich reported that "the University is one of those buildings that have lost their enthusiasm. It is dingy and despondent, and doesn't care."[59] By the time Twachtman arrived in New York, the University was considered a colorful old relic. In an article of December 1879 in *Scribner's Monthly* entitled, "Young Artists' Life in New York," William Bishop wrote:

> If something odd in the way of a studio be demanded, it may be found in the old-fashioned Tudor pile known as the University building, more singular now than when [Theodore] Winthrop [an author and friend of Alexander Jackson Davis] found it an appropriate place for the location of his romance of "Cecil Dreeme." The chapel has been divided by a floor at half its height, and this again by a few partitions. In the spacious upper chambers thus formed, which command picturesque views of Washington Square, the Hudson River and the New Jersey hills beyond, the ribs and pendentives of the vaulted roof still show, with a most ancient and baronial effect.[60]

As Bishop suggests, despite its decrepit state, the University was still a desireable address for young artists of the late 1870s.[61] (During later visits to the city, Twachtman would

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stay at the nearby Tuckerman Building, "the Benedick," which was also on Washington Square, just to the south of the University.)

In 1879, New York was an obvious destination for Twachtman. During the 1870s, the city had emerged as the dominant metropolis in the nation, a center for commerce, fashion, and the arts. By the end of the decade, a community of young artists had gathered in New York, who were challenging the status quo, creating works influenced by modern European trends, and calling into question the ideology and stylistic modes of the Hudson River School. With the prestige of recent Munich training, Twachtman was quickly initiated into the American avant-garde, becoming a participant in the Society of American Artists, joining the Tile Club, and beginning to receive attention from the press as one of the most promising "new men" of his time.

The founding of the Society of American Artists in 1877 marked the ascendancy of the new generation of artists.[62] This organization was formed by a group of mainly foreign-trained American painters who had become angered by what they saw as increasingly restrictive and conservative policies on the part of the National Academy of Design and who sought to create a forum for a new art reflecting European art influences and practices. Twachtman showed Venetian scenes in the Society's first exhibition in the spring of 1878, and, in the fall, he became a member of the organization.[63] Through the Society Twachtman maintained ties with Munich colleagues, such as Chase and Shirlaw, and it was probably in connection with the Society that Twachtman made the acquaintances of Julian Alden Weir (1852-1919) and Theodore Robinson (1852-1896), with whom he would retain close personal friendships and share aesthetic concerns

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

throughout the decades that followed.[64] Writing of the initial meeting between Twachtman and Weir, Dorothy Weir Young noted that "from the beginning the two men shared a dedication to art and an attitude toward their own painting sufficiently critical to keep them searching for new and more effective styles."[65] Robinson and Weir had both recently been students in the Paris atelier of Jean-Léon Gérôme, and it was possibly their talk of Paris training that inspired Twachtman's decision later to continue his studies in the French capital.

Although the Society was set up as a competitive challenge to the Academy, many artists exhibited at both organizations. Twachtman followed this pattern. At the Society in 1878, he showed two works both entitled *Italian Scene*.[66] In the next year, he participated in both the Society's and Academy's annuals, exhibiting Venetian scenes at the Academy, and views of Munich, Venice, Cincinnati, and New York at the Society.[67] He continued to participate in annuals at both organizations in the coming decades.

Twachtman's works were at the center of a controversy that erupted when the Society mounted exhibitions in 1878 and 1879. At these shows, he joined a number of artists trained in Munich and Paris, who displayed works that seemed to critics and the public to be unfinished. His works, along with those of other new men, were labeled "Impressionist," due to evidence of rough, sketchy brushwork and a lack of the detail and polish to which American audiences were accustomed. Although sketch methods had always been deemed an acceptable part of an artist's process, such works had not been publicly exhibited before and the critics debated their merits in contrast with those of "finished" works.[68]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The battle lines were drawn in critical reviews. Some critics tentatively approved of sketches with the understanding that a good sketch required the same skills as a good finished work, since aspects of composition, color, and brush handling were determined in an initial conception rather than in a work's finishing stages. Charles de Kay, art reviewer for the *New York Times*, took the position that leaving a work in the form of a sketch was justified as an artist's skill was best demonstrated in knowing when to stop work on a canvas. He wrote that an artist should follow the dictum: "if you cannot improve a picture, let it alone."[69]

However, even critics who recognized that some sketches were good enough to be exhibited maintained that a sketch did not necessarily demonstrate an artist's true ability. A critic for the *New York World* stated that, "Alas, although [a new method] is enough to prevent the making of a wooden and lifeless picture, it is not enough to make a complete picture. There is much nonsense talked, to be sure, about the necessities and limitations of a picture."[70] A similar attitude was voiced in a review of the Society's second exhibition in the *Art Journal* by Susan N. Carter, who focused her discussion on Twachtman's entries in the show:

> One of the most discouraging things that can be said to an amateur is, that his "picture will be good when it is finished." The truth is, that his pictures must be agreeable in their first stages if they are ever to be so; for then the painter has not had an opportunity to spoil them by weakening effects. Many a person can "dash" in a sketch well or lay in the first stage of his picture, but it is only the really accomplished artist who can carry on his painting to complete finish, and preserve its freshness and excellence to the end. Twachtman has dashed in his sketches admirably, but nothing of his in the exhibition denoted whether he knew how to carry his work further.[71]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In other aspects of their reviews, however, it is apparent that American critics were becoming aware that the sketch was not just an unusual and innovative technique used as some kind of a practical joke, but a powerful new mode of expression with which an artist could suggestively convey a depth of feeling not possible in a detailed transcription. Twachtman's "sketches" were singled out by reviewers for demonstrating a new truth to nature in which mood rather than descriptive fact was emphasized. The *Aldine* reported:

> Pictures which may be regarded as purely impressions, making no pretension to anything more, were numerous, and in some cases very good--for it is possible for an impressionist to execute an artistic and pleasing picture, warm in color, possessing elements of beauty, and well composed. Perhaps the best of these, because answering the above requirements, and so painted that a real picture could be seen when examined from the proper focal distance, was a "Venetian Sketch," by J. W. [sic] Twachtmann. In this we had a row of houses on the shore, a line of ships drawn up in the water, good atmospheric effects and brilliant colors.[72]

The astute critic Mariana van Rensselaer similarly called Twachtman's works, "landscape studies [which] are bold, strong, and artistic, full of promise in many ways."[73] A writer for the *New York Tribune* also praised Twachtman for creating images of Venice that were "real" in contrast to the imaginative concoctions to which American audiences were accustomed:

> Mr. Twachtmann's [sic] Venetian studies . . . all show a certain verity extremely valuable after the stage-play of the general run of artists who take Venice in hand. How real these sketches are, may be suspected at least by comparison with Mr. Bunce's clear. . . made up "Canal in Venice," No. 101 . . .[74]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Even Susan Carter, who had reservations about how well a sketch could prove an artist's talents, noted that Twachtman's pictures were "very vigorous effects rapidly laid in," and went on to state:

> The satisfactory points of all sketches--and we think they had more merit than others in the collection--were the agreeable massing of light and shadow, the positive and knowing way in which bits of light and dark were made to tell against each other, and an agreeable effect of daylight in all.[75]

Not all artists using sketch techniques were so favorably received, and Munich-trained painters, in particular, were frequently accused of creating works in which "a tyrannizing sense of paintiness dominated" and for using a "recipe for arranging a tableau of emotion."[76] Currier was singled out for employing a practice which "no competent critic can approve of . . . of 'rubbing down' his picture with the blacking brush, before the paint is dry."[77] A writer for the *New York Mail* described one of the works Currier had exhibited in 1878 as, "a slapdash performance," in which the artist had performed his "gymnastic antics."[78] De Kay called Currier, "the greatest sinner amongst the exhibitors for whom reproach of want of finish will be fastened. His landscape, hung mercifully high upon the east wall, . . . looks like enamel painting upon goldsmith's work."[79] In contrast, de Kay observed:

> Twachtman . . . is a Munich-taught American, who is sojourning in Venice. His pictures are from that ancient emporium of arts and commerce. One represents a quay with picturesque lagoon craft moored alongside, both subject and style of painting differ most widely from the Venetian pictures we have hitherto received from our traveling artists. Twachtman . . . holds to his Munich teachings and keeps . . . contrasts in view. The result is a very powerful style of picture which looks well at a great distance. . . . He manages to inspire the belief that there is thought and life behind his mall-stick.[80]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To de Kay, when an artist used sketch methods only as a means of displaying technical virtuosity, the purpose of the sketch was defeated. Apparently Twachtman had avoided this pitfall, achieving a potent sense of reality with an expressive technique and adhering to de Kay's dictum as to the right point to stop painting. Twachtman had cast off the literal approach of the Hudson River School, but he did not use his brush in a flashy manner, simply to be clever; in short, adapting style to subject matter, he had successfully merged form and content.

The Tile Club (1879)

The Tile Club was founded in 1877 by a group of American artists who sought to participate in the decorative art movement that had begun earlier in Europe.[81] The vehicle chosen for this endeavor was the ceramic tile. However, the painting of tiles was largely an excuse for members to hold chaotic club gatherings in which ideas about art and life were bandied about.[82] There were no rules for tile painting and many artists experimented with "capricious dabbling," exploring the new styles and methods that they had learned in foreign art centers.[83] Members called each other by humorous and punning nicknames and cultivated an air of carefree bohemianism.[84] During a time of change in the American art scene, the club provided a forum for the dissemination of new ideas and approaches.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Shortly after its founding, its membership grew to include many of the most progressive artists of the day.

When Twachtman joined the club in 1879, its members represented a broad spectrum of art professions. Among the Tilers were Twachtman's friends, painters Weir, Chase, and Dielman, as well as artists and illustrators, Edwin Austin Abbey, Robert Swain Gifford (1840-1905), Winslow Homer, Arthur Quartley (1839-1886), F. Hopkinson Smith (1838-1915), sculptors Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907) and William O'Donovan (1844-1920), the Japanese artist and importer Heromichi Shugio (?-?), art critics William Mackay Laffan (?-?) and Earl Shinn (?-?) (pseudonym Edward Strahan), and the architect Stanford White (1853-1906).

The festive atmosphere of club meetings was sustained by the Tilers in June-July 1879 on an excursion by barge up the Hudson River to Lake Champlain, in which Twachtman participated. Transforming a barge named the *John C. Earle* with extravagant decorations, hiring servants who dressed in costume, bringing along musicians, and a vast array of painting and sketching paraphernalia, the Tilers caroused and created art while traveling at a leisurely pace along the river. Their trip took them through a familiar scenery: the landscape that had been celebrated by the Hudson River School. This countryside triggered discussions among the Tilers about American art, its history and future. As Laffan and Strahan reported in their account of the journey, which was published in *Scribner's Monthly*: "There were satirical discussions of the Hudson River School of Art and the work of its members, and of the good old mossy, geographical landscapes which used to crowd the holy precincts of the National

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Academy."[85] Delivering a speech to his traveling companions, Gifford contended that, "'in wrestling with this Hudson river business. . . American art has been badly thrown. I think that nine-tenths of our backwardness has been due to the overwhelming embarrassment of picturesque material that has all along been at our very door--material which by reason of its grandeur and sublimity, in no sort of fashion would do to make pictures of. Simplicity alone has evaded us all along.'"[86]

En route aboard the *Earle*, the artist participants took up the question of whether there could be a new way to portray the American landscape to replace that of the Hudson River School. As Gifford's statement suggests, the new men could not help but feel overshadowed by the legacy of the Hudson River School, whose artists had depicted such grand sites that less dramatic scenes were made to seem insignificant in comparison. Attempting to right this situation, the Tilers threw themselves into painting and drawing motifs that were as simple and ordinary as possible, and the quick pencil, charcoal, or oil sketch was their preferred approach. The *New York Times* quoted the boat captain's wife as saying that the artists "took sketches of the strangest objects and not of pretty ones." As the paper maintained, they "caught her over the wash-tub one day, and, directly she appeared in a picture. Her daughter was feeding chickens one day, and they sketched her in that art. Every old mill or old shed delighted them."[87] Laffan and Strahan reported further on the popularity of the sketch among the travelers: "The Owl [F. Hopkinson Smith] cultivated the art of shorthand sketching, and exhausted the scenery as he traversed it. If the region was artistically good and the Owl was invisible, the O'Donoghue [the sculptor William O'Donovan] would shout: 'Why isn't the Owl up here, pumping

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nature?' And, obedient to his mission, the sketcher would emerge, and desolate the whole country with his omnivorous talent. The range of incident was charming, half-aqueous, half-pastoral."[88]

The Tilers' fascination with the sketch was further brought out by F. Hopkinson Smith in his novel *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (1902), in which a group named "The Stone Mugs" was based on the Tile Club. Smith wrote: "'A four hours' sketch handled as Watson has this,' said Oliver thoughtfully, 'is better than four years' work on one of your Hudson Rivery things. The sun doesn't stand still long enough for a man to get more than an expression of what he sees--that is if he's after truth. The angle of shadow changes too quickly, and so do the reflected lights."[89]

Within the context of the Tile Club, Twachtman was probably a leading "sketcher," encouraging his fellow artists to experiment with direct transcriptive methods. At the same time, the discussions on the *Earle* probably encouraged him to follow in the direction that he had begun in Venice, of bringing out the aesthetic possibilities in subjects that might at first seem unpromising rather than to choose a subject because it was deemed important by art-historical tradition. During his trip with the Tile Club, Twachtman probably applied this point of view for the first time to American subjects.

Twachtman was listed as one of the artists who illustrated Laffan and Strahan's article on the Earle in *Scribner's Monthly*. However, none of the images that appear in the article bear his signature. Of the article's unattributed illustrations, only one reflects characteristics of his style and was therefore probably his only contribution, a view of New

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

York's Tenth Street dock from which the *Earle* departed, an image that relates stylistically to the scenes of New York harbor that he painted in 1879 (fig. 54).[90]

Views of New York and New Jersey Harbors and Coasts (1879-1880)

During his stay in New York in 1879, Twachtman created a group of paintings depicting harbors and coasts in New York and New Jersey. Unusual in the era, these works reflect the character of the metropolitan area during a time of significant urban change. An understanding of aspects of the New York scene during the 1870s provides a context for a discussion of Twachtman's works.

The physical character of New York City changed dramatically during the 1870s. In keeping with the shift of the American population from rural to urban centers that was occurring continually throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the city's population increased at a tremendous and rapid rate.[91] From 1860 to 1870, New York (which included only Manhattan and a few annexed sections of the Bronx at the time) gained over one hundred and twenty-five thousand new residents, and from 1870 to 1880, its population increased by more than double this amount.[92] By the mid-1870s, the city went over the one million mark. Its arrivals included shiploads of immigrants drawn by the possibilities of factory work and other commercial enterprises, farmers leaving rural ways of life that were less satisfying than they had been in the past, and entrepreneurs who

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had become affluent overnight.[93] The city's flourishing new cultural scene attracted intellectuals, writers, and artists.

The birth of a giant metropolis demanded new transporation services. The 1870s saw the expansion in all directions of New York's streetcar lines.[94] Elevated trains began operating, and, as their routes moved uptown, areas that had been previously rural became urban.[95] The Brooklyn Bridge was in construction throughout the decade, and by 1880, work had begun on a tunnel underneath the Hudson River that would connect New York with New Jersey.[96]

The changes taking place in the city were perhaps most immediately evident in the streets and on the avenues which were suddenly filled with pedestrians and a wide variety of vehicles. On Broadway, a new phenomenon of the age was the presence of the urban crowd. Whereas English novelist (and son of Francis Trollope) Anthony Trollope complained in 1862 that in New York, "there is nothing to see [and] no mode of getting about to see anything," *Frank Leslie's* in 1876 called New York a "maelstrom" from "dawn to dark," that is "never ceasing to whirl, and human beings are carried about on the circles like bits of wreck."[97] "All day long," *Leslie's* observed, "without a moment's break, the trucks, omnibuses, cars, carriages, and vans roll lengthwise off Manhattan Island, and across it from river to river."[98] By the early 1880s, the volume of Broadway's traffic had reached a fever pitch. James McCabe wrote of the street in his book *New York by Gaslight* (1882):

> From morning till night there moves by an ever-changing procession of vehicles, that have poured into the great artery from a thousand tributaries, and to cross Broadway, at times, at this spot, one must needs to be a sort of animated billiard-ball, with power to careen from wheel to wheel until he can safely "pocket" his personal corporacity on the opposite walk. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> crush of vehicles here is sometimes so great as to delay movement for ten minutes or more, and it requires the greatest energy on the part of the police to disentangle the dense, chaotic mass and set it in process again.[99]

Another new sensation of the 1870s was the rising tide of noise that assaulted the urban pedestrian. In 1878, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* made note of the "reverberations of the traffic, which swell . . into a deafening roar" and remarked: "Our ears are assailed by the deafening tramp of feet and the crash of the wheels; misery and merriment, pomp and poverty, in various shapes, file before us."[100] *Leslie's* commented in 1876: "The street-cars are running, the omnibuses roll along, the sidewalks teem with life, and like the rumble of distant thunder, you hear the great roar which is to fill your ears till darkness comes again."[101] The magazine associated the rumble of the city with the dynamism of its commerce, stating: "The roar is a voice which speaks in its own strange way of ships sailing in and out; of millions of bushels of cereals pouring into warehouses to be sent across the seas; of a mint of money passing from hand to hand; of muscle hammering at wood, iron, and stone."[102]

Also apparent to audiences of the 1870s was that seemingly overnight the city had become cosmopolitan. This development was especially evident in areas that came to resemble neighborhoods in European capitals. One such locale was New York's French quarter, now within Greenwich Village, where authentic French bakeries and restaurants opened during the decade.[103] For an article on the quarter in *Scribner's Monthly* of November 1879, Twachtman contributed an illustration of the facade of the Restaurant Du Grand Vatel in Bleecker Street, where, *Scribner's* noted, "extremes" of the "poor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professor and the gentlemanly old soldier set their 'glorias' on the same benches with sottish artisans." (fig. 55)."[104]

During the 1870s, New York's commerce, industry, and trade depended on river boats, and the city's commotion and energy were especially evident from the vantage point of its docks, wharves, and piers. The Hudson--then called the North River--and the East River were clogged continuously with all types of vessels, ranging from small dories to trans-Atlantic steamers. As writers of the era seem to have agreed, New York's wharves and piers were not attractive, but they were nonetheless an invigorating and dynamic sight. McCabe wrote in his 1872 *Lights and Shadows of New York Life; or The Sights and Sensations of the Great City* that the city's piers did "not compare favorably with the massive structures of Liverpool, or London, or the other great seaports of the world," as they were "wretched, half-decayed and dirty."[105] In his 1882 book, he noted: "the wharves extend, in an unbroken line, along almost the entire water front of the city. They are, as a rule, wretched-looking piers of wood, thrown out into the water, and covered with dilapidated sheds."[106] At the same time, McCabe felt that it was the constant movement of boats that "made New York the metropolis of America."[107] A similar attitude was expressed by Charles Farnham in a *Scribner's Monthly* article of May 1879.[108] Farnham described the docks as seen from the water as a "tattered dirty fringe to the city," which were "of all widths that are too narrow, of all lengths that are too short."[109] Yet, like McCabe, he found appealing qualities in New York's "wretched" piers, writing:

> The [city's] piers . . . are disgraceful. A few piles are driven in the mud, timbers are laid over them, and planks are spiked over these. When they have rotted sufficiently, these piers are offered by the city to the commerce

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> of the world at exorbitant rents. They are too narrow even for the circulation of a junk-cart. The wonder is that a respectable ship will submit to be delivered in such a berth. Nevertheless, this unsightly, dangerous, and inconvenient water-front of New York offers very interesting studies. . . . In short, the docks are a great panorama of human life, filled with its toils, pleasures, and miseries, and enlivened with the most picturesque aspects of human nature.[110]

In his *Voyage dans l'Amerique du Nord* (1877), French visitor Emile de Damseaux also described the view of New York harbor from the water: "New York unrolls in front of us; we pass all the wharves which are not picturesque; they extend out over the river embankments or in the form of wooden bulwarks, and are poorly constructed: things are very dilapidated; they seem to totter and give way. At right angles to these wharves stand a row of docks, built upon pilings and covered with a host of wooden sheds, warehouses, and buildings."[111] The city's clogged rivers and variety of docks, ranging from the large covered piers used by the railway and steamboat companies to the open jetties of docks and piers that "fringed" lower Manhattan, were similarly described by W.O. Stoddard in an 1872 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* article.[112] As Stoddard observed: "old or new, strong or tumble-down, large or small, our wharves receive the multiform commodities that make up the commerce of New York."[113] Focusing on the "dock rats," the petty criminals from the "dangerous classes" who operated unchecked in the city's harbors, Stoddard conjured the frictions, seediness, and the constant rustle of enterprise, both legal and illegal, found in the "commercial frontier" of New York City harbors.

New York's East and North (Hudson) River waterfronts were different in a few respects. Ships on the East River consisted largely of schooners that traveled between New York and towns in New England and on Long Island as well as "other vessels, either

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in motion or at anchor," as described by McCabe in 1872. Additionally, McCabe reported that the East River was so choked with traffic that "even in fair weather it requires the greatest skill on the part of the pilot to avoid collisions."[114] The North River was just as crowded, but there were more distinct areas carved out for particular kinds of river craft. McCabe wrote: "Beginning at the Battery on the North River side, we find first the pier of the famous Camden and Amboy Railway Company, from which passengers and freights are conveyed to the railway by steamer. Above this are the piers of the great European steamship lines, the coast steamers, and the steamboats plying between the city and the neighboring towns. . . . The ferries to Jersey City and Hoboken are all located on this river, and are full of interest to the stranger."[115]

While residing in New York, it was the wharves and piers, and especially those on the North River, that were the focus of Twachtman's attention. He was undoubtedly drawn to this subject matter as he had recently been painting waterfront scenes in Venice, and the combination of boats and water would have allowed him to continue directly from his Venetian explorations; indeed, harbors and shipping would remain of interest to him throughout his career. At the same time, he was probably attracted to New York's waterfront as its dynamic qualities were an ideal forum for using the painterly approach he had learned in Munich and that he had been recently using in Venice. In addition, as his works reveal, the New York scene in and of itself was a stimulus to Twachtman, inspiring him to capture the character of the city during a time of urban dynamism.

Twachtman was selective in his choice of New York waterfront locales. He did not portray the areas on the North River where steamboats docked or railroad terminals

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stood and he ignored elegant schooners on the East River. He also avoided sites where gigantic industrial or architectural structures overwhelmed a pier, such as the grain elevators situated at the water's edge at Brooklyn's Atlantic Dock or at the foot of 60th Street on the Hudson. (figs 56-57). In choosing not to depict these locales, Twachtman was not alone, as other painters of his day also overlooked such aspects of the contemporary scene. However, Twachtman did portray some New York sites also avoided by his contemporaries where the novelties of the city during his era could be observed, the areas that McCabe, Farnham, and Stoddard described as New York's fringes of open jetties, the wharves and piers that had been hastily constructed to accommodate the city's bustling and constantly increasing river commerce. In his selection of New York sites, Twachtman followed the same approach he had taken in Venice. He sought places not previously painted which therefore did not have obvious pictorial associations. Indeed, although there are illustrations of New York docks like those depicted by Twachtman, there are very few parallels between his images and those of other painters of his time.

As in his Venetian works, Twachtman adjusted his handling to the particular qualities of his sites. In *New York Harbor*, his brushwork accords with the shapes within his design and their movement (fig. 58). Flowing strokes follow the bowed form of the barge in the foreground, while the ripples of water beneath the tugs in the right distance are expressed with shorter, flickering touches of his brush.

The novelty of Twachtman's approach is revealed by a comparison with Francis Silva's *Sunrise at Tappan Zee*, painted in 1874 (fig. 59). There are no American images

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from the 1870s that directly parallel Twachtman's, and thus, although not a harbor scene, Silva's image may be discussed in relation to Twachtman's, as it dates from roughly the same time and portrays the Hudson.

In Silva's painting the panoramic composition, clear even light, horizontal orientation, and still forms reveal the artist's adherence to the Luminist aesthetic. Working in this idiom, Silva expresses man's inconsequential role in nature's grand scheme. Establishing a low horizon, he suggests the endless reach of the river. The sky at sunset, filled with spectacular pinks and yellows, commands our attention, as it takes up most of the composition, and the pink stripe at the horizon draws us into the distance. Within this landscape, the man in the small rowboat and the sailboat on the horizon play a small and insignificant part. Since we view the scene from a high vantage point, at quite a distance from the boats, our sense of involvement in it is diminished. Twachtman's image has the opposite effect. The barge, shown foreshortened in the foreground of the composition, confronts us directly, making us feel as if we are standing on the edge of the wharf with Twachtman as he paints the scene. The raised horizon line brings the boats further out on the pier directly in our line of vision, and, looking out at them, they seem to blur into a jumble of forms, exactly as we might see them if glancing quickly down a pier. We observe the touch of red and jumble of shapes at the left as if through peripheral vision. In contrast to Silva's view which keeps us at the remote and genteel distance of the spectator looking through binoculars, Twachtman puts us in the role of participants, directly experiencing the invigorating pulse of the harbor.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's painting that is today known as *The Hudson River at Twelfth Street* was illustrated with the title, *Oyster Boats, North River*, in an 1880 article in *Scribner's Monthly* by William C. Brownell (figs. 60-61).[116] The site in this painting may be identified precisely: the oyster sloop/boat-shacks that were located at the foot of West Tenth Street on the North/Hudson River. A vignette in an illustration captioned, "The Opening of the Oyster Season," that was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly* in September 1882 clarifies what Twachtman was looking at (fig. 62). As this illustration reveals, the square shacks seen in the illustration and in Twachtman's painting were actually situated on boats.[117] Both Twachtman's work and the illustration show the waterfront side of these odd hybrids of building and boat, while a photograph taken in 1875 and a drawing from McCabe's 1872 book reveal that, from their front sides, these vessels functioned as stores, their facades decorated with signs, columns, and other detailing (figs. 63-64). Thus, while oystermen conducted business from their colorful storefront townhouses that opened on the dock, at their back facades, boats delivered fresh fish to plainer waterfront doorways. Farnham described the dock-side experience of the oyster market:

> It is a long block of two-storied sheds built on boats. Little verandas and arched windows under the projecting roofs give them a tasty look. Broad gang-planks leading up from the boast to the wharf, form the sidewalk. In front are wagons loading with baskets of oysters, carts taking away heaps of shells, and piles of barrels, kegs, and baskets standing about the doors. The place smells of the salt sea, and the characters idling about are from the sea-shore. Skippers in blue pea-jackets discuss the merits of their crafts and their oyster-beds. Other men, with their hands in their pockets, lean against the buildings and chew their quids, while keeping a weather eye on the crowded street. . . . Men are going from boat to boat, and some are coming over gang-planks to market, with baskets on their shoulders. A peddler of bright mittens and socks is trading with a black cook in a cabin gangway; and on another boat the head and shoulders of a woman and a child appear above the deck. The sun shines on them all, and here and there flashes up from the bits of water between the sloops.[118]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To create his view, Twachtman worked either from a boat on the water or perhaps from what Farnham described as "the crooked pier at the foot of West Tenth Street."[119] Leaving out any evidence of the picturesque townhouses on the other side of the boat-stores, Twachtman's focus was clearly on the rougher seaward side of the oyster market. To convey the vitality of the scene, he used his brushes in rhythmic gestures to note the curves and active lines of boats and masts while indicating their rustling reflections in the water with staccato dashes. He further conveyed an exuberant feeling through his composition. Instead of the static frontal viewpoint used by the *Harper's Weekly* illustrator, he chose an oblique angle from which the docked boats and boat-stores appear to extend on a diagonal line through his scheme. This line engages our eye in its movement, and the energy of the scene is enhanced as Twachtman emphasizes the corners of boat stores and the patterned effect of criss-crossing boat masts.

Twachtman's painting may be contrasted with a work of approximately the same time, Sanford Gifford's *Sunset over New York Bay*, ca. 1878 (fig. 65). In Gifford's view, distant sailboats are silhouetted against a glowing sunset, creating an evocative, romantic image. Like the schooners portrayed by artists working in Venice, they conjure a world in which time has stopped. The stillness of the water furthers this feeling, and even the remote presence of a steamer in the distance does not rustle the still, golden-toned waters. Since the sailing vessels are symmetrically balanced on both sides of the composition, and not at its center, a classical order prevails. Twachtman's composition, by contrast, with its active diagonal and positioning of forms directly in the work's foreground, conveys a baroque energy. Although there are no steamers in Twachtman's image, in its lively

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

arrangement of forms and spirited handling, the work expresses the bustle of New York dock life as described in contemporary accounts.

Although it is dated 1879, *Oyster Boats, North River* is possibly the work Twachtman showed at the Society of American Artists and at the Boston Art Club in 1881 with the title, *Tenth Street Dock*. As they had in their reviews of Twachtman's Venetian scenes, critics writing of *Tenth Street Dock* recognized that Twachtman had captured the reality of his subject, and they pointed out that even if the viewer could not discern the precise identity of Twachtman's site, the truth of his presentation could be felt. This was exactly the point made by a reviewer for the *New York Tribune* who commented:

> If it be a fault that he does not give the portraiture of the places he paints so that the "Dock at the Foot of Tenth St." might be a dock in any part of the city, or in any city for that matter--there is no doubt his pictures have the fault. But to take the picture we have just named, there is no doubt that it represents a real dock, with ships and boats and water as they are to be seen, with all the huddle and confusion that seems to the landman to exist, but which the seaman and the wharfmaster and 'longshoreman know to be compatible with order and system. The want of this apparent confusion--so necessary to what we call picturesquenss--is the cause why many wharfside and waterside pictures look tame and characterless. Mr. Twachtman knows the value of budding masts and crossing ropes, and reflections shaken and jarred in the washing water, and finds his subjects as easily in New York as in Venice.[120]

A critic for the *New York Herald* perceived Twachtman's *Tenth Street Dock* to be "strangely familiar in motive" and at the same time "a brilliant study," while Archibald Gordon commended Twachtman in the *Studio and Musical Review* for expressing exactly the qualities that the New York waterfront exhibited and for using a style precisely attuned to his subject:

> No. 61. *Tenth Street Dock*, J. H. Twachtman. A very bright and clever piece of work of which the only real defect is the undue sharpness with which the masts of the fishing-craft are reflected. The scene is full of life.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> The water is real and liquid. The scene altogether is admirable. Though one of the most modest pictures of them all, it is an interesting example of the suggestions in color and form offered by the water-front of New York. Mr. Twachtman has not merely yielded to the inspiration of the *genius loci*, but he has transcribed what he saw with capital boldness and precision. In fact, his technique is as much to be commended as his choice of a subject and the fidelity to nature with which he has healed it.[121]

In his other New York scenes, Twachtman similarly conveyed the energy of the city's waterfront. With the diagonal line of a pier serving as the organizing form in the composition, Twachtman's *End of the Pier: New York Harbor* is similar in arrangement to his scene of oyster boats (fig. 66). Here, Twachtman used a sketch technique to convey the scene's mood. Buildings on the pier are rendered with long strokes of sienna, dark brown, charcoal gray, and black while the water is depicted with dashes of silvery gray and white. Leaving tones only partially mixed on canvas, Twachtman created a vibratory variegated surface suggestive of the choppy water of the harbor. In the sky, Twachtman blended white and gray pigments, conveying the thick overcast look of the sky. With its range of rich tones and its textured surface, the painting draws us into the experience of a raw, autumn morning on a New York harbor where, even without heavy boat traffic streaming in and out, we can feel the stirring energy of the site.

The Old Pier is the most sketchy and abstract of Twachtman's New York images (fig. 67). Loose strokes applied quickly with wide brushes denote pilings in the water, the broad hull of a ship that stands parallel with the horizon line, and the movement of water in the foreground. Left in a seemingly unfinished state, this painting suggests the crude, slapped together qualities of the fringe of timbered piers that made up much of New York's harbors in the late 1870s.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Another New York harbor scene by Twachtman, today entitled *Dredging in the East River*, stands out as one of the most unusual American waterfront views of the nineteenth century (fig. 68). Reproduced as an illustration in *Harper's Weekly* in June 1882 with the caption "Dredging the Harbor," there is no way of determining whether the scene actually depicts the East River or was rendered near West Tenth Street where Twachtman created other views (fig. 69).[122] Twachtman's motivation in rendering the scene is also unclear. As the image was used as an illustration, it is possible that it was commissioned. However, since Twachtman was probably not back in New York until 1883, he probably created his painting in 1879, three years before the illustration appeared. Thus, it seems more likely that he rendered the work and sold it to *Harper's* without having received a specific illustration assignment.

Used to deepen the channel for ocean-going traffic or to salvage cargo from ships that had sunk in the harbor, often from fires, the dredging business was a profitable industry, and dredges were a common phenomenon of the New York waterfront during the late nineteenth century.[123] The author of the *Harper's Weekly* article that Twachtman's painting illustrated focused on a crusty character who was engaged in dredging for speculative reasons. Characterizing the colorful and maladroit aspects of the dredger, the writer of the article described his subject as "a battered old man with a grizzly beard" who "sat at the edge of a dredging scow," his legs dangling over the edge and smoking "a worn cob pipe with great gravity and satisfaction as he kicked his heels in the sunshine and talked with a drawl." As the article's author suggests, dredging was usually the domain of treasure hunters and lone speculators who salvaged items that could be sold

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for a profit. The messy and malodorous scow of a dredge usually scooped up mud and pieces of old metal, which had to be sifted for saleable items. The *Harper's Weekly* author described the dredger's story of having found a trove of bottles of bay oil, which upon making his scow smell "sweet as a rose" caused much surprise to passing boats: "When the excursionists saw the muddy scow, they would turn their heads away; but when the beautiful odor reached them, they waved their handkerchiefs, and the captain whistled salutes."[124] Although not creating an image descriptive of the dredging business, through his treatment, Twachtman captures a sense of its crude vitality.

Among the paucity of images comparable to Twachtman's dredging scene are the two views of steamers and tugboats anchored on the Hudson River near Storm King that Samuel Colman (1832-1920) rendered in the late 1860s (figs. 70-71). A comparison of Twachtman's and Colman's works reveals the uniqueness of Twachtman's depiction. In Colman's paintings, steamships are seen from a distance, their steam merging with the misty atmosphere that shrouds the New York highlands. By contrast, in Twachtman's image, dredging equipment takes up most of the picture plane, and our attention is riveted especially on the muscular rise of the scow arm from which water and mud spill in several directions. Twachtman conveys the hard splash of water and mud from the dredge with forceful strokes of white impasto, whereas in Colman's view, despite the presence of furnaces and complex mechanical forms, the river is unruffled by the industrial presence, and a sense of quiet stillness prevails. Whereas Colman shows industry as a tourist spectacle to be seen from afar, Twachtman places our angle of vision directly at the level

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the rising scow arm and makes its clanking sounds and the loud impact of splashing water seem almost audible.

In Colman's scenes, industrial activity is majestic, and takes place on a plane removed from our experience. Although not a literal image, Twachtman's painting conveys the dynamism of New York harbor life during the 1870s. Using white letters to write out "America," the dredge's name, Twachtman was perhaps suggesting that there was something characteristic of his native land about the scene.

Twachtman captured yet another new phenomenon of New York life in the 1870s. A group of works he rendered in 1879 may with good assurity be identified as views of Jersey City. We know that Twachtman painted in South Cove, an area of Jersey City known as Communipaw, as he exhibited a painting entitled *South Cove, Jersey* at the seventh annual Cincinnati Industrial Exposition in 1879 and a work of the same title--possibly the same painting--at the spring annual of the National Academy of Design in 1880.[125] Twachtman also showed a painting entitled *On the New Jersey Coast* at the Society of American Artists in the spring of 1880. His painting, known today as *Coast Scene*, was reproduced in McLaughlin's 1880 article with the title *Study of New Jersey Shore* (figs. 72-73).

The development of Jersey City and other areas on opposite shores from New York, including Brooklyn and Staten Island, mirrored, and was directly the result, of the growth of New York City.[126] As Manhattan grew, the population of these communities increased, housing primarily a middle-class population that could not find safe and/or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

affordable accommodations in New York. In the city, real estate prices rose so steadily during the 1870s that only the very rich could live comfortably, while the poor were crowded into tenements.[127] Left with few options, the middle class took the recourse that was left, settling in the places that were across the water from the city, accessible only by ferry until 1883 when the Brooklyn Bridge was completed. Since this was the class that grew the most in New York during the 1870s, a migration from urban centers intensified even as the urban workforce grew. McCabe made note of this paradox of New York life in 1872:

> Strangers coming to New York are struck with the fact that there are but two classes in the city--the poor and the rich. The middle class, which is so numerous in other cities, hardly exists at all here. The reason of this is plain to the initiated. Living in New York is so expensive that persons of moderate means reside in the suburbs, some of them as far as forty miles in the country.[128]

By the early 1880s, real estate prices had risen to the point that McCabe reported in his 1882 book: "What a workingman pays for his two or three rooms in a New York tenement house would give him a separate house and a comfortable home in almost any other American city."[129] McCabe estimated that in 1872 there were around one million *residents* of New York, while noting that "the actual number of people in the city about the hour of noon is nearly, if not fully, one million and a half."[130] In 1882, his estimate was that while the population was nearing a million and a half, around two million people could be found in the city at mid-day.[131]

The growth of the "commuter" communities was demonstrated by an increase in ferry traffic. Whereas East River ferries carried 32 million passengers between Manhattan and Brooklyn per year in 1860, in 1870, 50 million traveled the route.[132] An article from

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the *New York Times* in 1877 reported on how the ferries were unable to keep up with their ever-increasing ridership:

> There are a good many abuses connected with the management of our ferries which demand correction, but one in particular requires a speedy remedy--we mean the manner in which persons are received on board and discharged from the ferry-boats. As matters are managed at present it is almost as much as a person's life is worth to attempt to get on or off a boat at certain hours of the day. From 4 to 7 o'clock in the afternoon the crowd of persons crossing and returning from Brooklyn is immense, and no sooner does a boat leave the slip with its crowd of human beings than an equal number is permitted to crowd upon the bridge to await the departure of the next one. Consequently, when the returning boat arrives, there is a meeting of two crowds, the one eager to get off the boat and the other determined to get on, and the jostling, rushing, jamming and crushing which ensues often results in serious injury to individuals. Such crowds are no respectors of persons, and women and children are more recklessly shoved aside or trodden upon than those who are stronger and better able to fight their way. . . . These crowds afford unusual facilities to pickpockets and many are the pocket-books and watches they accumulate in the crash and jam. . . . What is true of the Brooklyn ferries is equally true of the Jersey ferries.[133]

During the course of the 1870s, there was a change in the way the communities on the shores opposite New York were perceived. During the early and mid-1870s, they were referred to as "suburbs." McCabe described them as such in 1872, noting that the "suburbs," seen from New York, were especially compelling at night, when "you may dimly discern the stern outline of cities on either side, with the forests of masts which line them rising from dark hulls at the piers."[134] In his 1882 book, McCabe proposed that Jersey City, the waterfront of Brooklyn, Bay Ridge, and Hoboken had become part of the city, and that, "in the future they will always tend to be bound more closely around New York proper."[135] According to McCabe, the "suburbs" were now relegated to the Upper West Side of the city, where the elevated train was just beginning to make its way.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Of Manhattan's bedroom suburbs, Jersey City was one of the fastest growing during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1850, its population was 6,856. By 1860, it had jumped over 400% to 29,226. In the next decade, it ballooned again almost 300% to 82,546. From 1870 to 1880, it gained 38,176 residents, reaching a total population of 120,722 at the end of the decade.[136] The population growth and the demographics of the area from 1850 to 1880 were the subject of a 1977 article by Douglas Shaw.[137] Among his observations, Shaw reported that the houses of Jersey City were of two types and represented two different segments of the population. Streets lined with brownstones like those built in Brooklyn were occupied by American-born merchants who traveled daily to New York, while wooden tenement buildings and make-shift shanties housed laborers and industrial workers, who were primarily immigrants, including a large proportion of Irish Catholics.[138] Both types of buildings were situated at or near the shore of Jersey City. For brownstone occupants, this location provided desireable views out to sea and to Manhattan as well as accessibility to the Central Railroad Depot, which was also the location of the New Jersey Central Railroad Ferry (also known as the Communipaw Ferry). For immigrants, living near the shore provided access to factories located along the waterfront that processed zinc, sugar, iron and other products and to jobs landfilling and building docks.[139] An 1883 bird's eye view drawing and an 1887 atlas of New Jersey reveal the position of the railroad/ferry depot in relation to the town and a photograph from 1895 shows the station and ferry docks (figs. 74-76)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

From the river, Jersey City was a compelling sight as suggested by the account of De Damseaux, who wrote in 1877 of seeing this "suburb of the metropolis" from the deck of a steamer:

> The right bank is congested with the houses that form an extension of "Jersey City," all made of wood and adorned with balconies and "verandas." They are all built on top of each other and have very little garden-space, for everyone wants a house with a river-view and space is at a premium. Most of the larger buildings are "Boarding Houses" where several families live together and fancy themselves living in the country. Here and there we see a more significant building, an imitation in gothic-tudor style. Now and then, however, we see a genuinely beautiful house overlooking a vast park with attractive out-buildings: one knows that this proprietor is wealthy and has taste. Such buildings, however, are still made only of wood. At different points we see groups of houses congregated into villages, and here, as throughout America wherever the location is favorable, the individual houses have more elbow room.[140]

As this description suggests, the suburb of Jersey City did not look like a rural village or a coastal resort town, and, despite river views that offered breathing space for residents, conditions were nearly as choked and congested as in the city.

Twachtman's reasons for painting in Jersey City are not known. The idea may have occurred to him while working on the city's west-side docks where he would have had a view of the opposite shore. He may have been encouraged by other artists working in the area, such as August Will (1834-1910), Thomas Moran, Andrew Melrose (1836-1901), William Rickarby Miller (1818-1893), and Albert Insley (1842-1936). There is no evidence, however, that Twachtman knew any of these artists. Indeed, the only artist associated with Jersey City who Twachtman might have known is Moran, whose Venetian images pose such a contrast to Twachtman's. Depicting a view from Communipaw looking toward lower Manhattan in 1880, Moran created one of the most fascinating

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paintings of the era, which William Gerdts has rightly described as an image in which Moran "contrasted the ragged, waste-littered foreground with a fantasy of factories and office buildings beyond," creating a "combination of the real and the ideal . . . in a vivid yet poeticized manner--an 'urban-Barbizon' approach" (fig. 77).[141] Twachtman similarly undertook the industrialized landscape as a subject, but he focused his attention on Jersey City itself rather than on the Manhattan skyline.

Among Twachtman's images that we may presume are depictions of Jersey City, the site of only one may be identified with certainty. This work, *The Shore*, is in all probability a view looking northwest from a point at the south of the Green Street Boat Basin, a short walk from the Jersey City train station and parallel to the Morris Canal (landfilled in 1929) (fig. 78). The basin appears in the bird's eye view map from 1883 as does the outlook that Twachtman would have had if this were his vantage point (see fig. 74). The identification of Twachtman's site may be determined by its closeness to certain features in a painting of 1887 by Colonel Samuel Lockett (?-?), an amateur artist and chief engineer of the Continental Insurance Company in Jersey City (fig. 79).[142] Lockett depicted a view looking northwest along the Morris Canal, the Passaic Zinc Works with its two chimneys on the left and the Bergen Baptist Church in the far middle ground. In Twachtman's painting, the two chimneys of the Zinc works are in view in the left distance, and a spire to their right is probably the Baptist church. Another building to the left of the Zinc factory in both Twachtman's and Lockett's views is probably St. Patrick's Church of New Jersey, which was consecrated in 1877. A photograph of the church shows a square

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tower and a gabled structure that appears in both Twachtman's and Lockett's views (fig. 80).

There is some possibility that Twachtman's *The Shore* was the painting he exhibited in 1879 at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition and in 1880 at the National Academy of Design as *South Cove, Jersey*, but there is only one mention of this work in gathered reviews, a comment by a writer from the *New York Herald* who wrote that Twachtman's sole contribution to the Academy in 1880 was "a sterling riverside study called 'South Cove, Jersey.'"[143]

Even without knowing Twachtman's site, *The Shore* could easily be identified as an illustration of De Damseaux's description of Jersey City. It also appears to include the two types of buildings characteristic of Jersey City that Shaw identified in his 1977 article. In the painting a number of shacks stand at the water's edge that are possibly the residences of immigrant workers. A few such structures are seen the 1883 bird's eye view. Twachtman's painting also features what appears to be a line of buildings along Morris Canal Avenue. These are probably the brownstones where New York commuters lived. As in De Damseaux's description, they seem built one on top of the other, because "everyone wants a river view." Building facades are not aligned and their rooflines are at all different levels. Beyond the first row of buildings, the roofs of other apartment houses lining another street peek out, while, in the left distance, Jersey City's manufacturing plants and sprawling development along the coast may be seen. Twachtman's painting depicts a community that had grown quickly in a chaotic fashion, spurred by necessity and possibly as the result of rampant real estate speculation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's *The Shore* departs dramatically from coastal views by marine painters. Instead of depicting schooners at sea and deserted coves, Twachtman showed the coast as an urban jungle in which nature as it had existed had been eradicated. His image, however, does not imply criticism of progress, and probably what drew him to the site was its dynamic juxtaposition of shapes, the same thing he brought out in his New York harbor views. However, formal qualities were probably not Twachtman's sole reason for painting the Jersey shore. He was no doubt compelled by the meeting of industry and nature and their union in a new type of landscape that was not country and not city, but a zone in between, where rural and urban associations were mixed. His awareness of the advance of modern life is, indeed, suggested in *The Shore*, where he juxtaposed a single empty rowboat in the work's foreground with the burgeoning development just beyond. Perhaps Twachtman intended to bring out the contrast between an era of simplicity, represented by the boat, with the crowded shoreline where a society of middle-class commuters faced the complexities of urban life.

In his other extant views that probably depict the Jersey shore opposite Manhattan, Twachtman appears to have walked northwest on the Morris Canal, along a coast lined with low sand hills and salt marshes that was not yet built up with commuter's homes.[144] Nonetheless, works such as *The Boat Yard*, *Coast Scene*, and *Harbor View* present landscapes where the impact of industry is felt (figs. 72, 81-82). In *The Boat Yard*, the landscape is not crowded with buildings as in *The Shore*, but neither is it deserted or pristine. This could very well be an area where landfilling was taking place, as suggested by a terrain that seems to consist of dried mud. A boat being repaired on the beach, a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

warehouse or shanty behind it, and the presence of a figure near the water's edge reveal human involvement in the landscape, while the rising forms of derricks in the distance provide evidence of encroaching technology and with it the further development of the coastline.

Coast Scene is a view of the same locale depicted in *The Boat Yard* (fig. 72). In this work, a hint of the brownstones typical of Jersey City may be seen in the left distance. Twachtman may have been intrigued by the contrast between the figure of a woman in the foreground who wears appears to be in peasant garb and bends over, perhaps to wash dishes, with the line of modern apartment buildings that rise in the background. In *Harbor View*, Twachtman also features a muddy shoreline (fig. 80). His scene at first seems rural; a shack on the shore has what appears to be a chicken coop in front of it. At the same time, a small tug boat anchored at the riverbank makes clear that this is not a remote area.

Twachtman's New Jersey shore paintings suggest his fascination with the mix of rural and urban sensations that his sites presented. In his rendering of an etching of shanties, this interest is also reflected (fig. 83). Once thought to depict Bridgeport, Connecticut, Twachtman's etching of shanties can now redated to after December 1879--when he began to create etchings--and before August 1880, as he showed the print in an exhibition during this time span.[145] Although the site of Twachtman's shanty image cannot be determined, it is possible that he created it on a trip to Jersey City. On the other hand, he may have rendered it on the upper west or east sides of Manhattan, where shanty communities held out even as the elevated train was bringing rapid change to the area. Twachtman would no doubt have been aware of the shantytown phenomenon as it was a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subject copiously covered by the New York press during the 1870s.[146] The shantytowns of New York were also the subject of two articles published in 1880 in *Harper's Monthly* and in *Century Magazine*, the latter including illustrations by Twachtman's childhood friend Robert Blum.[147] Indeed, Twachtman perhaps created his etching with the intention of submitting it for publication in one of these articles.

What Twachtman achieved in his New York and New Jersey scenes did not go unnoticed by the press as it is evident in the comments on his *Tenth Street Dock* by critics in 1880. The best assessment of his work overall was that of William Crary Brownell in the article entitled "The Younger Painters of America" that appeared in the July 1880 issue of *Scribner's Monthly* in which Twachtman's view of oyster boats was illustrated.[148] Of the viewpoint that Twachtman expressed in his art, Brownell wrote: "He sees things very directly and feels them very strongly, and furthermore very pictorially, noting their relations as well as themselves, and bringing out their picturesqueness with a good deal of sympathetic perception." Brownell castigated those who saw Twachtman's works as "a reflection merely of Munich attitude and instruction" and as "far out of the way." Brownell also noted a change in Twachtman's style, commenting that although much of his work still undeniably had the quality of "studies from nature," it was "getting to have less and less of this look all the time, and is losing meanwhile none of its genuineness. On the contrary, as it becomes more temperate, more kempt, as it were, its genuineness becomes more obvious." Brownell further noted:

> The first canvases Mr. Twachtman exhibited here were instances of what was supposed to be the Munich notion of "breadth of handling" carried to the limit of sanity. In order to lose the tyrannizing sense of paintiness, you

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> were compelled to stand at a distance too great to discern any design that might exist in this eclipse. But with everything he has done since, Mr. Twachtman's "handling" has gained in restraint and consequently in effectiveness. Indeed, now and then its unquestionable vigor has shown a distinct tincture of charm, even in mechanical treatment.[149]

Reviewing the spring exhibition of the Society of American Artists in 1880, de Kay seems to have noticed the new direction in Twachtman's work as well. He attacked Twachtman's *Sunlight--Venice*, for falling short of the "aim expressed in the title of it, for sunlight is by no means the strong point" while commending a harbor scene--possibly *On the New Jersey Coast*--in which the artist confined himself "to a small scale of shades. Olive-greens and low marine blues are favorites with him." In this work, de Kay reported, Twachtman had shown "an excellent feeling for the look of water near ships and docks, and reproduces most effectively the glint of light from a bright sky--not from a sunny sky--on the smooth water about shipping."[150] A critic for the *New York Herald* commented that of Twachtman's contributions to the Society in 1880, his riverside scenes were "clever tone studies," while a *New York Sun* reporter thought Twachtman "erratic and wayward in his work," but acknowledged that "there is none among the younger men that gives better promise than he."[151]

It was, however, Twachtman's friend from the Tile Club, William MacKay Laffan, who best gave recognition to the uniqueness of Twachtman's urban harbor images. In an 1880 article in the *American Art Review* entitled, "The Material of the American Landscape," Laffan features an artist who he does not identify, but there can be little doubt that Twachtman is its subject.[152] In his essay, Laffan carries on a fictional dialogue with an unnamed artist who is at work painting from a pier in New York harbor:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> There was a long row of piling that projected far beyond the wharves and bulkheads out into the current of the river. At the end were a dozen or more stout timbers bound together with iron bands, and on the tops of these we sat, an artist and I. All of the timbers were worn away and jagged and battered by the impact of swinging steamers . . . Below us . . . was a shorter row of piling, that stood up black and strong, silhouetted against the shining, luminous gray of the flood behind it. . . boats rose and fell with a slow, uneasy motion in the half-light. . . . To the left there rose up a mass of great beams and stout weather-boarding, surmounted by a tall crane, that swung and creaked with its tackle. . . Over all was the grime and blackness of the coal, a thing defining and forbidding, and spreading its greasy dust upon the water. . . [153]

This passage could readily apply to Twachtman's New York harbor scene, *Dredging on the East River*. Laffan's description of the painting that appeared on the artist's canvas could be Twachtman's *The Old Pier*: "On his canvas was a broad transition of cool gray emphasized and held by a patch of white borrowed from the sail in the distance; on the left, a rude generalization in black and bitumen carried across the canvas,--in the middle lowered to the equivalent of the piles, and at the left conveying the tone-value of the sloops. I half closed my eyes and looked at the scene, and then in the same way at the canvas. He had its equipoise in black and white secured."[154]

Laffan went on to relate a discussion in which he, the writer, jokingly referred to the artist's painting as a "picture of the entrance to the Grand Canal . . ."[155] Cutting the writer off mid-sentence, the artist replied: "'Venice never saw the day when it could present such a thing as that. The whole Adriatic can't hold a candle to it.'"[156] "The artist," according to Laffan "went on at his own sweet will, abused the Mediterranean itself in strong set terms, and slandered the Italian lakes as if he were the very antithesis of Murray's Guide."[157] Laffan wrote that the artist had gone "through the Continental course that is essential to the manufacture of an American painter; and he had come home

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to go to work. Fortunately he had not lost his eyesight and his common-sense while he was abroad, and when he got there he did not feel . . . a harbor valueless without a Venetian sail or a gondola, and humanity superfluous unless clad in fez or turban."[158]

Laffan suggests that due to his training abroad, "the artist" had gained necessary knowledge, but had not become so indoctrinated that he could not see his subjects freshly. Laffan wrote:

> Let [the artist], if he will, go to Europe and learn technical facts. Let him see how the great masters looked at things, and then study how, having seen things, they painted them. Then let him imitate those masters in seeking the truth for himself, and in learning how best to convey a sincere and faithful impression of objects, not necessarily as they would have appeared to this or that master, but as he feels that they do appear and do reveal themselves to himself.[159]

In Laffan's view, Twachtman had used his knowledge of new techniques appropriately, as stylistic directives, but not as ends unto themselves. He felt that Twachtman had a fresh perspective as well as an expressive vocabulary that allowed him to see and record qualities of life in America to which other artists were blind. Laffan wrote: "His mind was wholesome and sweet, he could discern his own natural impulses, and the 'material of American landscape' was not a sealed book to him. This material is what a majority of the men who study abroad seriously condemn and refuse to see, and as a consequence we have them painting bric-a-brac landscapes in their studios, delving into archaeology, and struggling obstinately and helplessly in their own futility." Laffan suggested that it was European training that had widened Twachtman's vantage point, opening him up to the aesthetic possibilities of American scenery.

Laffan expressed the view that American artists had an intuitive understanding of their own land that they could not have of another land, and he commended Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for drawing on this capacity. He advised other American landscape painters to follow Twachtman's example: "to be concerned with the things whereof we have the best and truest knowledge, whereof the images are implanted in our minds and which we unconsciously love and cling to from mere association and familiarity. . . .The forms of our trees, the color of our vegetation, the moods of our skies, every physical manifestation of our daily life, are things understood by us and fitted to us and with which we are in full accord and sympathy."[160]

Laffan does not seem to have been alone in his viewpoint. In 1879, a writer for the *New York Sun* called similarly for native artists to find inspiration in commonplace urban sites at home rather than being drawn to the exoticism of the foreign. The critic focused mainly on Louis Tiffany's *Duane Street*, 1879 (Brooklyn Museum, New York), and his or her comments are worth quoting almost in their entirety.

> Mr. Louis C. Tiffany never exhibited any better work than he has contributed to the present collection of the Society of American Artists. His "Market Day," in a Brittany town [No. 36] is a very satisfactory picture of its class, and his "Street in Roccabrunna" [No. 910] is an exquisite bit of color and drawing. Mr. Tiffany exhibited some time since a picture of which the subject had been found in Duane street, New York. It was a success; it made a direct and very favorable impression, and it probably added more to his reputation than anything else he ever did. The subject was an ordinary down-town corner, a bit of an old street not ordinarily suggestive of picturesque qualities; and Mr. Tiffany did not take any particular liberties with it, but treated it on its merits and with, if anything, a little too much literalness. If Mr. Tiffany would bring to bear upon New York subjects, like that chosen in Duane street, the same quality of artistic observation and apprehension, and the same method of general treatment that are apparent in his work when he is concerning himself with a French or Oriental subject, we should very soon have pictures from him that would have a much deeper significance than anything that he can possibly attain in the present apparent direction of his efforts.
>
> There should be more joy over one decent study of a dirty New York tenement house with its familiar accessories, than over ninety and in regulation proprieties from Normandy or Bagdad. Deep shall be the debt

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of gratitude to the men who lead the way in independent exploration at home, in preference to seeking a vicarious knowledge of nature in the unnatural atmosphere of foreign studios. To be familiar with the achievements and the methods of masters in art implies an artistic education that should inspire to independent and original thought, instead of involving weary servitude in the byways of shallow imitation. With technical acquirement should come the power to see, and a painter who comes back to America after years of study may be accounted as one who has wasted his time if he can do nothing better than [portray] Brittany and Turkish rugs. There are countless subjects on Manhattan Island that would [be suitable to] the Salon. There are brick walls about New York as good as any in Brittany, and they have just as valuable discolorations and their details of decay are just as interesting. And yet nothing will do that has not the European glamour upon it!

Mr. Arthur Quartley, whom a dispensation of Providence has condemned to work at home painted a year or two ago as a vulgar and . . . thin [a subject] as New York harbor. It was exhibited in Paris, and the most respectable French critics forthwith impaired their American reputations by applying language to it that was identical with that which they used in speaking of French pictures. It was not alone that they gave it equal rank with the work of their own best painters of subjects of a similar class, but they actually discovered real sentiment in it, and what appeared to be a true poetic quality in its general motive and treatment. All of which must have amazed and disconcerted poor Mr. Quartley, who painted his ferryboats and ships and steeples and towers in the deepest humility and with a sort of resentful apology, because the result couldn't be given a Brittany name.

No intelligent person who has studied the etchings that Mr. Whistler has made of old warehouses and wharves on the Thames, bits about Wapping and the lower river, can doubt that he would have found just as good material n the water front of this city. There are few things that are more interesting or valuable in their way than the etchings in question, and any day about New York will reveal a thousand equivalents to them in the matter of subject matter.

When some feeling of this kind inspires Mr. Tiffany he will go back to Duane Street or the East River and humiliate himself. Or he might go (and if Mr. Samuel Colman would only accompany him!) out somewhere on the North River as I see the sun rises behind New York--a spectacle which the best efforts of Venice and the Adriatic from end to the other do not surpass. Of course, a Venetian sail has immense value as a decorative object, and local color has its advantages, but both exist just as palpably and every whit as available and valuable in the material that lies neglected about us. Local color and form are comparatively incidental and trivial. Depth of purpose and seriousness of motive are the unchangeable things that prevail under all conditions. In the mean time the artistic possibilities

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that are presented from the prosaic footing of a Jersey City ferryboat are worth considering. They should be looked into if only to learn how nature in her propitious moods can mitigate such things as the *Tribune* building and the New York Post Office, befriending them with the veil of her morning mystery, and assuming for the moment that kindly sort of offer that makes the moon to be the sweet patroness of indifferent architects.

There is no special quality in the streets of Paris that makes them inspire M. Détaille or M. De Nittis, for instance. For the matter of that one may find studies in the streets of New York, which, under suitable conditions, are as distinctly Parisian as anything that has been used by the artists who seek their subjects in Paris streets. The view from the corner of Twenty-fourth street and Fifth avenue, of which the central feature is made to be the Hotel Brunswick is not only very distinctively French in many of the features, but it is obviously susceptible of picturesque treatment. There was a wretched treatment of its winter aspect in the late water color exhibition, but it only went to show how devoid the artist was of any real feeling for the better qualities of his subject. The same applies to every other branch of art in which we are practitioners. We have Homers who make American pastoral studies, and Wyants and Giffords, who are as content with American landscapes as Mr. Quartley is with New York harbor of the Isles of Shoals, but they are few and far between. For one such we have a dozen others, each perhaps of equal technical acquirement, but striving after empty inspirations of foreign claptrap--the unattainable and the worthless.

Can the American artist say what permanent value or real interest lies in the empty things that Mr. F.A. Bridgeman [sic] is striving after? Is not a comparison between his work and that of say Breton or Millet rather discouraging? The side these artists, who were content to look about them and learn simple truths of nature herself in a humble and unaffected way, the gentleman who seeks his inspiration in ancient Rome and fabled Egypt cuts a sorry figure. There is a certain gorgeous apotheosis of bric-a-brac that the genius of Fortuny could encompass and which has a fatal fascination. It has won a place for itself in contemporary art, but our younger men who send home pictures that are designed under the influence of a like spirit are legitimate objects of pity.[161]

There is no evidence that Twachtman felt or had a unique point of view that came from being an American. Nonetheless, there appear to have been qualities in the New York scene that inspired him in the late 1870s, qualities that other artists did not see or shied away from. Expressing his exuberant response to coarse, frenetic, and novel forms

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of modern urban life, Twachtman's works convey an attitude similar to that in descriptions of New York City from the time. His images share with the writings of McCabe and others an excitement in the commotion, dynamism, and chaos of New York during the 1870s.

The 1870s were a time when, despite the crude and anarchic aspects of New York acknowledged by writers, there was considerable optimism about urban life, a feeling that there were ready solutions to urban society's problems. Such an attitude was conveyed, for example, in Stoddard's opinion that the "dock rat" situation could be corrected simply if more policemen patrolled the wharves. McCabe wrote in 1872 that the city's waterfront would soon be cleaned up, and described impoverished areas of the city in euphemistic terms as carnival-like and cheerfully festive. A willingness to look directly at the negative aspects of city life and to state easy remedies for urban improvement characterized the writings of the decade. Twachtman's freely painted images, rendered from city docks, reveal a carefree attitude and a lack of inhibition that parallels this viewpoint.

The way in which Twachtman's images of New York reflect the outlook of the 1870s is made clear by a comparison of his works with depictions of the city created by Impressionist and Tonalist artists in the 1890s and in the first decade of the twentieth century. By bringing out the discordant qualities of city harbors and painting sites close up, Twachtmans works concur in spirit with writings from the 1870s. By contrast, images by Impressionists and Tonalists such as Childe Hassam (1859-1929), Paul Cornoyer (1864-1923), Guy Wiggins (1883-1962), and Henry Ward Ranger (1859-1916) express the general viewpoint on the city as held in the 1890s. These artists focused attention on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fashionable areas of the city, especially squares and parks frequented by the wealthy, and left out what reporter Jacob Riis described in articles of the time as the districts where "the other half lived" (figs. 84-85).[162] As painters focused on genteel places and avoided the unattractive aspects of city life, they complied with prevailing duality that writers also elucidated in their descriptions of the city in terms of light and dark, daylight and shadows, and haves and have-nots. However, the artists painted only the city's "light" side.[163] They did so by observing the city from a distance and sometimes perceiving it veiled in rain or mist, its buildings seen as harmonies of color and softly defined shape, its contrasts and inharmonious elements hidden from view (figs. 86-87). As H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry recently noted in a discussion of American Impressionist urban views: "When American painters of modern life plunged into the heart of New York, rather than remaining in its parks or on its periphery, they tended to maintain a genteel and euphemistic view of city life, tempering urban realities with artistic choices that held the ugly or the stressful at arm's length."[164]

Writers of the 1890s expressed a corresponding points of view. For example, Marianna van Rensselaer stated in 1892 that it is best to see the city as an arrangement of masses and colors, an experience well served by viewing it from a boat:

> The abrupt, extraordinary contrasts of its sky-line are then subdued to a gigantic mystery; its myriad many-colored lights spangle like those of some supernaturally large casino; and from the east or south we see one element of rare and solemn beauty--the sweep of the great bridge, defined by starry sparks, as though a bit of the arch of heaven had descended to brood over the surface of the waves.[165]

Jesse Lynch Williams called in 1899 for a similar way of seeing the city, recommending that while high buildings by themselves are "vulgar, impertinent 'sky-scrapers,'" as a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

group, "they are "fine, with a strong, manly beauty all their own. It is the same with the young nation; we have grown up so fast and so far that some of our traits, when considered alone, may not be pleasing, but they appear in a different light when viewed as a whole and from the right point of view."[166] A 1909 article on the art of Paul Cornoyer that cited a number of press commentaries sums up the genteel viewpoint of the Tonalist painter of urban scenes:

> The city tranquil, not the city of pulsing energy or dramatic contrasts, is what Paul Cornoyer sees. He sets up his easel in the city streets and squares to catch and record the shades and nuances, the ever-changing moods of metropolitan life. He seems enamored of atmosphere quality, and, above all, of snow and rain effects. "Mr. Cornoyer," a critic of the *New York Times* puts it, "has caught the particular beauty of sidewalks drenched to a reflecting surface, of trees slick and brilliant in the damp air, of solid buildings that have taken on wavering outlines and wear a diaphanous robe of gray in the soft mist. . . ." Annie Nathan Meyer has written in *The Broadway Magazine*: "It is a delight to come across, in the hurly-burly of metropolitan life, a temperament which can not only perceive but transfer to canvas the transient impression which is left on the mind by so much that is beautiful. We who are only passers-by owe much to the artist who can arrest this impression for us, so we can in time make it our own. For who has once looked on the city through the eyes of the painter can never see it again quite the same drab way."[167]

Tonalist views such as Cornoyer's and Ranger's, in particular, depict the city subdued to tranquil blends of beautiful forms seen through soft hazes as called for by van Rensselaer and Williams.

Twachtman along with Tonalist and Impressionist artists celebrated the new qualities of New York in the eras that they painted the city, but they brought out different novelties in the urban scene. Whereas the works of Impressionists and Tonalists reflect a time when it was the civilized and refined side of the city and the picturesque beauty of the city's skyline that were perceived to represent the modern era, Twachtman's images

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

characterize a time when it was the diverse and vital mixture of elements, both picturesque and ugly, that were seen to make up the new New York.

Twachtman's 1879 images of New York and New Jersey did, however, have a legacy in the art produced by the Ashcan School after the turn of the century. Focusing on tenement districts, industrial sites along urban waterfronts, and crowded public areas, and painting in styles influenced by the art of Manet, Velázquez, and the Munich School of the 1870s, the Ashcan School picked up from where Twachtman left off (figs. 88-90).[168] Twachtman's scenes of New York harbors and New Jersey shores demonstrate his prescience, as he was perhaps the first native painter to see the modern American city as a subject worthy of artistic representation, to depict it as immediately experienced, and to understand the necessity of capturing it in a new style suited to its specific characteristics.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Two: Notes

[1] On the challenges faced by the Hudson River School in the 1870s, see Doreen Bolger Burke and Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, "The Hudson River in Eclipse," in *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 71-91.

[2] William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," First Paper, *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (May 1880): 1.

[3] Ludwig II reigned from 1864 to 1886. See Christopher McIntosh, *The Swan King: Ludwig II of Bavaria* (London: Penguin Books, 1982) and Michael Schattenhofer, "München unter den Konigen Max II und Ludwig II (1864-1886)," in *Die Münchner Schule, 1850-1914*, exh. cat. (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemalde sammlungen und Austellungs Leitung, Haus der Kunst, 1979), pp. 9-19.

[4] For information on the Royal Academy and the Munich art scene in general in the late nineteenth century, see my bibliography, part II, under Art in Munich. The best recent source in English on this topic is Michael Quick and Eberhard Ruhmer, *Munich and American Realism in the 19th Century*, exh. cat. (Sacramento, Calif: E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1978).

[5] For information on Piloty, see S[amuel] G.W. Benjamin, *Contemporary Art in Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877). "III.--Germany," pp. 120, 123; Clarence Cook, *Art and Artists of Our Time*, vol. III (New York: Selmar Hess, 1888), pp. 45-51; *Neue Pinakothek Erläuterungen zu den augesgtellten Werken* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1982), pp. 252-256. The other areas taught at the Academy were sculpture, architecture, and engraving. For a brief description of developments within the school, see Michael Quick, *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987), pp. 14-15.

[6] Quick 1987, pp. 14-15.

[7] Charles Emile Carolus-Duran (1837-1917) and Thomas Couture (1815-1879) are among the Parisian instructors who advocated unconventional painting methods.

[8] Quick 1987, pp. 16-17 describes the emphasis on paint handling at the Royal Academy and notes that the linear styles of artists such as Claudius Schraudolph were replaced with a new emphasis on realism and technical mastery.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[9] For information on Leibl and his followers, see Eberhard Ruhmer, "Wilhelm Leibl and His Circle," in *Munich and American Realism in the 19th Century* 1978, pp. 9-20; Ruhmer, *Wilhelm Leibl und Sein Kreis*, exh. cat. (Munich: Statt Galerie, 1974); Robert Neuhaus, *Bildismalerei des Leibl-Kreises, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Technik der Malerei der Zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, Germany: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1953).

[10] See Alfred Zimmerman, "Leibl und Diez," *Das Bayerland* 32 (1928): 311-313 and Quick 1987, pp. 16-21.

[11] Quoted in Josephine W. Duveneck, *Frank Duveneck: Painter-Teacher* (San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, 1970), p. 38.

[12] Löfftz began his training in his native Darmstadt, and continued his instruction in Nuremberg in 1869. A year later, he moved to Munich and enrolled at the Royal Academy under Diez. He was appointed a professor at the Academy in 1879 and from 1893 to 1899, served as its director. Due to an eye ailment, Löfftz gave up painting after 1898. His best known work is *The Lamentation of Christ*, 1883 (Bayrische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich). For information on Löfftz, see H. Karlinger, *München und die deutsche Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Lana verlag, 1966), p. 59. Twachtman's study with Löfftz is mentioned in George McLaughlin, "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School," *American Art Review* 2 (December 1880): 45.

[13] Benjamin 1877, p. 125.

[14] Charles Dudley Warner, "Art Life in Munich: A New Departure--The American Club--Honored Americans," [January 1876], *Hartford Courant*, unpaginated newspaper clipping, Frank Duveneck scrapbook, *Art Notes, 1875-1876, Scraps, Oct. to June*, Archives, Cincinnati Art Museum.

[15] Twachtman registered for "ein Naturklasse," on 15 October 1875. See *Matriculant's Book*, Academy of Fine Arts, Munich. On the exams given at the Royal Academy, see Quick 1987, pp. 14-15.

[16] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 7 December 1883, Weir Family Papers.

[17] Twachtman, Munich, to his niece, Alice Minning, Cincinnati, 16 November 1876, private collection.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[18] McLaughlin 1879, p. 45. Quick 1987, p. 48, writes that Duveneck only began to give instruction in Munich after Shirlaw and Chase had left for New York, in February 1877 and August 1878 respectively. Duveneck wrote to his parents in May 1876 of his intention to visit Paris during the following month and "thense return to Munich and take charge of a new studio in the Academie." (Duveneck, Munich, May 1876 to his parents, Archives, Cincinnati Art Museum.) Twachtman perhaps participated in this studio supervised by Duveneck.

[19] Eliot Clark referred to the initial stylistic phase of Twachtman's career as the Munich period. See Clark 1924, p. 29. In his dissertation, Hale defined this period as the years 1874 to 1883, from Twachtman's student days under Duveneck in Cincinnati until his departure for France. Hale included what he defined as the Avondale period within the time frame of the Munich period.

[20] For information on the numbers of American artists in Munich, see Quick 1978, pp. 22-23 and Quick 1987, pp. 14, 36. Warner 1876, writes that the American Art Club was initiated in the fall of 1875.

[21] See G. Henry Horstman, *Consular Reminiscences* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1886), pp. 178-179.

[22] Horstman 1886, pp. 178-179.

[23] S.G.W. Benjamin, "Present Tendencies of American Art," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 58 (March 1879): 484-485.

[24] See Franz Xaver Bogenrieder, *Die Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Klosters Polling* (Munich: Jahrbuch des Vereins für Christliche Kunst, 1929) and Franz Schaehle, "Polling, ein sommerparadies des Münchner maler," *Aus unserer heimat Lech-Jahr-Land* 19 (1939): 145-151.

[25] Streicher Inn Guestbook, copy, Library, Spanierman Gallery, New York.

[26] Duveneck, who signed the register on 30 March 1872, is the first American listed in the guestbook. Other Americans who visited Polling in the decade that followed include Henry Alexander (1860-1895), John White Alexander (1856-1915), John O. Anderson (b. mid-1850s), William Baer, John Beatty (1851-1924), H. Singlewood Bisbing (1849-1933), William Merritt Chase, Charles Corwin (1857-1938), Wilder Darling (1856-1933), Joseph DeCamp (1858-1923), Frederick Dielman (1847-1935), Charles Freeman (1859-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1918), Frederick Freer (1849-1908), George E. Hopkins (1855-1923), Walter McEwen (1860-1943), Charles E. Mills (1856-1943), Henry Muhrman (1854-1916), Charles Niehaus (1855-1935), Albert G. Reinhart (1854-1926), Louis Ritter (1854-1892), Julius Rolshoven (1858-1930), Jean-Paul Selinger (1850-1909), Walter Shirlaw, Francis Strobridge (1855-1879), Ross Turner (1847-1915), Charles Ulrich (1858-1908), Frederick Porter Vinton (1846-1911), Theodore Wendel (1859-1932), and Theodore Wores (1860-1939). Information on the American experience in Polling and a full list of artists who visited will be included in a forthcoming article by the author.

[27] Katharine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), p. 51.

[28] Nelson C. White, *The Life and Art of J. Frank Currier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1936), p. 22.

[29] John White Alexander, Frank Currier, William Preston Phelps (?-?), Jean-Paul Selinger (180-1909) were among the American artists who created portraits in Polling.

[30] Several of Shirlaw's drawings for this painting are in the collection of the St. Louis Art Museum.

[31] Many of the German painters who visited Polling from the 1830s through the 1870s were landscape specialists including Eduard Schleich (1812-1874), Johann Friedrich Voltz (1817-1886), Wilhelm Boshart (1815-1878), August Geist (1835-1868), Emil Hellrath (b. 1838), Johannes Sperl (1840-1914), Adolph Stabli (1842-1901), Otto Frolicher (1840-1890), and Jacob Gehrig (1846-1922). Information from typescript, Polling Museum and the Streicher Inn Guestbook.

[32] The standard monograph on Currier is, White 1936. Currier had been painting landscapes since 1870 when he spent the summer in Ecouen, France, and received instruction from painter August Schenk (1828-1901), who encouraged him to study nature firsthand. In Munich, where he moved in 1870, Currier focused on painting plein-air landscapes. After studying at the Royal Academy for two years, he left to paint on his own, and maintained his interest in the rendering of landscapes in the open air. Even though his name does not appear in the guestbook of Polling's Streicher Inn, Currier probably visited the town a number of times before 1878, when he is reputed to have moved there for a year or two. See White 1936, pp 13-36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[33] There is some disagreement as to whether the three artists traveled together to Venice. According to Quick, Chase and Leslie Barnum accompanied Duveneck to Innsbruck, where he created a portrait of Elizabeth Blackwell, completed on 19 May 1877, before continuing on to Venice, where they were joined by Twachtman. Quick 1987, p. 45. See also Nancy Sahli, "A Lost Portrait? Frank Duveneck Paints Elizabeth Blackwell," *Ohio History* 85 (Autumn 1976): 323. Josephine Duveneck suggests that Twachtman traveled along with Chase and Duveneck, and does not mention the stop in Innsbruck. Josephine Duveneck 1970, pp. 66-67.

[34] See my essay on Twachtman's Venetian works: "Twachtman: A 'Modern' in Venice," in Irma Jaffe, ed., *Insight and Inspiration II: The Italian Presence in American Art: 1860-1920*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), pp. 62-81.

[35] Duveneck 1970, p. 66.

[36] See Duveneck 1970, p. 67.

[37] Roof 1917, p. 45.

[38] According to Josephine Duveneck, the three artists left Venice in the spring or early summer of 1878 "to return to Munich and join their colleagues for the rest of the summer. The Academy was closed but Duveneck and Twachtman went back to their favorite haunt in Polling where the other boys were already ensconced. Chase remained in Munich, but came to Polling to bid goodbye to his colleagues. A festival was planned in his honor which is still famous in the annals of the little Bavarian town." Josephine Duveneck 1970, p. 70. There is no evidence in the Polling guestbook of the three artists' presence in Polling in early summer 1878, although Duveneck signed the guestbook at some point in August or September of the year. Twachtman perhaps did not stay in Munich long after his Venice trip and perhaps did not again visit Polling as his father's death necessitated his return to Cincinnati. As explained in the section of this chapter entitled "A Move to New York," he may have been back in Cincinnati by late April, as he showed works at the Women's Art Association of Cincinnati in the next month. Chase did not return to New York to take up his teaching position at the Art Students League until August 1878, and therefore the Polling party may well have taken place.

[39] Roof 1917, p. 45.

[40] Clark 1924, p. 21.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[41] The first Venetian works by Duveneck discussed by Quick date from 1880-1881. See Quick 1987, pp. 51-52. Chase's Venetian works include *The Yield of the Waters*, ca. 1878 (Detroit Institute of Arts), *The Antiquary Shop*, ca. 1877-1878 (Brooklyn Museum, New York), and *Street in Venice*, ca. 1878 (Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, Connecticut).

[42] On the fame of Canaletto's works in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Francis Haskell, "The Taste for Canaletto," in Baetjer and Links, *Canaletto*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), pp. 31-41.) Two publications by Margaretta M. Lovell survey and discuss depictions of Venice by American artists: *Venice: The American View, 1860-1920*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1984); and *A Visitable Past: Views of Venice by American Artists, 1860-1915* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[43] A good source on Ruskin's view of Venice as conveyed in his letters and his *Stones* is Jeanne Clegg, *Ruskin and Venice* (London: Junction Books, 1981).

[44] See Horatio F. Brown, *In and Around Venice* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), "The Roots of Venice Piles and Pile Driving," pp. 123-133.

[45] Ferdinando Ongania, *Calli e canali in Venezia*, 2 vols. (Venice: Ferdinando Ongania, 1895), vol. 1, pl. 74.

[46] See Catalogue of the *Fifty-fourth Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design*, 31 April-31 May 1879, no. 207, *Campo Marti, Venice*.

[47] Elizabeth Robins Pennell, "Venetian Boats," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 80 (March 1890): 544, 549.

[48] McLaughlin 1880, p. 46.

[49] See "Venice as Painted by the Moderns," *Art Journal*, London, New Series (May 1883): 138-142. This article distinguishes between the works of Canaletto and those of contemporary artists including A. N. Roussoff, M. Passini, and C. Van Haanen.

[50] Julia Cartwright, "The Artist in Venice I," *Portfolio* 15 (January 1884): 18-19.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[51] "American Art," *New York Tribune*, 30 March 1878, p. 6.

[52] Nineteenth-century paintings of Venice are surveyed in *Venezia nell'Ottocento*, exh. cat. (Venice: Ala Napolenica e Museo Correr, 1983).

[53] Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxiii.

[54] See Hale 1957, p. 22.

[55] Twachtman possibly sent works from Europe to the Cincinnati exhibition. The works shown in Cincinnati were titled *Painting*, *Scene in Venice*, *Court Yard in Venice*, and *Scene in France*. The last work suggests that Twachtman was able to take a side-trip to France at some point during his stay in Munich.

[56] Twachtman's move to New York is suggested by his participation in the Society of American Artists exhibition held in March 1879, in which he showed a scene of New York harbor. His address during his stay in New York is not recorded in the catalogues for the exhibitions in which he participated.

[57] *Trow City Directory*, New York, vol. 92, for the year ending 1 May 1882, p. 1523: "Twachtman J.H. artist, h. 51 University bldg."

[58] On the University Building, see Paul R. Baker, "The Cultural and Bohemian Community," in *Around the Square, 1830-1890*, ed. Mindy Cantor (New York: New York University, 1982), pp. 64-74; William H. Bishop, "Young Artists Life in New York," *Scribner's Monthly* 19 (December 1879): 355-368; and "Appendix A: Non-Academic Tenants of the Old Building at Washington Square," in *New York University, 1832-1932*, Theodore Francis Jones, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1933), pp. 393-398.

[59] Quoted in Baker 1982, p. 67.

[60] Bishop 1879, p. 362.

[61] Information from Baker 1982, p. 67.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[62] A history of the Society of American Artists from its founding through 1884 may be found in Jennifer A. Martin Bienenstock, *The Formation and Early Years of the Society of American Artists: 1877-1884*, Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1983 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1986).

[63] Twachtman became a member of the Society of American Artists on 16 October 1879. See Bienenstock 1983, p. 407.

[64] Both Weir and Robinson showed at the Society for the first time in 1878. Weir was elected to membership in 1877 and Robinson in 1881.

[65] Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 149.

[66] Both Twachtman and Duveneck sent works to the Society in 1878 from Munich. As the works did not clear customs immediately, they reached the show around two weeks after it opened, where they were hung in spaces left for them in the Kurtz Gallery. "The Society of American Artists," *New York Evening Post*, 27 March 1878, p. 4 stated: "Several new pictures have been added to the exhibition of the Society of American Artists in the Kurtz Gallery. Four of them have been expected for some time, and have had a place in the catalogue. Two of the four are by Mr. Duveneck, and two by Mr. Twachtmann [sic]."

[67] The works Twachtman showed at the Society in 1879 were *Landscape* (no. 40), *Venetian Sketch* (no. 67), *View near Cincinnati* (no. 112), *Venetian Sketch* (no. 118), *View near Munich* (no. 147), and *In New York Harbor* (no. 192). At the Academy, he exhibited *Winter Landscape* (no. 42), *View in Venice* (no. 71), *Dry Docks at Venice* (no. 73), and *Campo Marti, Venice* (no. 207).

[68] For a discussion of the debate over the sketch versus the finished work, see William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), pp. 44-47. As Gerdts suggests, this debate helped lead American critics to an eventual acceptance of Impressionism in the late 1880s.

[69] [Charles de Kay], "The Society of American Artists," *New York Times*, 7 March 1878, p. 4.

[70] "The American Art Society," *New York World*, 17 March 1878, p. 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[71] S[usan] N. Carter, "Exhibition of the Society of American Artists," *Art Journal* (New York) (5 March 1879), p. 157.

[72] "Society of American Artists," *Aldine* 9 (1879): 275.

[73] M[ariana] G. van Rensselaer, "The Spring Exhibitions in New York, *American Architect and Building News* 5 (10 May 1879): 149.

[74] "American Art," *New York Tribune*, 30 March 1878, p. 6.

[75] Carter 1979, p. 157.

[76] William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," Second Paper, *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880), p. 334 and "Fine Arts: The Lessons of a Late Exhibition," *Nation* 26 (11 April 1878): 251.

[77] "The Society of American Artists," *Puck* 55 (27 March 1878): 3.

[78] F.G.I., "Society of American Artists, IV," *New York Mail*, 19 March 1878, p. 4.

[79] [de Kay] 1878, p. 4.

[80] "The American Artists," *New York Times*, 28 March 1878, p. 4.

[81] On the Tile Club, see William Mackay Laffan, "The Tile Club at Work," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 17 (January 1879): 401-409; Laffan and F. Hopkinson Smith, "The Tile Club at Play," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 17 (February 1879): 457-468; Laffan, "The Tile Club," *Harper's Weekly* 24 (31 January 1880): 75; Laffan and Edward Strahan, "The Tile Club Afloat," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 17 (February 1880): 641-670; Laffan, "The Tile Club Ashore," *Century Magazine* 23 (February 1882): 481-498; Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn] and F. Hopkinson Smith, *A Book of the Tile Club* (New York: Riverside Press, 1886); Louis Baury, "The Story of the Tile Club," *Bookman* 1 (June 1912): 381-396; Mahonri Sharp Young, "The Tile Club Revisited," *American Art Journal* 2 (Fall 1970): 81-91; Ronnie Rubin, "The Tile Club, 1877-1887," Master's Thesis, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1967; Constance Koppelman, *Nature in Art and Culture: The Tile Club* (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stonybrook, 1985); Susan Kelly, "The Tile Club," unpublished paper, Barnard College, New York, Spring 1988.

[82] Tile and plaques decorated by club members were stored in a vast warehouse that burned down in 1881. Reported in Laffan 1882, p. 482.

[83] Laffan, "The Tile Club at Work," 1879, p. 408.

[84] Most of the Tile Club members' nicknames played on an artist's name (St. Gaudens was the Saint; Earl Shinn was the bone) or called attention to some aspect of an artist's background or interests (Weir was called Cadmium as he "was said to be partial to that variety of yellow"; Stanford White was the Builder; Shugio was varnish as he was an importer of lacquer objects). Twachtman's name, "Pie" is one of the few that remains unexplained. Twachtman's nickname is first referred to in Laffan and Smith 1880, p. 642. Hale 1957, p. 28, suggests that Twachtman may also have been known by the nickname of the Scratch, but this could not be the case as in "The Tile Club Ashore," 1882, p. 490, Laffan mentions that "the Pie, the Scratch, and the Terrapin," were present on the Tilers' trip to Long Island in June 1881.

[85] Laffan and Strahan, "The Tile Club Afloat," 1880, p. 647.

[86] Laffan and Strahan, "The Tile Club Afloat," 1880, p. 648.

[87] "The Tile Club at Whitehall," *New York Times*, 10 July 1879, p. 5.

[88] Laffan and Strahan, "The Tile Club Afloat," 1880, p. 667.

[89] F. Hopkinson Smith, *The Fortunes of Oliver Horn* (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1902), p. 433.

[90] Hale suggests that Twachtman might have rendered illustrations entitled *In the Mists of Early Morning* and *The Community Afloat*. Neither of these works appear close, however, to his painting style of the time. Hale 1957, pp. 34-35.

[91] Between 1860 and 1900, the rural population of America rose 80% from 25 to 45 million, while the urban population rose 257%, three times the rate of rural growth, from 7

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to 25 million. Statistics from John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth 1877-1890* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 477.

[92] New York City's population in 1860 was 813,699; in 1870, 942,292; and in 1880, 1,206,299. Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

[93] One of the best essays on the migration of farmers and other rural workers to the city is Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898, A History of American Life*, Vol. 10 (New York: Macmillan, 1933), chapter 3, "The Lure of the City," pp. 53-77.

[94] James D. McCabe described the increase in streetcar travel during the 1870s in *New York by Gaslight* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1882; facsimile, New York: Greenwich House, 1984), pp. 238-240. "Before the construction of the Elevated roads, the travel on the street cars was enormous. . . . In 1875, the year before the successful completion of the Elevated roads, the street cars carried over one hundred and sixty million passengers. Over 1500 cars and more than 12,000 horses were employed in this work, and the cost of operating the 450 miles of track included within city limits was $6,500,000. . . .Since the opening of the Elevated roads the receipts and profits of the leading surface lines have been greatly reduced, but still all continue to be operated at a profit, and some of the horse roads which run along the streets occupied by their aerial rivals are beginning to experience a return of their old prosperity."

[95] On the changes to New York that resulted from the construction of the elevated railroads, see McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, pp. 178-194.

[96] On the early construction of the tunnel between Manhattan and Jersey City, see McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, pp. 553-555. A rail tunnel was not completed until 1908-1909.

[97] Anthony Trollope, *North America* (1862; reprint New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), p. 226 and "New York," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 4 (April 1876): 490.

[98] "New York" 1876, p. 490.

[99] McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, pp. 142-143.

[100] "Life on Broadway," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 41 (January 1878): 231.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[101] "New York" 1876, p. 490.

[102] "New York" 1876, p. 490.

[103] See "The French Quarter of New York," *Scribner's Magazine* 19 (November 1879): 1-9.

[104] "The French Quarter of New York" 1879, p. 3.

[105] James D. McCabe, *Lights and Shadows of New York Life; Or the Sights and Sensations of the Great City* (New York: National Publishing Co., 1872; facsimile, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970), p. 835.

[106] McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, p. 360.

[107] McCabe 1872, facsimile, 1970, p. 62.

[108] Charles H. Farnham, "A Day on the Docks," *Scribner's Magazine* 18 (May 1879): 32-47.

[109] Farnham 1879, p. 38.

[110] Farnham 1879, p. 34.

[111] Emile De Damseaux, *Voyage dans l'Amerique du'Nord* (Paris, 1878), translated by Leona T. Van Zandt, in Roland Van Zandt, *Chronicles of the Hudson: Three Centuries of Travelers' Accounts* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1971), pp. 294-295.

[112] W.O. Stoddard, "New York Harbor Police," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 45 (October 1872): 672-683.

[113] Stoddard 1872, p. 673.

[114] McCabe 1872, facsimile 1970, p. 300.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[115] McCabe 1872, facsimile 1970, p. 835

[116] Brownell 1880, second paper, p. 334.

[117] "Opening of the Oyster Season," *Harper's Weekly* 26 (16 September 1882): 584.

[118] Farnham 1879, p. 36.

[119] Farnham 1879, p. 39.

[120] "Society of American Artists, Fourth Annual Exhibition," *New York Tribune*, 3 April 1881, p. 7.

[121] "Fine Arts: Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists--Third Notice," *New York Herald*, 25 April 1881, p. 6 and Archibald Gordon, "The Impressionists," *Studio and Musical Review* 1 (16 July 1881): 79

[122] *Harper's Weekly* 26, 10 June 1882, p. 356.

[123] See John Grafton, *New York in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Dover, 1977), p. 242.

[124] "Dredging in New York Harbor," *Harper's Weekly* 26 (10 June 1882): 364-365.

[125] I would like to thank Cynthia Sanford for help in researching the history of the area and identifying Jersey City sites.

[126] A discussion of the early development of the New York City suburbs may be found in Edward K. Spann, "Escape to Suburbia," *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 176-204.

[127] On New York real estate prices in the early 1880s, see McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, p. 40.

[128] McCabe 1872, facsimile 1970, p. 57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[129] McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, pp. 62-63.

[130] McCabe 1872, facsimile, 1970, p. 54.

[131] McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, 54.

[132] McCabe 1872, facsimile, 1970, p. 301. McCabe reported that twenty-one ferry lines operated in 1872. Statistics on the increase in New York-Brooklyn ferry traffic are noted in Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University, 1985), p. 28. The only statistics available on the ferry between Jersey City and Manhattan are from 1840 and 1860. In 1840, the ferry had 215,000 riders and in 1860, its ridership was 1,300,000. See Carl Condit, *The Port of New York* (University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 362n.

[133] "Ferry Mismanagement," *New York Times*, 1877, undated newspaper clipping, author's collection.

[134] McCabe 1872, p. 301.

[135] McCabe 1882, facsimile 1984, p. 91.

[136] Jersey City population statistics are from, *State of New Jersey, Department of State Census Bureau*, S.D. Dickinson, Secretary of State, Compendium of Censuses, 1726-1905 (Trenton, N.J.: State of New Jersey, 1906), p. 24.

[137] Douglas V. Shaw, "Immigration, Politics, and the Tensions of Urban Growth: Jersey City, 1850-1880," in Joel Schwartz and Daniel Presser, eds. *Cities of the Garden State: Essays in Urban and Suburban History of New Jersey* (Dubuque, Iowa: Hunt Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 36-51.

[138] This population breakdown is verified in *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census*, 1 June 1880, U.S. Census, 1880, vol. 1, Population, pp. 538-541.

[139] Immigrant laborers engaged in the filling in of coves to deep level points where ferry and barges could then dock, laying of tracks, loading and unloading freight, and creating a tunnel under Bergen Hill. Information from Shaw 1977, p. 37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[140] Damseaux 1877, in Van Zandt 1971, p. 294.

[141] William H. Gerdts, *Art Across America: Two Centuries of Regional Painting*, 1710-1920, vol. 1 (New York: Abbeville, 1990), p. 249.

[142] An obituary on Lockett is found in the *New York Times*, 6 July 1915, p. 9. I am grateful to Cynthia Sanford for bringing this painting and the obituary on Lockett to my attention. Lockett's painting is reproduced in Joan F. Doherty, *Hudson County: The Left Bank* (Northridge, Calif.: Winsor Publications, 1986), p. 85.

[143] "Fine Arts: Fifty-Fifth Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design--Fourth Notice," *New York Herald*, 12 April 1880, p. 5.

[144] On Jersey City's topography, see *U.S. Census 1880*, vol. 18, "Social Statistics of Cities, Part I" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), pp. 697-704.

[145] A label on the back of this etching has Twachtman's signature and the date, "August 1880," revealing that he sent it to an exhibition at the time, possibly the Chicago Inter-State, which took place in November. He displayed a "frame of etchings" in this show.

[146] I am planning an article on shantytowns as portrayed by American artists as a follow up to a talk I gave on this subject at the Museum of the City of New York in 1985.

[147] William H. Rideing, "Squatter Life in New York," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 61 (September 1880): 562-569 and "Shantytown," *Century Magazine* 20 (October 1880): 855-869.

[148] William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880): 334.

[149] Brownell 1880, 334.

[150] Charles de Kay, "One Day in the Gallery: Society of American Artists," *New York Times*, 26 March 1880, p. 5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[151] "Fine Arts: Third Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists--Second Article," *New York Herald*, 22 March 1880, p. 8 and "The Society of American Artists," *New York Sun*, 21 March 1880, p. 5.

[152] William Mackay Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape," *American Art Review* 1 (July 1880): 32.

[153] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, pp. 29-31.

[154] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[155] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[156] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[157] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[158] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[159] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[160] Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape" 1880, p. 30.

[161] "The Society of American Artists," *New York Sun*, 23 March 1879, p. 2. I would like to thank Professor William H. Gerdts for bringing this article to my attention.

[162] See Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1971). For a discussion of the way that Impressionists focused on the picturesque aspects of New York, see H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger, David Park Curry, "The Urban Landscape Made Beautiful," in *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 162-188.

[163] Among the publications from the 1890s that focus on the disparities of New York life are: Helen Campbell, *Darkness and Daylight, or Lights and Shadows of New York Life*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Hartford, Conn.: A.D. Worthington, 1891) and Muirhead, J.F. *The Land of Contrasts* (New York, 1898).

[164] Weinberg, Bolger, and Curry 1994, p. 180.

[165] M[ariana] G. Van Rensselaer, "Picturesque New York," *Century Magazine* 23 (December 1892): p. 168.

[166] Jesse Lynch Williams, "The Water-Front of New York," *Scribner's Magazine* 26 (October 1899): pp. 391-392.

[167] "A Painter of the City Tranquil," *Current Literature* 47 (July 1909): 54-55.

[168] The attitude toward New York as expressed in Ashcan School works is discussed in Weinberg, Bolger, and Curry, pp. 162-173, 188-196. These authors point out that the Ashcan School in many ways carried on the viewpoint of American Impressionist painters of the city, bringing out picturesque aspects of New York, avoiding disagreeable elements in city life, and treating urban realities in euphemistic terms.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Three

Cultivated Countrysides and Suburban Places: Images of Tuscany, Holland, and the Cincinnati Hills (1879-1883)

Cincinnati (1879-1880)

In the fall of 1879, Twachtman left New York for Cincinnati, where he moved back to his old home on Race Street in Over-the-Rhine and began a job teaching drawing and oil painting at the three-year old Women's Art Museum Association.[1] The next few years would be a time of transition in his art. Working in America and Europe, he explored a range of subjects and gradually changed his style, breaking from his Munich manner to a more individualistic approach. This phase in his art may be referred to as the Avondale period, named for the Cincinnati suburb where he worked and lived in 1882-1883.[2]

At the time of Twachtman's return to his hometown, the Women's Art Museum Association had recently moved its premises to the new Music Hall Building, an ornate Gothic structure situated on the grounds of the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition (fig. 91).[3] "With the increase of space," a profile of the Association reported, "[the school's] operations were enlarged. The rooms were made cheerful and pleasant, by pictures, window-shades, a few rugs, and the necessary furniture."[4] Besides Twachtman, three instructors who had recently studied abroad were new to the school's staff, each assigned

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to a different course: Ferdinand Mersmann (b. 1850) (decorative modeling), Henry Muhrman (drawing and watercolor), and Preston Powers (1843-1904) (sculptural modeling).[5] The hiring of instructors who had trained in Europe made the Association more progressive in its teachings than the co-ed McMicken School, which had come under the influence of conservative portraitist Thomas Noble.[6]

For Twachtman, a return to Cincinnati was undoubtedly disappointing after the stimulation of New York. However, his time in his hometown was enlivened by romance. By 1880, he had begun to court the art student Martha (Mattie) Scudder (1861-1934), who would become his wife in 1881.[7] The only daughter of a prominent Cincinnati physician and director of the prestigious Eclectic Medical Institute, Scudder grew up in the affluent suburban neighborhood of Avondale, an environment very different from the lively bustle of Over-the-Rhine. Despite these differences in background, the two artists had parallel early careers. Scudder had begun to study art at the McMicken School in 1876, as she is listed as an exhibitor at the school's annual for the year, and she may have followed the pattern characteristic for Cincinnati artists of the time of going to Munich for further study.[8] Indeed, according to Twachtman's son, J. Alden, his parents met at a party in Munich, held in the studio of American painter Toby Rosenthal (1848-1917), a popular gathering place for the American art community of Munich.[9]

Despite this report of a Munich rendezvous, it was surely in Cincinnati that the relationship between the two artists developed. At some point between 1877 and 1881, Scudder enrolled at the Women's Art Museum Association, where she is likely to have studied under Twachtman.[10] The two artists also would have encountered each other

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

through the Etching Club of Cincinnati, which both joined after its founding in the winter of 1879.[11] In 1880, Twachtman and Scudder were creating etchings together as it is clear from the close resemblance between Scudder's *A Ruin on Mill Creek* (which is dated 1880) and Twachtman's *Miami River, Near Cincinnati* (figs. 92-93). Despite the discrepancy in these titles, both images depict the same site from the same angle, a view, as correctly identified by Scudder's title, of Mill Creek near the Spring Grove Cemetery, located north of the suburb of Clifton. A photograph of the river from 1898 shows what appears to be exactly Twachtman's and Scudder's site (fig. 94).[12] By the spring of 1880, Twachtman and Scudder had clearly established a relationship, as Twachtman referred to her in a letter of June 1880 to Weir: "I can't expect you to stay very long, I know that you must go to Mt. D. or to some place that will be made equally interesting by the fairest charmer, but one, that lives."[13] The connection between Twachtman and Scudder would continue and deepen in the years ahead.

First Etchings

By 1880, Twachtman was surely aware of the interest in etching among the younger generation of American artists and of the New York Etching Club, founded in 1877.[14] However, he did not explore the medium until after his return to Cincinnati. His first use of this medium appears to have been prompted by the Cincinnati writer George McLaughlin, who started the Etching Club of Cincinnati.[15] As revealed by letters from

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

McLaughlin to Sylvester Rosa Koehler, the leading spokesman for the American etching revival and the editor of the *American Art Review* (a magazine in existence from 1879 to 1881 in which artist-etchings were featured), Twachtman began to create etchings in mid-December 1879.[16]

Twachtman's use of etching is charted and discussed by Deborah Emont in her 1978 Masters Thesis, "Etching in Late Nineteenth Century America: Sylvester Rosa Koehler and John Henry Twachtman."[17] Emont conjectures that Twachtman adopted etching at the urging of Koehler, who conveyed messages to Twachtman via letters to McLaughlin.[18] Since there is scant evidence of Koehler's contact with Twachtman either through McLaughlin or otherwise, the degree of his direct impact on Twachtman seems debatable. Twachtman did, however, adopt the approach to etching that Koehler advocated.[19] Koehler felt that etching should be used more like painting than like drawing, as a spontaneous and painterly medium employed with greater freedom than pencil. He urged artists to use etching as "an original means of expression" and to work "either directly from nature or under the immediate impulse of an inspiration . . . without the intervention of either sketch or painting." Koehler explained that an etching needle could play "upon the ground with . . . less friction than the pencil does upon paper," and could be therefore capable of producing "a warmth of line and consequently a possibility of indicating color far beyond that attainable in line engraving." "The greatest value of etching," Koehler observed, "is to be sought in the free play which gives to the expression of the personal element in art."[20] In an 1883 article in *Century Magazine* Mariana van Rensselaer also made distinctions between reproductive etchings and "painter-etchings,"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stressing the idea that etching demanded more "economy of labor" than other mediums. She wrote that since

> the art is essentially a free and rapid one, and as it is difficult and (so far as the action of the acid is concerned) always more or less uncertain, one's effects should be produced with as much simplicity as possible. An elaborate, patiently worked-up plate is never as delightful as one executed with more freedom, with less expenditure of time and effort--provided, of course, that the desired effect has been secured. Work done with few lines and vital ones, its meaning suggested by subtile [sic] "short-hand" methods, which leave the white paper to play an important part in the general result, appeals to most lovers of the art with especial force and charm. I should repeat, perhaps, that I am speaking now of original etchings only--of "painter etchings" as distinguished from reproductive work.[21]

The etchings that Twachtman produced during his stay in Cincinnati in 1879-1880 demonstrate his adherence to Koehler's approach as well as his compliance with the "short-hand" painter-etcher methods described by van Rensselaer. Instead of filling his works with detail or copying his designs from secondary sources, he employed etching as a means of freehand drawing, working outdoors and creating works in a spontaneous fashion.[22] Robert J. Wickenden, a fellow artist and friend of Twachtman's, described his process in a 1920 catalogue essay: "Twachtman appears to have carried the plates in his hand or pocket at various times much as a sportsman carries his gun, ready for a chance shot."[23] In *Autumn, Avondale* and *Willows and Footbridge*, two etchings of wooded hillsides presumably on the outskirts of Cincinnati, Twachtman's approach may be seen (figs. 95-96).[24] Using his etching needle in the same painterly manner that he employed his brush in oils of the time, he emphasized the general masses of trees and foliage rather than concentrating on detail. At the same time, etching forced him to develop restraint. Conscious of his overall designs, he made use of the white ground of the paper for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sunlight filtering through the trees and to indicate patches of open ground in forested enclosures.

Etching also made Twachtman more attentive to the expressive nuances of line as may be seen in his print, *Miami River, Near Cincinnati* (fig. 93). This work may be compared with Scudder's depiction of the same scene (fig. 92). Whereas Scudder portrays the scene naturalistically, showing the river narrowing as it recedes into the picture's depths, Twachtman varied the densities and rhythmic qualities of his lines to create a strong, abstract design. Tilting his picture plane upward, he stressed the jagged boundaries of the river with only few sketchy lines and he accentuated the repeated curves of a rock protruding from the river and a bend the river itself. The open space in the foreground is balanced by massed landscape forms in the background.

A main point of Emont's thesis is that Twachtman's etchings "functioned as sketches or drawings for later paintings and pastels."[25] This view does not seem well founded. Although Twachtman sometimes depicted the same scene in both an etching and a work in another medium, there is no evidence that he used etchings as studies. His exploration of etching did, however, have an impact on his oil painting techniques and vice versa. Whereas the fluidity of his etching style owed to his Munich training, the control and simplicity that etching demanded are reflected in the paintings he created in the early 1880s.

I will discuss the paintings that Twachtman executed in Cincinnati in 1880 in the section on Avondale later in this chapter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Despite his romantic liaison with Scudder, Twachtman left Cincinnati for New York, in early June 1880, as soon as his classes ended at the Women's Art Museum Association.[26] On the 14th of the month, he wrote to Weir, "tomorrow I will leave for N.Y. and be with you on Thursday. It has been excessively hot here."[27] His stay in New York was brief. By the 29th of the month, he reported to Weir from Nonquit Beach in New Bedford, Massachusetts:

> After a great deal of searching for a nice place I have finally landed here at Nonquit Beach, a place near New Bedford, Mass. It would be hard to tell how I got here. Several times I was on the point of going to the coast of Maine but each time was interfered with by some small circumstance. Almost the whole coast of this state is familiar to me for I have traveled its whole length since I left New York I was on the point of going to Mt. Desert on Saturday and accidently met an artist friend on the streets of Boston who, after making inquiries, wanted to know why I didn't go to Nonquit, a place I had never heard of before. He told me that Gifford and other artists were down here and I decided to go at once. I might as well have stayed West as to have gone to M.D. alone.
>
> Everything is lovely here--beautiful sailing and magnificent scenery, and I am glad to have come. . . . I have been seeing much of Gifford since here and will go with him to Block Island for a few days.[28]

R. Swain Gifford, a native of New Bedford, was probably responsible for the gathering in Nonquit. William Merritt Chase had arrived by the end of the month. He reported to Koehler on June 31st: "I am here with Twachtman and Gifford."[29] The trip to Block Island, referred to in Twachtman's letter to Weir, may, in fact, have been an informal Tile Club venture to Block Island (without Weir) on which the *American Art Review* reported in its summer 1880 section on "Clubs and Societies."[30] Dated 1880, *Storm Clouds* is possibly a product of Twachtman's stay in Nonquit or his trip to Block Island (fig. 97). While Twachtman's active brush handling in this painting owes to his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Munich manner, the curving line of the shore is rendered with a graceful simplicity that suggests the influence of his exploration of etching.

Twachtman remained on the east coast probably through much of the rest of the summer. He may have returned at this time to portraying harbors and coasts in New York and New Jersey, creating his image of a shantytown, discussed in the last chapter, and a view of a harbor in which tenements of the sort he had painted in Jersey City are in view (figs. 83, 98).[31] In August 1880, he sent etchings portraying these subjects to an exhibition, as it is clear from labels affixed to the backs of two prints (figs. 99-100).[32] The show to which he sent them was possibly the Chicago Inter-State, held in November of the year. Although it is not clear whether Twachtman had become affiliated with the New York Etching Club by this time, his works were exhibited as a "frame of etchings" in the section of the show that included a collection of works "From New York Etching Club.[33]

By early September, Twachtman had returned to Cincinnati. This time his stay in his hometown was brief. He wrote to Weir of his summer and of his impending plan to return to Europe:

> During all of my stay east my movements were so sudden and frequent that I stayed but a short time at one place. About a month ago I was in N.Y. and then called at your house which I found empty. . . I am very happy and am anxious to see you, which I expect to very soon. About a month ago Duveneck wrote me from Italy and offers me certain inducements to join him at Florence where he has sort of a private school and in which I am to teach. You will see me as I intend to sail on the second of October from N.Y.[34]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Florence (1880-1881)

While Twachtman was in New York and Cincinnati, Duveneck and a gathering of his students--the group that became known as the Duveneck "boys"--participated in a school that Duveneck began in Florence in the fall of 1879.[35] The following summer, the school moved to Venice, and it was there that the boys made contact with James McNeill Whistler, who was in the city creating a set of etchings for the Fine Arts Society of London that he hoped would recoup the losses he had incurred in his famous libel suit against John Ruskin. In Venice, Whistler worked on the etching press set up by Otto Bacher (1856-1909), one of the Duveneck boys, and it was to the apartment in the Castello district occupied by Duveneck and Bacher that Whistler eventually moved. Bacher shared his expertise with Whistler--Bacher had been creating etchings since 1876--and, in turn, Whistler revealed some of the innovative aesthetic approaches to printing that he had developed.[36]

Although it has been suggested that Twachtman was part of the group of American artists who joined Whistler in Venice, the chance that Twachtman and Whistler crossed paths is highly unlikely.[37] Twachtman sailed from New York in early October, and was probably in Florence by the time that Duveneck's school started in November. Therefore, if a stop in Venice had occurred, it would have been extremely brief. In November, Whistler ended his fourteen-month Venetian stay, never to return to the city.

On his arrival in Florence, Twachtman was surrounded by old friends and able to participate in raucous gatherings in smoke-filled cafés of the sort described by William

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dean Howells in his novel *Indian Summer* (1886). In this novel, "Inglehart" and the "Inglehart boys," who spoke of "one and another, of Botticelli and Michelangelo, of old Piloty's things at Munich," were modeled on Duveneck and his coterie.[38]

Although Duveneck established a rigorous school schedule--classes lasted from eight-thirty a.m. until four p.m. with a one hour lunch break, and then resumed in the evening for life drawing sessions--students seem to have gained as much from their instruction as from informal collaboration.[39] Oliver Dennett Grover (1861-1927) wrote:

> The student days in Italy were all too short, but while they lasted, they were more significant, probably, than a similar period in the lives of most students because more intensified, more concentrated. The usual student experiences of work and play, elation and dejection, feast and famine, were ours, of course, but in addition to that, and owing to peculiar circumstances and conditions, the advantage of the intimate association and constant companionship we enjoyed not only with our leader but also with his acquaintances and fellow artists, men and women from many lands, was unique and perhaps quite as valuable as any actual school work. We lived in adjoining rooms, dined in the same restaurant, frequented the same cafes, worked and played together with an intimacy only possible to that age and such a community of interests.[40]

In Florence, Twachtman was reunited with colleagues from Cincinnati, Munich, and Polling including John White Alexander (1856-1915), Bacher, Joseph DeCamp, George Hopkins (1855-1923), Louis Ritter, and Ross Turner (1847-1915). He also developed new ties with Charles Corwin (1857-1938), Charles Mills (1856-1943), Julius Rolshoven (1858-1930), and Theodore Wendel (1859-1932).

As a teacher, Twachtman was regarded with respect, although he was known for occasionally giving harsh critiques to his students. Grover recalled:

> John Twachtman of the Cincinnati contingent was one of the older ones. His knowledge was wider and his experience greater than that of his fellows, and with his fine sense of tone and color his advice and help was appreciated next to that of the "Old Man" as we lovingly denominated our

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> leader and friend Duveneck. Twachtman was the possessor in addition to his other qualities of a very sharp tongue and a keen sense of humor and he delighted to use them in driving home admonitions. Hailing from Chicago as I did, which in those days was a crime in itself, and being the youngest member of the class, I came in for an amount of attention which may have been salutary but it was not always easy to bear. But I came to understand later on that a little judicious "hazing" isn't bad medicine for a youngster who leaves home with a large fund of knowledge that isn't so.[41]

Although Whistler was undoubtedly a popular topic of conversation in Duveneck's school, the works Twachtman created while traveling in the Tuscan countryside do not reveal evidence of his exposure to Whistler's art. Instead they are closer in style and sensibility to works by the French Barbizon School, whose art Twachtman would have had opportunities to see as early as his Munich days.[42] Further knowledge of the Barbizon style would have been transmitted to Twachtman by friends from the Tile Club who subscribed to it, including R. Swain Gifford and Homer Martin, from works by Barbizon-influenced Americans that were shown at the Society of American Artists in 1879, and from shows of works by French artists at New York Galleries such as Cottier's. Weir may also have encouraged Twachtman's interest in Barbizon works. After seeing a show of works by Barbizon painters in New York, Weir wrote to his parents: "To see these works one is really inspired to go to work immediately. The simplicity and truth of these men makes one love art and want to get to work."[43]

In Twachtman's images of Tuscany, Barbizon modes are seen in his preference for cultivated landscapes, his generalized treatments of natural forms, the greater intimacy in his compositions, and his emphasis on tone rather than on strong contrasts of light and shadow. In *Florence, near Fiesole*, for example, he borrows a formula from works by Camille Corot (1796-1875) such as *Old Bridge at Limay, on the Seine*, 1870 (figs. 101-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

102). In Twachtman's image, soft veils of light cast a silvery glow over the facades of houses while light lingers in the reflective surface of a river and establishes a pale luminous glow in the sky. The lazy zigzag of the river that extends through the work suggests the peaceful feeling evoked by this settled landscape. In other images of the landscape near Florence, Barbizon influence is demonstrated in Twachtman's new interest in using color as a unifying force and as a way of structuring a design. This approach may be seen in *River Village, Tuscany*, a view looking down a river that wends its way through the countryside, extending towards a town of stucco-roofed houses and Byzantine-style churches that stand friezelike on the horizon (fig. 103). The river serves as a centering device in the composition. Its strong, receding line curves inward just at the point that the town's structures rise and its surface reflects all of the tones used elsewhere in the landscape. The river focuses our gaze and holds the disparate coloristic elements of the arrangement together. In other images of the countryside near Florence, Twachtman adopted the winding paths, high horizons, textured surfaces, and blended greens characteristic of works by such Barbizon artists as Narcisse Virgile Diaz de la Peña (1808-1876) and Théodore Rousseau (1812-1867) (figs. 104). However, as his painting *San Miniato, Florence*, reveals, in some works of this time, he retained the gestural strokes and thick impastos of his Munich style (fig. 105).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

European Honeymoon (1881)

Twachtman had returned to Cincinnati by the 21st of April, when he and Martha Scudder were married.[44] The record of their union at the New Jerusalem Church in Cincinnati was filed at the city courthouse on their wedding day (fig. 106). The New Jerusalem was the church of Cincinnati's Swedenborgian congregation to which Dr. Scudder, Twachtman's new father-in-law belonged.[45] John and Martha Twachtman would retain connections with the church in the years ahead, as they brought three of their children there for baptism in 1881, 1892, 1895.[46] The possibility of Twachtman's interest in Swedenborgianism is intriguing as the religion posed a number of ideas that could be of value to a landscape painter. A basis of the Swedenborgian faith was that the spiritual world of the afterlife was visually similar to that of the material world except that neither space nor appearance were fixed in form or place. Swedenborg held that some sense of the world beyond could be ascertained from this world as physical objects in form and color were perceived to have a spiritual correspondence in the afterlife. Some of Twachtman's Greenwich works that are filled with soft, hazy atmospheres might be seen to reflect Swedenborgian views. However, since there is no evidence of his adherence to the religion and since the visual evidence is highly speculative, there is no particular reason to make a connection between his art and the Swedenborgian religion. It is likely that the baptisms took place there because of Martha Twachtman's family connections with the church--Scudder family members are still affiliated with the church. (By contrast, Swedenborgian principles are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

much more readily discerned in the art of George Inness, who was both a proponent of the religion and acknowledged its influence on his work.[47])

Although it seems unlikely that Twachtman would leave his bride of two months and take off before his honeymoon on a trip with the wild all-male crowd of the Tile Club, it appears that he did so. "The Pie," Twachtman's Tile Club name, was mentioned in William Mackay Laffan's article in *Century Magazine* of February 1882 as one of the participants on the excursion by schooner on the Long Island Sound that took place at the end of June 1881.[48] Following the pattern of their earlier barge trip up the Hudson, this time the club rented a schooner, the *P.B. Caskett* that they weighed down with such a huge array of supplies, including "a refrigerator nearly as big as a parlor in a French flat," and "two coops of chicken," that they barely had room for passengers. The participants on the trip included Laffan, William Merritt Chase, J. Alden Weir, F. Hopkinson Smith, William O'Donovan, Arthur Quartley, R. Swain Gifford, Frederick Dielman, and Earl Shinn.

The trip was not as easy and comfortable as the voyage on the *Earle* had been, and Laffan reported an exchange referring to the earlier sojourn that took place between Twachtman and Weir: "'Give me the tow path!' said the Pie seated on top of the stove. 'And a mule," said Cadmium, from behind the door of the engine room.'"[49] When the group reached Sandy Hook, their discomfort continued unabated. They were forced to travel to shore on a small cramped boat, they became sore and received splinters from unloading their belongings, and they were attacked by mosquitos, which one artist suggested was "a dispensation like one of the plagues of Egypt."[50] Finding there was not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

even anything to paint except an imaginary sea serpent, the artists fled their misery by moving on to Port Jefferson, which Quartley pronounced "a 'tiley town by the sea, not far away--a place of peace and cheapness."[51] In this coastal town, the group finally set to work, filling their sketchbooks with the local scenery.

Despite the reports of the industrious work done by the Tilers, no works by Twachtman may be associated with the Long Island venture and he did not create any of the images that illustrated Laffan's article on the trip.

It was probably in early July, shortly after completing this trip, that Twachtman and Martha embarked on a honeymoon in Europe.[52] According to Clark, they stopped first in London, and then continued on to Dordrecht, in southern Holland, where they were met by J. Alden Weir and his older brother John Ferguson Weir (1841-1926).[53] The latter recalled:

> In Paris my brother Julian and I planned to go to Holland. I had made a brief trip to Holland some years before and left it with the secret resolve that if I ever got the chance I would return and give it the serious attention it required for I was fascinated with that country and its art, and I like the Dutch. We proposed to pass the best part of the summer there, and join Twachtman at Dordrecht. In that connection we rummaged a little color-shop in the Latin Quarter in Paris with a view to replenish our kit with a supply worthy of our enthusiasm. With this impedimenta and my pockets stuffed with a few books on Holland, Fromentin's among them, we caught the late afternoon train for Dordrecht.[54]

The old city of Dordrecht was a popular destination for American artists visiting Holland in the late nineteenth century.[55] With its quaint townhouses lining narrow streets, windmills standing along its edges, and its positioning at the meeting point of three rivers--the Lower Merwede, the Old Maas, and the Noord--the Southern Dutch city remained much as it had in the seventeenth century, when it was painted by Jacob van Ruisdael

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1628/29-1682) and Jan van Goyen (1596-1656). As Annette Stott observed in her 1986 dissertation on American artists in Holland, "the discovery that [Dordrecht] had changed very little from those picturesque towns immortalized on the canvases of the great masters delighted late-nineteenth-century painters. . . . . Artists faced with Dordrecht were ever mindful of their predecessors, for the city embodied the spirit and visual characteristics of seventeenth-century urban life."[56] In this vein, John Weir stated that the city "was a renewal of the joys of the past," while, it inspired him with "some added power and a sense of renewed life."[57]

As in previous centuries, Dordrecht itself was a popular subject for late nineteenth-century artists, depicted by Dutch painters as well as by visitors, who often used the town as a base for exploring the "Southern Sketching Grounds," which consisted of small towns crisscrossed by canals and flat open meadows and marshes broken only the rise of an occasional windmill or tree. The four Americans took this approach. J. Alden Weir wrote of driving "along the Blosserdam, a small and beautiful river" and passing a "beautiful low landscape . . . [with] canals running through cultivated land."[58] John Weir pronounced:

> We are in Holland! One can smell the salt air, and my how things sparkle and colors shine--a grassy slope is like an emerald; and all in low tone, the sky falling to a low horizon, the clouds scudding in flying skis, the atmosphere almost palpable to the eye as it might be to the sense of touch; no other sky is similar elsewhere; they may be thin and sparkling or transparent as in Italy or America; but here they have a breadth and solidity wholly their own--I don't know otherwise to describe it than palpable.[59]

At some point during their trip, the artists stayed in Papendrecht, a town on the northern outskirts of Dordrecht, which John Weir called, "a quaint little village running along a dyke that comprised the street, the backyards sloping to a lower level . . . brass

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

milk cans in shining rows . . . things sparkle with a gleaming light . . . Here we worked industriously."[60] Papendrecht was similarly described by F. Hopkinson Smith as a "Noah's Ark town . . . surrounded by great stretches of green meadow, dotted with black and white cows, and acres and acres of cabbages and garden-truck and tiny farmhouses and absurdly big barns; and back of these, and in order to keep all these dry, is a big dyke (its top is a road) on which are built the toy houses facing each other; each one cleaner and better scrubbed than its neighbor, their big windows gay with geraniums."[61] It was here, and in neighboring Alblassadam, that Twachtman created several of his Dutch works, as revealed by the titles of paintings he sent to exhibitions during the period.[62]

On days when the artists were not engaged in painting, they sought out public art collections in other cities. John Weir mentioned visiting "picture galleries" in Haarlem, Amsterdam, the Hague, and Rotterdam, all within easy traveling distance of Dordrecht. Of these, the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem was a necessary excursion for artists visiting Holland.[63] J. Alden Weir wrote to his parents on July 15: "When we get a little tired of work, we will run up to Haerlem [sic] and have another look at the great Rembrandt."[64] The museum's register indicates that the Twachtmans visited on the first of August; the Weir brothers delayed their trip to the museum until the 15th of the month.[65]

In Dordrecht, visiting artists were welcomed by local Dutch painters, who frequently could be found painting in the outdoors.[66] The city was also a gathering place for artists of many lands, who congregated at the White Horse tavern, described by John Weir as "a resort of artists it seemed for there were perhaps a dozen in the house of various nationalities, French, German, Belgium, English and we Americans."[67]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Aside from the attractions of the Dutch landscape, a possible impetus for the four Americans to travel to Holland was an interest in the art of the Hague School, the group of contemporary Dutch artists who painted rural and genre scenes inspired by the Barbizon School as well as by the seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting tradition.[68] Artists such as Joseph Israëls (1824-1911) and Mathew Maris (1839-1917) painted peasants in interiors, creating works suggestivè of influences of works by Rembrandt and Dutch seventeenth-century genre painters such as Gabriel Metsu (1629-1667) and Pieter de Hooch (1629-1683), while landscape painters such as Anton Mauve (1838-1888), Jacob Maris (1824-1911), Paul Gabrïel (1828-1903), and Jan Hendrik Weissenbruch (1824-1903), returned to the panoramic formats, adopted the low horizons, and appropriated the zigzagging lines set out by rivers or roads into the distance depicted by Jacob van Ruisdael, Jan van Goyen, and Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1621). At the same time, Hague School landscape painters updated old formulas, de-emphasizing topographical details, creating intimate schemes filled with soft atmospheric hazes, and translating the golden romantic hazes of Ruisdael into more naturalistic silvery tonalities.

By the late 1870s, Hague School work had become known in America. For example, reporting in July 1879 on a sale in New York of the Cottier Collection in which a large number of Hague School works were included, a critic for the *Art Journal* wrote:

> Of late years there has arisen in the Netherlands a school of young men worthy of the great traditions of their country, and destined, undoubtedly to inspire Christendom with some if not much of the reverence bestowed upon Cuyp, Vandyck, and Maes. The Cottier collection, recently sold by auction in New York, contained several noteworthy specimens of these later Dutchmen's work--of the brothers Maris, for example, of Mauve, and of Bosboom--and now the Goupil Gallery, in addition to a large number of much more conspicuous and "popular" representatives of German and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> French art, has proffered its polished and splendid hospitality to Mauve, J. Maris, Joan Berg, and Roybet.[69]

The writer of the article devoted special attention to Mauve and described his works:

> These dull, leaden skies, these human beings scarcely less dull or leaden, these wide stretches of damp and heavy soil. . . It is one thing to paint a bare landscape and leave it bare; it is quite another thing to clothe it, so to speak, with breadth and delicate gradations of light, to emphasize the elements that best deserve emphasising, and to preserve that fine natural sense of the expansiveness of Nature which Nature most often possesses and imparts when the sun is hidden and the sky is cold. Mauve's work is so solid and sound, so distant from showiness, triviality, and conventionalism, so honest and outright and downright in its faithfulness to the single impression which the artist has chosen for reproduction, and withal so sensitive to the larger life of insensate things, that these little landscapes are exceedingly striking and fascinating.[70]

Visiting shows such as that held at Cottier's perhaps inspired J. Alden Weir to consider seeking out a number of Hague School artists on his trip to Holland. Before his departure from New York, he contacted Hendrik Kruseman van Elten (1829-1904), a Dutch painter and etcher working in America, for letters of introduction to several Dutch painters.[71] Van Elten complied with his request, sending him letters to present to Christoffel Bisschop (1828-1904), a figural painter and teacher at the Hague academy, Israëls, and Mauve.[72] Van Elten noted that Mauve was certainly well known to Weir by his work and observed that all three artists could be found in the Hague. Interestingly the only Hague School painter whom Weir is known to have visited was Hendrik Mesdag (1831-1915), an artist not referred to him by van Elten.[73] Weir's Dutch works known today, however, such as *The Milkmaid of Popindrecht*, 1881 (Brigham Young University Museum, Provo, Utah) suggest that it was Israëls, who had the most impact on his art at the time.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like Weir, Twachtman may have procured an introduction to Mauve as he sought out the Hague School painter at some point during his Dutch visit. Clark wrote that, in Holland, "Twachtman met Anton Mauve and was much pleased with the encouraging criticism of his work," and Twachtman's son Alden confirmed that the meeting had occurred.[74] Exactly what transpired between Mauve and Twachtman cannot be determined. However, the previous April, Mauve had another visitor, Vincent van Gogh (1853-1900), who did record the advice that the Hague School artist had to impart. Although van Gogh's contact with Mauve was more extensive than Twachtman's--van Gogh, who was related to Mauve by marriage, returned to study with him in November and December of the year--his descriptions of time with Mauve suggest what Twachtman might have experienced on his own visit with the Hague School artist. Van Gogh wrote of Mauve's willingness to share his own work, including images which the Hague School painter identified as "not sketches for drawings or pictures, but real studies, seemingly of little importance."[75] Instructing van Gogh to discontinue his practice of making copies after paintings by Jean-François Millet and using instruction manuals, Mauve suggested that the younger artist study the figure from life in order to "measure and to observe, to look for great lines."[76] Mauve's advice is reflected in van Gogh's observation in his journal in 1882 that, "It is not the language of painters but the language of nature which one should listen to. . . . The feeling for the things themselves, for reality, is more important than the feeling for pictures--at least it is more fertile and more enlivening."[77] This statement could readily characterize Twachtman's perspective as well.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Capturing the feeling of palpable damp air, slick, wet roads, velvety grassy landscapes, chalky sandy beaches, and open cloud-filled skies, Mauve's landscapes may have provided Twachtman with an example of how to bring out sensuous qualities in nature in an expressive and succinct manner and made him conscious of tonal nuances. The Hague School attitude toward nature may also have made an impression on Twachtman, as it coincided with the viewpoint he was formulating on his own. Painter Gerard Bilders (1838-1865) summed up the Hague School's view that art should be true to nature as well as to the artist's personal experience of it: "even though one represents nature literally, one is still certain of having represented one's emotion; but that is the main thing: one must try above all to reflect oneself in one's work."[78]

The influence of the Hague School is suggested in Twachtman's 1881 Dutch scenes in his new attention to subtleties of atmosphere and his expression of quiet and at times melancholy moods in nature. In *The Inlet*, he depicts an open marsh, conveying the feeling of damp ground and misty air by applying his paint loosely across the surface of the work in related tones of yellow, beige, and white (fig. 107). This soft layering of pigments seems to merge ground and atmosphere, expressing an overall unity in nature. The flat, unvarying countryside is broken only by a deserted boat on a shallow stream in the right middleground and a lone windmill situated in a grove of trees in the left distance. Hague School artists similarly emphasized isolated motifs in flat, undramatic landscapes, and an affinity between Twachtman's *Inlet* and Hague School artist Paul Gabriël's view of a tranquil riverscape occupied by a single sailboat may be noted (fig. 108).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's *Coastal Scene* also suggests Hague School influence (fig. 109).[79] As in many paintings by Mauve, Twachtman conveys the quiet introspective feeling of a day of drizzling rain and hazy, low light. He expresses these qualities through his treatment. The softly modulated tones of beige, brown, gray, and pale green, the low horizon and open sky--common aspects of Dutch seventeenth-century landscapes as well as of works by the Hague School--and the gentle blurring of landscape forms engage the viewer both in the specifics of the place and its mood of reverie. A solitary windmill in the distance is suggestive of the feeling we receive from the scene in general, that of being alone in nature.

In Twachtman's *The River, Holland*, the open foreground, the low horizon, the division of the landscape into bands of closely modulated low-key tones, and the isolation of a lone boat without passengers in the picture's foreground also parallel such features in Hague School paintings (fig. 110). Twachtman's *Holland Meadows* and *Landscape with Windmills*, both of which feature flat marshes intercepted by solitary windmills, resemble works such as J. H. Weissenbruch's *Sunset Near Boskoop* and Gabriël's *Windmill by the Water* (figs. 111-115). Connecting Twachtman's art with that of the Hague School, William Howe Downes pointed out that Twachtman's *Holland Meadows* is

> notable for its lush, moist richness of tone and its local color. It is a veritable epitome of Dutch landscape in its depth of watery atmosphere, its suffused light, its verdant vegetation, its "fat" quality. This admirable little picture was painted at Dordrecht on the artist's wedding journey, in 1881. It reminds one of the best examples of Weissenbruch, and it also has some affinity with Jacob Maris.[80]

In *Windmills, Dordrecht*, Twachtman's Munich manner is still present in the vigor of his brushwork, but his strokes are more relaxed, and, instead of browns, blacks, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

white accents, he emphasizes warm tones of light blue, pale green, and peach (fig. 116). As Richard Boyle wrote in 1979, "the indication of an immense sky and the feeling of large open space . . . clearly reveal Twachtman's response to the Holland landscape."[81] In *Holland*, Twachtman painted the "absurdly big barns," described by Smith, creating an image surprisingly similar to one executed by van Gogh in 1883 (figs. 117-118).

In Holland, Twachtman rendered three small paintings on thin wood panels depicting a countryside occupied by the same small farmhouse, a typical scene of the landscape near Dordrecht as a postcard from the late nineteenth century reveals (fig. 119-122).[82] As these works demonstrate, Twachtman was continuing to focus, as he had in Florence, on civilized places where human and natural forms were in harmony. In each work, however, he varied his designs to accord with his experience of the site in the moment. In *A Dutch Farm*, the natural landscape and manmade elements are synchronized as parallels of a canal and a line of trees recede together, guiding us toward the red farmhouse on the horizon (fig. 119). In *Canal Scene, Holland*, the mood is quieter and more meditative (fig. 120). Gray reflections are held in the mirror-like surface of a broad, tranquil waterway and the farmhouse in the distance is partially obscured by foliage so that it blends in with the work's prevailing silvery greens. *Landscape* (Phoenix Art Museum) is less an exploration of nature than a study of pattern (fig. 121). In this work, manmade and natural forms seem indistinguishable as trees, canal, and a farmhouse merge in an almost entirely two-dimensional design. Twachtman's exploration in his three Dutch scenes of the different ways of approaching a single motif forecasts the approach he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

would take during his years in Greenwich, when he found fresh inspiration in a familiar subject matter that he painted repeatedly.

Twachtman continued to create etchings on his honeymoon, working in this medium with the Weir brothers and with his wife.[83] Featuring windmills in two etchings, *Windmills, Dordrecht* and *Evening, Dordrecht*, Twachtman used small plates and rendered forms with the same freedom and informality that had been present in his Avondale prints (figs. 123-124). At the same time, a new restraint is apparent as broad areas of paper are left free of drawing and his line is relaxed and assured. In *Evening Dordrecht*, Twachtman employed loose cross-hatching to suggest the settling in of a foggy dusk in which the silhouettes of windmills seem to hover. Twachtman's interest in portraying the city at this time was perhaps inspired by Jacob Maris's paintings of Dordrecht enveloped in evening shadows and under stormy skies (fig. 125).

In contrast to these small-scale etchings, Twachtman executed two of the largest etchings of his career, both depicting scenes across broad watery expanses. *Holland Dykes* presents a view looking across the Merwede River toward Dordrecht from Papendrecht (fig. 126). A proof of this image demonstrates that to execute the final print, Twachtman filled in areas of shading to create shadows and reflections, burnished out some curved lines to lighten the sky, added boats, and extended the reeds to the picture's left edge (fig. 127). Such changes demonstrate that he had begun occasionally to resort to traditional studio methods while maintaining his commitment to conveying a plein-air feeling of freshness.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second large-scale etching from this time, *Boats on the Maas*, is dominated by a schooner that stands parallel to the horizon line; through its masts and rigging, other smaller boats and a few windmills are visible (fig. 128). This etching appears to have been also rendered in the studio as a watercolor of exactly the same scene (in reverse), was probably the image from which it was derived (fig. 129). The pure translucent colors, lively strokes, and loosely structured composition in the watercolor suggest that it was rendered outdoors, while the crisp drawing and ordered design of the etching provide evidence that Twachtman rendered it in the studio. Another watercolor depicting the same locale as *Dutch Boats* from a slightly closer vantage point and without the large schooner at the center, was given by Twachtman to John Weir, undoubtedly while the four Americans were exploring Holland's southern sketching grounds together (fig. 130).[84]

Twachtman's son, Alden, told Hale that the four artists left Holland together and traveled to Belgium, where they visited authors they admired and spent time with the well known French painter, Jules Bastien-Lepage, whom J. Alden Weir had earlier befriended.[85] However, Twachtman's son must have been at least partly in error as the Twachtmans and Weirs departed separately from Holland--Twachtman and his wife left the country while the Weirs lingered in Haarlem. Weir wrote to his parents from Haarlem, at some point between the 15th and the 20th of August, noting that "Twachtman and his wife left last week and went down to Switzerland."[86] According to Clark, the newlyweds then traveled to Switzerland, and on to Munich. From there, they made a side trip to Schleissheim, where Twachtman painted "several large canvases from nature," and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

probably visited with Currier, who was living there at the time.[87] The identity of these works is unknown.

The couple then traveled to Venice along with Henry Muhrman and his wife. On this visit, the gathering in Venice consisted largely of Cincinnati companions. The Twachtmans' arrival in Venice was recorded by his former Over-the-Rhine neighbor Robert Blum.[88] Bacher and Duveneck were also back in Venice. Twachtman appears to have joined them on painting excursions. The three artists portrayed the same site on the Fondamenta della Zattere and probably traveled together to the island of Chioggia (figs. 131-133). Dominated by the fishing and boat building industries and devoid of tourist attractions, Chioggia was a popular locale for artists because of the contrast it offered to fashionable Venice. Bacher and Duveneck often made trips to Chioggia in the early 1880s, and Twachtman's *Venetian Study*, a quickly rendered oil sketch of several modest fishing boats docked along a jagged shoreline was possibly a result of a visit to this island (fig. 134).[89] Its resemblance is clear to Duveneck's *Harbor, Chioggia*, a work that has been dated ca. 1880 (fig. 135).[90]

By mid-December John and Martha Twachtman ended their long honeymoon and returned to Cincinnati.[91]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Avondale (1882-1883)

An article in the *New York Times* on 27 November 1881 reported that "J. H. Twachtman lately teaching in Cincinnati and visiting Venice intends to settle in Boston for the winter."[92] However, by Christmas, the couple had returned to Cincinnati, where they moved in with the Scudder family in the suburb of Avondale.[93] Since Martha was pregnant with the couple's first child, the decision to move to Avondale was probably at the urging of Dr. Scudder who, due to his first wife's many miscarriages, had reason to want to his only daughter to give birth where he could be nearby. After a long sojourn in Europe, and, in consideration of their new family member, Twachtman must have felt pressed financially, and he turned again to teaching. From Avondale on 24 December 1881, he wrote to Alfred Goshorn, director of the Art Hall shows at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition, asking "what arrangements could be made for the use of the Art Museum rooms on Elm Street," as "the old class under the protection of the Women's Art Museum Association two years ago, will be formed again and should like the use of the long narrow room."[94]

On March 5th John Alden Twachtman was born, named "John" after his father and "Alden" after J. Alden Weir. Twachtman wrote to Weir: "today will be marked in our calendar as one of much importance. We had a son born to us. He is well and strong and his mother is as well as circumstances permit." In the letter, Twachtman also complained of the boredom that he felt in Cincinnati, decried the lack of appreciation for his work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

among audiences in his hometown, and informed his friend of his inability to make progress in his art since he had left Holland:

> Yesterday I sent you my work which has very little new in addition to what we did in Holland. On some of these I worked but I feel that nearly all, at any rate half of them should have more work. As you see the Holland work remains the best and of [the] two I feel advance has been made on my previous work. Some of my earlier work is better as regards unity and these last are more like studies. . . . In my pocket I have a long letter written to you but never sent it. One naturally falls into a state of doing nothing out here. A good many people, all of them supposed to be up in art matters, have seen my paintings but I am convinced they care little for them. This is a very old foggied place and only one kind of art is considered good. The old Dusseldorf school comes in for its full share of honor. There is no good art influence here and I shall be glad to leave. We will either go to N.Y. or abroad. The latter is probably the best thing to do and then I can study independent of every thing.
>
> You will have had enough about myself in this letter. I just now wish for a few days in N.Y. to be near you. Is it possible for one to do good work away from all sympathetic art influence? if so then my study is a failure here. I am doing nothing.[95]

Despite Twachtman's dismissive comments, in Cincinnati during the early 1880s, he created a diverse group of works in which he brought together and advanced many of the concerns of his earlier art and established stylistic tendencies that he would retain throughout his career. While his paintings reveal the range of stylistic issues he explored during his stay in Avondale, they also reflect aspects of Cincinnati life during the era. A description of some the changes occurring in the city provides a background for Twachtman's imagery.

During the 1870s, Cincinnati grew less proportionally in population than it had in previous decades, and, according to the U.S. Census, by 1880, it was outdistanced in size by Chicago and St. Louis. Nonetheless, it remained the third largest city in the American "West" and the eighth largest in the country.[96] Despite the slowing of the growth that had

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

taken place earlier, in the 1870s, the population of the city proper basin had suddenly swollen, filling the area of the river basin to capacity. Indeed, this area was more crowded during the decade than it would be a century later.[97] The 1870s also saw an increase in industrial manufacturing, and the combination of smoke from factories and from homes heated by the burning of bituminous coal resulted in a thickening of the gray heavy air that lay over the city and a building up of the soot that covered the ground. Echoing James Parton's comments of 1867, Olive Logan described Cincinnati in an 1883 article in *Harper's Monthly*:

> In the heat of summer or in the cold of winter you look up through the laden atmosphere and see a cheerful sphere of burnished copper doing duty for the sun. . . . Cincinnati, like London, also has its occasional river fog, when the white vapors of the Ohio invade the streets, arrest and mingle with the smoke, immerse all things in obscurity, and convert the creations of architects great and small, into noble masses, free from all smallness or meanness of detail.[98]

Logan wrote that smoke had worn into the fabric of the city, making its "trees . . . of the same ebony as those in the London Parks and its stone and brick work has the same disposition to solemn black."[99] According to Logan, the city had "less of newness and of ephemeral virtues of fresh paint than perhaps any other of our cities."[100] Willard Glazier reported similarly in 1885:

> The city proper is occupied by stores, offices, public buildings, factories, foundries, and the dwelling houses of the poorer and middle classes, over all of which hangs a pall of smoke, caused by bituminous coal used as fuel in the city. Cleanliness in either person or in dress is almost an impossibility. Hands and faces become grimy, and clean collars and light-hued garments are perceptibly coated with a thin layer of soot. Clothes hung out in the weekly wash acquire a permanent yellow hue which no bleaching can remove. The smoke of hundreds of factories, locomotives and steamboats arises and unites to form this dismal pall, which obscures the sunlight, and gives a sickly cast to the moonbeams.[101]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The sudden realization that the river basin had become uncomfortably crowded and overwhelmingly polluted led in the 1870s to the growth of communities in the city's environs. Such a development had not been possible previously. Parton reported as late as 1867 that only the city's elite could live "away from the heat and smoke of the town," and that "there are no suburbs accessible without a severe struggle with the attraction of gravitation." The situation began to change in 1872, when the first of five rail inclines was built, transporting passengers to Mount Auburn (fig. 136).[102] Two years later, just before Twachtman departed for Munich, an incline to Price Hill was completed. On his return to his native city in 1879, two other inclines were operating, to Clifton and Mount Adams. Both of these lines opened for business in 1876.

The construction of the inclines resulted in a significant change in Cincinnati's demographics. As Richard Rhoda reported in a 1977 article on urban transport in late nineteenth-century Cincinnati, from 1860 to 1890, the population of the city's river basin grew by 19%, while the hills surrounding the basin grew during the same period by 49.6%.[103] The residents of the new suburban areas were not, for the most part, wealthy landowners, but middle-class commuters, who traveled daily to city jobs, and lived in modest homes rather than grand mansions on extensive estates. Another result of the inclines was the construction by railway companies of resorts at the end of each line, where citydwellers spent weekends and evenings drinking beer, attending musical shows, and enjoying cooling breezes (figs. 137-139). Logan wrote in 1883 of the change to the city that had come about with the completion of the inclines:

> During the infancy of Cincinnati the hills which inclose [sic] the town on three sides were considered valueless on account of their inaccessibility. The adoption of the inclined railway system, first used at Niagara Falls, has

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> changed these once unpeopled heights into resorts and suburban residence sites unique of their kind in all the world. No stranger experience in the matter of transportation awaits the traveler in any country than that of a ride up or down, to or from the Highland House or the Bellevue. . . . . As the car approaches the top of the incline the buildings assume a more familiar shape, and you leave the station to find yourself translated to one of the German strongholds of the city. At the Bellevue or the Highland House, of a summer evening, when the German bourgeois and his family, largely assisted by the English-speaking Cincinnatian, is enjoying the delicious breeze from the river valley, listening to music which must in great part have a national interest for him, drinking the excellent beer into which the German brewers transform annually so much of the water of the Ohio, and regaling himself generally, as is his habit, it becomes apparent to the thoughtful observer that he is an orderly, wholesome, and profitable citizen, and that Cincinnati is in no small part composed of him, and is very fortunate in the fact.[104]

A writer for *Lippincott's Magazine* in 1884 reported on the trip up to Mt. Adams by incline:

> The hill rises almost from the centre of the city, which surrounds its base on all but the east sides, where a narrow ravine divides it from the uplands of Eden Park. On the brow of the western declivity, where the old colonists used to celebrate their picnics and May-days under the shade of the forest-trees, a famous hill-top resort now attracts the pleasure-seeker,--the "Highland House," a combination of turrets, pavilions, dancing-halls, restaurants, and glass-covered esplanades. It can be reached by an inclined-plane railway; but the magnificent view from all parts of the house and grounds would more than repay the trouble of a mountain tour.[105]

Like other Cincinnatians, Twachtman had watched the inclines while they were in construction in the early 1870s, but he may not have begun to use them until his return to his native city, either during his brief stay in 1878 or after his return in the fall of 1879. He had written to his niece from Munich in 1876 mentioning that when he came home he would "ride in the inclined plane cars that go on the hill."[106] Indeed, from his job at the Women's Art Museum Association on Elm Street or his home on Race Street, he would have been only a short distance from the Mt. Auburn and Bellevue/Clifton inclines, both of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which would have provided connecting horsecar lines to many areas in the city's hills. Twachtman may, in fact, have been aware of the value of the inclines to landscape artists, a point made by Logan, who singled out Clifton as a place where "artists do not fail to find abundant material."[107] One area reachable by incline that Twachtman visited was Burnet Woods.[108] He exhibited a view of this locale in his two-man show with Weir at Fifth Avenue Galleries in New York in 1889.[109] The Zoological gardens, also reachable by the Clifton line, was possibly one of Twachtman's sites as well. Illustrations from *Lippincott's* 1884 article show buildings in snow-covered landscapes that resemble locales he depicted in 1883 (fig. 140).

However, it was Avondale, where the Scudder family lived and where Twachtman would reside from late 1881 until probably the spring of 1883, that was his predominant subject while in Cincinnati.[110] This area of around eight hundred acres, which was next to Clifton, was renowned for its beauty, and for providing relief from the city.[111] In 1869, George Stevens reported that the green enclave of Avondale was a place where one could find "the quiet and simple pleasures of rural life, remote from any thing to suggest the crowded, noisy, dusty city."[112]

In 1870, the suburb resisted annexation to the city, preserving its separateness.[113] However, in the subsequent period, Avondale, like the other "hill-towns" of Cincinnati became increasingly linked with the city. In 1870, Sidney Maxwell commented that Avondale could be reached from both Mt. Auburn and Walnut Hills, that omnibuses ran at regular intervals along its main street, and that "the time will soon come when it will have a street railway."[114] Indeed, two years later, the completion of the Mt. Auburn incline

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

made Avondale readily accessible from downtown Cincinnati. This development undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the area's population, which was conjectured to be anywhere from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred in 1870 and from approximately two thousand to twenty-five hundred nine years later.[115] The inhabitants of the area, as noted by D.J. Kenny in 1879 consisted "largely of the families of business men who are actively employed in Cincinnati; there are relatively few of any other class."[116] In keeping with such a professional community, the homes of the area, as Kenny reported, were "singularly attractive in their appearance, but without ostentation, and intended more for comfort than show." Further describing them, Kenny observed that "from a prominent position at Avondale, one looks out over an almost continuous settlement of beautiful homes. Some stand out, to be sure, more prominently than others, but it is rather because they occupy the crests of the waves of land that sweep away in beauty as far as the eye can distinguish, than because they belong to different villages." As had Stevens in 1869, Kenny remarked that Avondale was a place where the city was forgotten, where, "there is variety without brokenness, and the serenity and sweetness of the country, without a single reminder of the closeness and turmoil of the city."[117]

Avondale was undoubtedly Twachtman's principal subject during the time that he resided in the area, from the spring of 1881 until probably around the spring of 1883. However, he had begun to portray the Cincinnati hills earlier, during his 1880 stay, as a number of works that he inscribed "Cin. O. 1880" reveal (figs. 141-143). These works, along with others that are stylistically close to them and therefore probably date from the same time,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

present a landscape in transition, suggesting the changes taking place at the time in Cincinnati's environs (figs. 144-146). In these works, he portrayed areas where the wooded undulating hills had not yet been cultivated, although a few houses at their crests indicate that they exist in an area where civilization was beginning to make its mark. However, as these images suggest, the settlement occurring in the hills did not consist of farms, as might be expected in such rural landscapes, as he did not portray tilled fields, cows grazing, or signs of the harvest.

Twachtman also departed from conventions of depicting the farm. As Sarah Burns points out in her 1989 book, *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*, in typical American agrarian views created from 1825 to 1875, a distinction is made between the ordered domain of the farm and the wilderness at its circumference.[118] In Twachtman's images, there are no divisions between settled and unsettled land. Houses are immersed in natural surroundings and seem continuous with the hillsides from which they rise. The countrysides have not been tended or ordered by man, but with their gentle curves and grassy areas of open ground, they seem accommodating to human passage and occupation. A group of drawings that Twachtman created in a sketchbook that he inscribed "Cincinnati 1880" (the only sketchbook by the artist in existence) also reveal his awareness of communities emerging in wooded hilly areas outside the city (figs. 147-149).

In his 1880 views of the hills of Cincinnati, Twachtman reveals the kind of terrain that characterized the Cincinnati suburb during his era, a landscape neither wild nor cultivated, but a partially developed middleground between the two where man and nature

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

co-existed without one dominating the other and where no dividing line separated them. This vision would be refined in the Impressionist images Twachtman created of his property in Greenwich, Connecticut, in which he conveyed the ideals and aesthetics of the American suburb as they had evolved in the 1890s.

A connection may be drawn between Twachtman's 1880 views of Cincinnati and the images he had created in Jersey City. In both groups of works, he explored new types of landscapes reflecting modern life and the changes it was bringing. However, using a different stylistic method for each of the subjects, he brought out their particular characteristics. In his Jersey City views, he employed the painterly methods of Munich to convey the contrasting forms and textures that a landscape affected by industry and rapid development revealed. In his Cincinnati images, his style was influenced by the Barbizon School. As in the paintings of Tuscany he would create later in the year, he focused on subtle effects of light and tone, applying a range of green paints in soft layers and using his brush in a fluid motion so that his strokes corresponded with the curves of the hills. He unified his compositions by focusing on intimate views of rising slopes and letting a single tone dominate. Thus, through his style, he enhanced the harmonious feeling evoked by landscapes in transition from wild countryside to domesticated acres.

Twachtman's awareness in 1880 of the nature of his subject matter is revealed by his decision to display a work at the Society of American Artists in 1881 with the title *Suburbs of Cincinnati*. Given less attention than his *Tenth Street Dock*, exhibited at the same time, the work received only a comment from a *New York Herald* critic who noted that it was "striking."[119]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

When Twachtman returned to Cincinnati after his honeymoon in Europe and settled in Avondale, he again found his subjects in the suburbs. In *Bloody Run*, dated 1882, and a similar work known today as *Twachtman's Home, Avondale, Ohio*, he depicted suburban landscapes in which houses are grouped on the ridges of snow-covered hills (figs. 150-151).[120] Although *Twachtman's Home, Avondale, Ohio* is undoubtedly not an original title, the houses in the painting comply with Kenny's 1879 description of the houses of Avondale as attractive but not ostentatious, and it is highly possible that the work presents a view of the area where Twachtman was living at the time.

Twachtman's 1882 works differ from views of winter created by American artists earlier in the century. For example, in the images of George Durrie (1820-1863), cozy farms are situated in the midst of landscapes where fresh layers of snow lie evenly across the ground, drape rooftops, and hang to the boughs of trees (fig. 152). Anticipating the approach to snow that Twachtman would develop in Greenwich in the 1890s, in *Bloody Run* and *Twachtman's Home*, he chose to portray partly melted, partly icy snow conditions, which he depicted by varying the consistency of his impasto. This method was perhaps influenced by the Hague School, as may be seen in a work in which Mauve took a similar approach to snow (fig. 153).

Exposure to Hague School realism is also suggested in the manner in which Twachtman portrayed houses. In contrast to his 1880 works where houses are mostly hidden in nature, in his paintings of 1882--largely due to winter conditions which left trees bare--houses stand out prominently in the landscape and are therefore less harmoniously integrated with their settings. However, Twachtman links structures with their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

surroundings by bringing out the sinuous line formed by areas where snow has melted leaving bare ground and orienting houses along this line. His ability to bring out the design possibilities even in such seemingly unattractive landscapes was recognized by critics when he showed a work entitled *Winter*, which was undoubtedly similar to *Bloody Run* or *Twachtman's Home*, at the Society of American Artists in 1882. The *New York World* remarked:

> Among the landscapes, perhaps the first place should be given to the strong and original work of Mr. Twachtman. What his fellows thought of it is proved by the fact that his snow scene won more votes from the Committee on Admissions than did any other candidate whatever. Some deny that there is beauty in such work as this with all its cleverness; but beauty is of a thousand kinds and we have to thank Mr. Twachtman for thus developing it, as he surely does, from unpromising materials which no one had cared to touch before.[121]

The *Art Journal* also took note of *Winter*, stating that "the 'Winter' of J. H. Twachtman, two hillside slopes with sparse wood, and snow-covered, has all the bleakness of desolation which is to be found in such localities."[122] The *Critic* observed: "Mr. Twachtman has a delightful, quickly brushed snowy landscape . . ."[123] As usual, Mariana van Rensselaer was appreciative of Twachtman's originality. In her commentary on the show, she echoed the view that Laffan had expressed two years earlier in his article "The Material of the American Landscape," suggesting that by focusing attention on "immediate surroundings," Twachtman was paving the way for a revitalized American landscape art. Of Twachtman's contributions to the Society which, in addition to *Winter*, included three Dutch scenes, she wrote:

> Mr. Twachtman's landscapes, though unpretending both in size and subject matter, were the finest in the room. To the utmost *bravura* of handling, Mr. Twachtman adds a strong individuality and a preference for the most unhackneyed and prosaic and locally characteristic of themes, a preference

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> he justifies by clothing them with an artistic charm and poetry drawn from his own nature and his originality of brush: a charm and poetry, therefore, that are not only stronger and more original than if they depended on subject matter, but which are doubly valuable to us, standing as we hope we do on the threshold of a national development of art that must seek its materials from immediate surroundings if it is to be truly vital and characteristic. A winter scene, showing the outskirts of an American town, was perhaps the most striking of his contributions, and his brother artists proved their estimate of its claims by giving it more votes than fell to the lot of any other picture offered.[124]

Noting that Twachtman's *Winter* had shown "the outskirts of an American town," van Rensselaer clearly saw that Twachtman's works were not of a rural countryside, but one in which the nearby presence of a city could be detected.

Snow Scene, also dated 1882, demonstrates Twachtman's ability to find a special kind of beauty in the stark contrasts of a winter landscape (fig. 154). Portraying a site probably in Cincinnati's hills, he shows a variety of natural and manmade forms that stand out against a white snowfield. Taking an intimate viewpoint on the scene, and cropping the tree to the right of the picture's center and the house at its left side, he focuses our attention on the shapes of motifs rather than on their specific identities and brings out their varied rhythms by modifying the force of his brushstrokes. The graceful fluidity of his brushwork suggests the new control that he was gaining in his art, while demonstrating an affinity between his approach and the delicate manner of Japanese sumi ink drawings. At the same time, *Snow Scene* may be connected with other images that Twachtman created in the Avondale period as he portrays a place where the realms of man and nature are not strictly defined. Clustered in a distinct group, the trees in the middle of the work seem to conform to a human order, while the fence that stretches in a broad curve has a free organic quality. Twachtman's abstract treatment of his imagery enhances this experience.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

When we look at the work, we see it more as an arrangement of interwoven forms than a scene of a farm and its surroundings.

Another facet of Twachtman's art in 1882 may be seen in *Dark Trees, Cincinnati*, a work dated 1882 (fig. 155). In this painting, and in his similar undated *Landscape*, Twachtman chose to work on large canvases and to feature pure landscapes (fig. 156). Both images of lush green countrysides, these works demonstrate changes that had occurred in his art since the late 1870s. Replacing the sketchy approach of his Munich period with a tighter handling, he brought out the distinct shapes of landscape motifs. Barbizon School influence is suggested in his attention to shifting patterns of light and shadow, and the impact of the Hague School is reflected in his interest in distinguishing the textures of different landscape forms by varying the energy of his strokes and the thickness of his pigments. A desire to simplify his compositions, seen in the diagonal line that extends through *Landscape* and the prominent downward curve in the foreground of *Dark Trees*, reveals the effect of both sources on Twachtman as well as his search for a means of achieving compositional unity without sacrificing the reality of a scene.

Although houses and other signs of suburban life are not present in *Dark Trees* and *Landscape*, these works may be linked with Twachtman's images of suburban sites in the Cincinnati hills as he implies human presence through his choice of angle and his design. Flat zones of land in the foreground of both works position the viewer in the landscape's midst rather than at a distant vantage point. A progression into the distance in the works is gradual, orchestrated by landscape motifs that guide but do not force our gaze in a particular direction. Soft, shifting shadows evoke feelings of comfort and ease. Even

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

without the presence of homes, the sites as Twachtman depicts them in *Landscape* and *Dark Trees* suggest the properties of a suburban domain: both landscapes have a semblance of cultivation and order while retaining the freshness and naturalness of the open countryside.

In late August 1882, Twachtman joined Stanford White and J. Alden Weir in Keene Valley in the northeastern Adirondacks, where Weir was planning to buy property.[125] The artists, along with New York landscape painter Roswell Shurtleff (1838-1915), who spent summers in the area and had just purchased an entire hill, went in search of a house and land for Weir. Shurtleff convinced Weir to acquire the property adjoining his. Upon doing so, Weir set about trying to convince Twachtman to follow suit. Although Twachtman did not end up taking Weir's advice, and Weir himself abandoned plans for an Adirondacks summer home, the Adirondacks venture provided an idea that would come to fruition in the 1890s, when Twachtman and Weir were both settled in the Connecticut countryside within close proximity of each other.

Twachtman returned to Cincinnati in the fall of 1882, and by the winter of the following year, he was again painting snow scenes in the Avondale hills. However, a noticeable shift occurred in his art at this time. Having absorbed the influences of the French Barbizon and Hague Schools, he had gradually abandoned the heavy impastos and Old-Master influenced dark palette of his Munich art. In Avondale in 1883, he moved further from his Munich style as may be seen in a group of winter scenes he created at the time. As these works reveal, he adopted a palette of silvery grays and greens, applied

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paint in thin, smooth layers, and used his brush in a delicate fashion to indicate areas of tonal gradation as well as to delineate the shapes of motifs in a precise fashion. His Avondale works of 1883 are undoubtedly primarily the paintings that Clark intended in his description of Twachtman's Avondale art:

> In these little canvases we sense the consciousness of rhythm, the flow of line, the significant spacing, which later became the distinguishing characteristic of Twachtman's art. . . . The unctuous pigment of Munich has given place to a thin flowing brush, a manner which he continues to use later in France.[126]

Although Twachtman may have worked in a number of locales in 1883, most of his sites were probably in Avondale. When Twachtman's works were shown at Closson's Gallery in Cincinnati in February 1883, a critic commented that they were "landscape views, mostly from the window of his Avondale home."[127] As two paintings from this time, *Early Winter* and *Winter Landscape* show what appears to be the same configuration of houses, they perhaps represent this view (figs. 157-158). These works demonstrate the new style that Twachtman had adopted in 1883 as he applied it to winter scenery. Leaving behind the thick impastos of *Bloody Run* and *Twachtman's Home*, he used a thin layer of pigment, portraying snow as seen through soft, misty atmospheres. In *Winter in Cincinnati*, for example, the smooth silky texture of the ground seems to melt into the hazy cloud-filled sky, and in *Winter Landscape*, the air seems thick with falling snow and divisions between houses and landscape are blurred by the fine mist in the air (figs. 158-159).

Twachtman's new approach to snow was noticed by critics in 1883. Describing a painting entitled *A Frosty Morning* that was shown at Closson's in February, one wrote:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"the atmosphere [is] apparently full of the 'white frost' which has fallen; and [in] a snow scene, delicate color, real snow, not white paint, are Twachtman's."[128] Of a work entitled *Winter* that Twachtman exhibited at the Society of American Artists' spring exhibition in 1883, a critic for the *Art Amateur* noted: "Mr. Twachtmann [sic] shows best in his small landscape, 'Winter' . . . . [in which] the artist has made much of little, though even here we doubt if his work will be so suggestive to laymen as it will be to his brother artists."[129]

In addition to the transformation that took place in Twachtman's style in 1883, a change may be discerned in his imagery and his vantage point on it. In contrast to his earlier depictions of Cincinnati sites, in which only a few houses are present in open landscapes, in his 1883 works he portrayed an established suburb. In *Winter Landscape*, the rooftops and house facades seen through the falling snow are closely clustered and stretch in several directions (fig. 159). In another work with the same title, he depicted a neighborhood where we can discern the short distances between hillside homes (fig. 160). The latter painting demonstrates Twachtman's new point of view. Instead of standing at a distance from his sites, as in his 1880 images, he shifted his position to the top of the rise where the suburban community was located. Rather than blending in with nature, the houses in this painting provide the composition's structure. The roof of an L-shaped house repeats the rectangular format of the canvas and the building links up with both a tall vertical residence in the foreground and the horizontal roofs of other homes in the background. Trees seem to reinforce the positioning of the houses as if complying with the humanization of the landscape.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's 1883 scenes of Avondale convey his personal responses to the landscape. In *Winter in Cincinnati*, for example, the road curving past a small house indicates that this is a landscape on a travel route, not an isolated countryside farm. Instead of being hidden in nature, the house takes on a prominent role, revealing that this is a domesticated landscape. Although the house is located in the work's left background, our eye is guided to it by the road, the stream of melting water that runs from it, and the area of shading behind it. The fence at the other side of the road defines the boundaries of the property, restraining a group of trees beyond its perimeter.

Twachtman depicted a similar countryside in *Winding Path*, where a road curves past a home and leads to another structure in the distance (fig. 161). Due to its stylistic features, this painting has been identified as possibly a scene of the Normandy town of Arques-la-Bataille, where Twachtman would work in 1884.[130] However, its similarity to Avondale scenes of 1883 suggests that it is a view of Cincinnati, dating from that time. As such, it demonstrates that the evolution of Twachtman's style was highly personal and not the result primarily of his exposure to new sources during his French period. This point will be brought out in the next chapter.

In *Gray Day*, a work dated 1883, and therefore probably an Avondale scene, the dividing line between the human and the natural again breaks down (fig. 162). Twachtman creates a spare composition. The parting between two thick clusters of trees leads to a house on the horizon. Rather than dominating the landscape, the house seems part of the terrain from which it rises. The light red-brown tone of its roof corresponds to tones in the trees, while its facade is rendered in the same white with light blue accents as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the sky. The overcast sky is heavy with a coming storm, and one is drawn to the small house which seems to offer comfort from its position nestled in nature. We are also pulled toward the house by the strong orthogonals of the trees.

The subject matter, stylistic treatment, and mood of this work suggest that it was once entitled *Silver Poplars*, a painting that Twachtman showed at the Society's 1883 spring exhibition. This work aroused dissenting critical opinions. A critic for the *Nation* felt that Twachtman had gone too far toward "vaguaries," reducing his picture to "a flat space of dull green paint, with some dirty gray rarified brush lines drawn through it, and a space of ungraduated leaden gray above for a sky."[131] By contrast, a reviewer for the *New York Sun*, appreciated the evocative qualities of the work:

> Mr. Twachtman's "Silver Poplars" . . . is more interesting than any other landscape in the room because it fixes for some years at least, on the canvas a very transient and very beautiful natural effect which has not, to our knowledge been previously attempted. The subject is a green field at the back of an ordinary farm house in early spring. There is a row of leafless poplars to the left and another to the right. The sky is filled with a mist of fine drifting snow, not formed into flakes and overhead the white snow clouds, all on a slant, are hurrying by.[132]

The works Twachtman created in Cincinnati from 1880 to 1883 reveal his continued commitment to realism. Instead of portraying sites in the city's hills in pastoral or idealized terms, he conveyed changes that were occurring as suburban communities emerged. He depicted places where settlement and human use of the land were changing both the landscape's physical character and the way it was perceived. The chronology of his Cincinnati imagery may be determined at least to some extent by the progression in his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

imagery from works that are essentially rural scenes to works where suburban communities have taken firm root.

In his images of the Cincinnati hills, Twachtman seems to have taken pleasure in the novel and somewhat unresolved qualities of a new type of landscape, a largely undeveloped terrain into which the suburbs were encroaching. As van Rensselaer pointed out in 1882, it was in such "prosaic and locally characteristic themes" that Twachtman found "artistic charm and poetry."[133]

For Twachtman, the city may not have held a similar appeal. In a painting that, based on its style probably dates from around 1882 (the same year as *Bloody Run*), Twachtman's distaste for the city is suggested (fig. 163). Whereas in *The Loyal Hotel*, rendered a decade earlier, he conveyed the quiet small-town atmosphere of an industrial area of downtown Cincinnati, in *Winter Landscape*, the city is shown as a dark smoky mass that spreads out across the hills and stretches beyond where the eye can see. The ominous feeling expressed in the image in general is further conveyed in the dark, windowless square building at the center of the composition that seems to thwart our progress through the scene.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Closson's 1883 Show

Although Twachtman had conveyed to Weir that his art was not appreciated in Cincinnati, when he participated in a group exhibition at Closson's Gallery along with Wendel, DeCamp, Ritter, George Hopkins, and Kenyon Cox--both his work and the show in general were well received. The *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* reported:

> Twenty years ago, when the old Sketch Club was in existence, when Eastman Johnson and other famous artists dwelt in our midst, exhibitions were common, but fully a decade has passed by since a sufficient number of Cincinnati artists could be induced to combine in an undertaking of similar character. It was, therefore, with some little surprise that the announcement was received of an intended exhibit at Closson's Gallery of some half-dozen or more of the young, but distinguished painters of the town. Kenyon Cox is a pupil of Gérôme, but Joseph DeCamp, George Hopkins, Louis Ritter, J. H. Twachtman and Theo. Wendel are part of a little itinerant colony that wandered as far over the lagoons of Venice, with Duveneck as their Nestor. Quite recently these gentlemen determined to put on view some of their works, done while abroad, and yesterday for the first time, Closson's Gallery, No. 186 West Fourth Street, was opened for display.[134]

Twachtman's art was singled out for praise by local critics. The *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* asserted, "Twachtman is a confirmed impressionist. His atmospheric effects are wonderful. He is excellent in this particular and chosen field, apparently having a mission and doing it well. [His] 'Pappendrept'[sic] [is] wonderfully poetic."[135] The *Cincinnati Enquirer* observed, "He is fond of cloud effects, and in all his scenes his skies are full of clouds, painted with a rare fidelity to nature. His greens appear cold, but he has studied nature with enthusiasm, and probably is right on this point."[136]

Despite this positive reception, Twachtman was anxious to leave Cincinnati. In an undated letter to Weir, probably written in early 1882, he noted that "when our baby is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

born we shall again go abroad. I think. I feel much like staying in this country but do not want to stay here in Cinc."[137] As he had in 1880, Twachtman again downgraded his Cincinnati production to Weir in March 1882: "I just now wish for a few days in N.Y. to be near you. Is it possible for one to do good work away from all sympathetic art influences? If so then my study is a failure here. I am doing nothing."[138]

Twachtman may have carried out his desire to spend time in New York. In the Society of American Artists 1882 exhibition catalogue, his address is "The Benedick Building, New York, care of Weir." In the next year, he listed his address as the Benedick Building, leaving out the "care of" clause.

Following its completion in 1879, the Benedick at 80 East Washington Square, next door to the University Building, had become quickly filled up with a community of young artists who moved into its combined studio/apartments (fig. 164).[139] Among the early tenants of the building were William Gedney Bunce, Wyatt Eaton (1849-1896), Francis Lathrop (1849-1909), George W. Maynard (1843-1923), Albert Pinkham Ryder (1847-1917), Olin Levi Warner (1844-1896), and Weir. Describing the Benedick, Dorothy Weir Young wrote: "There was always time for talk at the little French wine shops on the Square or up at a saloon on 14th Street and Fourth Avenue where the barrel beer and Swiss cheese were excellent. And [Weir] could be heard expounding on the great future of American art once the country realized what real art was like."[140] Although this environment was undoubtedly attractive to Twachtman, his stay in New York must have been short as by the fall he had departed for Europe again, this time

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

traveling to Paris to further his studies and to find the influences "independent of every thing" that he sought.[141]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Three: Notes

[1] In 1879, 1880, and 1881, Twachtman is listed in Cincinnati directories at 520 Race Street. On the Women's Art Museum Association, see Lea J. Brinker, "Women's Role in the Development of Art as an Institution in Nineteenth Century Cincinnati," Master's Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1970; *A Sketch of the Women's Art Museum Association of Cincinnati, 1877-1886* (Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co., 1886), p. 88; Henry A. Ford and Kate B. Ford, *History of Cincinnati, Ohio* (Cleveland, Ohio: L.A. Williams & Co., 1881), pp. 245; Hale, pp. 34-35; and Bruce Weber, "Frank Duveneck and the Art Life of Cincinnati," 1865-1900," in *The Golden Age: Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979), p. 26.

[2] Discussions of Twachtman's Avondale period works may be found in Clark 1924, pp. 34-35 and Hale 1957, pp. 181-190.

[3] The new music hall building was financed by businessman and art collector, Reuben Springer. It was located on Elm and Fourteenth Streets. See "The Cincinnati Music Hall," *Harper's Weekly* 22 (11 May 1878): 377.

[4] *A Sketch of the Women's Art Museum Association of Cincinnati* 1886, p. 88.

[5] *A Sketch of the Women's Art Museum Association of Cincinnati* 1886, p. 88.

[6] Noble was a professor of art and principal of the McMicken School of Design (later the Art Academy of Cincinnati) from 1869, when the school opened until 1904. See Mary N.W. Garretson, "Thomas S. Noble and His Paintings," *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (October 1940): 113-123 and Bruce Weber, *Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903 and His Milieu*, 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1985), pp. 25-27.

[7] For information on John Milton Scudder (1829-1894), see Harvey Wickes Felter, M.D., *History of the Eclectic Medical Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1845-1902* (Cincinnati: Alumnal Association of the Eclectic Medical Institute, 1902), p. 119. Also see Hale 1957, pp. 39-43.

[8] Scudder would have had to receive private instruction in Munich as the Royal Academy did not admit women. In order for the initial encounter between Twachtman and Scudder to have occurred, Scudder's trip to Munich would have had to take place at some point

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

after the end of the McMicken School term in 1876 and before Twachtman returned to Cincinnati in the spring of 1878.

[9] See Hale 1957, pp. 22-23.

[10] See Brinker 1970, p. 129.

[11] The participation of Martha Scudder and Twachtman in the Cincinnati Etching Club is discussed in a letter from Phyllis Peet, 15 October 1987. Other members of the Cincinnati Etching Club were Mary Louise McLaughlin, Caroline A. Lord, Clara Fletcher, Lewis Henry Meakin, Joseph Henry Sharp, and Henry Farny. On Martha Twachtman's involvement in etching, see Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, exh. cat. (Atlanta, Ga.: High Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 25, 64.

[12] The photograph of the site is found in *Kramer's Picturesque Cincinnati* (1898, reprint Cincinnati: Ohio Book Store, 1985), p. 79. I would like to thank Mary Baskett for bringing this image to my attention. The title of Scudder's etching identifies the site as Mill Creek which ran near the perimeter of Avondale, an identification borne out by a photograph of the area. The title of Twachtman's etching was probably assigned posthumously. In early exhibitions, Twachtman showed etchings simply as "frame of etchings," rather than with specific titles.

[13] J. H. Twachtman, Nonquit Beach, New Bedford, Mass., to [J. Alden] Weir, [New York], 29 June 1880, Weir Family Papers, MSS 41, Harold B. Lee Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[14] On the etching revival in America, see Thomas P. Bruhn, *American Etching in the 1880s*, exh. cat. (Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, University of Connecticut, 1985); Patricia C.F. Mandel, "A Look at the New York Etching Club," *Imprint* 4 (April 1979): 31-35. Francine Tyler, *American Etchings of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Dover Publications, 1984); and Henry Russell Wray, *A Review of Etching in the United States* (Philadelphia: Penfield, 1893), pp. 80-81. Twachtman participated in the New York Etching Club's showing at the Chicago Inter-State Exposition in 1880. In exhibition catalogues from the New York Etching Club, Twachtman is listed as a non-resident member in 1881 and 1882. He showed with the club in New York for the first time in 1883.

[15] On Twachtman's initial exploration of etching, see note 17. The *American Art Review*'s issue of January 1880 announced the recent organization of the Cincinnati

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Etching Club and identified George McLaughlin as its founder and president: "Clubs," *American Art Review* 1 (January 1880): 46. George McLaughlin, "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School, I," *American Art Review* 1 (December 1880): 45.

[16] On the correspondence between McLaughlin and Koehler, see note 17. On the *American Art Review*, see Bruhn 1985, pp. 15-17.

[17] Deborah Emont, "Etching in Late Nineteenth Century America: Sylvester Rosa Koehler and John Henry Twachtman," Master's Thesis, Oberlin College, 1978.

[18] Emont bases her argument on a number of letters from McLaughlin to Koehler in the Koehler Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Instances in which McLaughlin mentions Twachtman are as follows. On 13 December 1879, McLaughlin wrote to Koehler: "I will see Twachtman and get particulars. If Twachtman could be induced to make an etching it must be worth publishing." (Roll D187, frames 437-440) McLaughlin wrote again to Koehler on 16 December: "Twachtman will furnish some specimens of his work in etching in a few days. He has not yet attempted it except in a single instance." (D187, frames 441-442) On 8 January 1880, McLaughlin wrote: "I send enclosed some etchings by Mr. Twachtman." (Roll D187, frames 444-447) On 31 January, McLaughlin wrote again: "I send enclosed 4 etchings by Twachtman, two of which I sent before and two are new if I mistake your comments upon the printing and I certainly cannot. Its very bad. There are no trained printers here to do the work. The impressions are often taken by the painters themselves upon the press belonging to the Etching Club. In any case, in my sister's etchings the proofs have always been better." (D187 frames 449-452)

As this last letter suggests, Twachtman's prints did not meet Koehler's publication standards, and on 28 May 1880, McLaughlin reported: "I spoke to Twachtman in regard to the etching. He has nothing satisfactory yet."

[19] Most of the letters from McLaughlin to Koehler pertain to McLaughlin's two-part article, "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School," published in the *American Art Review* in November and December 1880, and there seems little proof that Koehler pressed McLaughlin to induce Twachtman to create etchings. In his letters to Koehler, McLaughlin mentions many Cincinnati artists, whose work he sought to discuss in his articles.

[20] Sylvester Rosa Koehler, "Introduction," *American Art Review* 1 (1880): 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[21] Mariana G. van Rensselaer, "American Etchers," *Century* 25 (February 1883): 486-487

[22] Martha Scudder reported in 1880 that she had created etchings of landscapes "directly from nature" in a letter to Sylvester Rosa Koehler. This was undoubtedly a practice the two artists shared. Martha Scudder, [Avondale], to Sylvester Koehler, [New York], 20 December 1880, Koehler Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 190, frames 196-197.

[23] R. J. Wickenden, *The Art & Etchings of John Henry Twachtman* (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1921), p. 22.

[24] As in the case of most of Twachtman's etchings, the titles of these works are probably not original.

[25] Emont 1978, p. 58.

[26] "Mr. Twachtman has closed his engagement as a teacher in the classes of the Women's Art Association, and goes to New York." *American Art Review* 1 (June 1880): 362.

[27] J. H. Twachtman, Cincinnati, to [J. Alden] Weir, [New York], 14 June 1880, Weir Family Papers.

[28] Twachtman to Weir, 29 June 1880, Weir Family Papers.

[29] William Merritt Chase to Sylvester Rosa Koehler, 31 July 1881, Koehler papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll D183, frames 231-233.

[30] "Clubs and Societies," *American Art Review* 1 (Summer 1880), p. 455.

[31] Both of these etchings have been previously identified as scenes of Bridgeport and dated ca. 1888-1889. Their dating to 1880 is confirmed by labels with Twachtman's signature and the date, August 1880, found on two prints. Since Twachtman is not known to have gone to Bridgeport until the late 1880s, the identification of these images with Bridgeport must be challenged. It, indeed, seems more likely that they are images of New York and/or Jersey City.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[32] I am grateful to Mary Baskett of Mary Baskett Gallery, Cincinnati, for bringing these labels to my attention.

[33] *Illustrated Catalogue of the Art Hall of the Inter-State Industrial Exposition of Chicago*, 1880, no. 132, J. H. Twachtman, *Frame of Etchings*.

[34] J. H. Twachtman, Cincinnati, to [J. Alden] Weir, [New York], 5 September 1880, Weir Family Papers.

[35] On Duveneck's school in Florence and meetings with Whistler in Venice, see Michael Quick, *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987), pp. 48-55 and Elizabeth Wylie, *Explorations in Realism: 1870-1880, Frank Duveneck and His Circle from Bavaria to Venice*, exh. cat. (Framingham, Mass.: Danforth Museum of Art, 1989).

[36] Bacher wrote about Whistler in two articles: "With Whistler in Venice, 1880-86," *Century* 73 (December 1906): 207-218 and "Stories of Whistler," *Century* 74 (May 1907): 100-111.

[37] Richard J. Boyle, in *John Twachtman* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1979), p. 13, suggests that Twachtman met Whistler in Venice.

[38] William Dean Howells, *Indian Summer* (1886; reprint, New York: Fromm International, 1985), p. 84.

[39] On the schedule of Duveneck's school, see Quick 1987, p. 50.

[40] Quoted in Norbert Heerman, *Frank Duveneck* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), p. 49.

[41] Oliver Dennett Grover, "Duveneck and His School," Typescript of Lecture delivered to Woodlawn Woman's Club, 18 January 1915, pp. 13-14.

[42] A large group of works by the French Barbizon School were included in the 1869 Munich Glass Palace exhibition, and continued to be exhibited in Munich in the years that followed. See Eberhard Ruhmer, "Wilhelm Leibl and His Circle," in *Munich and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American Realism in the 19th Century, exh. cat. (Sacramento, Calif: E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1978), pp. 9-17.

[43] Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life & Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 143.

[44] State of Ohio, Hamilton County, Probate Court, marriage certificate for John H. Twachtman and Mattie H. Scudder, 21 April 1881, by Minister of the N.J. Church, John Goddard.

[45] I would like to thank Mary Baskett for bringing the information on Dr. Scudder's membership in the Swedenborgian church to my attention.

[46] John Alden Twachtman was baptized on 8 October 1881; Quentin Giles Twachtman on 6 September 1892; and Mary Violet Twachtman on 23 May 1895. Baptismal records, Kemper Road Swedenborgian Church, Montgomery, Ohio.

[47] On Inness and Swedenborgianism, see Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *George Inness*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985), pp. 11-45. Other artists who held Swedenborgian views were Hiram Powers and William Page.

[48] William W. Mackay Laffan, "The Tile Club Ashore," *Century Magazine* 23 (February 1882): 481-498.

[49] Laffan 1882, p. 484.

[50] Laffan 1882, p. 483.

[51] Laffan 1882, p. 495.

[52] Since J. Alden Weir and Twachtman participated in the Tile Club trip to Long Island in June, the four artists probably did not meet in Holland until early July.

[53] Clark 1924, p. 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[54] John Ferguson Weir, "Typescript from John F. Weir's Memories," John Ferguson Weir papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 71, frame 1090.

[55] See my bibliography, part II under Holland, History and Art in Holland for sources consulted.

[56] Annette Stott, *American Painters Who Worked in the Netherlands, 1880-1914*, 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1986 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986), vol. I, pp. 224-225.

[57] John Weir, "Typescript."

[58] J. Alden Weir, Dordrecht, to his mother, [Westpoint, New York], 3 August 1881, J. Alden Weir papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 70, frame 13.

[59] John Weir, "Typescript."

[60] John Weir, "Typescript."

[61] F. Hopkinson Smith, "Between Showers in Dort," *Scribner's* 25 (May 1899): 597.

[62] At the Society of American Artists' fifth annual exhibition, in the spring of 1882, Twachtman exhibited *Village of Popendricht* (sic) (no. 112); *Near Alblassadam* (no. 113), and *City of Dordt* (no. 114). At the Chicago Inter-State Industrial Exposition, in September-October 1882, he showed *Near Alblassadam*; *Dutch Peasant*; *The Village of Poppendrecht* (sic); *City of Dordt*; and *View on the Maas* (watercolor).

[63] John Weir, "Typescript."

[64] J. Alden Weir, [Dordrecht], to his parents, [Westpoint, New York], 15 July 1881, J. Alden Weir papers, Archives of American Art, roll 70, frame 10.

[65] Information on the visits of John and Martha Twachtman to the Frans Halsmuseum was provided by a letter from Annette Stott, 27 February 1988. The visits of J. Alden and John Weir to museum are noted in Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu, "Nineteenth-Century

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Visitors to the Frans Hals Museum," in *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon, eds., (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 137.

[66] Annette Stott states: "contacts between American artists in Dordrecht and contemporary Dutch artists occurred on a casual, by chance basis." Stott 1986, p. 225.

[67] John Weir, "Typescript."

[68] The most comprehensive recent source in English on the Hague School is *The Hague School: Dutch Masters of the 19th Century*, exh. cat. (The Hague: Haags Gemeetemuseum, 1983), with essays by Ronald de Leeuw, John Sillevis, Charles Dumas, Charles Moffett, and Herbert Henkels.

[69] "Notes," *Art Journal* 5 (July 1879): 31-32.

[70] "Notes," *Art Journal* 1879, p. 32.

[71] Born in Alkmaar, Holland, Van Elten emigrated to America in 1865. He was elected a member of the New York Etching Club in 1880 and of the National Academy of Design in 1883.

[72] J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 70, frame 50.

[73] J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Roll 70, frame 312. Weir mentions meeting Mesdag.

[74] Clark 1924, p. 23 and Hale 1957, p. 45n.

[75] Quoted in *Dear Theo: The Autobiography of Vincent Van Gogh*, edited by Irving Stone (1937; reprint, New York: Signet, 1969), p. 60.

[76] Quoted in *Dear Theo: The Autobiography of Vincent Van Gogh* 1969, p. 60.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[77] Vincent van Gogh, *Autobiography*, 1, no. 218, p. 416, 22 July 1882. Quoted in Charles Moffett, "Vincent van Gogh and the Hague School," in *The Hague School: Dutch Masters of the 19th Century* 1983, p. 138.

[78] Albertus Gerardus Bilders, *Brieven en dagboek* (Leiden, 1876), p. 96. Quoted in Ronald de Leeuw, "Introduction," *The Hague School: Dutch Masters of the 19th Century* 1983, p. 33.

[79] Since this painting is dated 1882, Twachtman must have added its date after his return to America.

[80] W[illiam] H[owe] D[ownes], "Twachtman's Landscapes," *Boston Transcript*, 29 January 1919. Vose Archives Clipping Files.

[81] Boyle 1979, p. 28.

[82] All three of these works are dated 1881.

[83] Etchings by Martha Twachtman in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston include: *A view on the Meuse*, *A Dordrecht Canal*, and *A Side Street of Dordrecht*. Weir had begun to explore etching in 1875. On his etching activity, see Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir, An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1983), pp. 173-187; Janet A. Flint, *J. Alden Weir: An American Printmaker, 1852-1919* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1972); Margery A. Ryerson, "J. Alden Weir's Etchings," *Art in America* 8 (August 1920): 208-209, and other sources listed in Burke p. 268 n17.

[84] This watercolor was bequeathed by descendants of John Weir to the Mattatuck Museum, Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1964.

[85] Hale 1957, p. 45.

[86] J. Alden Weir, [Dordrecht, Holland,] to his parents, [Westpoint, New York], J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 70, frame 18.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[87] Clark 1924, p. 23. Hale, in Hale 1957, p. 45, wrote that "after Holland the Twachtmans visited Belgium with the Weirs where they met Bastien-Lepage," before going on to Germany. This does not concur with Weir's report of the departure of John and Martha Twachtman from Holland.

[88] See Weber 1985, p. 141f.

[89] Bacher showed views of Chioggia in exhibitions of the Society of American Artists in 1884 in Cleveland, Ohio, and Chicago. See Jennifer A. Martin Bienenstock, *The Formation and Early Years of the Society of American Artists: 1877-1884*, Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1983 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1986), pp. 302-303.

[90] Michael Quick dates this work ca. 1880 in *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987), p. 52.

[91] On the basis of a Dutch watercolor that Twachtman inscribed "1881 Xmas" (*Dutch Scene*, private collection) Hale proposed that the Twachtmans did not return to America until after Christmas. Hale 1957, p. 46. However, Twachtman's letter to Alfred Goshorn, dated 24 December 1881, reveals that the couple had returned earlier, and that the inscription was added to the work following their return. See note 72.

[92] "Notes on Art and Artists," *New York Times*, 27 November 1881, p. 6.

[93] See Twachtman, Avondale, to Weir, [New York], 5 March 1882. Weir Family Papers.

[94] Twachtman, Avondale, to Alfred Goshorn, [Cincinnati], 24 December 1881, Archives, Cincinnati Art Museum.

[95] Twachtman, Avondale, to Weir, [New York], 5 March 1882. Weir Family Papers.

[96] *Social Statistics of Cities, United States Tenth Census, 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 538.

[97] See Richard Rhoda, "Urban Transport and the Expansion of Cincinnati, 1858-1920," *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 35 (Summer 1977): 130-143.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[98] Olive Logan, "Cincinnati," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67 (July 1883): 245.

[99] Logan 1883, p. 246.

[100] Logan 1883, p. 246.

[101] Willard Glazier, *Peculiarities of American Cities* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1885): 128.

[102] The best source on the Cincinnati inclines is Richard M. Wagner and and Roy J. Wright, *Cincinnati Streetcars: No. 2, The Inclines* (Cincinnati: Wagner Car Company, 1968). See also Rhoda 1977 and Daniel Hurley, *Cincinnati: The Queen City* (Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982).

[103] Rhoda 1977, pp. 138-139.

[104] Parton, p. 233 and Logan, pp. 265-266.

[105] "Hill-Suburbs of Cincinnati," *Lippincott's Magazine*, New Series 8 (May 1884): 427.

[106] JHT, Munich, to Miss Alice Minning, Cincinnati, 16 November 1876, private collection, Cincinnati.

[107] Logan 1883, p. 246.

[108] Burnet Woods was a 63.5 acre park that the city first leased in 1873 and then purchased in 1881.

[109] Number 44 in the show, this work was an oil painting entitled *Burnet Woods, Cincinnati* (15 x 10 inches).

[110] Located on Ridgway Street, the Scudder family's Avondale home in which Twachtman resided was completed around 1870 and, as Sidney Maxwell noted in 1870, "it occupied a position from which it appears equally well from both Main avenue and Ridgway street." Sidney Maxwell, *The Suburbs of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: Stevens, 1870), p. 23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[111] Avondale's size and population is reported in Maxwell 1870, pp. 12, 26. Maxwell noted that the population statistics were not exact due to the absence of a census.

[112] George E. Stevens, *The City of Cincinnati: A Summary of Its Attractions, Advantages* (Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co., 1869), p. 67.

[113] See Maxwell 1870, pp. 23-26, on Avondale's resistance to annexation.

[114] Maxwell 1870, p. 26.

[115] Statistics from Maxwell 1870, p. 26 and D. J. Kenny, *Cincinnati: Illustrated: A Pictorial Guide to Cincinnati and the Suburbs of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1879), p. 13. Both authors observed that no census of Avondale had been taken, making a precise population count not possible.

[116] D. J. Kenny, *Cincinnati: Illustrated: A Pictorial Guide to Cincinnati and the Suburbs of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1879), p. 13.

[117] Kenny 1879, pp. 12-13.

[118] Sarah Burns, *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1989. See especially, chapter 1: "The Iconography of the Agrarian World, c. 1825-1875," pp. 11-32.

[119] "Fine Arts: Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists--Third Notice," *New York Herald*, 25 April 1881, p. 6.

[120] Bloody Run was the name of an area near Avondale, on what is now the Victory Parkway, that was the site of a famous massacre of white settlers by Indians.

[121] "The Society of American Artists," *New York World*, 1 May 1882, p. 2.

[122] "Society of American Artists," *Art Journal*, May 1882, p. 159.

[123] "The Fine Arts," *Critic* (22 April 1882), p. 120.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[124] M[ariana] G. van Rensselaer, "The Society of American Artists, New York--I," *American Architect and Building News* 2 (13 May 1882): 219.

[125] See J. Alden Weir Papers, various letters to Anna Dwight Baker, Archives of American Art, roll 125. Weir mentioned Twachtman's arrival in a letter of 26 August 1882 sent from Blin House, Keene Valley (frame 14). Weir's time in the Adirondacks is discussed in Hildegard Cummings, "Home is the Starting Place: J. Alden Weir and the Spirit of Place," in *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own*, exh. cat. (Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, University of Connecticut, 1991), pp. 20-21.

[126] Clark 1924, pp. 33-34.

[127] "Exhibition of Paintings at Closson's--'Whar's Dat Squirrel Gone?'" *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 6 February 1883, p. 8.

[128] "Exhibition of Paintings at Closson's--'Whar's Dat Squirrel Gone?'" 1883, p. 8.

[129] "The Society of American Artists Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 8 (May 1883): 125.

[130] Clark 1924, p. 40.

[131] "Fine Arts: The Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Society of American Artists," *Nation* 30 (12 April 1883): 328.

[132] "Art Exhibitions: The Society of American Artists," *New York Sun*, 25 March 1883, p. 5.

[133] van Rensselaer 1882, 219.

[134] "Art Exhibit," *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, 6 February 1883, p. 8. No catalogue exists from this show.

[135] "Art Exhibit," *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* 1883, p. 8.

[136] "Exhibition of Paintings at Closson's--'Whar's Dat Squirrel Gone?'" 1883, p. 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[137] J. H. Twachtman, Avondale, Ohio, to [J. Alden] Weir, [New York], ca. 1882, Weir Family Papers.

[138] Twachtman to Weir, ca. 1882.

[139] An article from the *New York Tribune* of August 1879, in the clipping files of New York University Library describes the building as "intended primarily for bachelor artists." A six-story red brick house on Washington Square East, the structure was designed by McKim, Mead, and Bigelow. Known formally as the Tuckerman Building, after its first owner Lucius Tuckerman, the structure soon became identified as the Benedick because of its bachelor residents. The name "Benedick" was derived from the newly-married, previously confirmed bachelor in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*. On the Benedick, see Paul R. Baker, "The Cultural and Bohemian Community," in *Around the Square, 1830-1890*, ed. Mindy Cantor (New York: New York University, 1982), p. 67 and New York University, Bobst Library, Archives on 80 East Washington Square.

[140] Young 1960, p. 142.

[141] Twachtman, Avondale, to Weir, [New York], 5 March 1882. Weir Family Papers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Four

"The Essential Nature of Things": Tranquil Visions of Normandy and Holland (1883-1885)

Life in Paris and Training at The Académie Julian

For Twachtman further instruction in Munich would not have been a viable option in 1883. No longer the influential or progressive art center it had been in the previous decade, Munich had declined in popularity among American art students, and Paris had regained its position (lost briefly at the time of the Franco-Prussian War) as the unrivalled heart and pulse of the art world, a gathering place for artists of all nations. In an 1892 article Charles de Kay described the changing preferences of American art students:

> After pinning their faith to Dusseldorf, whither the strong sense of our artists for landscape attracted them, [American students and artists] were for a period in favor of Munich. But instead of attracting them the more, the wider its facilities for study grew, there has been a sharp falling off in the American art colony since 1871, which has been noted, but never accounted for. Paris, the city humiliated by Bavarian and Prussian, no longer royal nor imperial in her government, has drawn to herself the American art student so powerfully, that now Boston, New York and Philadelphia have established annual Paris prize scholarships.[1]

For American artists of the late nineteenth century, the city of Paris itself was considered an essential part of an art student's education. In her 1930 autobiography, Cecilia Beaux (1863-1942) recollected her student years in the 1880s: "The immense value to the student, in Paris, lies in the place itself. He cannot step out of the cours

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

without having his crass judgments in regard to art developed, adjusted, poised. Everything is there. It is his own fault if he does not perceive.[2] As Beaux suggests, Paris was a place where art was part of the discourse of everyday life, and for art students, the dialogue of the atelier was continued in the café.

According to Twachtman's son, Alden, "the trip to Europe and Twachtman's study . . . at the Académie Julian in Paris were financed by [his father-in-law] John Scudder."[3] Such a subsidy was probably essential, as life in Paris with a family was undoubtedly more costly than bachelor existence in Munich had been. Dr. Scudder appears to have provided well for his daughter and her family, which, in June 1884, included a new member, a daughter named Marjorie.[4] In 1884, when Twachtman had a work entitled *L 'hiver, en Amérique* (probably one of his Avondale snow scenes) accepted by the Paris Salon, his address was given in the Salon catalogue as 140 Avenue de Villiers.[5] This avenue, which ran through the seventeenth arrondissement from the Porte de la Champerret at the northwestern edge of the city, almost to the Gare St. Lazare, was one of the most fashionable streets in Paris during the 1880s and 1890s.[6] In *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century* (1988), John Milner wrote that, "the Avenue de Villiers formed the densest concentration of art and wealth in Paris. Insofar as such success demanded patronage, to attract it meant to be fashionable."[7] The critic Albert Wolff observed in 1886: "Paris pours in there before going to the Bois . . .everyone pays a visit to his painter; in every house in the Monceau quarter there is a studio. . . . The standing of a painter can be gauged by the number of vehicles parked in front of his hotel on Fridays."[8]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It is unlikely that Twachtman would have had contact with the more famous residents of the Avenue de Villiers (such as Ernst Meissonier [1812-1891] and Edward Detaille [1842-1912]), and certainly his house was not a Renaissance style palace "with modern facilities in a deliberately eccentric setting," as Emile Zola described an artist's studio on the avenue.[9] But, living in the neighborhood must have enhanced Twachtman's Parisian stay. The prominent galleries of the day were congregated on the nearby Boulevard des Capucines, cafés lined the Avenue de l'Opera, Montmartre was a short walk, the Parc Monceau was a popular gathering place, and the Louvre was just off the route from the Avenue de Villiers to the Académie Julian. It was in this school, on the Faubourg St. Denis in the second arrondissement, that Twachtman enrolled.[10]

> Twachtman conveyed his pleasure in Paris to Weir in a letter of April 1885: We have been having some treats this winter and have had as many as twelve exs. at a time. How anybody can find time to go to all and see the Louvre, at least once a week I can't see. We are now having the Bastien LePage and Delacroix, and the Water Color just closed and the Pastel following in its place.[11]

Writing again to Weir, Twachtman mentioned that on his return home he would miss his weekly visits to the Louvre.[12] Twachtman took advantage of other facets of Parisian life as well. In his 1928 *Memoirs*, artist H. Siddons Mowbray (1858-1928) recalled visiting the Comédie Française and the Opéra along with Willard Metcalf (1858-1925) and Twachtman, and wrote: "We all went to the theater, mostly to the Varietés . . . or to the Palais Royal."[13] A fellow student in Paris, Robert J. Wickenden stated:

> As far back as 1883 when I knew Twachtman at Paris he impressed me as being a painter *de race*. His clear eye, straight nose flanked by sensitive nostrils, curved moustache and trimmed beard, evoked I know not what souvenir of Van Dyke and Rubens. Convinced and serious in his views, he carried with him a certain atmosphere of Romanticism, acquired possibly during his earlier sojourn in Munich. He was then working under Lefevre

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> [sic] and Boulanger at the Julien [sic] atelier, and his academic work was supplemented by study of the Old Masters at the Louvre, where, in the intervals of classes at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, I was similarly occupied. At noon we usually went to a nearby restaurant where questions relating to art, ancient and modern, would be discussed over *biftecks--aux-pommes* and *vin ordinaire*. Twachtman was eight years my senior and had already achieved a certain recognition, but no consciousness of superiority was evident in his frank *camaraderie*. He was a student among students, anxious to his store of skill and knowledge from every available source.[14]

In Paris, Twachtman could not have missed the scandal over John Singer Sargent's *Madame X* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), shown at the Salon of 1884, and he may have witnessed the spectacle of Frederic Bartholdi's *Liberty Enlightening the World*, which was in construction in 1883 on the rue de Chazelles in the seventeenth arrondissement. Other events of his time in Paris included the memorial sale of Manet's work in 1883 and the death of Jules Bastien-Lepage in 1885. Twachtman wrote to Weir of the funeral of his friend:

> You remember that project you had of buying a chateau in company with Bastien LePage. His illness was the talk amongst the painters and everybody but himself knew that it must prove fatal. But death is a thing with which we never become familiar and when he died it seemed as if he had not been ill at all--it was felt by the whole artist community. At his funeral everyone seemed to be present--there was such as large gathering. I stood opposite his house from which he was now taken forever and I thought of you and wished that I might cull a few flowers and send them to you. The hearse was covered with them. The procession moved slowly away and it was altogether a very sad scene. You know he lived near Parc Monceau and he was buried from the church in the rue Brémontier, farther west and near where we live. All the papers had articles on him and some of the illustrated papers had cuts after his photograph.[15]

During Twachtman's years in Paris, a hiatus occurred in the exhibitions of the French Impressionists, but it seems unlikely that he would have been unaware of this group of progressive painters, who been showing together since 1874.[16] As Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had avidly participated in the progressive art scene in Munich and New York, it follows that he would have been at least intrigued by this recent movement in French painting. However, the careful draftsmanship methods that he was absorbing at the Académie Julian were antithetical to the approach of the Impressionists. Like other American painters of the time, Twachtman may have chosen to overlook the art of the radical French painters, finding their style irreconcilable with his goals at the time.

In contrast to Munich, where the publicly sponsored Royal Academy dominated, there were many options for studying art in Paris including the government-run Ecole des Beaux Arts, the studios of independent teachers, and private schools. In the latter category, the Académie Julian was by far the most popular for American students during the late nineteenth century.[17] Begun in 1868 by Rodolphe Julian, an artist who initially supported himself as a wrestler and circus manager, Julian's was established as a place for students to work from the figure in an informal setting while preparing themselves for further study at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, at other Parisian ateliers, and/or readying themselves for various competitions.[18] Instead of structured classes, students worked independently at Julian's, receiving semi-weekly critiques generally from one of a team of two instructors who took turns making classroom rounds.

By the late 1870s, Julian had abandoned a career as an artist in order to devote himself to running the academy, and due to his adept management skills, the school flourished. Julian assured its success by hiring some of the most highly regarded academic painters of the day, and these teachers, in turn, attracted students, whose ambitions were to succeed in the very competitions in which their professors had excelled; many of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Julians' professors sat on the jury of the Paris Salon, the most sought after venue for a young art student of the time. Indeed, in the 1880s, Julian "was accused of promoting a sort of Mafia: the teachers and some of their students would back each other in the elections to the jury of the Salon and in the distribution of prizes."[19] Painter Birge Harrison (1854-1929) wrote in 1890:

> It was Julien's (sic) ambition to rival, and if possible, to surpass, the famous Ecole des Beaux Arts, and he was careful to choose masters who would train his students upon the academic lines there in vogue. To this end he bent all his efforts, and the excellent judgment which he displayed in the choice of his professors became apparent, as first one and then another of his students carried off the Prix de Rome.[20]

At Julian's, Twachtman studied under the team of Gustave Boulanger (1824-1888) and Jules-Joseph Lefebvre (1836-1911), both of whom had leading roles in Parisian academic circles, had their works featured annually at the Salon, and served on important competition selection committees (Boulanger also was affiliated with the Ecole, where he often substituted for his friend Jean-Léon Gérôme.)[21] The Boulanger/Lefebvre team was extremely popular among American art students in Paris in the early 1880s, and, in their studio, Twachtman made many friendships that would be remain important to him. His classmates included five artists who would be his colleagues in the Ten American Painters: Frank Benson (1862-1951), Metcalf, Robert Reid (1862-1929), Edward Simmons (1852-1931), and Edmund Tarbell (1862-1938). Other fellow students were Francis Brooks Chadwick (?-?), Thomas Shields Clark (?-?), Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922), Gari Melchers (1860-1929), Charles Platt (1861-1933), Robert Van Vorst Sewell (1860-1924), and Robert Vonnoh (1858-1933). In Paris, Twachtman also probably spent time with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Theodore Robinson, who had completed his own academic training, but was living in Paris in between visits to the French countrysides of Grez and Barbizon.[22]

The works of Boulanger and Lefebvre epitomized the day's popular and official tastes: Lefebvre was known for images of the female nude, rendered in a tight linear style that reflected the tradition of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1781-1867). Boulanger concentrated on genrecized historical and mythological scenes as well as images of Oriental life, subjects similar to those of his friend Gérôme, whose style Boulanger also emulated. J. Sutherland, a student of the Boulanger/Lefebvre team reported that each instructor advocated his own approach and, therefore, "supplemented each other." Perhaps referring first to Lefebvre and then to Boulanger, she wrote: "The one insisted on finesse of line and of articulation, the other, on energy of expression and the individuality of the model." Although both Boulanger and Lefebvre created works in a conservative vein, upholding long-established classical traditions in French academic painting, Sutherland noted that they were not overly domineering: "The training they enforce is liberal; their methods and their manner are never insisted on."[23]

There were a number of significant differences between Twachtman's Munich and Paris training. Whereas in Munich, portraiture had taken precedence and the rendering of the nude had been de-emphasized, in Paris, the study of the nude dominated. In Munich, expertise in paint handling was stressed. By contrast, in Paris, draftsmanship skills dominated the curriculum.

At Julian's, as at other traditional Parisian ateliers, pupils studied the nude in a number of developmental stages. They began by copying casts (*modèles de dessin*).[24]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These were first executed as contour drawings, and then masses were filled in with half-tones. When they progressed to rendering the live model, students were initially taught to sketch the figure quickly in order to ascertain its essential lines and movement. Later they learned to add detail and shading, but they were encouraged to always keep the *effet* in view, by eliminating unwanted half-tones, restricting detail to non-shaded areas, and developing solidly constructed designs that demonstrated an understanding of the principles of clarity, simplicity, and unity that underlay classical art. In their life studies, students were to depict the model before them, but, at the same time, they were to bring to their art, an understanding of the antique cast instilled in earlier training, so that their resultant drawings demonstrated a feeling for the live figure and an awareness of classical form. The idea behind this approach was that since the model was always physically flawed, it was necessary for an artist to correct such imperfections by applying knowledge acquired from cast studies and from an understanding of classical proportions. Albert Boime explained a related aspect of the Paris academic exerience in *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (1971):

> The poses of live models generally resembled those of antique statues, and to the neophyte the live model appeared as a kind of living statue. The Academic master, however, not only thought in terms of figural beauty, but preferred the antique models for their simplicity of line and mass. He emphasized the need to generalize the major divisions of the human body, rather than attention to inessential detail, and for this stage the antique examples were especially suited. When the pupil arrived at this level, the master always placed great emphasis on the ensemble, and drawing the live model was meant to provide the elements of this concept. Whereas the preliminary drawing instruction was concerned with individual parts of the body, the drawing of the live model was taught with a view to inculcating the idea of the whole.[25]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Students were taught to strive in their works for a balance of spontaneity--through fluid animated lines--and control--through precise draftsmanship and accurate anatomical representations. Too much of either was considered detrimental to a work's success.

The nature of Twachtman's instruction at the Académie Julian is conveyed in the diary entries of American artist Arthur Wesley Dow, his classmate under Boulanger and Lefebvre at Julian's during 1884. Dow described Julian's studio at the Faubourg St. Denis as "lighted by a big skylight which continues down the side of the building to about 8ft above our heads. Walls at one end covered with colored caricatures with inscription 'cherchez le caractère dans la nature.'"[26] In further entries Dow recorded his instructors' critiques:

> The professor said that I had started the drawing right but it was too small--mass the shadows at same time with outline. . . I made my first drawing from the nude today. First--find center of paper, start from sternum--get center of figure--plumb it carefully. Strike out an idea of the action--get something to correct. Don't feel your way--take straight lines.[27]
>
> Let the plumb line fall against heel and then notice where it cuts the head--also points on the body. When judging of a distance glance up quickly at the head and compare. . . . Ought to draw in an idea of the whole in one hour. Decide where you want a line and put it there.[28]
>
> Do not cut up the broad masses of light or shade. Better to put in a half line and take out light than to shade on clear white.[29]
>
> You have the action now look for character--accent bones. . . . Look at shapes of separate portions of the trunk as a whole or the upper thigh, etc. Shapes of spaces outside also.[30]
>
> Boulanger, no, you haven't character *at all*. You pay too much attention to details--too little to the ensemble.[31]
>
> Look out for distance that can't change even if model changes position. Don't cut up simple lines.[32]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Boulanger--he looked at my drawing for some time--then drew some lines saying that he was exaggerating a little. I must look at the model and try to get it more as he suggested. Thought I was afraid of giving him any eyes so he dashed in one with heavy lines.[33]
>
> Lefebvre today--I showed him my outlines which I have made since Wednesday and he said they were very good--he is satisfied with my way of working. Do not put anything which you cannot indicate correctly. Indicate the shadows *very* slightly.[34]

The careful draftsmanship methods taught at Julian's were the opposite of the free, painterly manner in which Twachtman had been working, but, he applied himself with dedication and vigor to his studies, making up for what he perceived had been a deficiency in his Munich instruction. He wrote to Weir in December 1883: "I am studying from the figure, nude, this winter and you know how much I need drawing. I don't know a fellow who came from Munich that knows how to draw or ever learned anything in that place."[35] Stanford White reported to Weir in the following year: "I found Twachtman hard at work--*drawing*--slavery--I should think to him--but a slavery he will never regret--he is delighted with his life in Paris."[36]

Landscape Painting in an Academic Context

At Julian's, as well as at other Parisian ateliers, figural rendering was not just the emphasis: it was the only subject taught.[37] Landscape painting was omitted from the curriculum. However, as Boime has pointed out, this omission was not due to a prejudice

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

on the part of academic teachers against landscape painting, as almost all worked in this genre.[38] Instead academicians took issue primarily with the kinds of landscape that had evolved since the rise of Barbizon School, whose members had challenged the precepts of heroic and ideal landscape traditions.[39] In particular, academic teachers were disturbed, as were American critics of the late 1870s, by works that appeared unfinished. They were opposed to the exhibition of "sketches," even if they accepted the notion that sketching was an acceptable part of an artist's working method. They also objected to the subjects taken up by landscape painters of their day. As naturalistic rural scenes (depicting nature as it is) became more popular than historical and classicized landscape conceptions (depicting nature as it ought to be), landscape no longer required wide categories of knowledge nor did artists need to follow the precedents of the Neo-classical landscapes of Claude Lorraine (1600-1682) and Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665).[40] Boime observed:

> For academic painters the need to display one's erudition dictated the choice of religious, historical and mythological themes, in which background and accessories played major roles, as in the famous concept of "decorum." The representation of natural sites provided little opportunity for depicting specific historical events. For the erudite artist landscape painting was inferior, not in quality, but in content; among other things, it was less morally edifying.[41]

Academic teachers responded to the challenge posed by the rising popularity of the naturalistic landscape sketch by ignoring the landscape subject altogether in the classroom, although, when appointed to Salon juries, they continued to evaluate and accept landscapes submitted for exhibition. The rationale for avoiding landscape instruction, while not deriding the genre of landscape itself, was the idea that a study of the figure was the best basis for the depiction of any type of subject matter, including landscape.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Instructors at Julian's--as implied by Sutherland's statement that the school's training was "liberal"--seem to have taken this position; although figural skills were the only subject taught, it was understood that students could use these skills to render subjects of their choice outside of the studio.

Learning to render the figure was also supposed to supply a student with the means of developing an individual approach. Beaux confirmed that this was the attitude of Boulanger and Gérôme, who had immense influence because, "their personal view was never imposed. They inspired their students without bending them in any direction, and their most grateful pupils 'arrived' without a trace of their master's style upon their canvases, and ready to undertake freshly individual subjects, and treatment."[42] Indeed, the large number of Americans who studied the figure in Paris and then painted landscapes during summers in the country suggests that the concentration on the figure, enforced in the classroom, was not expected to be maintained by students on their own time. However, many students applied their academic skills to landscape painting as may be seen in the inclusion in their works of carefully drawn landscape motifs and solidly modeled figures, and their use of ordering devices and clear perspectives. These elements may be seen in works by American artists working in a wide variety of styles, including the French Impressionist approach.[43]

For Twachtman, an understanding of how a study of the figure could be applied to landscape painting was perhaps reinforced by his recollections of Mauve, who had instructed van Gogh to render the figure from life in order "to measure and to observe, and to look for great lines."[44] During his summers in the country, Twachtman may have

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kept this sort of advice in mind while focusing his attention exclusively on landscape. The influence of his training was thus crucial to changes that occurred in his art, as will be explained later.

Although landscape was not taught in the classroom, Twachtman may have been able to receive some criticism of his landscapes from an academic mentor. Clark wrote that: "Le Febre (sic) used to invite his most promising pupils to his private studio on Sunday mornings to talk painting, and to see any of their work done outside the school. It was a stimulus and a pleasure to [Twachtman] to receive this recognition of his work, done on his own initiative."[45] Since Twachtman's figural drawings were no doubt evaluated by his instructors during ordinary critiques at Julians, it seems unlikely that figural studies were what he showed to Lefebvre outside of class. Indeed, it is far more probable that Twachtman presented Lefebvre with landscapes during private sessions, when Lefebvre would have been freer to comment on such works than within the school setting.

Summers in the Country (1884-1885)

In a letter to Weir, sent from Paris on the second of January 1885, Twachtman wrote: "I have no doubt that my last letter never reached you, written from Arque where we spent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the summer and in which I described our chateau and beautiful garden."[46] This letter refers to Twachtman's stay during the summer of 1884 in the Normandy town of Arques-la-Bataille. It was here that Twachtman produced a group of works, including at least one painting related to his best known French period canvas, *Arques-la-Bataille*, which was executed in Paris the following winter (figs. 165-166).[47] Although located in a serene and sparsely settled countryside, Arques was only five miles southeast and inland from the coastal city of Dieppe, one of the main destinations of the *trains de plaisir* (tourist trains) that ran frequently from Paris. Popular for its beaches and night life, Dieppe was described in an 1874 guidebook to Normandy as having,

> all the necessary accompaniments of a fashionable seaside resort; for, next to Trouville, Dieppe is the watering-place, now-a-days, where the greatest extravagance in dress is displayed: the glass front of the casino makes a pleasant shelter for invalids, who sit here reading and working in sight of the sea.

The guidebook also noted the charm of Dieppe's streets and of its lively harbors:

> One wonders, as one saunters through the quaint town up to the castle heights, and thence visits the charming country around, how people can spend so many hours in doing just what they could do in London or Paris or Brighton, ignoring, as many of them do, the real delights which the place has to offer. The chief features of Dieppe are its casino life, its fishery, and its trade in carved ivory; and, without the town, its charming environs.[48]

On a visit to Dieppe, Twachtman executed a view of the harbor, painted with the gestural brushwork characteristic of his Munich style (fig. 167). The influence of his Paris training is apparent, however, in his carefully balanced composition, his attention to the way that vertical boat masts intersect at the center of the work with the line of the shore. Twachtman did not, however, paint the beaches with their hoards of sun-bathers and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

people-watchers (figs. 168-170). Instead, he was drawn to nearby Arques, which, despite an being an popular day trip for Dieppe visitors, was the antithesis of its bustling neighbor.

The town of Arques-la-Bataille had an illustrious history. Once part of the Norman kingdom, the lordship of Arques had been given in the eleventh century by William the Conqueror to his uncle William, who became known as William of Arques. It was William of Arques, who in a failed attempt to become Duke of Normandy, built the castle, which now stands in ruins at the crest of a hill above the town. Arques was the last Norman stronghold to be wrested from the English in the Hundred Years War. In 1589, the town was the scene of a battle that secured Henri de Navarre the throne of France.

For nineteenth-century tourists, the castle ruins were worth a visit. The 1874 guidebook explained:

> The two chief attractions in the environs of Dieppe are the famous Chateau d'Arques and the Manoir d'Ango. In the season an omnibus goes to Arques from Dieppe at 12.15 and 3 o'clock every day and returns at 9.12 A.M. and 8.12 P.M. There is also the St. Nicholas diligence, which passes Arques, and which leaves Dieppe at six o'clock in the morning. . . . The Chateau d'Arques stands well on a spur of high ground in the wooded valley of the Béthune, above the junction of the little river with the Arques. The ruins give an idea of great extent, but they are so shapeless and destroyed that they are far more picturesque at a distance. The whole building has suffered, as Jumiége and most of the famous Norman ruins have suffered, far more from the plunder of moderns than from the wear and tear of ages. The huge donjon built by William of Arques, lord of Talou, uncle to William the Conqueror, still remains. Its picturesque site and its historical associations make the chief interest of Arques. The view from the castle is splendid: below are the grey ruins, the wooded valleys and their rivers; and, beyond, the forest and the sea.[49]

In his 1904 *Highways and Byways* in Normandy, Percy Dearmer also commented that the ruins were "still of extreme interest":

> There they stand, on the spur of a hill that was once surrounded by marshes; and as you walk on the outside of the huge fosse, you can realise

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> why the castle was impregnable till artillery had grown out of its infancy. Four valleys meet below, and those who tried to climb up the hill would find, when they reached the ridge where you are walking, the great unexpected ditch which Norman craft had cut between the hill-side and the massive castle walls; impossible to sap the walls that stand high on this chalk escarpment, impossible to win them by escalape across so wide a chasm, even if they had forced the palisade which once ran along the path where you are walking.[50]

Located in a lush valley, and situated at the confluence of four rivers--the Arques, the Béthune, the Eaulne, and the Varenne--Arques-la-Bataille seems an ideal locale for outdoor landscape painting, and perhaps some of the Barbizon School artists or the French Impressionists who worked in Dieppe ventured to the town. On the other hand, the quiet countryside, remote from the bustle of Dieppe, was perhaps not of interest to the Impressionists, at least during the 1870s, when they were focusing on scenes where modern society's fashions and entertainments were more in evidence. However, as Clark aptly noted, the country was "finely suited to the delicate style of Twachtman, with decorative arrangement of trees, low lying hills and winding river."[51]

Arques remains today largely unchanged from when Twachtman visited. A quiet inlet off of the Béthune River located just north of the village center, its shore still lined with reeds and bushes similar to those depicted by Twachtman in *Arques-la-Bataille*, is clearly Twachtman's site for this painting and others (figs 171-173). The river's edge offers a panoramic view of hills that seem divided into horizontal tiers, each distinguished by tone. The ruins of the château d'Arques stands at the crest of one of the hills. Although the two paintings entitled *Arques-la-Bataille* are the only works by Twachtman clearly identified with this riverside site, several other works assuredly depict it as well,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

including *Springtime* and *View on the Brette, Béthune*, *The River*, *L'Etang*, and *Lake Under the Hills* (figs. 174-178).

Twachtman's years in France were marked by his first two solo exhibitions, both at J. Eastman Chase's Gallery in Boston.[52] The first show, held in February 1885, included twenty paintings, and the second, held in January 1886, included fifteen paintings and eight pastels. The listings of works in these exhibitions and descriptions of them from reviews assist in establishing the chronology and identity of Twachtman's French period art.

The catalogue from Twachtman's 1885 show indicates that a number of sites in Arques caught his attention. In addition to views of the river, he portrayed the château he had rented and its garden, the church at Arques (still standing), and the Inn at Archelles (still operated as a restaurant and lodging house) (fig. 179). None of the works portraying these subjects are extant today, which is unfortunate as these were the paintings given the most attention by critics reviewing his 1885 Chase show. The *Boston Evening Transcript* reported of *Church at Arques* that it "discloses such marvellous delicacy of color, such endless variety of almost imperceptible shades, such truth of air and distance, and more than all, of effect, optical as well as mental, that one feels at once that fundamentally the painter is quite right."[53] Of his *A French Garden*, the *Transcript* reviewer stated:

> It is a wonderful composition of minutely delicate hues, infinite and inimitable. What seems at first sight a space of pure and singularly pleasant color, proves to be a study in numberless tints--a fact which explains its qualities of singular pleasure. As an example, take that cool patch of blue-green shadow low in the right corner of the picture; it is an elaborate bit of color composition, divided by the whole diameter of existence from the ordinary blotch of plain color. Equally good is the suggested detail, the bright-pink roses, the fluffy masses of cream-white flowers, the thick grass, the plumy toss of the trees, the distant abbey of pale yellow-gray stone;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> with a quick shapeless touch of color is rendered a blossom with peculiar truth of effect. It is this quality which is most expressive of the actual power of the painter. A first impression is that the picture is painted with extraordinary dash and rapidity, and so it is, but each touch tells, its position is known and calculated for, but however long the painter may have pondered over the touch, when it is to be made it is made at once, dexterously, with a freedom and dash that is delightful, no halting, no hesitancy. What often seems a thoughtless and careless dash of paint proves on further examination to be perfect, and unsusceptible of any change. And as in detail this "French Garden" is wholly good,--and good in execution also, unlike so many of the others--it is no less admirable when taken in mass. Apart from the personal qualities which are so strong, the picture, as a picture, is unusually good. The composition is without fault, the harmony perfect, and the accent of the few slender trees in the centre is masterly.[54]

Twachtman exhibited a painting at Chase's in 1885 entitled *View on the Béthune*, perhaps Cincinnati's *Springtime*, or the unlocated *View on the Brette, Béthune* (figs. 174-175). His *Boats at Dieppe*, in the same show, is perhaps his harbor scene known today (fig. 167).

Probably at some point during the summer of 1884, Twachtman visited Honfleur, which like Dieppe was a popular Normandy seaside resort. Also like Dieppe, Honfleur was a medieval town, built around its *Vieux Bassin*, which was, and is, surrounded by a wall of narrow townhouses (fig. 180). Along its wharves and extending to the coast were promenades, where summer visitors strolled. Old Norman style medieval churches added picturesque color to the town (figs 181-182). Honfleur is also the site of the Mouth of the Seine, the point where the Seine joins the Atlantic Ocean (fig. 183). Well known during the mid- and late nineteenth century as a paintable place, Honfleur was often referred to as the "Barbizon of Normandy." It had been the base during the 1850s and 1860s for Barbizon painters including Camille Corot, Gustave Courbet, Charles Daubigny, Narcisse-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Virgile Diaz de la Peña, and Constant Troyon (1810-1865), who had all painted at the farm of Saint-Siméon, located just outside the town. Invited to Honfleur by native-born artist Eugene Boudin (1824-1898), the Impressionists also worked in Honfleur in the 1860s and 1870s, painted at Saint-Siméon, depicted scenes in the Côte de Grace (the hills of Honfleur that rise above the coast), and portrayed the harbor. Frédéric Bazille (1841-1870) described the attractions of Honfleur in a letter to his parents of 1864:

> As soon as we arrived in Honfleur, we looked for landscape motifs. They were easy to find, because the country is heaven. One could not see richer meadows and more beautiful trees; everywhere there are cows and horses at pasture. The sea, or rather the Seine broadening out, gives a delightful horizon to the masses of green. We are staying in Honfleur itself, at a baker's who has rented us two small rooms; we eat at the Saint-Siméon farm, situated on the cliff a little above Honfleur; it's there that we work and spend our days. The port of Honfleur and the costumes of the Normans with their cotton caps interest me greatly.[55]

Monet also wrote of Honfleur's appeal: "Everyday I discover more and more beautiful things; it's enough to drive one mad; I have such a desire to do everything, my head is bursting with it!"[56]

According to Clark, in Honfleur, Twachtman spent time with Homer Martin, a member of the Tile Club and of the Society of American Artists, who had settled by the winter of 1882-1883 in Villerville, a town on the outskirts of Honfleur. Clark wrote that "the two painters, later so disparate in their expression, found much in common in their artistic adventures. We note reminiscences of this trip in the etchings, 'Quay at Honfleur,' 'The Mouth of the Seine,' and 'Road near Honfleur,' and also a number of small pictures of harbor and river subjects."[57] Martin, who was at the time painting scenes of the Seine Estuary, may have directed Twachtman to sites along the Honfleur coast, and he may have

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shared some thoughts on Whistler with whom he had visited during a trip to London in 1881. The works Martin created in Normandy reveal the influence of the Barbizon School on his style and imagery, such as *Old Manor of Criqueboeuf*, a view of a rural site occupied by a modest manor house that is partially hidden by trees (fig. 184). Works that Martin created later in his career, such as his famous *Harp of the Winds: View on the Seine* are closer, in their quiet, contemplative feeling, to Twachtman's French period paintings such as *Springtime* (figs. 185). However, Martin's process was essentially different from Twachtman's. Relying on his memory of a site, Martin created his works in his studio, developing his imagery to the point that it expressed his subjective recollection. Even though Twachtman may have been influenced by his academic lessons during his French period, he remained committed to recording his direct experience of a site.

Although none of the works in Twachtman's 1885 Chase show are specifically identified as Honfleur scenes, several views of the Seine included in the exhibition--*View on the Seine*, *On the Seine*, and *Boats on the Seine*--were probably rendered in the town and its environs during the summer of 1884. One of these is probably the painting known today as *Mouth of the Seine*, an image that Twachtman also portrayed in an etching (figs. 186-187).[58] Another Honfleur painting, for which there is a corresponding etching *Road Near Honfleur*, was possibly shown at Chase's in 1885 as *A Country Road* (fig. 188-189). The work today known as *Shrine on the Bridge, Honfleur, Normandy* may have been the painting shown at Chase's that was entitled *Pont de la Vièrge* (fig. 190).

In the spring of 1885, Twachtman again visited Normandy. He wrote to Weir on April 6: "We go to the seaside in a week and remain there until the 16th of May when my

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wife sails for America in the 'Normandie' of the French line."[59] Since the point of departure for Martha's return was surely LeHavre, a short distance up the coast from Honfleur, it is conceivable that the Twachtman family returned to Honfleur. Twachtman's presence in Honfleur in 1885 is further indicated by his inclusion of two images of Honfleur in his exhibition at Chase's in 1886: *Landscape Near Honfleur* and *Courtyard at Honfleur*.

Twachtman's second stay in Honfleur may have lasted up to a month, as by June 11, he was in Holland, where he paid another visit to the Frans Halsmuseum in Haarlem.[60] He probably remained in Holland through the rest of the summer as he again signed the Halsmuseum guestbook on September 5th, when he visited the museum in the company of his old friend William Merritt Chase and the American landscape painter Walter Launt Palmer (1854-1932).[61] While in Holland, Chase may have introduced Twachtman to pastel, as the first works in this medium that Twachtman exhibited publicly were the Dutch and Venetian scenes that he showed at J. Eastman Chase's Gallery in 1886.

During the summer of 1885, Twachtman returned to Dordrecht. This is clear from the predominance of images of this town and the surrounding area in his 1886 exhibition at Chase's. As the catalogue for this show indicates, he again rendered scenes of boats on the Maas River and views of Papendrecht. He also worked in Kinderdijk, a popular tourist site, then and now, in which small-scale windmills are set out along a network of canals (fig. 191). According to J. Alden Twachtman, during his 1885 trip Twachtman again visited with Mauve; apparently his interest in Mauve's art had not waned.[62]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

At the end of September, Twachtman traveled south. A letter from Blum to his parents indicates that Twachtman had arrived in Venice by October 1.[63] Without his wife and children, the subsequent months in Venice were a time when the artist was able to experience the freedom and companionship that he had enjoyed earlier as a bachelor. Although Duveneck was away--in Paris and Florence--a large American colony was present in the fall of 1885, including Blum, William Gedney Bunce, George Clements (?-1935), Oliver Grover, Ruger Donoho (1857-1916), Palmer, and Charles Ulrich. By December, Duveneck seems to have arrived and Blum included caricatures of him as well as of Twachtman, Clements, and Bacher in an Xmas/New Years greeting card that he sent to Bacher, who was home in America at the time (fig. 192).[64] During this Venetian sojourn, Twachtman resided with Blum at the Palazzo Contarini di Scrigni in the San Trovaso quarter on the Grand Canal, and the two re-established the friendship they had formed as youths.[65] Writing to Bacher probably in the late fall, Blum described the winter chill that had descended on Venice and reported that, "Twachtman is doing a large canvas of ships and boats in mid-summer to keep warm." Apparently an earthquake had hit the city, which, as Blum reported, "did some damage . . . wrecking a good many gondolas and setting some of the columns . . . all out of perpendicular."[66] Invoking his last Venice experience, when Chase became ill, this time, Blum came down with cholera. Twachtman, who had undoubtedly planned to return to Cincinnati by Christmas, remained to care for him.

Despite Blum's illness, both he and Twachtman wrote in good spirits to Chase on December 26, composing their notes simultaneously. In his letter, Blum wrote that Chase

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had "cheated him the last time you were here. Twachtman says 'the only time you were here.'" Referring to a caricature of Twachtman included in his letter, Blum wrote, "you ought to see the hat Twachtman wears. He had his hair cut and looks like this" (fig. 193).[67] Twachtman addressed Chase similarly, beginning his letter with "dear Chasey," and ending with "your friendly Twatty":

> Now I take my pen in hand to inform you that I am well and hoping that you are the same. Blum never knows how to commence a letter. The weather is very fine although it is cold and chilly with occasional rains and fogs. The barber suggests that there should be a change very soon. Don't you think so too? Please answer. I hope you are in good health with fair prospects for the happy new year. . . . The weather is very fine and it's snowing. By Jove! it's a nice winter--isn't it now. . . . What do you think of pastels? Blum's got the cholera--His hair is coming out. Hoping that you are well for I am the same. Write soon.[68]

Twachtman concluded his European stay in late December or early January. Blum wrote to Bacher on 22 January 1886: "I find enough time now that Johnny is gone to write and think of my remisses. Of course you have seen him by this time. Non è vero? Well I'm as you can well imagine pretty lonely now he is away and don't know what to do with my evenings as I hardly care to sit with that german gang at Florian's and act mummy. . . . Well we have had beastly wet weather right along and Johnny need not feel very much cheated he has missed nothing so far . . ."[69]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

French Period Art

Twachtman's style changed significantly during his French period. Finally leaving behind completely the bravura handling and strong contrasts of dark and light that had characterized his Munich period art, he advanced from the style he had formulated in Avondale in 1883. He began to paint with thin, liquid pigments that he let bleed into his canvases. Omitting all signs of his brushwork, he created smooth, velvety surfaces. He enhanced the harmony and unity of his designs by adopting a palette of low-key tones and by softening the transitions between forms with gentle tonal gradations. Rather than painting in a rapid and direct fashion, he worked out his compositions carefully and thoughtfully, so that the viewer is guided through them slowly.

Twachtman was influenced by a number of sources during the period. The impact of his training at Julian's may be seen in a marked improvement that occurred in his draftsmanship, noticeable in his ability to render forms accurately and precisely. His organized arrangements and frequent attention to rules of perspective also reflect the impact of his academic background. Twachtman's method of using plein-air sketches in the studio at times as the basis for a finished work further reveals what he derived from Julian's, where figural studies were worked up in stages. For example, *View on the Brette, Bethune*, was perhaps a trial run for the larger *Springtime*, as in *Springtime* Twachtman eliminated the rough and sketchy elements that appear in the smaller canvas (figs. 174-175). A similar relationship exists between the smaller *Arques-la-Bataille*, clearly a plein-air sketch, and the monumental painting with the same name--a letter to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Weir along with an inscription provide evidence that Twachtman created the larger painting in his Paris studio in 1885 (figs. 165-166).[70] *Windmills*--Twachtman's second largest extant French period canvas after *Arques-la-Bataille*--may also have been rendered from studies, among them perhaps a pastel of a single windmill in a landscape strewn with wildflowers (fig. 194-195). Clark wrote of Twachtman's process of using studies in a description of *Windmills*:

> It is a most felicitous arrangement, wherein we find a very exact adjustment of the relative positions of masses and the division of areas. . . . Executed with technical mastery and quite perfect in presentation, the composition is, however, rather over obvious and insufficient in volume to fill such a large canvas. This may be due to the fact that the large pictures were painted after smaller studies and in losing something of their intimacy do not gain in grandeur.[71]

While adapting academic means to his art, Twachtman continued to explore new landscape strategies. The main modern inspiration on his work was, however, not the most progressive trend of the day in landscape painting, that of French Impressionism, but the less radical work of Bastien-Lepage. Twachtman was not alone in taking an interest in Bastien's art. Many Americans who, like him, were simultaneously learning academic methods and exploring new landscape approaches, found the compromise between a traditional and a modern method that Bastien formulated to be compelling. Bastien achieved such a compromise by including carefully modeled figures within loosely painted landscapes and by using softly graded tonalities to create unifying atmospheres.

Twachtman omitted the peasant figures that Bastien and many of his American followers featured, and he was critical of Bastien's work. He wrote to Weir in 1885 that Bastien seldom went "beyond the modern realism which . . . consists too much in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

representation of things." Although Twachtman did see poetic qualities in Bastien's *Joan of Arc* and *First Communion*, he felt that Bastien emphasized detail at the expense of feeling.[72] Nonetheless, the soft veils of silvery light that infuse Twachtman's French period works suggest his close attention to aspects of Bastien's approach.

Twachtman also continued to derive inspiration from the Hague School during his French period, and the compromise achieved by modern Dutch painters between the realism of the French Barbizon School and landscape approaches of their predecessors among seventeenth-century Dutch landscapists was closer to Twachtman's than was the synthesis achieved by Bastien. The low horizons and plunging orthogonals that Twachtman often used in his French and Dutch works suggest that he was turning more frequently to the traditional landscape sources that influenced the Hague School while the quiet, reflective moods of his images parallel such qualities in Hague School works. Indeed, with its simplified, emphatically horizontal composition, Twachtman's *Arques-la-Bataille* may be linked in spirit with works such as Mauve's *The Marsh* (figs. 196).

Other similarities may be noted between Twachtman's French period images and Hague School works. Twachtman's *French Road Scene*, in which, strong orthogonals position the viewer on a rapidly receding road, has a similar impact to Mauve's *A Dutch Road* or Gabriël's *Train in Landscape* (figs. 197-199). With the silver curve of a river passing through a flat countryside under an open sky, Twachtman's *In France* has an affinity with Jacob Maris's *Allotments near The Hague* (figs. 200-201). The windmill silhouetted against a cloud-filled sky, its reflection cast in a silvery pool of water, was a typical Hague School motif that Twachtman treated in *Single Windmill with Reflection*, a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work that resembles Gabriël's *In the Month of July* (fig. 202-203). Twachtman's continued interest in places where human and natural forms blended in with each other also suggests an attention to the Hague School viewpoint. In Twachtman's *Normandy Landscape* and *Springtime*, architectural structures and roads seem to accommodate themselves to the natural contours of the landscape as they do in Weissenbruch's *On the Banks of Dekkersduin* (figs. 204-205). In Hague School art, Twachtman found a model for his new style, a way of reconciling academic traditions with the realist stance to which he had become committed in Munich.

Another source that had a significant effect on Twachtman during his French period was the art of Whistler. Although Twachtman probably missed having direct contact with Whistler on his 1880 trip to Italy, before and during his time in Paris, he would have had many chances to become familiar with Whistler's art.[73] Whistler had participated in exhibitions at the Society of American Artists in 1878 and 1879, and his works were featured in New York shows at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Union League Club, and Wunderlich Gallery in the late 1870s and early 1880s.[74] In Paris, Whistler exhibited at Salons in 1883, 1884, and 1885, and showed at the Georges Petit and Durand-Ruel galleries.[75] However, a knowledge of Whistler's style and philosophy was probably conveyed to Twachtman mainly by his friends who had spent time with the expatriate in Venice in 1879-1880. Even though Twachtman's views of Tuscany do not reveal evidence of Whistler's impact, it may be that Twachtman gradually incorporated aspects of Whistler's aesthetic into his art over time. This is suggested by Twachtman's views of Avondale of 1883 which reveal a change from his earlier work in their softly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

graded tones and consciously structured designs. The greater impact of Whistler on Twachtman's French period art is seen in his simplified arrangements, harmonious tonal palettes, and his focus on abstract issues of form and spacing.

Twachtman's two companions during the summer of 1885, Chase and Blum, undoubtedly reinforced his interest in Whistlerian aesthetics. Twachtman joined Chase in Holland probably shortly after Chase had parted company with Whistler--Chase and Whistler spent most of the month of August in London painting each other's portraits. For Blum, Whistler had remained a significant influence since their meeting in Venice in 1879.[76]

It makes sense that when Chase and Blum introduced Twachtman to pastels that it would be Whistler's pastel manner they would transmit. This influence may be readily seen. Following Whistler's method, in his French period pastels Twachtman laid down his colors lightly and smoothly across rough paper surfaces, emphasizing the pure beauty of his chalk textures and tones and letting his papers play a role in a his designs to establish atmospheres or provide underlayers of color (figs. 206-209). Twachtman also emulated Whistler by using pastel to create painterly effects, employing chalk to "paint" rather than to "sketch." The style Twachtman adopted was especially close to that of Blum, as may be seen in images created by the two artists of the same site in Venice, a view looking from a high vantage point across the Lagoon from the Riva degli Schiavoni (figs 210-211). Using high horizons and emphasizing the textures and patterns created by boats and water, both artists were clearly emulating works such as Whistler's *Venetian Scene* (fig. 212).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

While no doubt deriving influence from his traveling companions, Twachtman also developed a pastel approach that reflects his own development, as his pastel images are close in style to his French period oils. In his paintings, he had omitted evidence of brushwork. Similarly, in his pastels, he covered his grounds with thin veils of color, leaving little trace of his actual strokes. Twachtman's pastels of quiet, still rivers in which gentle reminders of human presence appear in a group of pilings or the edge of a dock exude the same calm moods and meditative qualities expressed in his oils.

Despite the impact of Whistler on Twachtman's aesthetic, Twachtman did not adopt Whistler's art-for-art's-sake stance. Never focusing exclusively on a subject simply for its aesthetic properties, Twachtman maintained a realist outlook in his French period, capturing the way a landscape looked and conveying its mood.

Japanese prints were another source that appear to have had an effect on Twachtman's French period art. Twachtman probably became familiar with prints in Paris, where they were a common spectacle at outdoor stands and in antique shops. While visiting Parisian galleries, he may also have become aware that Japanese prints were frequent sources for modernist French painters. Prints may have held Twachtman's attention, in particular as their precise lines and succinct, economical designs provided direction to him at a time when he was seeking a draftsmanship that was both exacting and spontaneous. Whereas French Impressionist influences may have seemed too distant from the approach he was learning at Julian's to be incorporated into his art, the aesthetics of the Japanese print were possibly attractive to him because they could be more readily be synthesized with an academic approach. Japanese influence on Twachtman's work is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

suggested especially in the most sparely and elegantly composed images of his French period, such as *Arques-la-Bataille* and *Springtime*, where he emphasized graceful, curved outlines and arranged his forms in calculated assymetrical patterns demonstratijng his attention to the flatness of the picture plane as a decorative surface. There is, nonetheless, no documented evidence of Twachtman's familiarity with Japanese prints while in Paris, and it is possible that the relation between his works and this source is coincidental.

Although Twachtman was inspired by a number of influences during his French period, the style he developed was individualistic. He formulated a means that enabled him to convey his personal and emotional experiences of nature and to concentrate on mood rather than on the physical realities of a locale. He sought out sites that conjured quiet, introspective thoughts and he used an expressive vocabulary to bring out their contemplative and evocative qualities. In his Avondale works, Twachtman had revealed evidence of human presence in nature both through images in which homes, paths, and roads appear and through viewpoints that led the viewer gradually into and through a scene. In his French period art, human presence is indicated not as much through imagery and perspective as through the emotions that a work, in its design and tonal arrangement, arouse in the viewer. Twachtman's French period landscapes make us feel first and see later. While he noted the specific features of his sites, it was the feeling of a place that he emphasized. In *Windmills*, for example, he used compositional means as a way of expressing the calming and reassuring feeling that the site evoked. Instead of taking in this work all at once, we are compelled to enter it slowly. The reeds in the foreground pull us into the work and draw us gradually on a line along the waterway's curved shore to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

larger of the two windmills in the left distance. A bush and gabled structure soften the horizon line, and gently guide us toward the composition's center. A smaller-scale mill in the left distance continues the loop through the arrangment, escorting us past a small bush to the right of the mill and to a lone cypress tree, further to the left. The circle is completed by low rushes in the foreground pool that link up with the reeds from which our passage through the work began. The gentle, circular rhythm of the composition has a centering and ultimately soothing effect, lulling us away from the physical world to an inward state of quiet relaxation and meditation.

Arques-la-Bataille exemplifies the viewpoint and achievement of Twachtman's French period art. The subject of this painting is not striking. Twachtman simply depicted an ordinary clump of reeds at the edge of a river, and he maintained a faithfulness to his site as photographs of it reveals (figs. 171-173). But, instead of emphasizing the specifics of the place, he conveyed a mood of tranquility. In the work's strongly ordered and reductive composition, harmonious cool palette, and smooth, velvety surfaces, he draws us into a realm of serenity and solace, leading us away from everyday concerns into a realm of introspection.

Due to its strong, abstract design, *Arques-la-Bataille* stands apart from the rest of Twachtman's oeuvre and from works rendered during the 1880s by other artists, American and European alike. However, when he created it, Twachtman may not have felt the work to be too far outside the mainstream as it is likely to have been the painting he created in his Paris studio in the winter of 1885 that he submitted to, and had rejected from, the Salon.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Since Twachtman had had a work accepted by the Salon in 1884, in the next year, he was confident enough to leave school for a month in order to complete another Salon entry.[77] He wrote to Weir on the 6th of April 1885:

> I took a month from school this winter and painted a large canvas for the Salon but it was rejected. Dannat liked it and was much surprised to hear of this. Others who saw it seemed sure of its getting all right and I should not dwell upon it if it were not that I know of some very bad works accepted.[78]

The approval of William Turner Dannat (1853-1929), an American expatriate who regularly showed at the Salon would have given Twachtman confidence.[79] Twachtman also may have felt assured in the fact that his two instructors from Julian's were on the Salon jury.[80] More significantly, he may have thought the work would be accepted in the belief that it followed precedents established by the landscapes of popular French painters who had been associated with the Barbizon School, such as Henri Harpignies (1819-1916) and Charles Daubigny (1817-1878). Works that Harpignies rendered during the 1880s, such as *Spring*, and some of Daubigny's paintings of the Oise River created in the 1860s and early 1870s, forged a midpoint between Barbizon naturalism and the ordered landscapes of Neoclassical painters Claude and Poussin (figs. 213-214).

Twachtman perhaps felt that *Arques-la-Bataille* achieved a similar coalescence of modernism and tradition. The influences of Whistler and Japanese prints are suggested in his careful yet casual ordering of softly-edged bands of tone. At the same time, academic principles played a significant role in the construction of his design and in his conception. By balancing horizontal and vertical axes, using a restricted palette, and eliminating the extraneous details that are distracting in his smaller image of the site, he established unity

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and harmony in his composition, following the rules of the "ensemble" advocated by his instructors. Whereas in the smaller view of the site, our eye is pulled in a number of directions at once, in the larger *Arques*, the composition steadies our gaze: we are drawn upward by the reeds, and then along the horizontal central axis, accentuated by the positioning of foliage motifs at the left and right perimeters of the work. Our gaze is then guided back to the work's center. The painting reflects Twachtman's interest in combining a classical image of nature, as enduring and unchanging, with a realist view, in which specific and transitory aspects of a site are revealed.

However, Twachtman's attitude toward the work may have changed in the following decade. After his return to America, he seems to have begun to view the painting as an exploration of purely aesthetic issues, as there is evidence that he entitled it *Decorative Landscape*.[81] When a work with this name was shown at the Society of American Artists Retrospective in 1892, a critic for the *New York Times* wrote: "It is well for an organization of the sort to have a retrospective every now and then and recall the old emotions produced by the first appearance of notable works or art and then compare those emotions with present views. . . . In the larger gallery . . . [there is] a curiously broad-painted landscape by J. H. Twachtman which he calls 'Decorative Landscape.'"[82] The *Critic* reported that "Mr. Twachtman's large 'Decorative Landscape'--not as well hung as it should be--is here to show what he was in the habit of doing," and the *Magazine of Art* noted that "Of three landscapes by John H. Twachtman, the big 'decorative' landscape was the most curious, being painted in very broad, smooth brush-strokes; low notes of green and gray depict a wet sky, a river and rushy banks."[83]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Decorative Landscape was also included by Twachtman in the group of works that he sent to the *World's Columbian Exposition* in Chicago in 1893, of which the *Art Amateur* wrote: "Mr. Twachtmann's [sic] 'Decorative Landscape,' a reedy lake with low hills on the farther side, was also in its way, impressionistic, but being painted in the usual French style, no one objects that the first impression produced by it is not lasting."[84]

In contrast with this critic's view, *Arques-la-Bataille* has a quiet power that may still be felt today. Indeed, its abstract qualities link it to directions in twentieth-century painting, such as the spiritualized color abstractions of Mark Rothko (1903-1970), and it seems out place today in the gallery of late nineteenth-century American paintings at the Metropolitan Museum, where it is currently on view. Twachtman's intention in creating the painting was undoubtedly not to forecast future directions in art; his aim was more likely to have been to find a meeting point between the idealization of the classical tradition that underlay his academic instruction and the realism to which he had long been devoted. As such, *Arques-la-Bataille* suggests the tie between art-historical traditions and modernist innovation.

Criticism of the French Period Works

Reviewing Twachtman's shows at Chase's Gallery in 1885 and 1886, critics recognized the shift that had occurred in his art. A writer for the *Boston Transcript* reported in 1885

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that Twachtman was "undeniably as sympathetic and poetic as any painter we have." The critic took note of Twachtman's French period style, commenting on the great "tenderness and delicacy of his handling," "his feeling for modulations of color," "his power of rendering atmosphere distances," and "his sensitiveness to the poetic impression." The main factor that impressed the critic in Twachtman's art, however, was his ability to go beyond facts to the "essential nature of things."[85] A writer for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* also commented in 1885 on Twachtman's ability to draw the viewer into the mood and spirit of his sites:

> It must be a great pleasure to paint such exquisite pictures. This is what one thinks as he looks at them: "What a pleasant place! I would have enjoyed being there, and what pleasure the painter took in it, since he has given us not only the look of the place (at the fresh morning hour, when everything in France is softened by a faint film of gray), but also a frank record of his own agreeable emotions in the presence of the scene, a record written so freely and impulsively that no labor is apparent.

For this reviewer, Boston had not had for years "lovelier pictures than these--works so permeated with true artistic feeling, so poetical, so spontaneous, and so joyous. It is hoped that they will be appreciated."[86]

Critics reviewing Twachtman's show at Chase's in 1886 felt that he had perhaps gone too far from nature. The *Advertiser's* critic commented that whoever had seen the show in the previous year would be disappointed as the artist's recent work did "not entirely fulfill last year's tacit promise, nor satisfy fully the expectations aroused by the exquisite quality of some former productions." But the critic went on to note that the paintings and pastels on display are "nevertheless the work of a painter of unusual sensibility and taste, who has, for the moment, wandered off from the good road and lost

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his bearings, but who will soon get back upon the right track."[87] The *Transcript* reviewer also faulted Twachtman. While praising him for being able to see "things admirably in mass and preserve the values perfectly" and for striking "at what may be called the essential nature of an object," the critic felt that Twachtman's pictures were "but memories . . . without delicacy of workmanship."[88] This reviewer was more receptive, however, to Twachtman's pastels, remarking:

> One must go to the pastels to find . . . refinement and daintiness. . .here there is no chance for disappointment. Like Appleton Brown Mr. Twachtman *paints* with his crayons, and the result is charming and the "Mill on the Dunes" has a light sky that is delicious, the bits of blue that break through the fleecy clouds are full of light and sun, which can rarely be said of blue sky as it is generally painted. "Sunlight" is one of the best things in the collection; it has a delicacy and sweetness of color and light in a variety in the greens, a movement in the white sky of clouds, and a purity of touch . . . The flowers in the foreground are particularly lovely.[89]

Twachtman also featured his European pastels in his first showing with the Society of Painters in Pastel in 1888 (the organization's second show). Reviews of this exhibition reveal that critics found his pastels of Normandy and Holland to demonstrate perfectly how the medium should be used. A reviewer for the *New York Times* felt that Twachtman's pastel handling equalled that of Whistler, stating: "Mr. Twachtman has also had his Venetian fever, and at least one of the pastels, "Gray Venice," hardly yields to the best by Whistler and is better than many by the latter. Here the perspective is fine, the drawing tender, the pink on walls and roofs brilliant yet of the utmost delicacy.[90] A writer for the *Art Amateur* recognized Twachtman's ability to bring out the mood of a place with tone and a minimum of detail:

> We have too few landscapists like Mr. Twachtman. His windmill on a low sand dune, with a pool and reeds in the foreground, was what may be called, in the best sense of the term, a poem in color, though as well made

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> out and fully as realistic as anything in the exhibition. His "In Holland," on the other hand, was impressionistic to a degree, a mere scumbling of blue, black, white, green and brown on gray paper everywhere apparent, being found sufficient to a picture a great expanse of water with low shores, houses and vessels. "A Look toward the Lido," with equally slight means, gave a remarkably truthful account of a swelling sea under a pale sky. "Willows" was a capital study in gray, green and brown.[91]

French Period Art Summary

During his French period, Twachtman turned from an examination of the world around him to a study of the impact of nature on his own moods and emotions. In the Dutch and French countryside, Twachtman found a landscape conducive to such an exploration. The change in his art was in part a response to place. In contrast to the hills of Cincinnati, where significant changes were taking place as suburban neighborhoods emerged, in Holland and Normandy, he was confronted with landscapes that had long been inhabited and that had remained largely unchanged for generations. He captured in his works the solace that such long-established places evoked. Although not reflecting a religious outlook, Twachtman's French period works suggest his search in nature for something powerful that existed beyond the trivial plane of ordinary human experience. He would return to a more dynamic and vigorous approach, in the works he created in Greenwich in the 1890s, but he would continue to seek out and express the underlying spirit in nature.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Four: Notes

[1] Charles de Kay, "Munich as an Art Center," *Cosmopolitan* 13 (October 1892): 643.

[2] Cecilia Beaux, *Background with Figures: Autobiography of Cecilia Beaux* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), p. 174.

[3] J. Alden Twachtman, quoted in Hale 1957, p. 52.

[4] See Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 2 January 1885, Weir Family Papers, MSS 41, Harold B. Lee Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah: "Our little girl is called Marjorie and was baptized on Christmas day." Marjorie was born on 9 June 1884.

[5] See *Explication des ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des artists vivants exposé au Palais des Champs-Elysées le Mai 1885* (Paris: E. Bernard et Cie, 1884), p. 207: Twachtmann, (John-Henry), né à Cincinnati (Etats-Unis, d'Amérique), élève de MM. G. Boulanger et J. Lefebvre.--Avenue de Villiers, 140. No. 2321. *L'hiver, en Amérique*. On American participation in Paris Salons, see Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990).

[6] Other Americans who lived on the Avenue de Villiers during Twachtman's years in Paris were Howard Russell Butler (1856-1934) and C. S. Reinhart (1844-1896), who lived at 147; Walter Gay (1856-1937) and William Dannat (1853-1929), who lived at 71. See Fink 1990, pp. 327, 335, 346, 384.

[7] John Milner, *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1988), p. 172.

[8] Albert Wolff, *La Capitale de l'art* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1886), vol. 5., p. 286. Quoted in Milner 1988, p. 172.

[9] Emile Zola, *Nana*, trans. by George Holden (1880; reprint, London: Harmondsworth, 1980), p. 312.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[10] Catherine Fehrer discusses the location of the Académie Julian in the mid-1880s in "A Search for the Académie Julian," *Drawing* 4 (July-August 1982): 25-28.

[11] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 6 April 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[12] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 2 January 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[13] H. Siddons Mowbray, *Memoirs* (Privately printed by Florence Mowbray, 1928), p. 27.

[14] R. J. Wickenden, *The Art and Etchings of John Henry Twachtman* (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1921), pp. 9-10.

[15] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 2 January 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[16] The French Impressionist shows were held in 1874, 1876, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1886.

[17] See H. Barbara Weinberg, "The Académie Julian," in *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville, 1991), pp. 221-262; Robert Kashey and Elizabeth Kashey, *The Julian Academy: Paris, 1868-1939*, exh. cat., essay by Catherine Fehrer (New York: Sheppard Gallery, 1989); and Fehrer 1982, pp. 25-28.

[18] For information on Rodolphe Julian, see Weinberg 1991, pp. 221-262; Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Académie Julian and Its Founder (Rodolphe Julian)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 6, 103 (May-June 1984): 207-216.

[19] Jacques Lethève, *Daily Life of French Artists in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Hilary E. Padon (New York: Praeger, 1972), pp. 26-27. Quoted in Fink 1990, p. 135.

[20] Birge Harrison, "The New Departure in Parisian Art," *Atlantic Monthly* 37 (December 1890): 757. On p. 760, Harrison further stated: "It must be remembered that, in addition to the financial inducement, Jullien (sic) was able to point out to [his instructors] that, banded together in a close syndicate under his leadership, and backed and supported by their great and ever-growing body of pupils, they were able to wield an almost omnipotent power in all matters pertaining to art in France,--a power to which they could never aspire so long as they remained divided and unsupported units. It was a very alluring bait to hold

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

out, and its attractions must have been well-nigh irresistible to ambitious men like the president and secretary of the salon jury."

[21] On Boulanger, see M.H. Spielmann, "Gustave Boulanger," *Magazine of Art* 12 (winter 1889): 70-72 and Charles Bouvet, "Gustave Boulanger: Collaborateur de Charles Garnier A L'Opéra," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 5, 12 (November 1925): 301-311. On Lefebvre, see "Jules Lefebvre," in Jules Claretie, *Peintres & Sculpteurs Contemporains*," series 2 (living artists in January 1881) (Paris: Librarie des Bibliophiles, 1884), pp. 345-367.

[22] For information on Robinson's activities in Paris during 1883-1885, see John I. H. Baur, *Theodore Robinson, 1852-1896* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Museum, 1946), pp. 19-25.

[23] J. Sutherland, "An Art Student's Year in Paris: Women's Classes at Julian's School," *Art Amateur* 32 (January 1895): 50.

[24] Parisian academic methods during the nineteenth century are discussed in Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon, 1971) and H. Barbara Weinberg, *The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Amon Carter Museum, 1984). See also, Weinberg 1991 and Weinberg, "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," *American Art Journal* 13 (Autumn 1981): 66-84.

[25] Boime 1971, p. 31.

[26] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Roll 1097, frames 667-710. Journal entry, Monday, 20 October 1884.

[27] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Thursday 23 October 1884.

[28] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Friday, 24 October 1884.

[29] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Tuesday, 28 October 1884.

[30] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Thursday, 30 October 1884.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[31] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Wednesday, 5 November 1884.

[32] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Friday, 7 November 1884.

[33] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Wednesday, 12 November 1884.

[34] Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, journal entry, Saturday, 6 December 1884.

[35] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, 7 December 1883, Weir Family Papers.

[36] Stanford White, Paris, to Weir, 3 May 1884, Weir Family Papers.

[37] Changes in landscape instruction at Paris academies from the seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries are discussed in Boime's chapter, "The Academic Landscape: Traditional Procedure," Boime 1971, pp. 133-148.

[38] Boime 1971, p. 133.

[39] For information on the changes that occurred in French landscape painting from the 1820s through the 1870s and a re-assessment of how landscape painting evolved from a "lower" form of art in academic circles to a genre explored by prominent French painters, including the Impressionists, see Kermit Champa et al., *The Rise of Landscape Painting in France: Corot to Monet*, exh. cat. (Manchester, N.H.: Currier Gallery of Art, 1991).

[40] Boime 1971, p. 133.

[41] Boime 1971, p. 135.

[42] Beaux 1930, pp. 120-121.

[43] See discussions in H. Barbara Weinberg, "American Impressionism in a Cosmopolitan Context," *Arts Magazine* 55 (November 1980): 160-165 and "The Academic Armature of American Impressionism" in Weinberg 1984, pp. 85-95.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[44] Vincent Van Gogh, quoted in *Dear Theo: The Autobiography of Vincent Van Gogh*, Irving Stone, ed. (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1937; reprint, New York: Signet Books, 1969), p. 60.

[45] Clark 1924, p. 25.

[46] Twachtman, Paris, to J. Alden Weir, [New York], 2 January 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[47] Hale misread the date on Arques-la-Bataille as 1883. See his catalogue A, p. 539, no. 9.

[48] Katharine S. Macquoid, *Through Normandy* (London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1874), p. 103.

[49] Macquoid 1874, pp. 119-120.

[50] Percy Dearmer, *Highways and Byways in Normandy* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), p. 359.

[51] Clark 1924, p. 25.

[52] Hale knew of the February 1885 exhibition from newspaper reviews, but was unable to locate a copy of the catalogue. He was not aware of the 1886 show.

[53] "Art Notes: Mr. Twachtman's Landscapes," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 February 1885, p. 2. A description of this work also appears in "The Fine Arts: Mr. Twachtman's Paintings," *Boston Daily Advertizer*, 13 February 1885, p. 4.

[54] "Art Notes: Mr. Twachtman's Landscapes," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 February 1885, p. 2.

[55] Bazille to his parents, spring 1864. Quoted in John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973), p. 109.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[56] Monet to Bazille, summer 1867. Quoted in Rewald 1973, pp. 110-111.

[57] Clark 1924, pp. 24-25.

[58] Related works are *Canal Scene*, ca. 1884 (oil on canvas, 15 x 18 inches, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and *View of the Seine, Neuilly*, ca. 1884 (oil on panel, 13-1/4 x 15-7/16, Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Howard S. Wilson Memorial Collection).

[59] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 6 April 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[60] Information on Twachtman's visits to the Halsmuseum are noted in a letter from Annette Stott to the author, 27 February 1988.

[61] Information from Stott letter to the author, 1988.

[62] Hale 1957, p. 45.

[63] Blum to his parents, 1 October 1885, Blum Family Correspondence. Quoted in Bruce Weber, *Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903) and His Milieu*, 2 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986), pp. 280, 325n.

[64] Robert Blum to Otto Bacher, Otto Bacher Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Insitution, Washington, D.C., Roll 1654, frame 369.

[65] See Weber 1986, pp. 278-279.

[66] Robert Blum, Venice, to Otto Bacher, Bacher Papers, Archives of American Art, Roll 1654, frames 153-155.

[67] Robert Blum, Venice, to William Merritt Chase, New York, 26 December 1885, Chappellier Gallery Papers, Robert Blum Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll N68-101, frames 28-29.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[68] Twachtman, Venice, to Chase, New York, 26 December 1885, Chappellier Gallery Papers, Robert Blum Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll N68-101, frames 9-10.

[69] Blum, Venice, to Bacher, 22 January 1886, Bacher Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 1654, frames 200-202.

[70] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 6 April 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[71] Clark 1924, p. 39.

[72] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 2 January 1885, Weir Family Papers.

[73] If Twachtman arrived in Paris in the spring of 1883, he would have had a chance to study Whistler's nocturnes, which were featured in an exhibition at the Georges Petit Gallery at the time.

[74] The only documented New York exhibitions in which Whistler's work was included are: the Society of American Artists (1878); the Society of American Artists (1879); Loan Collection of Paintings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, May-October 1881; Union League Club, April 1881; Society of American Artists (1882); Wunderlich Gallery, *50 Etchings and Drypoints* (*Venice Second Series*), October 1883. Information on Whistler's New York exhibitions may be found in See Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret McDonald, and Robin Spencer, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980).

[75] See Young, McDonald, and Spencer 1980 for details of Whistler's exhibitions in Paris.

[76] See "The Impact of Whistler on Blum in Venice and New York, 1880-1882" in Weber 1986, pp. 97-169.

[77] Fink 1990, p. 399.

[78] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 6 April 1885, Weir Family Papers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[79] For information on Dannat, see Michael Quick, *American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century* (Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Art Institute, 1976), pp. 93, 149 and Holly Pyne Connor, "William Turner Dannat (1853-1929)" in Annette Blaugrund, *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition*, exh. cat. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), pp. 138-139.

[80] Boulanger served on Salon juries in 1883 and 1885. Lefebvre served on Salon juries in 1884 and 1885. See *Explication des ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des artists vivants exposé au Palais des Champs-Elysées le Mai 1885* (Paris: E. Bernard et Cie, 1883; 1884; 1885).

[81] In discussing Monet's *The Luncheon (Decorative Panel)*, 1874 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), Robert L. Herbert observed that "Decorative" was often used as a title for large-scale works, "for unlike a smaller painting, it would take over a whole wall." Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 259.

[82] "The Society's Retrospect," *New York Times*, 3 December 1892, p. 4.

[83] "The Fine Arts: Retrospective Exhibition of the Society of American Artists," *Critic* 18 (1892): 333 and "The Society of American Artists," *Magazine of Art* 16 (1893): vi.

[84] "American Painting at the World's Fair," *Art Amateur* 21 (February 1894): 74.

[85] "Art Notes," *New York Times*, 20 February 1885, p. 6.

[86] "The Fine Arts: Mr. Twachtman's Paintings," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 13 February 1885, p. 4.

[87] "The Fine Arts," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1886, p. 5.

[88] "Paintings and Pastels by J. H. Twachtman," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 January 1886, p. 6.

[89] "Fine Arts," *Boston Morning Journal Supplement*, 30 January 1886, p. 1 and "Paintings and Pastels by J. H. Twachtman," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 January 1886, p. 6.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[90] "Professors of Pastel," *New York Times*, 5 May 1888, p. 4.

[91] "The Pastel Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 19 (June 1888): 3-4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Five

A Prelude to Impressionism: Images in Oil and Pastel of Bridgeport, Newport, and the Branchville Hills (1886-1889)

Cincinnati and the Midwest (1886-1888)

On his return to America in the winter of 1885-1886, Twachtman probably went directly to Cincinnati, his wife's destination on her departure from Europe the previous spring.[1] By the tenth of June 1886, as a letter to Weir indicates, Twachtman was on Pelee Island, located due north of Cincinnati in the middle of Lake Erie, where the Scudder family owned property. In fact, Twachtman's father-in-law, Dr. Scudder had been responsible for dredging many of the marshes that dominated this small island, so that its land could be used for farming and cattle raising.[2]

On June 11, a notice appeared in the Pelee Island *Amherstburg Echo* stating: "Mr. Twachtman of Cincinnati, Ohio, visited the main land last week, collecting cattle with the assistance of George Broadwell. On Wednesday, the second installment, he shipped 31 head on the Dresden, for Pelee Island, where they will be used for Dr. Scudder's marsh farm."[3] This report indicates that Twachtman had been on Pelee Island for some time, working for his father-in-law. Such proof of Twachtman's stay on Pelee Island confirms that it is this locale intended by Clark when he wrote: "it was [after Twachtman's return

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from Europe] that Mrs. Twachtman's father suggested that it might be well to combine landscape painting with farming and offered them a house on some land which he owned up north."[4] Mase also reported that at a time when American art as Twachtman "understood it--was little appreciated, Mrs. Twachtman's father, a physician and a writer, suggested that if Art were no good, perhaps raising cows might go. They began raising cows on some place in which he had an interest."[5] Despite Clark's claim that Twachtman was to both farm and paint, no works can be attributed to this stay.

The previous March, Twachtman had been informed that the *S.S. Oregon*, on which he had sent a crate of works executed abroad, had sunk off the coast of Fire Island, New York.[6] It was not until June, while he was on Pelee Island, that he heard that his crate, along with other material from the ship, had been rescued and would be sold by auction to pay for salvage costs.[7] Twachtman wrote to Weir of this news on the tenth of the month, asking him to "look after my interests in the matter and have the pictures bring as much as possible."[8] Contrary to Clark's suggestion that Twachtman's works were lost as a result of the *Oregon*'s sinking, his crate was retrieved, but the outcome of Weir's efforts to purchase and/or sell the works is not known.[9] Since so many of Twachtman's French period works were in his possession at the time of his February 1889 sale at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in New York, it is possible that Weir was able to buy Twachtman's crate for a nominal fee, and that the salvaging costs were met with the sale of only a few pictures.[10] Hale suggests that even if paintings were saved, drawings would not have survived.[11] This is conceivable, as today none of Twachtman's academic drawings are known. However, as bags of mail were retrieved from the *Oregon* unharmed, and since

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

several of Twachtman's French period pastels are extant, it is possible that some works on paper were also recovered.

According to Clark, Twachtman departed for Chicago when he received an invitation to participate in the painting of a cyclorama that was to depict the Civil War Battle of Gettysburg, and that in his work on this project, Twachtman was responsible for "painting the sky, with bursting bombs and the lurid accompaniments of battle."[12] Upon discovering that a famous cyclorama of Gettysburg, constructed under the direction of the French artist Paul Philippoteaux (1815-?), had been completed in Chicago in 1884, Hale concluded that Clark had been in error, and suggested that Twachtman worked on a different project in Chicago.[13] However, the Gettysburg cyclorama in which Twachtman participated was, in fact, a copy of the Philippoteaux cyclorama that was erected in Pittsburgh, not in Chicago, and finished in 1887; it was opened to the public on 14 June of that year.[14]

Although the cyclorama was installed in Pittsburgh, it was constructed in the Cyclorama studio of Pierpoint & Gross in Englewood, Illinois.[15] Annexed to Chicago in 1889, Englewood was a suburb of the city located south and west of it in 1886. Thus, Clark's view was accurate after all.

For Twachtman the cyclorama provided an opportunity to work with some old friends. Of the eight artists who were employed on the project, Oliver Grover, who had studied under Twachtman in Florence, was probably his closest associate. Three other participants had been fellow students in Munich in the mid- and late 1870s--John O. Anderson (b. mid-1850s), Albert G. Reinhart (1854-1926), and Thadeus Welch (1844-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1919).[16] The last three artists were Edwin Willard Deming (1860-1933), C.H. Collins (?-?), and A.J. Austen (?-?).[17] A further mention of the locale where Twachtman was employed and of his colleagues on the cyclorama appears in a letter Otto Bacher sent to his parents from Venice on the tenth of October 1886, in which he reported: "Another thing of good news is that Grover, Anderson, John Twachtman and Reinhart are painting oil painting panoramas near Chicago and have done one that was a great success. They are paid sixty dollars per week, so I may have the chance of something of the sort when I come home."[18] A drawing after the cyclorama reveals bombs exploding in its northern sector--perhaps the area singled out by Clark to which Twachtman contributed (fig. 215).

Remuneration was clearly Twachtman's main aim in joining the Gettysburg cyclorama, as no doubt he found the demand for detail to be tedious. The production methods used for the cyclorama followed those devised by Philippoteaux for his Gettysburg. Photographs and sketches of the actual battle site were employed to establish topographical accuracy and to determine where various armies had been situated. Historical factors were researched to assure veracity.[19] This care was clearly worthwhile, as the cyclorama was enthusiastically received by the public, and, on its opening, it was called by the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, "the most successful effort ever made to portray with historic and scenic fidelity such a gripping scene."[20] But in the year after it was installed, the heyday of the cyclorama was over, and the building that had once housed the Pittsburgh *Gettysburg* contained a steam laundry.[21]

The year 1886 is somewhat of a mystery in Twachtman's career. There has been evidence to suggest that by this year Twachtman was already living in Greenwich,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Connecticut, and spending time at the Holley House, an inn in nearby Cos Cob. This notion was suggested in a typed transcript prepared by Dorothy Weir Young of a letter that Twachtman wrote to Weir stating:

> Sorry not to be able to go to you for a visit now. We are without a cent in the house and cant go anywhere where walking is bad.
>
> We go to Cos Cob to-morrow to board for a while and hope that our credit will be good there. Why dont you come to see me? You pass Greenwich and don't make an effort to see me when it is not a question of money and only to stop over a train? or better still, over night?[22]

However, the envelope with this postscript no longer exists and its record may have been in error. When the full contents of the letter are considered, it seems more likely that it was written during the 1890s when Twachtman was already settled on Round Hill Road in Greenwich and staying periodically at the Holley House in Cos Cob, rather than in 1886, when he is known to have been on Pelee Island and engaged in cyclorama work in Chicago. The handwriting on the letter provides another clue to its dating. Twachtman only began to write with the large and free handwriting style that appears on the letter in the late 1890s. In the late 1880s, his handwriting was small and tight in comparison..

The amount of time that Twachtman spent working on the cyclorama cannot be ascertained. His third child, Elsie, was born in Cincinnati in early November, but there is no indication that Twachtman was with his family at the time.[23] Twachtman's movements are also not clear during the next year, except that at some point he was again on Pelee Island, as his presence, and status as a renter on the island, were noted by the island's 1887 tax records.[24] A painting dated 1887 (one of the last occurrances of a date on one of Twachtman's works), is possibly a scene of Pelee Island, where shanties, sheltered by the island's few trees, were a common sight (fig. 216).[25] This work marks Twachtman's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

return to the painterly handling that had characterized his Munich period manner as well as to the dark greens of his early Avondale scenes. Indeed, if this painting were not dated, it could easily be grouped with his Cincinnati landscapes of the early 1880s.[26] Entitled *Winter* and *Landscape*, the two works that Twachtman sent to the Society of American Artists in April provide no clue as to his whereabouts. Charles de Kay's description of these works hints, however, that Twachtman had returned to a "sketch" approach: "J. H. Twachtman's 'Winter' is a pleasing bit of Impressionism; his 'Landscape' with its smudges of greens makes a good companion piece."[27]

Only a few of Twachtman's works may be attributed to the years following his return from Europe. A view of an unknown site in a flat snow-covered landscape, *Along the River, Winter*, perhaps dates from 1887 or 1888 as it reflects the changes that had occurred in his art during his French period, but, as he does not seem to have created snow scenes while abroad, the work is probably an American rather than a European depiction (fig. 217). In the painting, Twachtman expressed the mood of quietude that this landscape evoked by using a Whistlerian tonal scheme of soft, silvery grays, by emphasizing the horizontal forms of architectural and landscape motifs that parallel the horizon line, and by painting the narrowing tracks left by a carriage that had recently meandered through the snow with long, calligraphic strokes. While the impact of Julian's is suggested in Twachtman's use of one-point perspective, his understanding of the aesthetics of the Japanese print is seen in his delicate arrangement of shapes and lines. Shinsai Ryuryuko's (ca. 1764-1830) ukiyo-e print has a similar composition and evokes a comparable feeling of solitude (fig. 218).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman returned to the same site depicted in *Along the River, Winter* in a painting generically entitled *Landscape* (fig. 219). Instead of showing the scene in winter, here he showed it on a damp day in the spring or fall. Changing his technique to suit the livelier mood of the site, he brought his vantage point closer to the farmhouses, enlarged the size of motifs in relation to the work's format, used a palette of blues and greens that intermingle with areas of the rust-tone of the panel which is partially exposed throughout the work, and painted with a more vigorous brushstrokes. The differences between *Along the River, Winter* and *Landscape* suggest that at this transitional point in his career, Twachtman was working in a new flexible manner, at times continuing in the mode of his French period and at other times, returning to aspects of his Munich period approach. Such an adaptability of means would remain a hallmark of his art throughout the rest of his career.

The new versatility of Twachtman's art during the late 1880s may be seen in three large paintings of hillsides that perhaps date from 1887 (figs. 220-222).[28] For Twachtman, it may have been the lack of distinguishing features that drew him to these grass- and brush-covered mounds. Abandoning the careful designs of his French period art, he created uncomposed views that accord with the undramatic nature of his sites. Positioning the viewer on the rising slopes, he omitted standard foreground or repoussoir elements and raised his horizon lines, focusing our attention solely on the textural properties of the scenes directly before us, on the rustle of the wind through sites that were not necessarily wild, but that were not cultivated either. These works demonstrate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's continued attention to places that could not easily be fit into previously established categories of landscape painting.

New York and the Brooklyn Bridge

By the fall of 1887 or the winter of 1888, Twachtman left Cincinnati behind permanently and moved to New York where he took an apartment in the Benedick Building on Washington Sqaure in New York. He gave this address in National Academy of Design, Society of American Artists, and Chicago Inter-State exhibition catalogues in 1888. Twachtman may have preceded his family to the east coast, and his home at the Benedick was possibly a small space shared with the illustrator and painter William Langson Lathrop (1859-1938), whose recollections of rooming with Twachtman appeared in an article in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* in 1915.[29] The author of the article wrote:

> Through William Lathrop, one of the finest of the group of landscape painters of the Delaware region, I was able to gather some notes as to Twachtman's personal life. Lathrop had a studio with Twachtman in New York in the year '86 or '87, the name studio being a somewhat sumptuous title for that practically bare room in a house on the East Side, the accessories of the place, the "properties," so to speak, being a kitchen table, canvases, paint and a silk tophat. Lathrop, who did newspaper work then, describes Twachtman at the time as a most inspiring companion. In appearance resembling Manet, he would be utterly unconscious of most anything but his work. Depressed at times through failure to interest people with his pictures, he would feel moody now and then, yet most of the time would work as hard as he could. Those East-Side days near

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Washington square, while in a tough neighborhood, are remembered by Lathrop as quite full of a certain Bohemian atmosphere.
>
> A French restaurant was near and artists used to meet there frequently. Blum used to join them sometimes. Twachtman's keen humor had to help over many a bad time. The long walks he and Lathrop used to take in the evening revealed the, as the latter put it, dominant beautiful and spiritual courage and refinement of the artist's mind.[30]

In New York, Twachtman did not return to the harbor and shore scenery he had depicted in 1879, but at some point in 1887-1888, he created a painting of the Brooklyn Bridge, rendered from below the bridge on the Brooklyn side (fig. 223). Twachtman's image was reproduced in *Scribner's Magazine* in July 1888 as the frontispiece for an article entitled "Feats of Railway Engineering," and the work was acquired by *Scribner's* at some point before 1893 (fig. 224).[31] Since Twachtman's image appeared in *Scribner's*, it may have been commissioned, and, thus, as in the case of his other illustrations, he may have created it from a secondary source.[32] However, the vital qualities of his handling in the painting make it seem more likely that he studied his subject firsthand and rendered it from life.

A pencil drawing by Twachtman was identified by his son, Alden, as a study for the Brooklyn Bridge painting (fig. 225). However, on examining both the bridge and the landscape in this drawing, it is clear that it portrays the Cincinnati and Covington Suspension Bridge in Cincinnati that had been designed by John Roebling and completed in 1866 (figs. 226-227). Several factors point to this identification: in the drawing, the small pedestaled globes that project from the towers of the Cincinnati bridge may be discerned, the general shape of the tower corresponds more with the Cincinnati bridge than with the Brooklyn Bridge, and the undeveloped landscape beneath the bridge accords

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with the landscape of Cincinnati rather than with that of Brooklyn or New York, where docks and buildings crowded the shoreline. Further proof that Twachtman's drawing portrays Cincinnati is seen in the presence of two small landscape studies on the work's verso that correspond closely with images in the sketchbook he kept while in Cincinnati in 1880 (fig. 228-231).

The differences between Twachtman's drawing of the Cincinnati bridge and his painting of the Brooklyn Bridge reveal the advances that had occurred in his draftsmanship since his return from France. Twachtman's style in the oil demonstrates precisely measured scale relationships and a thoughtfully constructed design not evident in the drawing. In the drawing, there is no particular cohesiveness to the arrangement: we take in a variety of different forms at once of buildings, boat, barges at dock, and figures along the shore. In the painting, Twachtman guides our eye gradually through the scene. From a position at the water's edge, we gaze out at the traffic under the bridge, which moves in subtle alignment with the curve of the bridge, and gradually our focus is directed to the broad bowed form of the bridge. Both the Brooklyn and New York towers and the cables running between them meet our upward gaze. While bringing out the elegant simplicity of Roebling's design for the Brooklyn Bridge, Twachtman also conveys the apparent naturalness with which the bridge had taken its place in the New York landscape, showing it in harmony with the river and land as if it were a form of nature rather than of man.

Twachtman's painting of the bridge has a number of parallels with written descriptions of the bridge from the 1880s. His image of the bridge as perfectly at ease in its environment accords with the commentaries of authors who remarked on its unifying

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

presence in the metropolitan region. In May 1883--the month the bridge opened--W.C. Conant reported in *Harper's Monthly* that the view from the bridge was of "the busy river, the two great cities now made one, and beyond, completing the circuit, villa-dotted Staten Island; the marshes, rivers, and cities of New Jersey stretching to Orange Mountain and the further heights; the Palisades walling the mighty Hudson; the fair Westchester country; the thoroughfare of the Sound opening from Hell Gate; Long Island, 'fish-shaped Paumanok,' with its beaches; the Narrows, with their frowning forts; the Bay, where the colossal Liberty will rise; at last the ocean, with its bridging ships."[33] Charles Barnard wrote in *St. Nicholas Magazine* in July 1883 of the exhilarating experience of crossing the bridge, which allowed pedestrians to forget the chaos of the city:

> And a glorious walk it will be, from shore to shore, up the long incline, over the house-tops, under the arches that are like cathedral windows, out over the blue waters, and through the pure fresh air. Pedestrians will be sure to stop halfway over, if it is for nothing more than to catch the breath of the sea or the fragrant breeze from the Long Island farms. What a relief it will be from the ill-smelling streets and stuffy shops! What a happy escape from those dreadful cabins on the ferry boats! To go from shore to shore in one straight and jolly tramp, with the sky for a roof and the breeze for good company.[34]

While capturing the lofty rise of the bridge described by Barnard, Twachtman was not interested, as Barnard had been, in the experience of the traveler on the bridge. What seems to have fascinated the artist chiefly was the bridge's form. This may be seen in his decision to bring out the Gothic shape and solidity of the Brooklyn-side tower and to emphasize the curve of the bridge's cable, which was the mainstay of the structure's suspension system. The beauty of the bridge's cables, one of the only aspects of the bridge in which Roebling united form and function, was, indeed, often remarked upon by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

period writers. Conant wrote that the cables on each side were "lifted up with a long, lofty, and graceful sweep over the top of a tower over 276 feet high, and drooping between the towers in a majestic curve which one can liken to nothing else for grandeur but the inverted arch of the rainbow."[35] Although architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler attacked Roebling in an 1883 article in *Harper's Weekly* for the disunity of the bridge's design and especially for the "woeful lack of expression" in the Gothic-styled towers, he reserved praise for the curve of the cables, stating: "This aerial bow, as it hangs between the busy cities 'curving on a sky imbrued with color,' is perfect as an organism of nature. It is an organism of nature."[36]

Stressing the continuous line of bridge's south cable, Twachtman conveys an appreciation for this aspect of Roebling's design in which art and engineering came together. Through his portrayal of boats moving in a slow curve beneath the bridge, Twachtman suggests that they too were compelled to comply with this aspect of the bridge's form.

Although the Brooklyn Bridge was a popular subject for commercial illustrators, during the 1880s, there were few painted views of it, and existing works do not focus on the bridge as an aesthetic element in its own right.[37] In paintings of 1883, John Mackie Falconer (1820-1903) portrayed the fireworks at the bridge's opening celebration and William Bliss Baker (1859-1886) portrayed the bridge in the distance in a view looking toward New York from south Brooklyn (figs. 232-233). Twachtman's painting was thus perhaps the first by a modern painter to focus on the bridge's design. His image set a precedent for the many views of the bridge rendered by artists in the twentieth century

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

such as those by Albert Gleizes (1881-1953), John Marin (1870-1953), Joseph Stella (1877-1946), and Max Weber (1881-1961) (figs. 234-237).[38] However, Twachtman's image differs from those by artists of the next century. In twentieth-century views, the bridge is portrayed as a symbol of the energy of a new age, and artists showed its forms fractured and etched against the dynamic elements of the modern city. In Twachtman's painting, the bridge has a calm presence, bringing order to what had been an overcrowded, chaotic waterway. Whereas twentieth-century artists showed the city's mechanized forms pulsating from, through, and in conjunction with the gothic portals of the bridge, suggesting that the dynamic and technological aspects of the urban scene in the new age represented a rebirth of the religious and sacred forces that had guided the medieval era, Twachtman simply showed the bridge as a force of nature, quietly and unobtrusively bringing aesthetic harmony to the urban scene.

Branchville (1888)

In the winter of 1888, Twachtman became acquainted with the Connecticut countryside as he began to spend time with J. Alden Weir at Weir's home and farm in the town of Branchville, Connecticut.[39] Although Weir lived in New York during the winter, it was his residence in southwestern Connecticut, set on 150 acres of land, that was the focal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

point of his affection and where he felt most at home. Weir later wrote to Twachtman's son, Alden, of the sentimental value of one's home, and, indeed, the example of Weir's harmonious life in Branchville was clearly an inspiration for Twachtman in his search for a country home of his own in the following year.[40] In the summer of 1888, Twachtman brought his family to Branchville and rented a house near Weir's.[41] While the artists' children played together, the two friends worked together, exploring pastel in the Branchville hills and creating etchings on the printing press that Weir established in his Branchville barn.[42] It was probably on a visit to Branchville in 1888 that Weir created an etching of Twachtman absorbed in a book, which suggests Twachtman's pleasure in the quiet occupations of country life (fig. 238).

Weir's etching oeuvre is much larger and more diverse than Twachtman's.[43] He essayed a wider variety of subjects than did Twachtman, experimented with a greater range of etching techniques, and worked more extensively on his images, developing them in series of proof stages. His prints include both simple, sparely rendered portraits in which he used a minimum of line and more heavily worked up images in which he brought out chiaroscuro effects; the latter group of works reflect the influence of Whistler, whom Weir visited in London in 1877. Twachtman's spontaneous etching methods were also an influence on Weir. In such images as *Bas Meudon, No. 2*, Weir used a Twachtman-like method, working quickly from nature and varying the energy of his needle to convey the different rhythms of motifs (fig. 239). However, as the neatly depicted wood-planked fence and lock at the water's edge in this image reveal, Weir was more reluctant than

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman to omit specific identifying details of a locale, perhaps because he remained more in debt to his academic background than did Twachtman.

Twachtman's more spontaneous approach may be seen in *Branchville*, a work of ca. 1888 (fig. 240). For this image, Twachtman applied his etching needle fluently and seemingly without effort throughout his composition to convey the movement of an open road curving through the landscape, clouds passing quickly across the sky, and trees swaying in the wind.[44] A gate in the foreground is noticed by the viewer as an afterthought, and it is only on a second glance at the work that we understand that this gate is significant as it is due to its open position that we are allowed to follow the road to the pointed gable of a farmhouse in the distance. In *Branchville*, Twachtman's expressive means and his imagery work in unison, as the flow of the road is expressed both by animated line and shape and by the opened gate.

A similar etching, once attributed to Weir, may now be identified as a work by Twachtman, as it portrays a scene that Twachtman also depicted in a pastel (figs. 241-242).[45] This etching's assignment to Weir is, indeed, not surprising as it reveals a greater concern for fact than was characteristic of Twachtman in his etchings. However, this print may be seen perhaps as an example of a case in which Weir had impact on Twachtman's etching style, demonstrating the free interchange between the two artists in the late 1880s.

Another etching that Twachtman created probably in 1888 was *Old Mill, Branchville*, a work that was reproduced and captioned with this title in illustrated copies of the catalogue for the two-man show of work by Twachtman and Weir held in 1889 at Fifth Avenue Galleries in New York (fig. 243).[46] All five prints by Twachtman in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

catalogue illustrated either a painting or a pastel in the show, and Twachtman's *Old Mill* showed the same site as his pastel, *Abandoned Mill* (width, 12 x height, 15 inches), a work known today as *Mill Scene* (fig. 244). However, the etching and pastel are quite different, and one is clearly not a copy of the other. In each instance, Twachtman undoubtedly worked directly from his site. Making use of the soft, pliant qualities of chalk in his pastel to create painterly effects, he conveyed fleeting qualities of light and shadow falling over the mill. In the etching, he used the delicate line of his needle to delineate the skeleton-like form of the mill and loose crossing hatching to note gathering shadows. Twachtman's compositional means comply with his handling in each scene. In the pastel, forms are more animated and the mill has a lively presence in the landscape, whereas in the etching, the arrangement is more compact and austere, due to his crisper handling and his repetition of the vertical format of the work in the shape of the mill.

Bridgeport (1888)

In 1888, Twachtman created a group of works in Bridgeport, Connecticut, a city on the Long Island Sound south of Branchville. Arriving by train in Bridgeport, Twachtman would have been only a few steps away from city's Main Harbor on the Pequonnock River. Here he would have been confronted with a heavily industrialized landscape that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was spanned by several bridges. Bridgeport was, indeed, well known as a major east coast manufacturing center throughout much of the nineteenth century. Since the 1830s, the city had been one of the fastest growing urban centers in Connecticut; as its population increased, so too had its manufacturing.[47] From 1850 to 1900, it had advanced from being the eighteenth largest industrial New England city to become the eighth.[48]

The key to Bridgeport's growth was its harbor. Protected from direct ocean currents and deep enough for large ships to anchor, the harbor at mid-century had become a primary depot for the steamboat trade. The growth of the city was also due to the efforts of a group of entrepreneurs who convinced the Housatonic Railroad to terminate its line at Bridgeport. This railroad was completed in 1831, and nine years later, Bridgeport also became a stop on the rail line between New York and New Haven. By the late 1880s, Bridgeport's Main Harbor was lined with grain elevators and factories producing salts, textiles, brass, and valves. Photographs from 1888, the year that Twachtman visited, show the built up and industrialized character of the landscape and the railroad tracks that extended along the city's waterfront (figs. 245-246).

Despite its dominating presence in Bridgeport, industry was not Twachtman's focus while in the city, although he did depict harbor scenes. He showed a painting entitled *Bridgeport* in his 1889 exhibition at the Fifth Avenue Galleries, which was described by a writer for the *Critic* as "a view of wharves and old buildings in which [Twachtman's] customary greys and blues were varied by the dull yellows and reds of the weather-worn houses."[49] It was possibly also in Bridgeport that Twachtman painted a scene of a harbor in winter which was included in his 1889 two-man show with the title

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snow Bound (width, 24 inches x height, 13 inches). The *New York Times* described this work as an image of "a bark laid up at a pier, the bull, the stringpieces, and timbers of the dock showing warm between the masses of white. Atmosphere full of damp and not a little city smoke appear in such scenes."[50] The *Critic* noted that the painting showed "vessels laid up in the icy river," and the *Art Amateur* called the work a view of "vessels laid up beside the wharf in an ice-covered river."[51] These descriptions and the dimensions of *Snowbound* correspond with a painting by Twachtman which has been entitled *Gloucester Harbor* (fig. 247).[52] Indeed, featuring a ship at an icy dock with a film of smoke in the air and the outline of the city in the distance, this painting matches the descriptions given perfectly. Since there is no reason to identify this work as a view of Gloucester, it makes sense to re-identify it as a Bridgeport scene of ca. 1888. Another painting by Twachtman, *Connecticut Shore, Winter* depicts a similar icy harbor, and was probably also executed in Bridgeport (fig. 248). This work's composition, in which boats project in a crisp radial pattern, reflects the influence of Twachtman's academic lessons, suggesting that it was rendered shortly after his return from Europe.

Twachtman's interest in winter harbor scenes in the late 1880s is further demonstrated by his submission of a painting entitled *Ice-bound Vessels* to a show at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in New York in March 1891.[53] The painting entitled *Icebound* that Twachtman sent to the second annual exhibition of the Art Institute of Chicago in June 1889 may also have been a harbor scene, despite previous conjectures that this work is the painting now called *Icebound* that today belongs to the Art Institute.[54]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's visit to Bridgeport took place at an interesting time in the city's history. Throughout 1888, the main sight in downtown Bridgeport was of the new Stratford Avenue Bridge, an iron bridge that was being constructed across the Pequonnock River that was to replace an old wooden structure (fig. 249).[55] As reports in Bridgeport newspapers reveal, the building of the new "Lower Bridge" saw many delays until its completion on 10 December 1888. In August, the new bridge's caisson had been laid in, but portions of the old bridge remained standing, including an old toll house that had not collected tolls since 1865 when the city had purchased the bridge and began to maintain it for free (fig. 250).[56] By the late 1880s, the old toll house was used for a number of retail outlets including "Polly" Burton's then famous live bird store.[57] According to published accounts, the toll house was reached by a footwalk over the water, which unfortunately does not appear in any archival images at the Bridgeport Public Library.

In Bridgeport, the footwalk and the toll house captured Twachtman's attention as he showed an oil painting entitled *The Old Toll House, Bridgeport* (location unknown) in his 1889 Fifth Avenue Galleries exhibition and created an etching of the site that appeared as an illustration for the painting in the catalogue (fig. 251). An extant pastel and watercolor further attest to his interest in this motif (figs. 252-253).

In contrast to Twachtman's New York harbor scenes of 1879, where he conveyed the bustling vitality that characterized that city's commercial wharves, in his images of the Bridgeport footbridge, he downplayed the industrial nature of the area. Indeed, his works show a landscape that seems rural. Instead of suggesting the toll house's position in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

midst of a crowded waterway between shores lined with factories, he makes the small gabled structure look like a cottage in the country that stood along a quiet river. The only evidence of modern life in this work is the lamppost from which electrical wires extend, revealing that the footbridge was lit up at night.

Twachtman's attitude and process are suggested by a proof that he made for this etching in which he included additional electrical wires that hang from lampposts and created a more complicated composition (fig. 254). As a comparison between the proof and the finished etching reveals, his method was reductive. For the finished work, he removed almost all of these wires and simplified the shape of the bridge to only a few lines. By this process of gradually filtering out distracting details, he created a unified design in which the long diagonal of the bridge was balanced by the staccato upright pilings of the footwalk and the gable of the toll house. His image evokes the linear simplicity of the views also of a footbridge by Japanese ukiyo-e printmaker Okazaki (fig. 255).

By choosing to overlook the industrial and commercial aspects of Bridgeport and to focus on only attractive and older aspects of the harbor, Twachtman turned away from the realism of his earlier art. His poeticized images suggest a desire for an escape from modern life actualities. In adopting this viewpoint, he may have been responding to the rising tide of anti-urban sentiment that became prevalent in America toward the end of the century. His approach to Bridgeport parallels the poetic, romanticized, and genteel images of New York created by Impressionist and Tonalist artists during the decades that followed.[58]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fifth Avenue Art Galleries Exhibition and Sale (1889)

In the spring of 1888, Weir wrote to the auctioneer Robert Somerville of Ortgies & Co, confirming that Somerville would conduct an auction of works by Twachtman and Weir the following February under the auspices of Ortgies & Co. at the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries in New York.[59] This show and sale were a significant professional and commercial opportunity for the artists. As described by *King's Handbook of New York* in 1893, Fifth Avenue Galleries, located at 366 and 368 Fifth Avenue, was "famous all over the continent, wherever there are *connoisseurs* and lovers of the best works of art," while the Ortgies company, located on the gallery's ground floor, was "the best-known and longest-established art-auctioneer in New York" (fig. 256).[60] According to the agreement between Sommerville and the artists, Ortgies paid for the show's catalogue and for insurance and would in turn receive ten percent of sales.[61]

By the first of February, the show had been installed. Each artist exhibited ten pastels and fifty-two paintings, listed in the catalogue with titles and dimensions (width by height). The sale, which took place on 7 February, was held in a packed room and every work sold. The results were not entirely satisfying to the artists, however, as the bidding, while brisk, did not result in high prices. The *New York Sun*, which recorded the amounts paid for the works, reported that "on the whole bidders were close with their money and slow to peddle it out. The highest price obtained was $375 for Twachtman's 'The Quail

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cover,' and Weir's 'Ideal Head' was next with $330."[62] The sale of Twachtman's sixty-two works was $3597; only nine works made one hundred dollars or more.[63]

Despite somewhat disappointing financial returns, the show was a critical success. With the exception of one reviewer who noted that Twachtman "is somewhat monotonously given to the painting of one effect of nature, one atmosphere, one kind of tree, one kind of everything," critics praised his work effusively.[64] Approximately two-thirds of Twachtman's display consisted of European images, admired for their "delightful tones" and the "decorative effects," while a number of works had been rendered by Twachtman after his return to America.[65] The latter group included Bridgeport images, already discussed, as well as depictions of Branchville including *Middle Brook Farm* (Weir's farm), *The House in Nodd* (named for Nod Hill Road where Weir's house was located), *The Road to Ridgefield*, and *Apple Trees at Branchville*. Despite the dominance of European works in Twachtman's section of the show, critics acknowledged his new focus on American subject matter.[66] The *Art Amateur* reported that *Middle Brook Farm* is "a typical American landscape, raw, barren, and rocky, but delightful in its way as a page of description out of Hawthorne or Emerson."[67] *Indian Summer* (width 19 x height 31-1/2 inches), another landscape that probably depicted a Branchville site, was described as "a study of a barren, rocky, upland, under the charm of our pleasantest season."[68] The *Critic* commented that this work, along with paintings entitled *Wayside Inn* (width 18-1/2 x height, 19-1/2 inches), *Silver Poplars* (width 13 x height 16 inches), and *The Mill in the Woods* (width 22-1/8 x height 16-1/8 inches), represented the native countryside as they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were "good specimens of [Twachtman's] broad but extremely refined treatment of landscape themes which cannot be taken for anything else than American."[69]

Of the Branchville paintings that Twachtman exhibited in 1889, *Middle Brook Farm*, described by a critic above, was perhaps similar to a work today known as *Branchville*, although *Middlebrook Farm* was modest in size (width 29 x height 18-1/2) while *Branchville* (height 60 x width 80-1/4 inches), is Twachtman's largest work (fig. 257).[70] If somehow dimensions were reversed in the Fifth Avenue Galleries' catalogue, *Landscape with Haystack* (height 19 x width 15 inches) was possibly the painting shown, entitled *The House in Nodd* (width 18 x height 14 inches). *Landscape with Haystack* is similar in subject matter, composition, and palette to Branchville scenes by Weir such as his later *The Laundry, Branchville* and suggests the aesthetic interests shared by the two artists (figs. 258-259). At the same time, as a writer for the *Critic* commented:

> The painters are not only among the cleverest of the rising generation of American artists, but each has a style, a tone, a method of facture eminently personal--the qualities to assure him the lifelong respect of everyone who likes his work at all.[71]

One painting that Twachtman showed, *Apples and Grapes* (width 20 x height 16 inches), is his only known fruit still life (fig. 260). Twachtman's depiction of a few red apples and a cluster of grapes on a white linen tablecloth is rendered with a rustic simplicity that suggests his awareness of the works of the eighteenth-century French painter Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin (1699-1779), examples of which he may have seen in Paris. Adopting a Chardinesque style, Twachtman also followed Weir, who had emulated the French painter in a number of informal game and kitchen still lifes created in the early 1880s.[72] At the same time, with its repeated rounded forms, earth tones, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

painterly brushwork, Twachtman's still life resembles works in this genre by a leading figure in the Chardin revival in France, Edouard Manet, such as Manet's *Fruit on a Table* of 1864 (fig. 261).

Two other paintings that Twachtman displayed in 1889 that may be linked with extant works are *The Mill in the Woods* (width 22-1/8 x height 16-1/8 inches), possibly *The Old Mill* (height 18 x width 24 inches) and *Harbor of Dieppe* (width 15-1/8 x height 13-1/2 inches), undoubtedly *Sailing Boats Dieppe Harbor* (height 13-1/2 x width 15-1/2 inches) (figs. 262, 167). A critic for the *New York Times* noted that *Mill in the Woods* was "painted in the grays that Frenchmen love, broadly yet lightly with poetic appreciation of the desolation of the place," while a reviewer for the *New York Tribune* wrote of "Twachtman's admirable little 'Harbor of Dieppe,' at the end of the gallery," stating that "another artist in treating the latter subject might have labored zealously to . . . bring out the modelling and even many details of the vessel at anchor, but Mr. Twachtman has omitted nothing of genuine of pictorial value, and nothing essential to the general truthfulness of his picture."[73]

The pastels that Twachtman showed at the Fifth Avenue Galleries will be discussed later in this chapter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Summer in Newport (1889)

Clark's report that Twachtman was teaching a small art class in Newport in the summer of 1889 is verified in the diary of Newport resident Anna Falconnet Hunter (1855-1941), a descendant of a prosperous local family, who was the head of a school, the initiator of a number of cottage industries, and an amateur artist. It was possibly Hunter who invited Twachtman to come to Newport to give instruction to herself and to her pupils.[74] By the fourth of June, Twachtman had arrived. As Hunter noted: "Studio in morning. Mr. Twachtman for his first lesson. Miss Haddam sat for us."[75] As this diary entry indicates, Twachtman's initial instruction in Newport was in figural rendering. Hunter's entries in the days that followed reveal that Twachtman's next lessons were in cast drawing.[76] However, by the 21st of the month, Twachtman was taking his pupils outdoors. Hunter wrote: "Studio in morning. Mr. Twachtman wishes us to begin big canvas out of doors."[77] Indeed, Twachtman's 1889 summer class may have been one of the first endeavors in plein-air art teaching in America, preceding even that of William Merritt Chase in Shinnecock, Long Island.[78]

The extent of Twachtman's teaching in Newport and the length of his stay in the town have yet to be clarified. He remained in Newport long enough to be included in the directory of 1889 summer residents, where he was listed as "Twachtman, John H., New York, Longmeadow, Swinburne's."[79] Hunter sporadically mentions Twachtman's presence in Newport until August 20.[80] However, this date may or may not coincide with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's departure from Newport, as Hunter again notes his presence in the town on October 19 and 21. Since, the fall of 1889 was the time that Twachtman began to teach at the Art Students League in New York and is thought to have come upon the property in Greenwich, Connecticut, where he would settle, his stay in Newport in October was possibly a brief visit, perhaps made with the purpose of retrieving works rendered during the summer. This is suggested in Hunter's statement on October 19 that she had gone to "Mr. Twachtmans [sic] in afternoon to see pictures."[81]

A city of grand mansions and high society galas, Newport was well known throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century as a resort for the wealthy and fashionable. During the same period, Newport was also a popular destination for artists. Among those who worked in the area were John Kensett, William Haseltine (1835-1876), Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904), Worthington Whittredge, William Trost Richards (1833-1905), and John LaFarge (1835-1910).[82] These artists focused mostly on the rocky environs of Newport and its deserted coves and beaches. By contrast, to Twachtman, it was the piers and docks in the center of town that had the most appeal. An identification of his sites reveals that he chose to work in the busiest part of Newport, the commercial harbor where ferry boat landings were located and fancy yachts skirted in and out. A map of Newport identifies the general area where he found his sites (fig. 263).

As in his images Bridgeport, Twachtman was selective in his choice of Newport subjects. He left out of his works the crowds that gathered in Newport's public areas, the elegant yachts, the city's historic and ornate churches and public buildings, the grand mansions where the affluent resided, and the passing steamboats and ferries. Instead, he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concentrated on piers and wharves where modest dories anchored (figs. 264-265). In Twachtman's pastel entitled *Two Boats*, for example, the hipped-roofed, pagoda-like structure of the New York Yacht Club Station that stood on Sayer's Wharf may be identified (figs. 266-267).[83] This club was a popular gathering place and the starting point of many of Newport's yacht races. However, rather than focusing on the club's activities, Twachtman simply included the building's shape as part of the silhouette of generalized architectural forms that constitute the work's background, while his attention was given mainly to the glistening forms of the bows of two small sailboats anchored at the dock.

In Twachtman's watercolor, *Waterside Scene*, the spire of St. Paul's Methodist Church on Marlborough Street (built in 1806) may be seen, and therefore his vantage point was probably looking west along Long Wharf toward the town, where the church spire would have been visible (fig. 268-269).[84] Twachtman's emphasis was not on the church, however, as it forms only a background component in the work, taking a role equal in importance to funnel shaped coal shute on the wharf. What directed Twachtman's attention to this scene was its design possibilities, and he emphasized the gradually attenuated curve of the wharf and the relationship to it of the array of shapes that graced its sides and rose in the distance. Japanese influence is suggested in his sensitivity to the receding line and his felicitious arrangement of forms. An affinity may be discerned between his work and Hiroshige's *Cherry Blossoms on the Banks of the Tamagawa* (fig. 270).

Twachtman did not explicitly record the scenery or activities of Newport. Nonetheless, the lively, fresh color and animated lines and arrangements of his images

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

convey the festive mood of summer in the Rhode Island town in the late 1880s. Indeed, at the time that Twachtman visited, Newport was commonly considered to be the preeminent vacation destination in America.[85] Its visitors included the upper-class society that had set down roots in the town many generations earlier as well as a large influx of middle-class leisure seekers, who were taking advantage of new wealth and the free time it afforded for pleasure. Englishman Alfred Pairpoint wrote of a visit to Newport during the July-August 1889 season, noting that the town was,

> perhaps unrivalled during the summer months, and a fair share of the plebeian classes also enjoy its many attractions of beach, bathing, and pleasant avenue drives. To a weary city man, a visit to Newport means renewed health and restored vigor. A friend of mine, who has a penchant for strolling on the beautiful beach of velvet sand at sunrise, had convinced the writer of its healthy effects, and often together we have rambled for a couple of hours, the ocean breeze fanning our cheeks with life-giving fervor. . . . The ocean drive. . . or a ride to Bailey's Beach, gives a fine opportunity along Bellevue Avenue to view the magnificent cottages and villas for the wealthy. The numerous stylish carriages and dog-carts, or perhaps village carts with clean-groomed horses, dash along the avenues, often driven by well-dressed ladies and young girls, the grooms sitting on the backseat complacently, with folded arms. . .[86]

The feeling of vigor and renewal that Pairpoint experienced in Newport is expressed in Twachtman's images, and the holiday atmosphere of the town perhaps influenced the new approach that he took in pastel. In European pastels such as *Moonlight*, he had used the medium in a manner that was similar to his oil painting approach, covering his surfaces with smooth layers of chalk. In his Newport pastels, he became conscious of the intrinsic properties of the medium, and instead of using it to "paint," he began to take advantage of its suitability to sketching. For example, in *Newport Harbor*, a view of a sailboat anchored alongside a shore lined with warehouses,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

he used delicate and varied strokes to capture an interplay of line and shape and shifting qualities of light and air (fig. 271). With a sustained streak of white chalk, he expressed the sinuousness of the boat's shape. Staccato dashes of color convey the flickering reflections and shadows on the water. The brown tone of the paper is brought into the design as Twachtman blended light-toned colors into the background.

The changes in Twachtman's pastel style were likely to have been inspired by the pastels of Whistler, which had been featured in a show in March 1889 at Wunderlich Galleries in New York.[87] Since Twachtman was in New York at the time, it is probable that he saw this exhibition. However, Twachtman's Newport pastel approach also concurs with the evolution of his art since his return from Europe. While relying on the draftsmanship skills he had attained in Paris, he returned to a spontaneous approach. However, instead of the forceful and vigorous method of his Munich period, he used a light, gentle touch, with which he was able to capture subtle and delicate qualities in his sites.

When Twachtman showed several Newport pastels at the fourth exhibition of the Society of Painters in Pastel, held in June 1890, the delicate assurity of his pastel approach was recognized.[88] Pointing out the different methods of exhibitors, the *New York Daily Tribune* stated: "There is a wide range of work which comprehends the elusive notes of Mr. Twachtman, the comparative detail of Mr. Bolton Jones and the solidity of Mr. Palmer, the brilliant color schemes of Messrs. Chase, Wiles and Beckwith."[89] Among the contributors, Twachtman was singled out for using pastels in exactly the right way. The *New York Evening Post* reported: "Mr. Twachtman's marine sketches, made on gray

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paper with the fewest possible strokes, may be contrasted with the careful and very just modeling of some of the portraits, or with the freshness and richness of color of the flower studies."[90] The *New York Times* remarked:

> Among the twenty-nine contributions of the eighty-nine drawings not one appears to have hit the right method of using pastels better than Mr. J. H. Twachtman. He uses paper of different shades--brownish, greenish, grayish, or pale straw, and does not elaborate and insist too much on his picture. He leaves the paper ground a good deal bare, and sketches, rather than draws, an elaborate picture. His "Cliffs at Newport" is not; however, so much of a sketch, yet it is one of the best drawings shown. "Sailboats," "Coal Dock," and the "Mary Ann" are delightful marines touched in with spirit, but not made tedious. . . . The largest contributor is also that one who expresses himself with the greatest care in pastels, Mr. Twachtman, though his range of subjects is limited to marines and landscapes.[91]

Similar to his pastels, Twachtman's Newport etchings reveal a new combination of assured drawing and spontaneity (fig. 272). As Robert J. Wickenden remarked of Twachtman's etching *Dock at Newport*:

> [W]ith a few bravely drawn lines and well chosen accents, the artist again has suggested a maximum of light, and unlimited space. Here . . . Twachtman's delight in the combination of horizontals and verticals is made evident in the docks, connecting piers, and the darker accents in the halls of the yachts and boats, from which rise the lightly drawn masts and rigging. The distant shore and sail-boats are marvels of delicacy and prevision; in line and accent contributes to produce the impression of life, air, and movement, as well as for justness of perspective affect, this etching has been rarely surpassed.[92]

A painting depicting this same scene in reverse demonstrates that Twachtman was handling oil similarly to pastel, leaving behind the smooth surfaces and controlled brushwork of his French period art, but not returning to the slashing, aggressive brushwork of his Munich approach (fig. 273). Another painting and etching, in which Twachtman depicted a long pier stretching out to sea, reveals his interest in using different

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sizes of paper and orienting his design to the particulars of a work's format (figs. 274-275). Using a horizontal format in the etching, he strengthened his composition by a repetition of horizontal forms in the ships that parallel the horizon line. In the painting, he chose a vertical format that is echoed in the upright pilings along the pier and in the masts of boats in the distance.

A painting of the area known as Paradise Rocks is Twachtman's only extant image of Newport that does not portray a harbor subject (fig. 276). Described in an 1854 guidebook as a place where "hanging rocks, showing their dark sides and surmounted with the sands of Sachuest Beach 'whitened by the breakers,'" Paradise Rocks was located behind Sachuest Beach in Middletown, and only a few yards from the road that linked the beaches of Middletown with Newport.[93] Due to its accessibility to the town of Newport, the locale was a popular place for afternoon outings among the gentry who summered in Newport, and it had frequently been portrayed by Hudson River School artists, who generally made it seem a remote and dramatic wilderness site. A work typical of this perspective is John Kensett's *Among the Rocks of Great Waters at Newport, Rhode Island* of 1859 (fig. 277). Kensett's viewpoint is probably the same as Twachtman's, but the two images are significantly different.[94] Whereas Kensett created a romanticized portrayal, depicting the crepuscular light of dusk gathering over a desolate expanse of rocks and water, Twachtman conveyed the feeling of standing in the midst of the site at midday. Using brushes loaded with green, brown, and blue paint, he employed vigorous, emphatic strokes that he left forcibly on the canvas. Treating background forms in generalized terms and rendering them in the same tones used elsewhere in the work, he conjured the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kind of impression one might receive in quickly glancing around at the landscape. The painting forecasts the French Impressionist aesthetic that Twachtman would soon adopt.

Even though Twachtman did not record details of Newport life, in his images of boats and piers, he expressed the holiday mood of the town in summer, capturing the attitude of an era when vacationing was a becoming popular phenomenon for the American middle class, who escaped crowded, noisy cities for the carefree pleasures and fresh air of coastal towns. Twachtman's images accord in spirit with the views of the Cape Ann shore created concurrently by Maurice Prendergast (1859-1924), who was similarly cognizant of the vitalized character of American resort towns in the last decade of the century.

Pastels (1888-1902)

Although Twachtman created pastels from 1885 until the end of his life, the years 1888 to 1891 were the time in his career when he was most devoted to the medium. His exploration of pastel during this period was probably spurred by his involvement in the Society of Painters in Pastel, in existence from 1884 to 1890.[95] This organization held only four shows and Twachtman was a major contributor to its last three, held in 1888, 1889, and 1890.[96]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The changes and development of Twachtman's pastels may be gauged by an analysis of the pastels he included in the significant exhibitions of his art held in the years following his return from Europe. The first of these was his exhibition with Weir at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in February 1889 (discussed earlier in this chapter), in which he and Weir showed ten pastels each. From the titles of pastels that Twachtman displayed at this venue, it appears that he was just beginning to use pastel for American subjects, as at least three of the images were views of European locales that he had undoubtedly executed while abroad in 1885: *Mill in Holland*, *Venice*, and *Willows*. The last-named had also been shown at J. Eastman Chase's Gallery in 1886 and was therefore clearly a Dutch scene (fig. 278).

Two pastels of sand dunes shown at the Fifth Avenue Galleries exhibition were likely to have been Dutch subjects. Writing of the show, one critic remarked on Twachtman's depictions of "the dunes of Holland where the windmill seems scarce more real than the 'still salt pool locked in by bars of sand,' the water-plants that are mirrored in the glassy water, or the gray sky that weeps over all . . ."[97] The *Daily Tribune* reviewer also referred to Twachtman's pastels of dunes: "There are two broad, simple, thoroughly truthful studies of sand dunes, with green beach grass . . ."[98] One of Twachtman's dune images was clearly *On the Dunes*, while the other was possibly the aforementioned *Mill in Holland* or one of the three works that bear generic titles: *Noon*, *'Neath Summer Skies*, or *Afternoon*.

Among the other pastels Twachtman showed at the Fifth Avenue Galleries was one listed in the catalogue as *Wildflowers* (width 17 by height 20 inches). This work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cannot be identified today as its dimensions do not match any of Twachtman's known pastels of wildflowers and the only critical comment on it appeared in the *New York Daily Tribune*, which noted the "fine, decorative feeling . . . expressed in the study called 'Wild-flowers.'"[99] The pastel was possibly similar to an illustration by Twachtman that appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* in August 1890, which was described by William A. Coffin in the same periodical a year later (fig. 279).[100] Coffin noted: "Mr. Twachtman is especially successful in making a beautiful page with the simplest of motives, a few wild flowers growing in the foreground of a meadow . . . given with exquisite refinement and subtile [sic] skill."[101] Although the wildflower image Twachtman exhibited in 1889 is unknown, it probably exemplified the approach he would follow in wildflower views created in the years ahead. (Discussion to follow.)

Two other pastels shown at the Fifth Avenue Galleries may be identified. *Abandoned Mill* is the view of a mill in Branchville corresponding to an etching that was discussed earlier and *Elsie* (width 18 x height 12 inches) is an image of Twachtman's second daughter, rendered in the spare simple style that he would retain in his further pastel work (figs. 244, 280).

It was probably in the period just following the Fifth Avenue Galleries show that Twachtman had his most productive period of pastel work. His involvement in pastel at the time is demonstrated by his March 1891 solo show at Wunderlich Gallery in New York, in which, of forty-three works exhibited, thirty were pastels. (This show's installation and the paintings exhibited in it will be discussed in the next chapter.) As the titles of the works Twachtman exhibited at Wunderlich reveal, at the time of this show,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Branchville had become the dominant subject matter for his pastels. However, by the summer of 1890, he was also undoubtedly rendering pastels on his own property in Greenwich, Connecticut. On the basis of the titles of pastels shown at Wunderlich, some assessments may be made as to Twachtman's sites and as to which of his pastel images known today might have on display.

On Wier's [sic] *Farm* is the only work exhibited at Wunderlich that is clearly identifiable from its title as a Branchville scene, but other pastels were probably images of this area as well, including *Harvesting*, *A Group of Hay Stacks*, *Farm under Apple Trees*, and *The Farmer's House*. These works are more likely to have been images of Branchville than of Greenwich due to their references to farm life as Branchville was a community of working farms, whereas the area where Twachtman lived in Greenwich was not.[102] In his Greenwich oil paintings, Twachtman did not depict farm subjects, nor did he give works titles that provide any indication that they were farm scenes.[103] By contrast, Weir described his Branchville property as a farm, exhibited paintings with titles such as *The Road to the Farm* and painted scenes of rural work, such as *Ploughing for Buckwheat*, 1898 (Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh).[104]

Of Twachtman's extant pastels, a view of a field with haystacks was possibly similar to *A Group of Haystacks*, while two pastels in which farmhouses are visible may portray glimpses of Weir's home, a remodeled farmhouse situated at the crest of Branchville's Nod Hill Road (figs. 281-282, 242). Widely spaced trees with narrow trunks in the latter two works are similar to those in Weir's *The Laundry, Branchville* (fig. 259). Indeed, Twachtman's depictions may have been rendered from further down the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

same hill from which Weir painted. In his image, Twachtman brought out the scene's compositional possibilities by using existing trees as framing and spacing elements in the composition.

The Cottage, another pastel shown in 1891, probably portrayed a small dwelling that Twachtman included in several pastels (figs. 283-285). (There are no oils in which this motif appears.) His inscription on one of these works to Weir's second child Dorothy (b. 18 June 1890), "to little Dorothy, Branchville, Oct. 13, 1890," suggests that his site was in Branchville and probably on Weir's property (fig. 283). Weir's orchard in Branchville may have been the location for pastels exhibited at Wunderlich with the titles *The Orchard* and *View from the Orchard*.[105] (There is no evidence of an orchard on Twachtman's Greenwich property.) These works were noticed by critics, one of whom described *The Orchard* as "delicious in color," while another stated that *View from the Orchard* seemed one of "the finest of the pastels."[106] The identities of these works cannot be ascertained today.

Although Twachtman may have depicted Branchville sites in the majority of the works he showed at Wunderlich, three of the images--*Horseneck Brook*, *Road to Round Hill*, and *House at Hangroot* (Hangroot was the name of the area where Twachtman lived in Greenwich)--were definitely scenes of Greenwich.[107] These pastels cannot be identified today, although *Road to Round Hill* was possibly similar to *Late Spring, Connecticut*, a view of a road lazily passing through a green countryside and quickening its rhythm as it curves around a hillside and out of our view (fig. 286). A few extant pastels include brooks or streams, but these are not readily associated with the brook on Twachtman's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Greenwich property (figs. 287-288). None of Twachtman's extant pastels include his Greenwich house, and we may therefore presume that *House at Hangroot* has been lost.

Wildflowers were another subject that Twachtman featured in his Wunderlich exhibition, and pastels shown entitled *Rye Stubble*, *Red Aggeratum*, *Wild Aster*, *Thoroughwort*, *Aggeratum*, *Fairy Wand*, and *Tiger Lilies* are undoubtedly among his pastels of flowers known today (figs. 289-293). Twachtman's approach in these works was unique. Instead of portraying cut flowers in still life arrangements or depicting them in garden settings, he focused on small clusters of blossoms growing freely in nature. His images reflect precedents set by the American Pre-Raphaelites, who also portrayed flowers in their natural environments. However, Twachtman was clearly not concerned with the botanical facts that preoccupied the Pre-Raphaelites. He concentrated instead on the essence of his subject matter, the delicacy and fragile resilience of flowers in hazy atmospheres and windy conditions. His gentle and lithe application of pastel was perfectly suited to his expressive message. As Clark observed, he was able "to lend to his treatment something of the spirit of the thing itself . . . the flowers of the field seem imbued with the delicacy of their own nature."[108]

Reviewers of the Wunderlich show were also aware of the unusual properties of Twachtman's floral pastels. Although one found them "singularly insufficient" and described them as "the merest suggestions," others commended his approach.[109] A writer for the *New York Mail and Express* wrote: "Among the pastels are some dainty arrangements of wild flowers, graceful as the blossoms themselves; real fairygrounds," and the *Magazine of Art* commented that Twachtman's "flower pieces are like dreams of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

flowers."[110] A critic for the *Studio* remarked: ". . . one, of a few wild carrots, and one of two harebells, was exquisite in its delicate beauty, and coloring. We called it 'Odor,' for it seemed like the faint, delicate breath of a flower, so dainty, and airy it was. Yet this effect was produced with merely one or two crayons on a rough sheet of paper."[111] The reviewer for the *New York Times* suggested that Twachtman's floral images were so delicate that they would have been overwhelmed if included in a group show:

> The flower pieces in pastel which seem at first hardly more than a ghost of the blossoms, assume outline and consistency. Such pictures are not fit for the 'struggle of life' in a general exhibition; the artist was wise to look by himself. Of course, the old objects are made--that they are impressionist, mere notes, &c. But that is the superficial view of people who refuse or have no time to grant these delicious creatings and considerations which is their due.[112]

The sites of Twachtman's floral images cannot be determined, although they are likely to have been of Greenwich, as wildflowers were a common sight on his property. He wrote to Weir in September 1892: "The foliage is changing and the wild-flowers are finer than ever. There is greater delicacy in the atmosphere and the foliage is less dense and prettier."[113]

Although it is probable that the wildflowers Twachtman showed in 1891 are his pastels of this subject known today, only one pastel in the Wunderlich show may be identified with certainty, the work entitled *Marjorie and Elsie* (fig. 294). In this depiction of the artist's two oldest daughters standing together and wearing hats with large brims, Twachtman's approach was like that in his floral images: he applied a minimum of light-colored chalk on brown paper, letting the paper's tone establish the atmosphere around the figures and indicate patches of shading across them. The *New York Times* singled this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work out to describe Twachtman's pastel approach, stating: "Like Whistler, he uses for pastels often a brown, rough paper and makes the tone of the paper tell. This is seen in a drawing of two pretty children in big hats."[114] A writer for the *Art Amateur* also commented on the work: "A sketch of two little girls, 'Marjorie and Elsie,' had qualities of style which we should hardly know where else to look for in an American painter."[115]

Other works in the Wunderlich show, such as *The Path across the Hills*, *Looking towards the Brook*, and *The Meadow* were probably representative of Twachtman's predominant pastel subject: views of open fields and hillsides broken by occasional trees, patches of wildflowers, paths, pieces of old stone fences, and distant barns or haystacks (figs. 295-299). Most of these works are likely to have been scenes of Branchville, where the countryside was more open than in Greenwich, and the majority of them were probably rendered during time Twachtman spent in Branchville in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

Rendered with light colored chalks that harmonize with their toned paper supports, these works reveal the influence of Whistler on Twachtman's pastel technique. At the same time, they demonstrate that Twachtman had clearly developed a pastel aesthetic of his own and was using it to convey the specific qualities of the landscape at hand. In his hillside views, Twachtman brought out the shapes and tones of his motifs by applying his chalks in a fluid and graceful fashion and by exerting minimal force, rubbing the flat side of his chalk across a page for hazy or open skies, letting curving lines indicate the contours of a hillside, and using color and line to convey subtle relationships between forms. He took note of the chromatic range in nature by applying bright and pure colors and forgoing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

any mixing or layering of tones. He took advantage of the textures of his papers, laying chalk down lightly and letting soft tracings of color adhere to the sandpaper finishes of pumice and oatmeal grained papers (his favorite papers).[116] This technique made paper and pastel seem interwoven. His aim in these images seems to have been to communicate the liberating feeling of roaming open hillsides where sunlight flickered, clouds cast fleeting shadows, and breezes blew freely. A writer for the *Critic* conveyed the feeling expressed by these images: "Thirty pastels reproduce with unequalled lightness of touch and daintiness of color every mood of the typical Eastern landscape--rolling hills, rambling stone walls, wandering brooks, wood-interiors green and sunny."[117]

Two works shown at Wunderlich's fit this critic's mention of "wood-interiors green and sunny": *Sunlight through the Trees* and *The Brook in the Woods*. Although images of forest interiors are less common in Twachtman's known pastel oeuvre than hillside scenes, one work, today entitled *Woodland Path*, was possibly similar to *Sunlight through the Trees* (fig. 300). In this image, Twachtman broke from the horizontal format of his views of hills and fields and used a vertical sheet of paper. This scheme enhanced the intimacy of the work, accentuating the narrowness of the sliver-like path between tall trees and placing the viewer at the edge of this thin opening through the forest. An interesting comparison may be made between *Woodland Path* and Asher B. Durand's (1756-1886) much earlier oil painting, *In the Woods*, 1855, in which trees similarly enframe a forest clearing through which light filters (fig. 301). In Durand's painting, the arching forms of trees create a cathedral-like enclosure suggesting spiritual overtones. Although working in a style vastly different from that of Durand, Twachtman conveys a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

similar feeling in *Woodland Path*. Drawing with lithe touches of white chalk, he conveys the mystical properties of light flickering through a dark woods. However, in contrast to Durand's painting, where light brings out the solidity of natural forms by accentuating the edges and surfaces of objects, in Twachtman's pastel, light is transitory and evanescent, drawing us into the forest, but not holding our gaze in any particular place or pulling us into the distance. Instead, forest forms seem lithe themselves, in compliance with the ethereality of the light itself.

Two years after his Wunderlich show, in May 1893, Twachtman had the third exhibition of significance to his career following his final return from Europe. Held at the American Art Galleries in New York, this exhibition, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, included works by Twachtman and Weir and the French painters, Claude Monet and Paul-Albert Besnard (1849-1934). In contrast to the Wunderlich show, where pastels dominated, at the American Art Galleries, Twachtman displayed a small ratio of pastels to paintings: only fifteen of his forty-four images were pastel. Despite the high praise he had received for pastels in 1891, it appears that by 1893, his fascination with pastel had waned, as eleven of the fifteen works shown at the American Art Galleries have the same titles as pastels shown in 1891 and, therefore, were probably works he had not been able to sell from his Wunderlich exhibition: *The Cottage*, *Tiger Lilies*, *The Path Across the Hills*, *Road to Round Hill*, *Sunlight Through the Trees*, *Looking toward the Brook*, *Wild Aster*, *Meadow Brook*, *The Mason's House*, *The Farmer's House*, *Thoroughwort*, and *Red Aggeratum*. Of the remaining four pastels, *From Under the Apple Trees* may have been the same as *Farm under the Apple Trees*,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shown at Wunderlich, and *The Old Toll-house at Bridgeport* was undoubtedly the pastel known today as *Footbridge, Bridgeport*, a work Twachtman had created in 1888 (fig. 252). This leaves only two pastels that were possibly new: *The Brook* and *Horse Neck Bridge*. The latter was definitely a Greenwich scene although not the view that Twachtman depicted in several Greenwich paintings of a bridge he constructed on his property in the late 1890s.[118] No images of bridges exist in Twachtman's known pastel oeuvre.

As Twachtman's showed few pastels in 1893, critics gave less attention to his works in the medium than to his oils. The *New York Times* mentioned simply that "the pastels by Mr. Twachtman are delicate, charming things," the *New York Sun* commented that Twachtman's flower pieces "in oils and pastel, are exquisite," and the *Art Amateur* mentioned as an afterthought that "some slight but aerial color notes in pastel by Mr. Twachtman were also on exhibition."[119] In perhaps the only negative commentary that Mariana van Rensselaer ever gave to Twachtman, she criticized his pastel images, perhaps because they paled next to his vibrantly painted oils: "The poorest of Mr. Twachtman's works are the many pastels which hang in one of the small rooms. I cannot think that these are pictures in the true sense of the word. They are faint, vague, pretty harmonies of color, but they actually represent nothing and they even suggest half remembered dreams rather than actualities. . . ."[120]

By the turn of the century, Twachtman was probably working very little in pastel, as he did not include any works in this medium in the three solo exhibitions of his art that were held in 1901.[121] However, it is clear that he did occasionally create pastels as he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rendered at least one image in the medium while in Gloucester at some point during his last three summers, from 1900 to 1902 (fig. 302).[122] A view looking toward a pier that is largely obscured by weathered pilings, this work reveals that changes in his pastel approach paralleled changes that occurred in his oil painting style, changes seen in differences between his Greenwich and Gloucester period works (these two periods will be discussed in the following two chapters). In comparison with his scenes of the Branchville hills, motifs in *Gloucester* are rendered with a freer, looser line, forms are larger and more generalized, and the gentle and delicate qualities of his hillside and wildflower scenes have been replaced with a forceful shorthand drawing style.

The approach Twachtman used in *Gloucester* helps us to identify some pastels that he probably created in the late 1890s or at the turn of the century. *Landscape with Stream* and *Bush by a Road* are not as firmly drawn as *Gloucester*, but the large scale of motifs and the reduction of scenes to only a few basic shapes suggest that they were rendered late in Twachtman's career (fig. 303-304). *Horseneck Falls, Greenwich* is another pastel that may be assigned to the last years of Twachtman's life (fig. 305). Applying his chalks in aggressive, rapid strokes of broken color to convey the impact of water falling over rocks, in this image, Twachtman used a technique similar to that in the oil paintings of waterfalls that he created at the turn of the century, such as *Waterfall, Blue Brook*, ca. 1899 (fig. 410).

Given the interest with which Twachtman's pastels shown at Wunderlich Gallery had been received in 1891, his reduced showing of pastels in the years that followed suggests that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his production in the medium decreased as his Greenwich years progressed. Some conjectures may be made as to why this occurred. He was perhaps effected by the demise of the Society of Painters in Pastel, which itself may have been indicative of a lessening of interest among American artists in the medium. In addition, it is possible that because pastel was no longer "new," it lost some of the appeal it had when Twachtman was initially exploring it. The most reasonable possibility, however, is that pastel may have become less significant to Twachtman as he delved further into Impressionism, and as he discovered that modes he had explored initially in pastel could be translated into oil. If this was the case, pastel perhaps served a transitional function in his art, easing his adoption of an Impressionist oil painting aesthetic, and losing its appeal for him as he refined that aesthetic. Nonetheless, his pastels remain among finest works. Today, they reveal the same bright colors that Twachtman used, demonstrate the precision, grace, and rhythm of his plein-air method, and invite the viewer to traverse open hillsides that rise gently or peer into sunlit openings through darkened forest enclosures.

Pastels also served an important role for Twachtman as he began to explore American subjects again after a hiatus in Europe. Working spontaneously in pastel, sometimes in the company of Weir, he became attentive to features of the New England countryside that he encountered and found a way of using his medium expressively to convey his appreciation for its special qualities.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Five: Notes

[1] In his letter to Weir of 6 April 1885, Twachtman wrote: "We go to the sea-side in a week and remain there until the 16th of May when my wife sails for America in the 'Normandie' of the French line. I hope that she will have a chance of seeing you and your family so you must keep a lookout for the steamer. As Dr. Scudder will be in N.Y. when they arrive their stay there will not be so very long and I want you to do the favor of seeing them." Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [?], 6 April 1885, Weir Family Papers. As this letter suggests, upon reaching New York, Martha and the children were met by Dr. Scudder, who escorted them to Cincinnati.

[2] Accessible from Cincinnati by a short drive due north, and then a ferry ride of a few hours, Pelee Island was sparsely inhabited during the late nineteenth century. Its population consisted mainly of farmers, but some for well-do-to Cincinnatians had begun to vacation on the island. Information on the Dr. Scudder's involvement with Pelee Island was provided to me by Harold Scudder, Cincinnati, Ohio, telephone conversation, 19 August 1992.

[3] "Pelee Island," *Amherstburg Echo*, 11 June 1886, p. 6.

[4] Clark 1924, p. 6. Hale was not sure where Twachtman had gone to farm and paint and indicated in his 1957 dissertation that at the time, "no one, including Eliot Clark or J. Alden Twachtman, can remember whether 'up north' referred to northern Ohio or part of the northern United States in general." Hale 1957, pp. 63-63.

[5] Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxiii.

[6] While anchored between Fire Island and the lighthouse of Shinnecock, Long Island, on the morning of 14 March 1886, the *S.S. Oregon* was struck by a schooner. The steamship sunk within eight hours. Press notices in the *New York Times* on this incident include: "The Oregon Run Down," *New York Times*, 15 March 1886, p. 1; "Two Masts Above Water," *New York Times*, 17 March 1886, p. 5; "More Bags of Mail Recovered," *New York Times*, 20 March 1886, p. 5; "The Sinking of the Oregon," *New York Times*, 21 April 1886, p. 2; "The Oregon Inquiry Closed," *New York Times*, 22 April 1886, p. 1; "Selling the Oregon's Freight," *New York Times*, 27 June 1886, p. 3.

[7] See "Selling the Oregon's Freight," *New York Times*, 27 June 1886, p. 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[8] Twachtman, Pelee Island, Ontario, to Weir, Branchville, Connecticut, 10 June 1886, Weir Family Papers.

[9] Clark 1924, pp. 25-26.

[10] *Paintings in Oil and Pastel by J. A. Weir and J.H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Ortgies & Co., 1889). Works Twachtman had recently created in Europe that were included in the show are: pastels--*Mill in Holland* and *On the Dunes*; and oils--*Boats at Dort*, *Water Mill Holland*, *Near Ville d'Avray*, *On the Seine*, *Near Paris*, *Harbor of Dieppe*, *Lombardy Poplars*, *Boats on the Maas*, *Arque la Batielle*, *Near Paris*, *On the Bethune*, *Normandie*, and *Village in Normandie*.

[11] Hale 1957, p. 61.

[12] Clark 1924, p. 26. See also Mase 1921, p. lxxiii.

[13] Hale thought that Twachtman had perhaps participated in a cyclorama depicting the Battle of Montretout. Hale 1957, p. 63. Philippoteaux supervised four Gettysburg Cycloramas in America, in Chicago (1883), Boston (1884), Philadelphia (1885), and New York (1886). The Boston cyclorama is currently installed at the Gettysburg National Military Park in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. At least two other versions of the Gettysburg battle were erected, in Pittsburgh and Dayton, Ohio.

[14] See Janet Marstine, "Panoramas and the Cyclorama in Pittsburgh: The Beginning and the End of a Unique Entertainment Genre," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 69 (January 1986): 21-36. I am grateful to Professor Gerdts for bringing this article to my attention. The events and figures in the battle, and a linear drawing of the panorama are contained in the booklet that was sold to those visiting the Pittsburgh cyclorama: *The Battle of Gettysburg as Exhibited by the Pittsburgh Cyclorama Co., Giving a Succinct and Accurate Account of the Great Battle, with Map and Key, explanatory of the Painting* (Pittsburgh: H.H. Gross, [1887]).

[15] Noted in *The Battle of Gettysburg as Exhibited by the Pittsburgh Cyclorama Co., Giving a Succinct and Accurate Account of the Great Battle, with Map and Key, explanatory of the Painting* 1887.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[16] The artists are listed in *The Battle of Gettysburg as Exhibited by the Pittsburgh Cyclorama Co., Giving a Succinct and Accurate Account of the Great Battle, with Map and Key, explanatory of the Painting* 1887.

[17] Mase stated that Arthur B. Davies had been one of Twachtman's fellow workers on the cyclorama. Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxiii. There is no evidence in literature on the cyclorama that this was the case.

[18] Quoted in William W. Andrews, *Otto H. Bacher* (Madison, Wisc.: Education Industries, 1973), n.p.

[19] Information from Marstine 1986.

[20] Quoted in Marstine 1986, p. 34n.

[21] Information from Marstine 1986, p. 36. Marstine reports that the building that had housed the cyclorama was demolished in the 1920s.

[22] Twachtman, [?] to Weir, [?], Weir Family Papers.

[23] Elsie was born on 2 November 1886.

[24] The Pelee Island tax assessment rolls for 1887 provide the following: "Twatchtman [sic], described as a farmer, householder, 29 [sic] years of age, living with another male aged 21-60, one dog is there, as are 30 cattle, and his religion is Protestant." Archives, Pelee Island Heritage Center. This document suggests that Twachtman's wife and family were not with him on Pelee Island in 1887. Twachtman's age is misstated in the record. His religion is accurately noted.

[25] Information from conversation with Ron Tiessen, Curator, Pelee Island Heritage Center, 8 October 1991.

[26] The date on this work does not match the handwriting of the signature and was therefore possibly added posthumously.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[27] Charles de Kay, "Ninth Exhibition, Society of American Artists," *Art Review* 1 (February 1887): 10.

[28] There is no archival evidence supporting the dating of these works. The dating is based on the fact that the works are larger and more confidently painted than his Avondale images of the 1880s and that they reveal the looser brushwork he adopted in the years preceding his move to Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1889.

[29] William Lathrop was a self-taught artist who was strongly influenced by the ideas of the French Barbizon School and painted in the American Tonalist style.

[30] "The Week in Art Circles," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 11 July 1915, undated newspaper clipping, provided by William L. Bauhan, who is compiling a catalogue raisonné on Lathrop. I would like to thank Bauhan for bringing this article to my attention.

[31] John Bogart, "Feats of Railway Engineering," *Scribner's Magazine* 4 (July 1888): 2.

[32] See the list of Twachtman's illustrations in appendix three.

[33] W.C. Conant, "The Brooklyn Bridge," *Harper's Monthly* 67 (May 1883): 100.

[34] Charles Barnard, "The Brooklyn Bridge." *St. Nicholas Magazine* 10 (July 1883): 696.

[35] Conant 1883, p. 84.

[36] Montgomery Schuyler, "Brooklyn Bridge as a Monument." *Harper's Weekly* 27 (26 May 1883); reprinted in *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture*, ed. Lewis Mumford (New York: Grove Press, 1959), p. 168.

[37] For a survey of images of the Brooklyn Bridge, see Deborah Nevins et al, *The Great East River Bridge, 1883-1983*, exh. cat. (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1983).

[38] For a survey of modern images of the bridge, see Lewis Kachur, "The Bridge as Icon," in Nevins et al 1983, pp. 153-172.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[39] Dorothy Weir Young wrote: "In February of 1888 a new baby, Julian Alden Weir, Jr., added his voice to [Weir] household; and at about the same time John Twachtman. . . became a frequent visitor, having decided he would 'never go back west to live.'" Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 169. In *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1983), Doreen Bolger incorrectly indicates that Julian Alden Weir, Jr. was born in February 1887.

[40] J. Alden Weir, [Branchville], to J. Alden Twachtman, 3 January 1892, quoted in Young 1960, pp. 176-177.

[41] Doreen Bolger Burke indicates that Twachtman was visiting Branchville in the summer of 1887, but it seems more likely that his first visit to Branchville occurred in the winter of 1888. See Bolger Burke 1983, p. 296,

[42] See Young 1960, p. 179.

[43] On Weir's printmaking methods, see Bolger Burke 1983, pp. 175-187.

[44] This etching was used as an illustration in illustrated copies of the catalogue for Twachtman's and Weir's exhibition and sale at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in 1889.

[45] Janet A. Flint attributes the work to Weir in *J. Alden Weir, An American Printmaker, 1852-1919*, exh. cat. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1972), p. 56, no. 45.

[46] Note that only certain copies of the 1889 catalogue were illustrated. Robert J. Wickenden incorrectly identified the image as a depiction of Bridgeport. See R. J. Wickenden, *The Art and Etchings of John Henry Twachtman* (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1921), opp. p. 34.

[47] On Bridgeport's history during the nineteenth century, see Christopher Collier, *The Pride of Bridgeport: Men and Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Bridgeport, Conn.: Museum of Art, Science, and Industry, 1979), and other references on my bibliography, part II under Bridgeport, History.

[48] Collier 1979, p. 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[49] "Paintings by Weir and Twachtman," *Critic* 2 (February 1889): 69.

[50] "The Weir-Twachtman Paintings," *New York Times*, 3 February 1889, p. 13.

[51] "Paintings by Weir and Twachtman," *Critic* 2 (February 1889): 69 and "The Weir and Twachtman Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 20 (March 1889): 75.

[52] The painting appears to have acquired the title of *Gloucester* when it was at Vose Galleries, in Boston, in 1919. According to Vose's records, the painting came into the gallery initially with the title of *The Harbor, Winter*. "Gloucester" was added to the work's stock card.

[53] See the listing in Hale's general catalogue for a work entitled *Ice-Bound Vessels* which was sold at the Fifth Avenue Galleries on 19-20 March 1891 from the estate of Thomas McKie. Hale 1957, p. 503, no. 662. I have not been able to find the catalogue for this sale.

[54] See James L. Yarnall, "John H. Twachtman's *Icebound*," *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 71 (January-February 1977): 2-4. The Institute's painting was known as *Snowbound* until 1977, when its name was changed to *Icebound*, and there is no indication that the current painting was the work Twachtman showed at the Institute in 1889. Since the Institute's painting did not enter the collection until 1917, its earlier history cannot be verified, and since the titles of Twachtman's works today are rarely original, there is no reason to argue that the Institute's painting was the work shown in 1889. There are no mentions of the *Icebound* that Twachtman showed in the 1889 show at the Art Institute in reviews.

[55] See, "The Lower Bridge," *Bridgeport Daily Standard*, 10 August 1888, p. [4]; "The Lower Bridge," *Bridgeport Daily Standard*, 10 December 1888, p. [3]; "The New Bridge," *Bridgeport Daily Standard*, 3 August 1888, p. [3]; and "The New Lower Bridge: Seventy-Three Thousand Pounds of Elephants Test the New Structure, Bridgeport's Way," *Bridgeport Standard*, 8 December 1888, p. [3].

[56] See "Bridgeport Has Had Many Bridges During Its History: All Were Originally Privately Owned and Maintained as Toll Bridges and Have Been Rebuilt at Various Times," 23 June 1916, unsourced newspaper clipping, Bridgeport Public Library, Historical Collections Division, and "The Old Toll House and How the Cigar Named After It Made Its Owner a Fortune," *Bridgeport Herald*, 16 June 1912, clipping file, Bridgeport Public Library, Historical Collections Division.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[57] Bridges file, Bridgeport Public Library, Historical Collections Department.

[58] A relevant discussion of the attitude expressed in turn-of-the-century views of New York may be found in H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry, *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 162-188.

[59] See J. Alden Weir, New York, to Robert Sommerville, 8 June 1888, J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 125, frame [410].

[60] Moses King, *King's Handbook of New York City, 1893*, 2 vols. (Boston: Moses King, 1893) (reissued, New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972), pp. 314-315. The Fifth Avenue Galleries was located at 366 and 368 Fifth Avenue. Its upper floor tenant was Samuel P. Avery and Co., while Ortgies & Co. occupied its lower floor.

[61] See J. Alden Weir, New York, to Robert Sommerville, 8 June 1888, J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 125, frame [410].

[62] "Weir and Twachtman Pictures," *New York Sun*, 8 February 1889, p. [?].

[63] See "Weir and Twachtman Pictures," *New York Sun*, 8 February 1889, p. 3. The works by Twachtman that sold for $100 or more are: *Elsie* (pastel), $195; *Boats at Dort*, $100; *Snow Bound*, $125; *Indian Summer*, $100; *November*, $105; *Windy Day*, $275; *The Quail Cover*, $375; and *Winter*, $170;

[64] "The Weir and Twachtman Exhibition," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 2 February 1889, p. 1.

[65] The works Twachtman showed at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in 1889 that were clearly views of Europe were pastels, *Mill in Holland* and *Venice*, and oils, *Boats at Dort*, *Water Mill Holland*, *Near Ville d'Avrey*, *On the Seine, Near Paris*; *Harbor of Dieppe*, *Lombardy Poplars*, *Boats on the Maas*, *Arque la Batielle* [sic], *Near Paris*, *On the Bethune*, *Normandie*; and *Village in Normandie*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[66] A breakdown of the locations of Twachtman's works in the Fifth Avenue Galleries exhibition based on titles and other information indicates that fourteen works were of European subjects, thirteen of American, and eleven of unidentifiable locales.

[67] "The Weir and Twachtman Exhibition," *Art Amateur* 20 (March 1889): 75.

[68] "Paintings by Weir and Twachtman," *Critic* 2 (February 1889): 69.

[69] "Paintings by Weir and Twachtman," *Critic* 2 (February 1889): 69.

[70] A pastel entitled *Tree by a Road* (Cincinnati Art Museum) portrays the same site as Branchville.

[71] "Paintings by Weir and Twachtman," *Critic* 2 (February 1889): 69.

[72] On Weir's interest in the art of Chardin, see Bolger Burke 1983, pp. 126-142.

[73] "The Weir-Twachtman Paintings," *New York Times*, 3 February 1889, p. 13 and "Pictures by Messrs. Weir and Twachtman," *New York Daily Tribune*, 7 February 1889, p. 7.

[74] Clark 1924, p. 27. See Hunter Family Diaries, Box 98, Vault A, Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island.

[75] Anna Hunter, journal entry, 4 June 1889, Hunter Family Diaries.

[76] Hunter recorded on 11 June 1889. "Studio in morning--cast. Mr. Twachtman." On 15 June 1889, she wrote: "Studio in morning out with Kate still working on Supplicating Youth." On 19 June 1889, she wrote: "Studio in morning. Worked on cast. Collected on foot in afternoon . . ." Anna Hunter, journal entries, Hunter Family Diaries.

[77] Anna Hunter, journal entry, 21 June 1889, Hunter Family Diaries. Information on Twachtman's outdoor instruction in Newport is also included in *Retrospective Exhibition of the Work of Artists Identified with Newport*, exh. cat., (Newport, R.I.: The Art Association of Newport] 1936), p. 28. For a discussion of the development of outdoor painting in America, see William H. Gerdts, "The Teaching of Painting Out-Of-Doors in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

America in the Late Nineteenth Century," *In Nature's Ways*, exh. cat., (West Palm Beach, Fla.: Norton Gallery of Art, 1987), pp. 25-40.

[78] See Gerdts 1987, p. 31-32 and Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), p. 130. During his stay in Newport, Twachtman may have spent time with Theodore Wendel as Hunter's diary records Wendel's presence in Newport on 30 April 1889. Twachtman was possibly also reunited with Homer Martin, who spent part of the summer of 1889 in Newport.

[79] *The Newport Directory, 1889, Containing a Directory of the Citizens, Street Directory, The City Record, and Business Directory, also Directory of the Summer Residents* (Newport, R.I.: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1889), p. 363.

[80] See journal entries on 26 June, 2 July, 5 July, and 20 August, Hunter Family Diaries.

[81] Anna Hunter, journal entry, 19 October 1889, Hunter Family Diaries.

[82] For a survey of artists who worked in Newport, see Robert G. Workman, *The Eden of America: Rhode Island Landscapes, 1820-1920*, exh. cat. (Providence, R.I.: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1986). See also, *The Artistic Heritage of Newport and the Narragansett Bay*, exh. cat. (Newport, R.I.: William Vareika Fine Arts, 1990).

[83] The site was identified for me by Bertram Lippincott III, Librarian, Newport Historical Society, letter, March 1993.

[84] The church was identified by Bertram Lippincott III, Librarian, Newport Historical Society, letter, March 1993.

[85] See my bibliography, part II on Newport, History.

[86] Alfred J. Pairpoint, *Rambles in America: Past and Present* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1891), p. 44.

[87] *"Notes"--"Harmonies"--"Nocturne,"* exh. cat. (New York: Wunderlich Gallery, 1889. The show's installation was described in "Mr. Whistler's Pictures at the Wunderlich Gallery," *New York Sun*, 10 March 1889, p. 14.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[88] No catalogue has been located for this show.

[89] "Painters in Pastel," *New-York Daily Tribune*, 2 May 1890, p. 7.

[90] "Art Notes: The exhibition of Pastels at Wunderlich's Gallery," *New York Evening Post*, 2 May 1890, p. 6.

[91] "Painters in Pastel," *New York Times*, 5 May 1890, p. 4.

[92] Wickenden 1921, p. 37.

[93] George C. Mason, *Newport Illustrated* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854), p. 100.

[94] As noted in *Robert G. Workman, The Eden of America: Rhode Island Landscapes, 1820-1920*, exh. cat. (Providence, R.I.: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design), p. 28.

[95] On the Society, see Dianne H. Pilgrim, "The Revival of Pastels in Nineteenth-Century America: The Society of Painters in Pastel," *American Art Journal* 10 (November 1978): 43-62.

[96] No catalogues have been located from the Society's exhibitions of 1889 and 1890.

[97] "Paintings and Pastels by J. H. Twachtman and J. Alden Weir," *Studio* 4 (February 1889): 44.

[98] "Pictures by Messrs. Weir and Twachtman," *New York Daily Tribune*, 7 February 1889, p. 7.

[99] "Pictures by Messrs. Weir and Twachtman," *New York Daily Tribune*, 7 February 1889, p. 7.

[100] Twachtman's illustration accompanied a poem by G. Melville Upton, "The Season's Boon," and was reproduced in *Scribner's Magazine* 8 (August 1890), p. 223.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[101] William A. Coffin, "American Illustration of To-Day," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (February 1892): 198-199.

[102] On Greenwich and its demographics, see the next chapter.

[103] The only exception is Twachtman's *The Barnyard*, ca. 1890-1900, (fig. 408), a work painted in Greenwich.

[104] *Road to the Farm* was shown in Weir's solo exhibition at Blakeslee Galleries, New York, in January-February 1891.

[105] Weir's orchard was also painted by Albert Pinkham Ryder (1847-1917) in his oil painting, *Weir's Orchard*, ca. 1885-1890 (Wadwsorth Atheneum, Hartford).

[106] "The World of Art: An Impressionist's Work in Oil and Pastel--Mr. J.H. Twachtmann's Pictures," *New York Mail and Express*, 26 March 1891, p. 3 and "My Notebook," *Art Amateur* 24 (April 1891): 116.

[107] See the next chapter for a clarification of Twachtman's Greenwich sites.

[108] Eliot Clark, "John Henry Twachtman (1853-1902)," *Art in America* 7 (April 1919): 137.

[109] "Art Notes: Pictures by J.H. Twachtman at Wunderlich," New York Evening Post, 9 March 1891, p. 7.

[110] "The World of Art: An Impressionist's Work in Oil and Pastel--Mr. J.H. Twachtmann's Pictures," *New York Mail and Express*, 26 March 1891, p. 3 and "Special Exhibitions," *Magazine of Art* 14 (1890-1891): xxvii-xxviii.

[111] "A Criticism," *Studio*, 25 April 1891, p. 203.

[112] "Art Notes," *New York Times*, 12 April 1891, p. 12.

[113] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [Chicago], 26 September 1892, Weir Family Papers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[114] "Art Notes," New York Times, 9 March 1891, p. 4.

[115] "My Notebook," *Art Amateur* 24 (April 1891): 116.

[116] It is not clear whether Twachtman purchased papers that were already prepared with pumice or whether he prepared the papers himself.

[117] "The Fine Arts: Oil-Paintings and Pastels by Mr. Twachtman," *Critic* 18 (March 1891): 146-147.

[118] See the next chapter for a discussion of the bridge Twachtman constructed on his Greenwich property and his paintings of it.

[119] "Some Dazzling Pictures," *New York Times*, 4 May 1893; "A Group of Impressionists," *New York Sun*, 5 May 1893, p. 6.

[120] M[ariana]. G. van Rennsselaer, "Questions of Art," *New York World*, 25 June 1893, p. 9; and "French and American Impressionists," *Art Amateur* 29 (June 1893): 4.

[121] See the next chapter for a description of Twachtman's 1901 shows which were held in Chicago, New York, and Cincinnati.

[122] On Twachtman's summers in Gloucester, see chapter seven.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Six

The Frontier within the Terrain of the Familiar: Twachtman's Greenwich Art and Career (1889-1900)

Home and Property in Hang Root

In the 1870s, Twachtman had been part of a generation of young artists who had gone to Europe to receive training, experience, and inspiration. His return to America in the mid-1880s likewise concurred with a trend. It was at this time that many other native artists who had studied in foreign art centers and spent years painting abroad decided to return home and to find permanent places to live and work. In compliance with this pattern Twachtman settled, in approximately the fall of 1889, in the countryside outside the town of Greenwich, Connecticut. Greenwich would be his home for the rest of his career.

For Twachtman, Greenwich was a practical choice. Since he had been hired to teach at the Art Students League in New York, he needed to reside within commuting distance of the city; in the late 1880s, the express train trip between Greenwich and New York took forty minutes, five minutes less than it does today.[1] Greenwich was also a short train ride to Branchville, allowing him to visit frequently with Weir (fig. 306).[2] However, according to a number of accounts, emotional reasons were what drew Twachtman to Greenwich. As his son recalled, he knew from his first glimpse of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

countryside that would be his that it was what he sought, and he set out immediately to determine the availability of the small farmhouse by the side of the road and the piece of land on which it stood.[3] Alfred Goodwin similarly reported in his 1905 article on Twachtman's home and property in *Country Life in America Magazine* that Twachtman had been smitten with the Greenwich landscape from his first glimpse of Horseneck Brook, which wound through the landscape, "bending, curving, and deepening into pools," and "dashing itself to foam in miniature vociferous falls."[4]

Today an image of Greenwich, Connecticut, brings to mind a community of wealth and privilege. Indeed, it was during Twachtman's time there that Greenwich was in the process of becoming such a place.[5] In the years following the Civil War, the town's once prosperous farms had gradually begun to shrink or disappear. This occurred largely because new train lines enabled produce from western farms to reach eastern markets easily, reducing the demand for local goods. In addition, Greenwich's rocky soil made cultivation difficult and harvests were often meager. It was thus more profitable for markets to stock goods from the west than to sell local produce.

Replacing Greenwich's farms were the homes of affluent New Yorkers, who, at first, were only summer visitors and, later, year-round residents. In a 1935 book, Lydia Holland remarked of the 1890s: "Soon fine homes began to appear and the transformation of Greenwich from a farming community to a residential community of beauty and charm was speeded up. . . . Roads into the spacious back country were steadily improved and the circle of magnificent homes steadily widened until, before there was full realization of the fact, Greenwich had taken its place as one of the country's more attractive suburbs."[6] In

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his 1911, *Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich*, Spencer Mead also reported on the development of the area, noting that Greenwich's farms had been gradually "merged into large estates, or cut up into plots for residential purposes."[7] A recent publication explained:

> The same railroads that led to the decline of Greenwich's farming economy by bringing competing produce from the West now brought New Yorkers to buy the depressed farmland. The backcountry began to sprout imposing manor houses and hundred acre estates. Land that had been cleared of trees by farmers a century earlier was replanted, giving the area the forested appearance it has today. On shore areas once populated by fishermen and oystermen now stood waterfront mansions. Central Greenwich lost its village atmosphere and became a unified, busy, prosperous town.[8]

By the 1880s, financial mavericks, Elias Cornelius Benedict and J. Kennedy Tod Benedict, had built homes in Greenwich.[9] William Rockefeller, the brother of John D. Rockefeller, began to buy land in Greenwich in the 1870s, and, in the decades that followed, other members of the Rockefeller family accumulated property in the area and built extravagant estates.[10] One of the first suburban neighborhoods of Greenwich was Belle Haven, a residential community divided into tracts in 1883, and sold throughout the decade that followed.[11]

To accommodate the new populace, in the 1890s, Greenwich became a bustling town, its Main Street lined with thriving commercial enterprises. Facilities for recreation and leisure were established, including three yacht clubs and several hotels.[12] Of places to stay in the area during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the most spectacular was the ornate, mansard-roofed Indian Harbor Hotel, which delighted wealthy New Yorkers, but evoked disdain from artists as suggested in Theodore Robinson's description of it as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"a rambling hideous place" (fig. 307).[13] Indeed, in general, artists and writers in the area bemoaned the transformation that was taking place. For example, Twachtman compared some shanties near his home with the dwellings of new arrivals: "Those shacks are occupied by a Negro family. I am so happy to have them here instead of the Queen Anne people."[14] Journalist Lincoln Steffens observed in the 1890s that Greenwich was becoming a "park-like" place for the "rich," who were "modernizing that lovely town," whereas, by contrast, in neighboring Cos Cob--preferred by artists and writers--"the townspeople and fisherman were all right; they fitted into the land- and seascapes."[15]

The area where Twachtman lived was different from the rest of Greenwich, however. Situated on Round Hill Road two miles north of the town in a locale known as Hang Root, his house was in a part of Greenwich that was not gentrified during the 1890s and was distinctly not a fashionable place to reside.[16] Once occupied by active farms, in the 1890s, the land of Hang Root had been left untilled for some time, and its old farmhouses were let to renters, many of whom were descendents of slaves.[17] Although the property that became Twachtman's was part of the extensive holdings of David Husted, a descendent of a prominent Greenwich family, the house that stood on it was hardly commodious.[18] The original compact gabled saltbox has recently been dated to ca. 1840s by a local land evaluator, although title searches indicate that a house existed on the property as early as 1769, and it is likely that the foundations of the house date from that time.[19] The early residents of the house on the property are not known, but records between 1840 and Twachtman's purchase of it reveal that during these years the house was occupied by renters.[20]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

For Twachtman, the small dwelling on Round Hill Road was probably affordable due to recent profits from his show at the American Art Galleries in February 1889 and the promise of steady income from the League. After presumably living initially as a tenant, he purchased the house and three acres of land on 18 February 1890.[21] The next December, he bought an additional 13.4 acres, resulting in the approximately seventeen acres that became the primary subject matter of his art for the rest of his career.[22]

During his years in Greenwich, Twachtman made many changes to his house and land. He expanded his dwelling to accommodate his growing family (four children were born during the Greenwich years), but he also transformed it for aesthetic reasons. Extending it to the north, south, and west, he unified it with its site so that instead of a upright box, it became a long, low, rambling structure that seemed an outgrowth of the landscape itself.

The primary source for determining the changes that Twachtman made to his home and land is Goodwin's article, "An Artist's Unspoiled Country Home," published in *Country Life in America Magazine* in 1905, and the photographs of Twachtman's dwelling and property that were illustrated in it. A few other photographs from Twachtman's era also provide useful material.

Twachtman's first addition to his residence appears to have been to the west. Two photographs from the early 1890s (one taken by Theodore Robinson), show the house at this time from the front and back (figs. 308-309). The original farmhouse consisted of the eastern part of the structure, whereas the section Twachtman built on was the gabled annex at the western side in which he placed dormer windows to the front and back. In a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

second set of changes, he eliminated the steps that had led to the front porch. Enclosing the porch with a half wall and covering it with a vine-covered trellis, he connected it with the house, and the gazebo-like look of this new open-air dining room linked the house with the outdoors (figs. 310-312).[23] Around the same time, he extended the roof eaves downward at both sides of the house, orienting the house with sweep of the land.[24]

The next phase of construction probably began around 1894, when Robinson reported in his diary that Childe Hassam was helping Twachtman build the foundation for his addition.[25] The main feature of this time was a further extension of the house to the west (fig. 313). Faced with a hilly rise, Twachtman made an unusual decision. Instead of leveling the land, he built the house into the slope of the hill; thus, rooms that on the inside were on a second story were now set directly on the new foundation. From the bedrooms in this part of the house, one could walk out to a small Juliet Balcony, and from there, directly into the front yard; Twachtman thereby created a continuity between domestic and natural zones. This stage of building also resulted in the small portico added to the front of the house, which is thought to have been designed by the architect and Twachtman's old Tile Club friend, Stanford White (fig. 314).[26] Consisting of a small temple-front gable set on Tuscan-style columns, the new entryway did not overwhelm the architecture, instead merely giving it a civilized note as if to provide a quiet reminder that this is the public side of the house. A photograph taken by Photo-Secessionist photographer Gertrude Käsebier (1852-1934) shows Twachtman with his family gathered behind him under the portico (fig. 315).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman let the back of the house remain less formally structured (fig. 316). Two outdoor porches opened directly onto a garden that extended about 100 feet from the back of the house. A vine-covered arch stood over the small gabled doorway at the back of the house during the summer months. For Twachtman, the arranging and tending of vines and other plantings around and on the house seems to have been a constant preoccupation. Robinson wrote in his diary of a visit to Greenwich in May 1894: "Got off to Greenwich at 9 a.m. / The country fresh and lovely--Twachtman, as usual, making a trellis or porch for vines."[27] Another feature at the back of the house was a cold storage shed built of stone which extended on a perpendicular angle from the western end of the house.[28] Over its roof, grass had grown. The shape of this shed may be seen in some of Twachtman's views of his home from the back.[29]

Twachtman also made modifications to his property. Directly behind the house, he created a garden, including within it mostly perennials and flowers indigenous to the area.[30] His garden was of a natural rather than a formal variety, and his images of it reveal that he let flowers grow with a relatively free rein (figs. 317-318). However, as a few works make clear, in the late 1890s, he carved paths through the garden creating order while maintaining the garden's natural look (figs. 319-320).

Elsewhere on his land, Twachtman made discrete changes that did not interfere with the character of the terrain. By removing an old stone fence that cut a diagonal line across the front lawn of the house--seen in the early photograph of the front of the house (fig. 292)--and planting bushes along the road, he made the house seem more set back from the road than it actually was and made it less visible to passersby than it had been

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

previously. Constructing a white picket fence at the roadside, he changed the access to the house so that instead of walking directly on a diagonal from the road to the front porch, visitors came to the house by a path that led to its side (see fig. 295). On reaching the house, one could go around either to the front or back of the structure. Goodwin observed the effect of this approach, noting that the way the house was built "makes one unsure as to whether the entrance proper to the home is north or south, so whole-hearted being this effect of easy haphazard that when a stranger once inquired of the hired man how to reach the front door, the answer came, 'Take the side path to the back of the house.'"[31]

While Twachtman was conscious of the route to his home from the road, he was also aware of the vantage point that the family had onto the landscape. By removing the stone wall that ran in front of the house, he created an unobstructed view for house occupants from the front windows of the house across the front lawn. Controlling the view further, he took two ailanthus trees that stood in front of the house as a guidepost, creating the effect for the family of looking through a telescope across the lawn and down a gulch to a vista where apple trees established a foreground while a forest of birch, chestnut, hickory and oak created a background.[32]

At the back of the house, as a photograph from Goodwin's article reveals, Twachtman constructed steps out of large indigenous stones, laid in without mortar, that led from the northern edge of the storage shed down into the garden (figs. 321).[33] At another point on his land, he erected a vine-covered pergola that stood alone on a small rise (fig. 322).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Elsewhere on his acreage, as Goodwin reported, Twachtman formalized the land just enough by planting "one hundred poplar trees that cut straight lines and geometrical patterns to front and rear" (figs. 323-324).[34] He enhanced the beauty of Horseneck Brook, which wound through his property, by planting willows along its sides.[35] At one point along the brook, he created a dam.[36] This resulted in a small pool used by his children as a swimming hole and a place to row the small flat-bottomed rowboat that appears in the work *Summer Day* (fig. 325).[37] He left other aspects of the brook untouched, including its waterfall and a pool surrounded by hemlock trees, subjects he portrayed often (figs. 326-331). In the late 1890s, he constructed a white wooden latticed footbridge over the brook, known today only from his paintings (figs. 332).

In his house and land, Twachtman took an approach that concurs with the way he created his art. Through subtly enhancing features of the existing landscape that he found compelling, he brought out the intrinsic beauty of the terrain. Similarly in his paintings, he captured the sensuous beauty of scenes without exaggeration. In the gradual changes that he made to his property, he established an Arcadian setting in which wild nature was offset by civilized accents. Likewise in his paintings, he achieved a balance between spontaneity and control.

Conscious of the compositional possibilities of his seventeen-acre plot on Round Hill Road, Twachtman integrated his home and land into a single, unified arrangement. His home grounds became a work of art, reflecting his personal sense of design. Depicting his property in his art, he created works during his Greenwich years that convey

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

his pleasure in the aesthetic scheme he himself had established, with nature and architectural form as his mediums.

It is fortunate that Twachtman's house remains intact today, and a trip up Round Hill Road shows a glimpse of it nestled in the landscape (fig. 333). The harmonious relationship between the house and its site are still evident as recent photographs demonstrate (figs. 334-339).

Twachtman's Property and the American Suburban Life Movement in the 1890s

The modifications that Twachtman made to his Greenwich home and property reflect his personality and individualistic aesthetic sensibility. Indeed, as he painted the places where he effected changes, he had a special motivation to personalize his acreage and make it fit the requirements that he had for his art. As Goodwin aptly noted, what Twachtman created was "a piece of autobiography."[38] At the same time, Twachtman's approach to his home and land was not as unique as has been presumed. As I was surprised to discover in looking at articles in *Country Life in America Magazine* (where Goodwin's article appeared) and in other American publications from the 1890s through the first decade and a half of the twentieth century, in the design of his home and land, Twachtman complied with many of the guidelines advocated by authors who wrote about what should

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

constitute the American suburban home and grounds.[39] His design decisions concur with the recommendations made in magazines and books that addressed the new suburban dweller of the era.

The following discussion of the American suburbs and the aesthetics that shaped them in the 1890s and early 1900s provides a context for understanding the choices Twachtman made in his home and land. In addition, as his home and land were the primary subjects he painted in Greenwich, this discussion is also relevant to understanding his art and to seeing how it relates to the American context of his time. An analysis of this topic is taken up on page 380.

Twachtman's years in Greenwich were approximately the period in which a vast number of American suburbs were formed, and the emergence of publications such as *Country Life in America* (initiated in 1901) and *Suburban Life in America* (initiated in 1905) reflected this phenomenon. The 1890s were the years, in particular, when the American suburbs gained a distinct identity, and when the characteristics were defined as to what an American suburban home and plot should ideally be.[40] As explained by Kenneth Jackson in *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985), the American suburb did not have a particular image until the 1890s, as previous to that time, any place at the edge of a city--even an area that was urban in character such as Jersey City--was classified as a "suburb." Jackson noted that as the nineteenth century progressed, the American suburb increasingly could not merely be a lesser version of a small city, as it became associated with the ideal of the detached dwelling in a semi-rural setting.[41] This

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

change in definition came about with the growing realization in the late nineteenth century of the problems, dangers, and stress of American cities and the understanding that the suburb by necessity had to be un-urban, providing an escape into a natural existence unmarred by modern metropolitan society and its ills.

Locales like Avondale (the suburb of Cincinnati where Twachtman lived in the early 1880s) that had been suburbs for some time provided a basis for the suburban image that emerged in the 1890s, but the decade saw a refinement and a clarification of the American suburb's identity. In keeping with anti-urban sentiments, the basic element that came to characterize a suburban home was that it be different from a city dwelling. Similarly, a suburban area was to be the antithesis of an urban street or neighborhood. At the same time, the factor that distinguished the "suburb" from the "country" was that it had be within a commutable distance to a city. As Mariana van Rensselaer elucidated in an 1897 article in *Century Magazine* in which she described the home and property of a middle-class Brookline, Massachusetts, suburbanite, the word "suburb" used to refer to places at the outskirts of the city and had come to acquire an "unattractive, hybrid meaning." By contrast, she clarified that "a real suburban place is rural in aspect, but urban in convenience--private, green, and peaceful in itself, yet close in touch with the true self of the town."[42] *Country Life in America* similarly reported in 1901: "It is more and more apparent that the ideal life is that which combines something of the social and intellectual advantages and physical comforts of the city with the inspiration and the peaceful joys of the country."[43]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

New modes of transportation naturally made the growth of new American suburban communities possible. As J.P. Mowbray noted in *World's Work* in 1901: "The expansion and perfection of railroad transit, which helped to ruin the Eastern farmer in making Kansas and Montana his rivals, has now brought the country to the relief of the city worker and enabled him to escape in some measure from the charivari of enterprise and mockery of the flat to a detached and exclusive house of his own."[44] However, the suburbs also materialized as the result of a growing disaffection with the city on the part of the nation's middle class. Rather than an economic or practical necessity, a move to the suburbs became a matter of choice for those tired of city life. *Country Life in America* pronounced in its 1901 statement of purpose:

> There is a growing interest in country life: this journal would be its representative. The interest in country life is various. Many persons are drawn to it because it is release from the city. Sooner or later every busy man longs for a quiet nook in the country where he may be at peace. He wants a country residence. Every year the outflux to the country is greater and farther reaching. The city may not satisfy the soul. . . . It was not many years ago that people lived in the suburbs as a matter of economy. Now they live in these parts because higher ideals may often be attained there.[45]

Suburban Life stated in its 1905 introductory issue: "The overcrowded condition of our large cities, combined with the multiplicity of suburban trolley lines has rendered feasible a life of country living for the city business man, which a decade ago would have been practically an impossibility."[46] *World's Work* commented in 1901:

> During the half century which saw the old farms of the East run down and abandoned by the young blood and keener intelligence which alone could have rehabilitated and preserved them, other forces were silently at work. One of these forces now appears to be a natural reaction from the stress and penalties of life in crowded quarters. It has been noticed of late years that the pace of existence where the artificial excitements are greatest, results in an ennui and sense of waste, as the struggle for independence

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> becomes more serious and the desire for equilibrium more pronounced. All the triumphs of science in such a city as New York are at the expense of security and repose. The city grows from homes to hotels to barracks. Its streets pass insensibly from sunlit thoroughfares to vast ditches, the buildings rise higher on either side. All the conveniences are for the aggregates, not for the individual, and all its achievements in locomotion are at the cost of security. Wherever human beings are massed most densely, the danger of fire is enhanced. Whereever the modern conveniences are multiplied, the natural advantages decrease. This artificial tendency of the city has given rise in our time to an entirely new factor called suburban life, that is, an existence which is spent between city and country.[47]

Although those who moved to the suburbs in the 1890s and at the turn of the century desired the quietude of country living, they were mostly not seeking an agrarian life. As reiterated in American publications of the time, life in the new suburb was to be distinct from life on the farm. Since suburban dwellers could avail themselves of the goods and services of the city, they had no reason to be self-sufficient--as the farmer was compelled to be. Whereas the farm was a place for constant, routinized, back-breaking labor, the suburb was a place for enjoying the pleasures of nature and engaging in leisure-time occupations.

The need on the part of writers on the American suburb to distinguish the suburb from the farm may be linked with negative attitudes toward farmers that had been expressed by native writers since mid-century.[48] For example, in 1852, Henry David Thoreau described the characteristic Concord farmer as

> a petty, acquisitive miser, who would carry the landscape, who would carry his God, to market, if he could get anything for him; who goes to market for his god as it is; on whose farm nothing grows free, whose fields bear no crops, whose meadows no flowers, whose trees no fruits, but dollars; who loves not the beauty of his fruits, whose fruits are not ripe for him till they are turned to dollars.[49]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In an 1858 article entitled, "Farming Life in New England," a writer for *Atlantic Monthly* stated that farm labor, which "followed from day to day and year to year, absorbing every thought and every physical energy, has the direct tendency to depress the intellect, blunt the sensibilities, and animalize the man."[50] In the writer's view, the farmer's life had "no dignity and nothing attractive, beautiful, and good in it."[51] The author described farm dwellers as "not particularly intellectual; their movements not graceful; and their calling is evident by indubitable signs," whereas in the country child who has spent time in the city "the angles are rounded; the face is brighter; there is in every way a finer development."[52] The farmer's home was also maligned, described in the article as, "a square, brown house; a chimney coming out of the middle of a roof; not a tree nearer than the orchard, and not a flower at the door."[53] The farmer's life was summed up as one of solitariness and routine.[54]

Even when a move to a countryside that was rural rather than suburban was advocated, farm labor was not promoted. E.S. Martin explained in 1902 that for those families who acquired permanent places "in the real country in some region that is not surburban, nor citified enough to impair either its charm or its cheapness," the ideal would be to "have a house so simple as not to be burdensome, a horse possibly, a hired man or part of a hired man, a garden with nasturtiums and hollyhocks in it, a barn, perhaps a cow, and very likely chickens, and to have time to read, time to sew, time to rest, and do nothing . . . ."[55] Martin went on to point out that such a move was often impossible for those whose income depended on city jobs, but he noted that the building of new railway

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lines made it posssible for businessmen to live with their families in the country and commute from ten to forty miles a day to city jobs.[56]

By the 1890s, it was understood that the urbanite who sought a country place would have a completely different set of concerns from the farmer. In an 1894 article in *Century Magazine*, entitled "Hunting an Abandoned Farm in Connecticut," William Bishop wrote of his search for a home in the country. Of a stop in Wilton, Connecticut, he wrote: "My guide here was one of the very few of his kind who know just what a city person wants in the country. He knew that it was pretty nearly the opposite of the demands of the actual denizen of the country. He was not surprised that I was willing to sacrifice fertility of soil to a view, that I wished to have some gray boulders on my land, that I wished an old-fashioned house instead of a new-fashioned one, and that I would not have it too close upon the road, where one 'could see everything going by.'"[57] (Bishop's next stop was with Weir in Branchville.)

Despite the need for suburbanites to have urban sophistication and take advantage of urban amenities, the suburban home was to be in all respects different from the urban dwelling. Whereas a city rowhouse or apartment was boxlike, confined, anonymous, and oriented toward the street and the public sphere, the suburban place was to be rambling, hidden in nature, and to evoke a sense of freedom, release, spontaneity, informality, privacy, and individuality.

Many authors focused on the fact that a country home was a creative endeavor whereas a city home was not. *Architectural Record Magazine* reported in 1901: "[I]n the midst of a city the ordinary resident has little or no personal participation or responsibility

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in the making of the house in which he lives. His dwelling is forced upon him, and he has to take it as the good builder made it, whether he likes it or not. The suburban resident, on the other hand, as often as not, mixes personally in the high art of architecture. His house frequently does, and always can, embody his own ideas and tastes."[58] John Buckham similarly explained in *Country Life* in 1902: "The great opportunity of the country home, as contrasted with the city home, is the opportunity of individuality. To put yourself into your home, to make it in some real fashion an expression of your ideas, preferences, tastes--this is the secret charm and joy of building or reconstructing."[59]

A principal aim of suburban existence, as proposed by American writers, was the achievement of a privacy that crowded city life did not afford, and the reaction against the exposed and public nature of urban experience was the detached house set on its own plot of land, surrounded and cut off from the rest of the world by lawns and gardens. Many authors advised home owners to select or build residences that assured a sense of seclusion. Expressing a desire for a house not "too close upon the road, where one 'could see everything going by,'" William Bishop explained in 1894 how requirements for the country home had changed, and commented that "there was something almost pathetic in the eagerness for companionship which draws so many houses up to the very front of their lots; it seems as if they would get out into the road, stop the passing teams, and ask them of their doings. It has spoiled a myriad charming building-sites."[60] In *House and Garden* in 1910, Alfred Morton Githens also remarked on how old farmhouses had previously been too public:

> Most of them stand behind old elm trees, close to the roadside, with a straight path to the road in front; the rear is given over to tangled briars and ash-heaps. It is strange how the past generation seems to have found

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> its amusement in watching passing neighbors from the "piazza" it generally strung along the house-front, careless of the old, gabled entrance porch or "portico," destroyed to make room for it. What the last owners did we must undo; the part they neglected we must develop into the living portion of the house. Happily the days of "front" and "back" are over, and now there is a return to the wiser English tradition of entrance front and garden front; the garden is no longer between the house and the road, but behind or at the end, screened in some way from the automobile dust and curious gaze of passers-by.[61]

Other writers recommended ways of achieving privacy by setting the house back into the landscape. Bryant Fleming remarked in *Country Life* in 1902: "As to the position of the house, much is obtained if the building is placed well back from the street and the front and side lawn combined, thus giving a feeling of depth as well as breadth."[62]

Behind the barrier established by home and land, the homeowner could create an individualized and personal world, something believed to be impossible in cramped and boxy city quarters and in streets lined with row houses. A home in the country was perceived as the individual or family's bastion against the indifference of society, and home and land ownership came to represent stability and security in the face of the anxieties and tensions of the metropolis. Often designed by the owner in collaboration with an architect, the suburban home was seen as an extension of the individual and, therefore, as an antidote to the impersonal forces of the city. A writer for *Country Life* in 1902 conveyed the feeling of enjoyment that a suburban place of one's own could inspire:

> Much of your pleasure will be in the out-of-doors; if it is not, do not remove to the country. You will come to enjoy the wind and the rain, as well as the shade and the sun. You will explore the roads and hills. You will follow the sheep under the trees at noon. You will know where the woodchuck burrows. You will find birds' nests. You will know the round of the year from the bursting showers of April till the crispy-cool days of October. The whole countryside is to be yours.[63]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the designing of a suburban place, as writers advocated, home and land were to be coordinated. The character of the topography was to be considered in architectural construction, and the house was to comply with the lay of the land, evoking a feeling of spontaneity that contrasted with the rigidity and order of the urban grid. In 1902, *Country Life in America* pronounced: "Release and recreation are the dominating ideals in the country home. Therefore simplicity, freedom, naturalness should be the controlling expressions of the grounds."[64] While not dictating the style in which a home was to be built, writers suggested that instead of excessive detail and picturesque and busy combinations of gables, bays, and turrets, the suburban house was to feature simple lines, solid masses, and flowing forms that complied with the natural contours of a site. Of the Queen Anne style, *Architectural Record* commented in 1901,

> [S]urely no "style" was ever invented which lent itself more to the freakish and meaningless eccentricities which are as utterly out of place in rural as they are in every other kind of architecture. A "Queen Anne" cottage was at best a prettified bijou frame building, which in its design was a collection of incongruities and in its effect gave the impression of something perched upon the land, instead of something growing logically out of it. And the detail was as incongruous and meaningless as the masses and outlines.[65]

In *Country Life* in 1902, Clarence Martin noted:

> The fantastic lines and brilliant decorations entirely appropriate in a temporary structure for the celebration of a festive event would obviously be distinctly out of character for the work-a-day farm-house that should be so designed and constructed that it might hold its place as the homestead for a full century. . . . Naturally the lines and masses of the house rather than the details are the first important considerations. A long, straight or gently curved line is a thing of beauty, and such lines combined with plain wall-surfaces and simple outlines go far toward giving a house the true home character.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Martin called for the country house, regardless of the style in which it was built, to have "balance and harmony without symmetry, and our dominant and subordinate features must be so arranged as to give a feeling of unity, strength and repose in the design."[66] *Architectural Record* commented in 1901 that houses constructed since 1895 had increasingly shown tendencies toward "a more reposeful and intelligent treatment. . . . As a rule they are no longer cocked up capriciously in the air, but take their place more naturally and smoothly on the ground. The piazza is much less frequently the chief external feature. . . . The roofs are for the most part pitched lower, and the outline is not broken by a number of meaningless and fussy gables. The whole design is prone to be decidedly simpler and more logical, and whatever ornamental detail there is, is better managed."[67] Whereas city buildings rose upward, the suburban house was to lie close to the ground. A writer for *Country Life* in 1901 recommended that the house "be low and broad. Your place is to be known for its homelikeness."[68]

Many books on home and garden planning also advocated a close interaction between the home and its surroundings. Van Rensselaer wrote in her 1893 book, *Art Out of Doors*: "there must be harmony between the grounds and the house itself. And all the more distant devices of the gardener will not effect this unless its walls seem integrally united to Mother Earth. . . . The architect must seize upon every peculiarity of the site which can be used to give his building the look of belonging just where it stands--to make it appear as though it could not be moved anywhere else without detriment to its own effect."[69] *Architectural Record* reported in 1901: "The one characteristic which should distinguish rural architecture is that of possessing some organic and necessary relation to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the land on which it is situated and the landscape by which it is surrounded." The author of this article went on to propose ways that houses could have the "appearance of composing unobtrusively and effectively with their site and surroundings."[70] In *Country Life* in 1902, Claude Bragdon wrote that a "house should rhyme with its surroundings" and be "chameleon-like." He advised: "The exterior aspect of a country house should be determined as far as possible by its site and surroundings, that it may appear a thing not alien to its environment, but a product, as it were, of the soil itself."[71]

Although the style of a country home was left open to the individual home owner, one type of dwelling frequently advocated in publications at the turn of the century was the old, abandoned farmhouse which could be remodeled and made to suit the needs of a suburban resident. The search for such a dwelling was the focus of Bishop's article in *Century Magazine* in 1894. Bishop reported that catalogues listing such farms were available from a number of New England states, and he began his quest with lists in hand.[72] On his travels, he discovered that two places in Connecticut he had marked in a catalogue were already sold, noting that the owners had "turned the old farm-house into a country-seat."[73] Of his visit with Weir, Bishop wrote: "Over at Branchville I found an artist friend who had quietly taken up one of the old places long before the late hue and cry. He had painted the house a cheery red, put in some wide, low, Dutch windows, and left the land virtually untouched. He claimed to have made a good deal of money out of it, however; but this proved to be only a piece of his humor. It was from the pictures he had painted there that he had made the money."[74]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A writer for *Country Life* in 1901 also mentioned available lists of "abandoned farms" in New England and advised that many of these old places have great possibilities. . . . Even the old houses are often capable of being made into comfortable homes with small expense."[75] Alfred Morton Githens dealt with "the farmhouse reclaimed" in two articles in *House and Garden* in 1910.[76] Greenwich, Connecticut, was the area in which Githens found most of his examples, and one of the homes he featured was situated on Round Hill Road. As he reported, "There are many neglected farmhouses in the lanes and highways of this hilly rock-bespattered Connecticut country."[77] 'Githens observed that many of the houses he came upon faced the street, but he observed that privacy had been attained by a clever screening with stone walls and masses of shrubbery.[78]

Many other publications of the era advised ways to make old farm dwellings suit modern needs while retaining their original charm and character. One book on this subject was Mary Caroline Robbins's 1892, *The Rescue of an Old Place*, a compilation of articles previously published in *Garden and Forest Magazine*, in which Robbins described the dilapidated house in Massachusetts and its grounds that she salvaged.[79] Robbins described the course she followed to create a "country seat" from a plot consisting of "half-dead fruit-trees and straggling shrubs . . .[and a] garden, once productive and blooming" which had "run to waste."[80]

To join house and grounds, authors, including Robbins, advised that a garden continue from the back of a house rather than standing as a separate entity, providing a connecting link between domestic and natural spheres. Describing a Brookline home for *Country Life* in 1903, Sarah Cone Bryant wrote: "The whole garden is treated as an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

adjunct of the house . . . [and] the grounds seem but to continue and expand from the house, and the house to concentrate the prevailing thought of its surroundings."[81] Another common recommendation was that the house be decorated with plants and flowering vines to make it seem part of the landscape. Bryant Fleming wrote in 1902: "Let vines run riot over the veranda and even to the top of the roof, and the shrubs push into the corners of the foundations, thus breaking the hard lines of the building and tying it to the ground. For what is more barren than a house,--we cannot call it a home,--standing bare and alone in its nakedness."[82]

In that house and land were supposed to harmonize, the suburban plot had to be accommodating to architectural form and therefore could not be too wild. But if it were too structured, it would seem too "urban." The answer was that it was to be naturalistic, but not so wild as to be unenjoyable. The English picturesque garden was, therefore, the logical model for the landscaping of an American suburban residence. Writing of the Brookline home of Professor Charles Sprague Sargent, van Rensselaer proposed a picturesque setting: "The triumph of landscape-gardening--of the naturalistic as distinguished from the formal branch of gardening art--is to create results which look as though, with very little assistance, nature might have produced them in some particularly gentle and human mood."[83] In 1901, *Country Life* recommended that the design of a country place should preserve the landscape's natural beauty.[84] The next year, the magazine suggested that patterns in nature at large be used as a model in the design of one's property: "Observe the pathways in nature,--the brooks, the lake shores, the margins of the forest, the edge of the swamp, the paths of cows across the pastures. Note the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gentle curves and variety in planting. Consider what would be the effect if all the curves were to be straightened and all the informalities taken out. Then consider whether you may not have derived a lesson for your own place, in holding to the free and graceful spirit of the wild."[85]

In the vast amount of American literature on the garden published at the turn of the century, many different types of gardens are featured, but the wild garden was the type that seems to have received the most attention, and this type of garden was deemed most suitable for a suburban home. Although deriving from the English picturesque garden, the wild garden was seen as a uniquely American form, characterized by untended nature, the planting of wild and indigenous flowers and plants within the garden plot as well as in the countryside at large, and the inclusion of already existing natural forms into the garden arrangement. As Helena Rutherfurd Ely wrote in 1911:

> The term "wild garden" may be descriptive of the garden made from native material without the cultivation of the soil, and as expressive of natural resources, as the terms English garden or Italian garden, where the yews of England and the cypress of Italy give at once the dominant note peculiar to the country where each is situated.[86]

Other writers of the era advised against formal gardens or exotic plants. A writer for *Country Life* in 1901 recommended: "Bring in the wild trees and bushes. Colonize a few clumps of golden-rods and asters and skunk-cabbage and other wild things that you find on your rambles. . . . In some country places you will not need to plant; you will need only to cut judiciously. It is remarkable what good effects may be had by letting things go for a time."[87] Robbins similarly recommended leaving wild flowers as found, noting that most of her garden was "formless and wild," and stating that "nothing has been done to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the old part of the farm, except to clean away the weeds and sticks that encumbered it, and the old plants have grown lank and tall along the fence and under the heavy shade of the trees."[88]

In writings from the 1890s through the 1910s, the definition of the garden was often expanded beyond a plot of flowers to include other aspects of nature. In her chapter on "The Wild Garden," Ely described a Connecticut garden as a "garden of rocks" rather than a "rock garden":

> In this Connecticut garden, the rock-ledges and boulders are treated as a part of the garden as much as the trees or flowers themselves, and are objects of beauty. At the foot of the boulders grow, in places, prostrate junipers, native columbines and creeping phlox. In crevices of the rock-ledge are many ferns, columbines and velvety mosses, and along the tops of the ledges grow bayberry and huckleberry bushes . . .[89]

Continuing her description of this garden, Ely wrote of "descending the swift slope of fields stretching from the old farmhouse, and crossing a natural ravine" that passed by an old pond. Traveling further, she came upon meadows, wooded areas, sloping fields, a stream "dashing over water-worn boulders," and a "wonderful hemlock glen," "bordered on both sides and banks by ancient hemlocks, through whose great branches the sunshine comes but not gently."[90] An image of the brook that appears in Ely's book, indeed, resembles Twachtman's hemlock pool (fig. 340).

In 1903, Bryant described features on a piece of property in Brookline that are similar to those identified by Ely:

> From the side of the drive farthest from the lawn a sharp declivity falls away into what may once have been a cowslip meadow, through whose midst the clearest and cheeriest of little brooks runs straightly on its business. A little brook is a blessing money can scarcesly buy for one's backyard. . . . Then perhaps you may have such a depth of lush grasses, such a tall wilderness of lilies and flags, such enticing little plank crossings,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> as has Mr. Hunt's brook-garden. A flight of irregular stone steps leads down to it, through a screen of trees which both shelters and hides it.[91]

Bryant went on to observe:

> It is all very peaceful and reserved, and though the extent of ground under cultivation predicates the care of a skilled gardener, there is scarcely a single feature of the effective whole which in itself is beyond the reach of any one with good taste and genuine love of gardening. This is one of the charms of the place as a whole. It is unpretentious; it depends less on artifice than on loving development of actual beauties; it offers no fads or startling innovations. Its very great success lies primarily in the artistic judgment which has consistently held house and grounds to be part of one unit,--a diverse whole.[92]

In this statement, Bryant sums up one of the basic notions stressed in publications on suburban life from the 1890s through the 1910s: that a sense of beauty and aesthetic judgment were all that one needed to design a country place. This viewpoint was perhaps best conveyed, however, by van Rensselaer in her 1893 book, *Art Out-of-Doors*. Focusing her discussion on landscape architects rather than on ordinary homeowners, van Rensselaer expressed the view that the same understanding of art required to paint or sculpt was necessitated in landscape gardening. Van Rensselaer distinguished between the different fields, stating that the painter worked not with actual colors, but with "illusions of form" and the sculptor used colors,

> if at all, in conventional and subordinate ways, while the landscape gardener took from Nature not only his models but his materials and methods. His colors are those of her own palette, his clays and marbles are her rocks and soils, and his technical process are the same that she employs. He does not show her possibilities of beauty as in a mirror of his own inventing. He helps her in her actual efforts to realize them--he works in and for and with her.[93]

In her 1897 article in *Century* on the home of a Brookline resident, she expressed a similar viewpoint, writing that while "Nature's materials must be handled with reference to her

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

own intentions and her own methods . . . the most perfect pictures must perpetually be retouched."[94]

As suggested by van Rensselaer, the guiding principal in creating a suburban place was an artistic sensibility, an awareness of forms, colors, and compositions that existed in nature, combined with a sense of how these elements could be enhanced or "retouched." In the suburban plot, all aspects of home and land were to contribute to the artistic conception, forming a unified harmonious design as in a painting. At the same time, the design of a suburban place was not to follow certain formal rules, as it was to express the predilections and individual aesthetic tastes of its owner. As she suggested, such a home would only become more unique and personalized over time as the owner's aesthetic viewpoint was imprinted more and more upon it. Instead of being formalized or made to serve a utilitarian function, nature in the American suburban landscape was to be treated as art.

The writings on the American suburb from the 1890s through the 1910s relate with astounding closeness to the aesthetic choices that Twachtman made on his Greenwich property, and many authors could well have been describing aspects of his home and land in their recommendations. In his clear desire to create a place conducive to repose and the enjoyment of nature's beauty, Twachtman concurred with the goals of the American suburban movement of his time. His grounds were a welcoming place where one could wander lazily and feel shielded by nature from the outside world. With its irregular shape and flowing lines, his home reflected his personal aesthetic and had a comforting, domestic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

presence. At the same time, the structure accorded with the swells and flow of the land, conveying a feeling of quiet assurity and contentment. The garden and flowering vines that set out from and adorned the house tied it to its site and secured its place in the landscape. Twachtman's Greenwich home and grounds constituted a highly personal terrain that suited the artist's taste for intimate arrangements and subtle harmonies among forms. Simultaneously his home grounds exemplified the idea that lay behind the American suburban movement, that the individual should find in his or her country home a personal bastion against an increasingly impersonal society, dominated by urban anxieties and the pressure to conform.

As I will show later, Twachtman's Greenwich art also reflects the American suburban ideals of his era. Before exploring this topic further, however, I will outline Twachtman's career during his Greenwich years and discuss the evolution of his art during the period.

Family and Friends in Greenwich

The house on Round Hill Road provided Twachtman and his family with a stability and security they not experienced previously and the seventeen-acre plot was an idyllic playground for the artist's children. For Twachtman, family life must have become more central in Greenwich, as his three older children (Alden, Marjorie, and Elsie) were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

growing up and four more children were born: Eric Christian, on 12 May 1890; Quentin, on 6 September 1892; Violet, on 23 May 1895; and Godfrey, in early December 1897.

But Twachtman's pleasures in domestic experience were twice marred by tragedy. Eric Christian lived only a year and a half (a plaque on the property serves as his burial marker and indicates his death date as 25 September 1891), and, in late 1894, illness swept through the family. On the 30th of December 1894, Robinson noted in his diary: "Twachtman's children down with scarlet fever. Quentin at Mrs. Hassam's a day and night, and howled all the time until taken away."[95] Twachtman and his son Alden had apparently avoided infection and on doctor's orders, they separated from the rest of the family, possibly staying in New York.[96] Robinson wrote again on January 2: "Twachtman and Alden called a few minutes--T spoke despairingly of Elsie--the others are better."[97] Weir wrote similarly to his wife on the 10th:

> Last night I dined with the [Arthur George?] Collins and Twachtman at twelve midnight he got the news from the doctor, and we waited for him at Collins studio. When he came he said that the doctor had given up all hope for Elsie's recovery, and the poor fellow was completely broken up.[98]

Three days later, when Elsie died in her ninth year, Twachtman was at her side. Robinson wrote: "Twachtman has returned to his family, after his long quarantine--he went back Sat. in time to see the little one die."[99] A funeral was held in Greenwich, attended by both Weir and Robinson.[100] For Twachtman, the loss of his daughter had a powerful impact, and he is thought to have expressed his grief in three paintings, each depicting a single child adrift in a sailboat on a misty sea (figs. 341-343).[101] Elsie was a favorite subject, judging from the fact that she is featured in more of Twachtman's extant works than are his other children (figs. 344-345, 280). Twachtman may also have created a memorial to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

her in *On the Terrace*, created around 1897, in which, of the artist's children, the two blond haired girls depicted could only be Marjorie and Elsie; since Violet was born in 1895, she would have been younger than the smaller child shown (fig. 419).

For Twachtman, the disease had been costly, given the expense of doctor's bills, the funeral and of destroying any possessions at home in Greenwich that could carry infection.[102] Emotionally the time had been trying as well. Friends had kept their distance from the artist for fear that he had himself been infected. Robinson wrote on 15 January 1895: "Twachtman has had a hard time, everyone avoiding him, foolishly, he thinks, as he followed the physician's orders and kept away from the house. Weir berated me good-naturedly for not inviting him, all the time since I left him."[103]

The artist's troubles did not end with Elsie's death. In late January or February, Twachtman's family was staying in Lakewood, a winter resort town in southern New Jersey, probably to avoid whatever infection lingered in their house in Greenwich. Despite precautions, in February, Alden came down with scarlet fever in Lakewood.[104] On the 11th, Robinson reported that "Poor T is in hard luck."[105] Two days later, Robinson wrote:

> Twachtman called--Alden is down with scarlet fever. The worst case of economy on record--they burned nearly everything in the clothing line--but a cloak of Mrs. T's worth $20. And Alden's illness (he is getting better though) means 3 or 4 hundred dollars more. Weir sent a nurse down to Lakewood and has sold some pictures for T. (voila un ami.) so in spite of his great expenses, T. has a bank account.[106]

Alden eventually recovered, but Twachtman contended with health problems of his own during the Greenwich years. He wrote to Weir in late August of 1892, indicating that he had been ill since the beginning of the month and that for two weeks, had not done any

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work.[107] In his biography of Stanford White, Charles Baldwin wrote of a letter that Thomas Dewing (1851-1938) sent to White from Cornish, New Hampshire, "in the nineties at a time when the painter Twachtman was desperately ill," which read: 'Dear Stanny: Since you asked me to let you know about the bills at the Hospital, I send you this word: We need $72 which will take us to the end. If you can do this, send it to Reid. I will chip in all I can as soon as I can turn around, so will all of us up here.'"[108] This letter perhaps dates from the summer of 1894. Robinson wrote in his diary on 17 August of that summer: "saw Twachtman with his class in the orchard--he has had malaria."[109] On 16 November 1894, Robinson wrote again that Twachtman "looked peakish--has had malaria all summer."[110]

Twachtman was clearly ill during the last spring of his life when he traveled on a doctor's advice to the Chamberlin and Hygeia spa in Fort Monroe, Virginia, which had as its slogan, "Old Point Comfort." He wrote to Josephine Holley, wife of the proprietor of the Holley House in Cos Cob, Connecticut, on June 4, 1902: "Dr. Guitaris recommended a sea voyage and here I am . . .We were in a fog all night and there was nothing but blowing of whistles. Guitaris says that quinine is all that ails me."[111] This last statement has a facetious tone, but its meaning was not altogether humorous. Since Twachtman's death occurred two months from this date, he may have been making light of an illness that he knew to be grave. Yet his death, which took place during a third summer spent in Gloucester, Massachusetts, on the eighth of August 1902, four days after his forty-ninth birthday, appears to have been sudden. His family was vacationing in Europe when he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

passed away, apparently of a brain aneurysm or stroke, at the Addison Gilbert Hospital in Gloucester.[112]

Twachtman took tremendous pleasure in his friendships during his Greenwich years. A number of former classmates from Cincinnati, Paris, and Munich days were co-instructors with him at the Art Students League, where he taught from 1889 to 1902, including Weir, Chase, Blum, Kenyon Cox, DeCamp, Frederick Dielman, Benjamin Fitz (1855-1891), Willard Metcalf, and H. Siddons Mowbray. In New York, the Players Club was a second home for Twachtman, a place to join friends for formal dinners as well as casual interchanges (fig. 346).[113] Through old friendships, new ones were made. Edward Simmons, who participated along with Weir on murals for the Columbian Exposition, perhaps met Twachtman through Weir. Both Twachtman and Weir developed friendships with Childe Hassam, shortly after Hassam returned in 1889 from a three-year trip to France, and settled in Manhattan. A frequent visitor in Greenwich, Hassam is thought to have painted *The Children*, of 1897, a view of two children arranging flowers at a table, on one of his visits with Twachtman (fig. 347).[114] Robert Reid, who Twachtman had known at the Académie Julian, also spent time in Greenwich. When he exhibited a painting entitled *Twachtman's Valley at Sunset* at the Society of American Artists in 1895, the *Art Amateur* reported:

> Mr. Twachtman's country place seems to be a regular rendezvous for Impressionists. It has already been painted by several, and now Mr. Robert Reed [sic] adds his testimony to its attractions in "Valley at Sunset." The place is a shallow glen with a little stream running through it, and Mr. Reed has chosen a view from the height looking straight up the narrow valley, filled with a yellowish haze.[115]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thomas Dewing, who admired Twachtman's work, became a close colleague probably in the late 1880s.[116] Another artist-colleague with whom Twachtman spent time during his Greenwich years was Henry Fitch Taylor (1853-1925).[117] There are no references to Taylor in material on Twachtman's earlier career, but undoubtedly the two were old friends. The same age as Twachtman, Taylor was originally from Cincinnati and had been a student at the Académie Julian in the mid-1880s. During the 1890s, as entries in Robinson's diaries reveal, Taylor stayed often in Greenwich, boarding at the home of Captain Lewis Augustus Merritt, a neighbor of Twachtman's.[118] Taylor also frequently socialized in New York with Twachtman, Weir, and Robinson.[119] A Connecticut scene by Taylor reveals stylistic parallels with works by Twachtman (fig. 348).

It was, however, Twachtman's two old friends, Weir and Robinson, with whom he maintained his closest relationships during his Greenwich years, and both Twachtman and Weir were bereft when Robinson died in May of 1896 at age 44 from the painful asthma from which he had suffered for years. Until December 1892, when Robinson returned permanently to America, Twachtman would have seen him during only the first half of the year, but after that time, the two artists were frequently together. Many entries in Robinson's diary mention casual visits with Twachtman in New York, often in the company of Weir and/or others. Together the artists dined, attended the theater, saw exhibitions, shared a delight in Japanese prints, and assisted each other. In an entry of 29 April 1893, Robinson wrote of working with Theodore Wendel to help Twachtman and Weir to hang the works in their joint exhibition at the American Art Galleries. Robinson

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

occasionally took over Twachtman's classes at the Art Students League, Cooper Union, and in Cos Cob.[120]

At times, Robinson, who was single and frequently boarded at the homes of his friends, stayed and painted in Greenwich. For Robinson, Greenwich provided an experience of family life that he did not have. Of a trip to Greenwich at Christmas 1892, Robinson wrote: "At 4, out to Greenwich--train leaving late--crowds at the station. Getting out at Greenwich it was almost a blizzard--frightfully cold, and I was afraid our little cart would be upset. A pleasant Xmas with the Twachtmans--an unusual thing for me--Xmas tree, children, dogs, and the new baby . . . the hot stove. . . took me back to a Wisconsin winter and my mother's last baby."[121] The frequent nature of Robinson's visits was conveyed by Alden Twachtman, who recounted to Hale that "the sound of Robinson's asthmatic coughing and the odor of his medicated cigarettes after the house had retired, became too familiar to disturb anyone."[122]

During a trip to Greenwich in January 1892, shortly after returning from Europe, Robinson painted a view of the back of Twachtman's house, adopting the same vantage point that Twachtman used for his own contemporaneous paintings of the same scene, and Robinson followed Twachtman's practice of working outdoors (fig. 349). He recalled two years later in his diary that the work had been, "painted quickly, as I was obliged to hurry, the day being a very cold one, only worked a little while the 2d day, and an hour the first." Both Twachtman and Taylor had given Robinson praise for his "house," and Robinson, himself, had been satisfied with the method that he had used for the work, noting:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I should work more in that way--the result is quite different from my ordinary work, more deliberate and with less "grasp" in a way of the thing probably a loss of the first inspiration, or a confusion of different effects. In a few canvases like "Twachtman's house," "Winter Landscape" my "Port Ben" (I think) there is more real inspiration, impression, more of the reality--la note juste, so difficult and so desirable. I lose time and dawdle over unimportant detail and drawing, and the charm of oneness, the instantaneity of effect is lost, and things gained that are of no importance.[123]

Despite Robinson's claim that he had painted his view of Twachtman's house directly, the recent surfacing of a photograph taken by Robinson of the same view that he painted raises questions of how directly he actually worked (fig. 309).

On a number of trips to Greenwich in the spring of 1893, Robinson created another painting on Twachtman's property, depicting Marjorie and Elsie walking on stones in Horseneck brook (fig. 350). Robinson wrote on June 15: "Commenced a 'Stepping-Stones' with Elsie and Marjorie crossing, a charming spot, over shadowed by hickory foliage."[124] Early in the next month, Robinson was still working on the painting: "I lose much time on the stepping stones, but perhaps can get thro' when I come back, do the children a little more. The landscape is almost as good as I can make it tho' I could work longer."[125] Robinson also mentioned other occasions when he stayed in Greenwich and painted on Twachtman's property. On 28 May 1893, he wrote "Still cold, no sunshine for some days--this a.m. fog made things finer, more en masse, especially looking up the brook from near road (on T's place)."[126]

Certainly, the artists discussed a wide variety of art topics, but, beginning in 1893, Japanese prints dominated many of their conversations. For Twachtman, a trip to Boston in late October 1893 (taken to attend Weir's wedding to Ella Baker), provided an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

opportunity to see a show of Japanese prints at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which left a strong impression.[127] Robinson wrote in his diary on October 31:

> At 4:30 out to Greenwich with Twachtman, cold ride to Hangroot. . .T. was just back from Boston--Weir's wedding to Miss Ella Baker--lots of gossip and some talk about the Jap. ex. at the Museum, that T. is most enthusiastic about. Thinks there is much to be learned therefrom. I like much T's ideas, tho' a bit uncertain, but especially his dislike of the prosaic, inartistique, the bourgeois "quality."[128]

Robinson came to appreciate Japanese prints more slowly than did his friends. He wrote at the end of the following month of a visit with Weir: "It is very pleasant to sit with Weir at a table and look over proofs, etchings or Japanaiseries together, his intelligent and enthusiastic appreciations. . . I imagine the best men have been influenced for the better by Japanese art, not only in arrangements, but in their extraordinary delicacy of tone and color."[129] In an entry on December 10, Robinson hinted that his friends had perhaps gone too far in their adulation of the Japanese, noting that, "Tw. & W. are rabid just now on the J."[130] Within a couple months, however, Robinson had succumbed to the *Japonisme* craze. He wrote in his diary on February 16, 1894 of, "A beautiful collection of Japanese things at Boussod-Valadons--Weir and I looked at them. I got one print--Koriousai--a charming one. Some landscapes were quite wonderful."[131] The study and collection of prints absorbed the artists in the coming year. Former Tile Club member, Heromichi Shugio, "explained certain things about prints and books" during a dinner at Weir's, attended by Twachtman and Robinson. Weir ordered papers, as well as brushes and inks, from a Paris-based Japanese art dealer, Tadamasa Hayashi, that he used for ink studies inspired by reproductions of Japanese works in Samuel Bing's periodical *Le Japon*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Artistique.[132] Like his friends, Twachtman may have purchased Japanese prints, but no record exists as to images he owned.

Undoubtedly the three artists conversed about other aesthetic, literary, and philosophical topics as well. Little is known of Twachtman's ideas and/or interests, however. Mase wrote that his discussions would always "drift to art, for he was bubbling over with it, and he dominated the conversation, as great men do."[133] Mase also reported that he had a knowledge of literature and a love of poetry, and she noted his special fondness for the writings of German poet Heinrich Heine and for music, a passion probably formed during his youth in Cincinnati.[134] His son, Alden, reported that his favorite composers were Brahms, Schubert, and Chopin.[135]

More is known of Robinson's interests due to his practice of recording his thoughts, ideas, and observations in his diaries. Noting his views of different artistic methods, critiquing other artists' works, and debating with himself as to what it meant to be a modern painter, Robinson expressed opinions that he undoubtedly shared with Twachtman.

Although Weir was probably of the same mind on many issues as his friends, he also made a different contribution to the group. His many letters to his parents and to his first wife Anna reveal his acquaintance with important figures in the literary and theater worlds, many of whom knew his father, Robert (1803-1889), a drawing instructor at the Westpoint Military Academy. From Paris in 1876, Weir wrote to his parents of having seen Victor Hugo speak and mentioned a desire to read Balzac.[136] In the 1880s, Weir wrote to his future wife, Anna, of meeting Julian Hawthorne (son of Nathaniel) and "other

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

literary men."[137] Having grown up in a household where Transcendentalist ideas were cherished, Weir counted Ralph Waldo Emerson among his favorite authors.[138] An avid church-goer, Weir had firm religious beliefs that he maintained throughout his life, and he took the time to read the theories of Swedenborg, sent to him by his brother, John, who wrote a number of books attempting to reconcile evolutionary theories and Christian theology.[139]

Weir apparently discussed religious issues with Twachtman, perhaps including the ideas of Swedenborg, which would have been familiar to Twachtman already. However, by the 1890s, Twachtman had rejected organized religion, a decision that he saw to be no barrier to his friendship with Weir, as he indicated in an 1892 letter.[140] He explained that while he had abandoned Christian ritual, he maintained a belief in God's omniscience: "Our God has our destiny in His hands and the task for the noblest souls has always been the hardest. I am a firm believer in martyrs and if I better knew the life of Christ I might be a devoted churchman."[141] Twachtman also may have derived some inspiration from Eastern philosophy. Goodwin reported that he owned a copy of Max Müller's translations of the Far East Bibles.[142] As Kathleen Pyne has observed in a 1989 essay, the meditative qualities of Twachtman's works suggest that he was familiar with Buddhist ideas of a merging of the self and nature.[143]

Discussions of art and intellectual matters were clearly a connecting link for the three artists, but their satisfaction also came from simply being in each others' company. Robinson summed up the delight that the friends took in being together. In a diary entry of February 1893, he wrote: "These are pleasant evenings--Weir's enthusiasm and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

criticisms on things and the pleasure of looking at good things with a friend, comparing impressions, etc."[144] Of an evening at Twachtman's, Robinson wrote, "From Twachtman's at night, where we play at hearts. The fire-flies are thick when it is warm, and flying high, sometimes higher than the trees."[145]

Cos Cob and the Holley House

During his Greenwich years, Twachtman spent summers teaching in Cos Cob, a village on the Long Island Sound that lay within the boundaries of Greenwich. It was also in this town that he joined in the sorts of pleasures of artistic camaraderie that he had enjoyed while abroad, taking part in the raucous gatherings of artists and writers who congregated at the Holley House and rendering views of the area's paintable scenery.[146]

Once the center of Greenwich, by the late nineteenth century Cos Cob had lost its position as a major Long Island Sound trading port to Greenwich harbor. Yet, it was the quiet picturesqueness of the small fishing village that was appealing to its community of artist-visitors, who began to arrive in the 1890s. Part of Cos Cob's attractiveness was that it contained some of the oldest houses in the area, which became a favorite subject for its coterie of Impressionist artists. It was because of the predilection on the part of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Impressionist painters in the area to paint the old homes of Cos Cob that Childe Hassam dubbed this group the "Cos Cob Clapboard School."[147]

One of the town's oldest residences was the Bush House, constructed in 1685 and added onto over the course of its tenancy, which Lincoln Steffens described as "a great, rambling, beautiful old accident--so old that it had its slave quarters up under the roof; and it looked out from under elms as high as oaks upon the inner harbor and an abandoned boat-building house with sail lofts" (fig. 351).[148] After its purchase by the New Haven Railroad in 1848, the house had functioned as an inn, frequented by vacationers and railroad workers.[149] In 1882, the house came into the possession of Edward J. Holley, who, following an unsuccessful effort at farming elsewhere in Greenwich, decided to try his hand at innkeeping. He and his wife Josephine reopened the house as The Holley Inn. While continuing to operate the house as a boarding house that took in travelers, Edward and Josephine Holley were especially welcoming to artists and writers, and they were responsible for supplying the foundation for, and encouraging, the close-knit artists' colony that emerged in Cos Cob in the 1890s and lasted until just after World War I.

Of the artists associated with the colony, Weir was perhaps the first to make Edward Holley's acquaintance, as he sent a letter to his brother John from "Holly Farm" (on the site of the current Greenwich Country Club) in October 1880, noting that he was working on a six-foot canvas.[150] But, it was both Weir and Twachtman who began the artistic patronage of the Holley Inn. At some point between 1890 and 1892, they began teaching summer art classes there.[151] Their classes were organized privately, although the attendants were drawn from the instructors' winter classes at the Art Students League.[152]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Most of the students who attended appear to have boarded at the inn and spent their days working outdoors.[153] Once or twice a week, their instructors would visit and critique their progress.[154]

During the summer of 1892, Weir left the school early, departing in mid-August for Chicago in order to participate in mural work at the World's Columbian Exposition and Twachtman took on the teaching load by himself.[155] On the 27th of August, Twachtman reported to Weir: "There are only a half dozen students left and I go over once a week to see their work. One of the lessons, just before I got sick, was by far the best of this summer and if they had all remained until October it would have been a good thing for them."[156]

Weir and Twachtman were teaching together again in Cos Cob in 1893, and their joint efforts appear to have continued until the summer of 1897, when Weir initiated his own art classes in Branchville, which he would continue for the following four years.[157] Despite the departure of Weir, Twachtman's 1897 teaching session was successful enough to inspire his students to present an exhibition of their summer work at the Art Students League the following December. Organized by Elmer MacRae (1875-1953), the show was mounted on the third of the month by MacRae, Otto Heineman (?-?), Genjiro Yeto (b. 1867), and Mary Roberts (1873-1956), who later married another Twachtman student, Charles Ebert, (1873-1959).[158] MacRae reported to Emma Holley, daughter of Edward and Josephine, whom he was courting at the time and would marry in 1901: "We first hung the pastels and water colors with gold frames on one side of the room, the oils with black frames on another, and the pastels framed alike on the remaining wall. In this way

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

we kept things alike by themselves. The effect seemed quite good. All the pictures are framed very simply and neatly." As MacRae further reported, "the comments on the exhibition were very favorable" and noted that when Twachtman saw the works, he "liked them immensely--He seemed very pleased."[159]

The approval that the show received perhaps gave the League an impetus to start its own summer school in the following year. Twachtman and Bryson Burroughs (1869-1934) were hired as the teachers for the first summer session of the Art Students League, held in the summer of 1898 in Norwich, Connecticut, a town located in northeast Connecticut.[160] The thirty female and two male pupils who enrolled in this class were welcomed in Norwich, where they were given the use of a large schoolhouse which had been converted to a studio. As a notice that appeared in a local newspaper on the 15th of July implied, the town considered the presence of the school as a harbinger of things to come in Norwich:

> Already many agreeable social attentions have been paid the visitors, and others are to follow. The art pupils of Mr. John H. Twachtman and Mr. Bryson Burroughs are a decided acquisition to the social and intellectual life of the town, and the school so favorably established augurs a successful future for Norwich as an art center. . . . the number of artists daily perpetuating the beautiful in their reproductions of picturesque scenes in and about old Norwich indicates what a sturdy and flourishing art colony is bound to grow up here. . . .[161]

Despite the hope of Norwich's populace that their town would become an important art center as a result of the League's patronage, the area's flat landscape offered little artistic inspiration and the summer school was not continued there in the following year. Even before classes had begun in Norwich, Heineman, Twachtman's class monitor, had explained to MacRae that "he didn't see much paintable country," and he feared that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the students would "have to lug things quite a ways to paint."[162] By the next summer Twachtman had returned to Cos Cob and established his private school again.

It was in the summer of 1899 that Twachtman's summer class in Cos Cob was observed and reported on by an unidentified visitor, who followed the artist on his rounds and wrote an article describing his teaching activities. Describing the setting, the author wrote:

> A house over two hundred years old with wide Dutch doors, verandas upstairs and down, overlooks the Mianus, a branch of Long Island Sound. Every day the tides come and go, giving a pleasing variety to the shore line. This is the corner of Coscob set apart for Mr. Twachtman's summer school. Here the art student vigorously wields the paint brush or lazily dreams in a hammock under the apple trees. If he dreams too much woe be to him, for Tuesday and Friday are sure to come and with them Mr. Twachtman and criticism. . . . In the winter Mr. Twachtman has charge of the largest class in the League working from the antique, but in his summer criticism he is the farthest removed from the academic.[163]

As the writer noted, Twachtman recommended that his students avoid a literal interpretation of nature and that they seek to paint always in new ways, avoiding formulas and over-used methods. According to the writer, Twachtman advocated a concentration on large masses and the elimination of excess detail and suggested that simple forms should be studied and represented life size or in broad terms so as to create works that were not too cluttered. Twachtman's most vehement recommendation was that each artist develop an individualistic way of seeing. The author quoted Twachtman:

> "To be truly artistic, have an original way of seeing an original subject. . . .Avoid poses above everything. Go to the markets, to the elevated railway station and you will find nature is always changing. Do not do the girl with a book unless you can make us see something new. What we want is an original mind. That does not mean to compose things but to find what nature holds in infinite variety. See with your own eyes. Be your own self and save your self-respect. We must always seek the unusual. There are artists who make a hit in one thing and forever after have to do something

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> on the same order. . . . After working in oil for some time I advise water color or pastel, not only for the rest it gives, but also because you are apt to try and match colors in oil, while working in the other mediums you get a suggestiveness and charm even if you fail in literal truth, and after all it is nature interpreted, not copied, that we want."[164]

This advice was taken seriously by Twachtman's students. Cos Cob student Allen Tucker (1866-1939) wrote that, until studying with Twachtman, "I thought that a picture had to be like another picture, like some sort of standard picture that one worked to emulate, and it was Twachtman who opened the door for me, and made me understand that it was what I did that mattered, that it was what I did that counted for me, that no one could do it for me, that I didn't have to be like or unlike anyone else, that it was my job, that the world was mine and that there was nothing between me and the wonder of it all but that rectangle of white canvas."[165] Of Twachtman's Cos Cob students, Ernest Lawson (1873-1939), and to a lesser degree Tucker, Ebert, and MacRae went on to further success. (See appendix two for a list of Twachtman's known students and the discussion in chapter seven on Twachtman's legacy.)

Twachtman's paintings of Cos Cob will be discussed in the next chapter.

New York Teaching

Twachtman's teaching experiences away from Cos Cob were far less congenial. At the Art Students League, from 1889 to 1902, and at Cooper Union, from 1894 to 1902, he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

taught preparatory antique classes, entry-level courses in which students drew from cast parts (fig. 352).[166] In 1897, a writer for *Metropolitan Magazine* described the nature of the League's Preparatory Antique class at a time when both Twachtman and Douglas Volk (1856-1935) were its instructors:

> The preparatory antique classes, for which no examination is required, are under the charge of J. H. Twachtman and Douglas Volk, who assign to each student his task and see that he makes a satisfactory charcoal drawing from a plaster cast. The absolute beginners are kept busy on "block" hands, and are taught how to give the proportions and outline. More difficult models are given as progress is made, and, as soon as a pupil can draw well enough from a head or torso, he is advanced to the antique class, under J. Carroll Beckwith [1852-1917] or Douglas Volk.[167]

For Twachtman, the frustration of teaching beginning students was compounded by the fact that when his pupils had successfully mastered the principles taught in his class, they moved on to the next level.

From its opening in 1875 until 1892, the Art Students League occupied a building on New York's East 23rd Street. It was here in crowded quarters that Twachtman taught for his first four years at the League. In an 1891 article on the League, John C. Van Dyke described Twachtman's classroom:

> It is a long room, with windows on each side, and through the middle of it runs a partition made of ordinary bagging, used to shut out any conflict of light between the two rows of windows. Each window, again, is partitioned off at right angles with similar bagging, so that there are a dozen or more little rooms, each about twelve feet square, and each lighted by a single window. The furniture of these *loges* consists of nothing but low stools, and on the partitions or screens are hung plaster casts of geometrical forms, "block" feet and hands, Greek and Roman heads, and antique bass-reliefs.
>
> It looks to be a workshop, and that is precisely what it is. People here do not paint Salon pictures. It is the place of beginning, the primary class in which every student must enter, unless he have sufficient knowledge to start higher up. Each one of the little rooms holds half a dozen or more pupils, composed of both sexes and all ages, who are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> making charcoal drawings from the paster casts. The scratch of the coal is heard in every direction, and the business air of the place is decidedly impressive. One might think from the energy displayed that the students were working against time; and so they are, in one sense. There is a class coming after them, but, more stimulating still, there is a criticism day coming when their work must pass under review. Each student has his task assigned him by the instructor, Mr. Twachtman, and it is his affair to make a satisfactory drawing of it before the week is ended. . . .As the proficiency increases, more difficult models are assigned; and when after some weeks or months as the cast may be, the student can do a satisfactory drawing from a head or a torso, he is told to go up to the Antique class, where Mr. Cox, Mr. Beckwith, and Mr. Metcalf preside as instructors.[168]

An illustration in the article depicts Twachtman's class at their studies (fig. 353).

Allen Tucker also recalled the circumstances under which Twachtman taught: "Years ago the Art Students' League had its home over a livery stable in East 23rd Street, and the Preparatory Class, morning and afternoon, was taught by John H. Twachtman. At that time beginners had to go through the lower classes to gain admission to the Life Class. This system had the advantage of weeding out the lazy and incompetent, but it put a heavy load on the master who taught that class. It was in this Preparatory Class that I met Twachtman. It was when I showed him my drawing of a block hand that I first saw that straight, thin, nervous, shy figure, the fair bearded face, and the seeing blue eyes. It was my first meeting with the combination of a gentleman and an artist."[169] (There are no descriptions of Twachtman's classroom after 1892, when the League moved to its present location on 57th Street between Sixth and Seventh Avenues.)

Twachtman's attitude toward his responsibilities at the League was summed up by one of his pupils who reported that in his role at the League, Twachtman was "a poet made to drag a cart, heavy with blocks of dead plaster."[170] Robinson described Twachtman's task at Cooper Union similarly: "A.m. to Cooper--Twachtman's class a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

large one, mon Dieu what a waste of time to 'teach' 50 girls making commonplace drawings of block hands and feet."[171] However, Twachtman's students were generally devoted to him and inspired by his teaching. Blondelle Malone (1879-1951), a student of Twachtman's in both Cos Cob and at the League, reported on Twachtman's belief in the validity of acquiring strong draftsmanship skills:

> I saw Mr. Twachtman this morning and he was lovely. He took great pains to tell me the best thing to do. He says the thing that will help me most is to draw and then everything that I do will be better and when I learn to draw well I shall be able to do anything I wish to do. I shall start in drawing casts with him and then when I do portraits they will be much better.[172]

Arthur Crisp (1881-?) explained that, in his drawing lessons, Twachtman "was trying to get us to see one thing in relation to the whole and we were too green to understand. . . .Later on I appreciated his basic efforts."[173] Eliot Clark wrote that Twachtman,

> prompted his pupils to seek new discoveries. . . . Drudgery and determination didn't count. One could stipple a drawing until doomsday and be only told to go home and wash dishes. He was intolerant. An artistic note would win more favor than a finished drawing; an aesthetic appreciation was more highly prized than a literal and exact rendering. Observation was encouraged more than intellectual knowledge. . . . Twachtman trained the direct observation of the eye without the added intellectual interest or association of idea.[174]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

World's Columbian Exposition, Professional Affiliations, and the Ten American Painters

Although Twachtman did not participate in the decorative projects that engaged many artists of his era, he did entertain the idea of working on murals at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[175] In the summer of 1892, he was expecting to receive an invitation from Frank Millet (1846-1925), Director of Decorations at the Fair, to join Weir and other artists in mural work. While waiting, he wrote to Weir that despite his expectation of doing mural work himself, neither the fair nor its decorations were of much interest to him. As he reported, aside from a curiosity as to whether John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) was there creating murals, he felt that he could already "imagine works by other artists" and, since he knew "what the others would do . . . the charm of surprise does not go with their work. 'Ou il n'y est pas de mystere, il n'y est point de charme.'"[176] When Millet's invitation did not arrive, Twachtman felt relieved. He observed to Weir, perhaps defensively, that he would receive greater compensation from teaching than would have been possible from mural work and commented, "I should like to see you," he wrote, "but the Fair buildings have no attraction for me."[177] However, when Millet came through with a request that Twachtman join a number of other artists in the creation of images of the fair's architecture that would be illustrated in a deluxe history of Exposition, Twachtman accepted.[178] Also participating in this project, Robinson created his paintings of Fair sites from photographs. There is no evidence that Twachtman ever visited the Fair, and he may have followed the same procedure.[179] Reporting in general on the World's Fair project on 12 March 1894, Robinson wrote in his diary: "Almost everyone

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has a finger in the pie. Poor Twachtman groans over his--half? done one and will do another."[180]

Twachtman's use of grisaille in three of his five known Columbian Exposition images is the best proof that he worked from photographs rather than from life.[181] Nonetheless, Twachtman's views of the fair convey a sense of firsthand experience. His casual image featuring the arcaded Fisheries Building contrasts with Robinson's detailed and elaborate *World's Columbian Exposition*, in which the same building appears (figs. 354-355). Whereas Robinson conveyed the unity of the Fair's white classical structures gleaming in the sunlight, Twachtman paid more attention to the lake on which the Fisheries Building was situated and the overgrown weeds at its edge. Portraying the scene on an overcast day, he expressed a quiet mood rather than the festive feeling characteristic of other images of the Exposition. In his view of the Court of Honor looking toward Richard Morris Hunt's Administration building, Twachtman also departed from conventional depictions of the White City (fig. 356). Instead of emphasizing the centrality of Hunt's massive Beaux-Arts building with its elaborate sculptural program, he chose to emphasize the curving form of the Court's waterway and to show buildings as soft shapes seen in generalized terms through a light mist.

Despite his participation in exhibitions at significant venues of his time including the National Academy of Design, the Society of American Artists, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Art Institute of Chicago, Twachtman was not politically active in the art groups of his time. He was, nonetheless, a quiet advocate for reform and an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instigator of rebellion. Independent and outspoken, he was opposed to the conservative arbiters of taste who controlled the exhibiting organizations of his day, and he championed artists who took individualistic approaches. In a series of lectures that he gave to art students in Chicago in 1901, he called for the Chicago Art Institute to exhibit works by living artists: "The lack of modern painters in the permanent exhibit is . . . conspicuous." He went on to state that students were given prizes and scholarships to go to Europe, only to face discouragement on their return upon finding "the walls of art galleries covered with old masters, and little demand for their own work."[182]

Twachtman had voiced dissatisfaction with the lack of interest among American audiences for "good art" since the early 1880s; at this time, he had already come to feel that the Society of American Artists had lost vitality. In his view the Society had lowered its standards in response to a public that had no interest in original work, and, therefore, it could no longer be distinguished from the Academy. He wrote to Weir from Paris in 1883:

> And the Society will have its ex. in the Academy this coming season. It seems to me that we are now driven to the wall and the only reason we take it is because there is nothing else to get. The U.S. is a country of fifty millions of people and in all the broad land there is not even one gallery to exhibit in. The annual county fairs where hams are hung along side of Corots--(and how much they do talk of art)--can hardly be considered good art exhibitions. Why not acknowledge that society in N.Y. has no interest in the S.A.A. and not hold any more shows. They are never patronized in any way excepting possibly the art critic who has told us that some of these men promise good. They have been promising for a long time.[183]

Twachtman continued to attack the Society in the next decade, igniting behind-the-scenes dissension within the Society's ranks. In 1894, Robinson, who was on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Society's hanging committee, reported on a meeting held by a group of artists who gathered privately after the committee had convened: "Twachtman, Weir, [Charles Stanley] Reinhart [1844-1896], Hassam, [August] Franzen [1863-1929], [Henry Fitch] Taylor and I. Twachtman in great good humor over the success of his scheme--a lot of us only voting for 16 or 17 men instead of 27 thus getting our men in and leaving out a few of our enemies."[184] Indeed, Twachtman's participation in Society shows had been inconsistent from the beginning of his Greenwich period; he had refrained from exhibiting in 1889, 1890, 1891, 1893, and 1897.

The discontent with the Society that Twachtman helped to spread led to the resignation from the organization in 1897 of ten artists, who formed the Ten American Painters.[185] Opposed to the large shows of mixed quality that had been mounted by the Society in previous years, the Ten dedicated themselves to holding small exhibitions of consistently well-crafted works by only their own members. The group consisted of many of Twachtman's closest friends: J. Alden Weir, Childe Hassam, Thomas Dewing, Willard Metcalf, Frank W. Benson, Edmund Tarbell, Joseph DeCamp, Robert Reid, and Edward Simmons. (After Twachtman's death in 1902, William Merritt Chase took his place in the Ten.)

Twachtman may, in fact, have held a leading role in establishing the Ten. Benson attributed the Ten's existence entirely to Twachtman, suggesting that Twachtman had provided the impetus for his resignation from the Society, and proposed the idea for the new organization.[186] Twachtman's son, J. Alden, went even further, stating that his father had "taken on himself the organizing and running of the shows at the Durand-Ruel

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Galleries."[187] Most accounts, however, attribute the idea for the Ten to Childe Hassam.[188] But even Hassam seems to have perceived Twachtman as a guiding force in the organization, as Twachtman and Weir were the first artists to whom Hassam turned in seeking support for the new group.[189] Hassam also later admitted that it was Weir and Twachtman who contributed most to the artistic success of the Ten.[190] But Twachtman did not take on a visible leadership role in the Ten, leaving it up to others to speak for the organization. Weir, for example, told a reporter in 1898 that "one object of [my] friends and [myself], following the Japanese view, is to get rid of the barbaric idea of large exhibitions of paintings. And so [we] propose to give each year a small exhibition limited to the best three or four paintings of the men interested in the new movement."[191]

As a member of the Ten, Twachtman undoubtedly inspired his fellow members by his thorough dedication to his art and his commitment to following his own impulses without a concern for the fashions of the day or the pressures of the art market. Although his membership in the Ten lasted only five years, his independent spirit and inspired devotion to his craft set the tone for the group throughout its twenty-one years of existence.

During his five years of membership in the Ten, Twachtman showed in every exhibition the group held in Boston and New York. On the basis of works that may be identified, it is clear that he exhibited paintings in Ten exhibitions that reflected a diversity of his stylistic approaches. He also included both works that had been recently executed and paintings that he had created earlier in the 1890s. For example, in the first show in 1898, *Baby's Reflection* (now *Mother and Child*), of around 1893, and *From the Upper*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Terrace, rendered around 1895 were shown, as was *On the Terrace*, a recent work of around 1897 (figs. 357, 419, 445). In the spring 1900 exhibition, Twachtman showed a work entitled *Niagara*, painted probably in the winter of 1893-1894, alongside *Hemlock Pool*, probably created the previous winter (fig. 417).[192]

In 1901, Twachtman exhibited only three works, down from the four to six he had shown in former years.[193] This smaller showing was probably due to the fact that his attention was focused on the three solo shows of his work that were held in the year (to be discussed later in this chapter). In 1902, he was again minimally represented in the Ten's annuals in New York and Boston. At both venues, he exhibited two works, *Gloucester* and *Landscape*. As reviews indicate, both paintings were views of the Gloucester coast.[194]

For his friends in the Ten, Twachtman's early death was a great loss. Five members of the group--Dewing, Hassam, Reid, Simmons and Weir--collaborated on a memorial article published in the *North American Review*, paying homage to Twachtman and his art.[195] All nine members helped organize Twachtman's estate sale, including 98 works, which was held at the American Art Galleries in New York in March 1903.[196] In addition to mourning the loss of their friend, Twachtman's colleagues in the Ten arranged for the inclusion of his paintings "brought in as a tribute to his memory," in two shows after his death.[197] As the *New-York Daily Tribune* reported, the works selected for the 1903 Ten exhibition were "drawn from among those retained by Mrs. Twachtman when the artist's studio was overhauled for the recent sale."[198]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Greenwich Paintings: Style and Technique

Twachtman's Greenwich period art encompasses the work he created from approximately the fall of 1889, when he settled in Greenwich, to around the turn of the century, when he began to spend summers in Gloucester, Massachusetts. During these years, he traveled to Niagara Falls and Yellowstone Park in Wyoming, but he created the majority of his work in Greenwich itself, painting the familiar subject matter of his home and property. He found in his immediate surroundings a source of infinite inspiration, and he never tired of the landscape that was directly at hand. Unlike other artists who worked in city studios during the winter months, and only went to the country during the summer, Twachtman painted in Greenwich throughout the year. As he wrote to Weir in 1891: "To be isolated is a fine thing and we are then nearer to nature. I can see now how necessary it is to live always in the country--at all seasons of the year."[199]

The style Twachtman developed in Greenwich was in some respects a synthesis of elements of his earlier art. He merged the direct approach of his Munich period work with the attention to design that he had formulated in his French period. He was committed to conveying his immediate responses to a site, noting textures, shapes, and effects of light and shadow, as he had been in his scenes of Venice and New York. At the same time, he expressed the moods and emotional qualities of his subjects, and he simplified his designs to convey the essence of a scene as he had in his views of Normandy and Holland.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In Greenwich, Twachtman also become influenced by French Impressionism. He had perhaps first became aware of the style during his years in Paris, but it was only in the late 1880s, in his pastels and his paintings of Branchville and Newport, that he had begun tentatively to explore it. In his Greenwich years, his interest in Impressionism was undoubtedly spurred by Robinson, who had been close to Monet during many summers in Giverny, and by seeing French works in New York exhibitions. However, Twachtman's adoption of Impressionism also followed logically from both the bravura brushwork of his Munich period art and from his lifelong predilection for everyday subjects and intimate viewpoints. As one critic put it in 1891, the "advent of Monet and his followers" had "emboldened [Twachtman] to use color freely," but he had "not really changed, for these were his methods years ago."[200] In 1893, van Rensselaer gave recognition to the fact that Twachtman was a "sincere and able" painter, who had "experimented for [himself] before Monet's canvases became popular."[201]

Indeed, the Impressionist style that Twachtman formulated was unique. Drawn to quiet moods in nature, he preferred soft, subdued tonalities to brilliant colors, and he used broken brushwork only when it was required for expressive purposes. As the *New York Times* reported in 1901, Twachtman "felt the influence of the students of sunlight and atmosphere; but he never gave himself up to the fascinations of 'decomposed colors' and 'vibratory' color-effects as did some of his fellows."[202] Comparing Twachtman's approach with Childe Hassam's more typical Impressionist method, another *New York Times* critic stated in 1903: "Hassam has accepted the gospel of stippled, vibrating color according to the complete modern interpretation since it has branched completely off on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the track indicated by Corot," whereas "Twachtman kept back on the old lines, and that is why, unlike though his work is to that of Corot, one sometimes hears a mention of that master in connection with him."[203]

Whereas Twachtman's friends, Weir and Metcalf, tended to use dabs of color that were consistent in length and apparent velocity of application, Twachtman's technique was different. His method involved applying paints with a loaded brush and mixing them in a painterly and rhythmic fashion on canvas. His brushwork rhythms varied according to the specific properties of his motifs and with his emotional response to a site. Building up layers of color with glazes and thick areas of impasto, he created rich, sensuous, and tactile surfaces. He even employed unusual procedures, such as exposing his canvases to sun and rain to relieve them of excess oil and to achieve the dry, mat surfaces he preferred.[204] Artist Charles Curran (1861-1942) wrote that Twachtman "went almost to an extreme in a dry quality, which he produced by a curious dragging brushwork," and Hale pointed out that, at times, Twachtman substituted mastic--a resin-like substance dissolvable in turpentine--for oil.[205]

During his Greenwich period, Twachtman's general practice was to paint in the outdoors, continuing the approach he had used beginning in the late 1870s. However, he may have returned to a site many times before completing a work, and he may have combined outdoor and indoor methods, finishing his works in his studio--reworking them while maintaining the freshness of his first impression.[206] Twachtman probably rendered most of his paintings in many sittings, laboring over them to create unusual and beautiful

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

effects through much underpainting and glazing. The impression of spontaneity was frequently achieved only by sustained effort.

Exemplifying "the great beauty of design" and the use of rhythmic and graceful lines that were spoken of by Hassam, Twachtman's Greenwich paintings demonstrate the refinement of his compositional skills.[207] As Clark wrote, Twachtman's images reveal "his very happy faculty of arrangement without seeming effort, the effect of which was to heighten and strengthen the salient characteristics of a subject and to give it a significance singular to itself."[208] In his Greenwich paintings, Twachtman's designs were not as structured as those of his French period. Instead of defining motifs with bands of tone as in his French period works, he softened distinctions between forms by blending and overlaying a range of colors. Deriving inspiration from Japanese prints, he often brought out a landscape's principal curve or line, and then subtly modified other forms and lines so that they echoed it. An exposure to the Art Nouveau style encouraged his sensitivity to the expressive possibilities of line and of decorative patterns in nature. In fact, he created three commercial projects that demonstrate his awareness of Art Nouveau, a lithographed poster design entitled *Le Gorge d'Enfer (Throat of Hell)*, which advertised Harold Frederic's book, *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (published by Stone and Kimball publishers, New York and Chicago, in 1896), and book covers for two novels by William Canton that were also published by Stone and Kimball in 1896: *W.V. Her Book* and *The Invisible Playmate* (figs. 358-359).[209]

Twachtman did not borrow blatantly from his sources, however. Instead they merely reinforced his intuitive sense of design and served his expressive aims. In *Frozen*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brook, for example, the dominant diagonal of a hillside suggests the influence of Japanese prints (figs. 360-361). At the same time, this diagonal enhances the scene's realism as it pulls us into the snow-covered landscape, and, almost against our will, we are drawn into the work's misty, evanescent atmosphere. In *Icebound*, the curled edges of the thawed hemlock pool suggest an awareness of Art Nouveau, but instead of the stylization and artifice of that style, Twachtman maintains a firm sense of reality by using his paints expressively to convey the thick, crustiness of the snow and the icy surface of the water in which reflections seem to be held in place (fig. 362).

In his Greenwich works, Twachtman became especially attentive to decorative relations between his imagery and the shapes of his canvases. Constantly experimenting with different canvas proportions, he adjusted the space relations between motifs to create cohesive designs.[210] He enjoyed working with canvases that were odd in size which challenged him to create innovative designs. As Edward Simmons reported: "It made no difference to [Twachtman] the size, shape, or texture of his material--he could always conjure up an idea that fitted perfectly. Whenever I was working at a large decoration he would come up to my studio and carry away the triangular pieces of canvas that inevitably come off a work of this kind."[211] Twachtman's ingenuity with different picture proportions may be seen in many of his images of his home in which the shape of his dwelling echoes that of the work itself (figs. 363, 418). In Greenwich, he was especially fond of square canvases, making use of their tendency to accentuate the pattern on a work's surface rather than to guide our gaze into its depths.[212] He was aware of how square canvases, by emphasizing the middleground and decorative formal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

correspondences, achieved qualities of harmony and balance. As Clark noted, Twachtman was one of the first American painters to see the potential of the square canvas and to use it for types of designs that had not been tried previously.[213]

Greenwich Paintings: Chronology

The chronology of Twachtman's Greenwich paintings is extremely difficult to discern. Although he had dated some of his canvases in the 1870s and early 1880s, by the late 1880s, he had abandoned the practice. He left no records or photographs that would help determine the evolution of his art. Occasionally a painting may be dated on the basis of a description in an exhibition review, but as he used the same titles over and over and painted the same motifs repeatedly, such a link between a work shown with one known today often cannot be made with certainty. For Twachtman, the titling of his works was an onerous task. As he wrote in 1897 to Harrison Morris, Director of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts: "I do not know title of [the] picture and you will have to fill out that part. . . .a hell of a lot of bother painters have. They not only have to paint the pictures but do a lot besides."[214]

Twachtman's Greenwich paintings themselves reveal few clues about their histories. Although we know of the changes that he made to his home and land, this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information only helps to establish the dates of a few works. We can presume that Twachtman's *Summer*, in which two dormers at the back of the house are visible was created later than works such as *Snowbound*, where only one dormer is seen (figs. 364, 418). His paintings of the white footbridge, of the portico on the front of his house, and of his garden intersected by paths may be assigned to the 1890s due to the datability of these features. However, for the most part, determinations on the basis of motifs are misleading, as Twachtman took liberties in the rendering of his subjects, depicting them according to how he experienced them at a particular moment.

Stylistic analysis can also be deceptive. Many of the same formal concerns preoccupied Twachtman throughout the Greenwich period. More significantly, he adjusted his means according to his responses to his motifs. For example, he varied his handling for depictions of the different seasons, bringing out the unique qualities of a particular time of year. He chose an approach depending on his emotional reaction rather than in accordance with a new method or aesthetic.

As I suggested in a 1989 essay in which my aim was to determine the chronology of Twachtman's Greenwich art, his paintings from this period may very generally be divided into three phases, each associated with a major exhibition of his art.[215] These phases and some of the transitions between them are discussed in the following sections.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Exhibition at Wunderlich Gallery, New York (1891)

The first phase of Twachtman's Greenwich period culminated with his one-man show held in March 1891 at Wunderlich Gallery in New York, which included thirty pastels and twelve oil paintings. This show drew attention for its installation. Following the example of an exhibition of Whistler's art, shown at the same locale three years earlier, the gallery was decorated to enhance the pictures presented.[216] Of the display, the *Studio* reported: "All the surroundings are in harmony with the delicate tints of the paintings; even the chairs are painted some light color, and grayish hangings on the walls serve as an excellent background to the white and daintily framed pictures."[217] The *New York Evening Post* stated: "It is only by looking intently at the walls for a moment that one perceives that there is no dust, but that the impressing of its existence is given by the peculiar effect of white cheesecloth stretched on the walls, the pale ashiness of tone of most of the pictures and the white frames in which they are bordered."[218] Since Twachtman's light-toned pastels dominated the show, they harmonized with the gallery's walls, while the oils, which consisted of many snow scenes, also blended in with the quiet look of the space.

The pastels in the exhibition, covered in the previous chapter, were mostly scenes of Branchville. Although none of the oils had titles that specifically identified them as Branchville images, a number of them were also probably of this locale. Due to the similarity of their titles to Branchville pastels in the show, *Farm House* and *Hay Stack* may have depicted Branchville sites; it is interesting that these works seem to have been the only summertime views in the show. The *Art Amateur* observed: "summer light and color

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are treated with equal success in 'The Farm-House' and 'The Hay Stack,'" while the *New York Mail and Express* commented: "another fascinating picture is 'The Haystack,' lovely in its summer coloring."[219] *The Farm House* cannot be identified with any extant works. *The Hay Stack* was possibly the painting of this title known today, a scene in which a large haystack stands on a harvested field, a grassy meadow stretching out in the distance (fig. 365). Twachtman's palette in this painting--golden yellow, jade green, pale blue--and his brushwork--a combination of stitch-like dashes in the haystack, long, fluid strokes in the green meadow, and a dry brush technique in the foreground field--seem typical of the late 1880s and early 1890s, when he was just beginning to explore Impressionism. Twachtman's only other located oil featuring a haystack is *Hayrick*, a winter scene (fig. 366).

Of the oils at Wunderlich, *Afternoon*, *The Lodge*, *The Little White House*, and *Morning Mist* cannot be identified with known works nor were they mentioned by critics. Of these, *The Little White House* was either a view of Twachtman's own recently purchased home or of the small cottage on Weir's property that he depicted in pastels (see figs. 283-285). All of the other oils (half of those included), *Snow*, *Snow in Sunlight*, *Moissehasseky Falls*, *Winter*, *The Barn--Winter*, and *Hemlock Pool* were snow scenes, and probably all views of Greenwich.

Among the snow scenes, *Hemlock Pool* was one of Twachtman's images of the small natural pool that extended off Horseneck Brook on his property. The *New York Evening Post* described this work as a scene of "a little valley or dale with bare trees growing on the sloping banks of a brook flowing down towards the front of the picture,"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and commented that the work was a "charming piece of painting, delicate and tender in color and simple in method."[220] The *New York Mail and Express* was similarly awed by the painting, stating: "One canvas which must appeal directly to even a Philistine of the Philistines in art is the beautiful 'Hemlock Pool.' The exquisiteness with which its values are rendered would alone make it a great landscape painting, but there is added to it that indescribable something which is the spirit of woodland winter."[221] The vehemence of this critic's statements suggests that the *Hemlock Pool* shown at Wunderlich was possibly Twachtman's mesmerizing *Winter Harmony* in the National Gallery, an image of an icy landscape in which the frozen ground and the misty air are allied in their stillness, creating a hypnotic introspective mood into which the viewer is seduced (fig. 367).

Of the other snow scenes, *The Barn--Winter* and *Snow in Sunlight* were images of the view from the back of Twachtman's house looking toward the old barn on his property that stood at the side of the road (figs. 368-370). (The relationship between the barn and the house may be seen in the photograph of the front of Twachtman's house from the early 1890s [fig. 308]) The *Art Amateur* reported:

> "Snow in Sunlight" and "The Barn Winter," were among the best. The scene is the same in both--a rocky bit of ground on the confines of a small wood, with a yellow barn in the middle distance. Nothing could be more prosaic as to its associations, yet the painter has obtained from it two studies, which may be compared for poetic feeling to Whittier's "Snow-Bound." The changes of the shadows on the snow make them two different pictures.[222]

According to Daniel Mead's 1857 history of Greenwich, Moissehasseky was the original Indian name for Horseneck Brook, and Twachtman's *Miossehasseky* [sic] *Falls* was, therefore, undoubtedly a scene of the waterfall behind his home.[223] The image of this site

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that he showed in 1891 must not, however, have shown a dramatic cascade, as when the same painting was exhibited in 1893, a handwritten note that appeared on a copy of the catalogue from the 1893 show stated "no falls, all snowy."[224] Critics in 1891 did not describe Twachtman's *Moissehasseky Falls* in detail, but the *Art Amateur* stated that it was an excellent snow scene, and the *Critic* commented: "Of a dozen oil-paintings the most remarkable are the two snow-scenes, 'Moissehasseky [sic] Falls' and 'Snow in Sunlight.' These pictures will make the fortunes of the collectors who are wise enough to buy them."[225]

The painting entitled *Winter*, shown at Wunderlich, received only a single mention, a comment from a *New York Post* writer, who stated that it possessed "the same qualities that were present in 'Hemlock Pool.'"[226] This work was possibly one of Twachtman's images of partially melted brooks, such as *Frozen Brook*, as critics mentioned that one such image was included in the exhibition (fig. 360). The *Studio* stated:

> Here the painter leads you to some quiet spot--you see the damp melting snow,--the bare wet trees, and the swiftly flowing brook, you feel that the air is laden with moisture--it is one of those gray, damp days. You are not restricted to the narrow limits of the canvas' you feel as though you could follow the brook's course farther down, and see way into the distance. This is the charm about these pictures--they are not placed before you as facts; they are awakeners of certain trains of thought; you feel even more than you see.[227]

As the reviews of the Wunderlich show reveal, by 1891, Twachtman had developed the sensitive and original way of portraying winter scenes that has made his Greenwich images of this subject perhaps his best known works.

The approach to snow that he developed in Greenwich continued from the methods of his Avondale years. Instead of painting new snows, he preferred days when

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

snow was partly icy and partly melted and when its texture was rough and variegated (figs. 371-373). A writer for the *Art Amateur* explained his predilection in 1901:

> Mr. Twachtman . . . almost invariably selects broken ground and cloudy weather. . . . He seldom attempts to render the delicacy of a fresh fall of snow, preferring, as a rule, to wait a day or two until the snow has begun to sink down between the rocks and to melt from the higher points.[228]

Charles de Kay further described his perspective in 1918: "He preferred the soft winter day before a thaw when the snow does not crackle under foot but lies in thick almost moist masses on the land, clings to the branches of tree and bush, tops the old weeds that rise high above the white levels."[229]

In 1891, critics recognized the uniqueness of Twachtman's winter scenes and commended them for revealing their subject in a truthful light. A *New York Times* reporter observed: "Sometimes his method leaves us in doubt whether it is shaded snow he is painting or water, but his pictures grow on one with examination and their features become more distinct."[230] Noting the success of Twachtman's snow scenes, the *New York Evening Post* remarked that in these works, "effects of snow in sunlight and under gray skies, we find the artist apparently at his best."[231]

Twachtman also received praise for his snow scenes in 1892, when he sent two works, *Winter* and *Brook in Winter*, to the spring exhibition of the National Academy of Design. The *New York Evening Post* reported:

> A narrow gorge in the hillside, where in summer there is sure to be a babbling brook, is choked by snow and ice, and gives no sign of the living water beneath. Another "Winter" by Mr. Twachtman, in the corridor, although imperfectly seen, seems equally just. On the same wall hang two other snowy landscapes by Walter Palmer and Stephen Parrish [1846-1938], both containing pleasing incidents of winter, but both, and Mr. Palmer's especially, lacking in the true import of the season as interpreted by Mr. Twachtman.[232]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The *New York Sun* commented that Twachtman's *Brook in Winter* has "a very fine feeling and is to be counted among the best things he has exhibited," and the *New York Times* stated that of the winter scenes in the Academy's East Room, Twachtman's *Brook in Winter* was the most worth noting, and observed that in this work, "one seems to feel the light, floculent drifts among the trees."[233]

Exhibition at American Art Galleries, New York (1893)

The second show of significance during Twachtman's Greenwich years was the exhibition held at the American Art Galleries in 1893 in which Twachtman's and Weir's works were presented along with a concurrent display of the art of French painters, Claude Monet and Paul-Albert Besnard (1849-1934). The four artists were represented by different mediums and varying numbers of works: Monet and Besnard showed only paintings, fifteen by the former and thirteen by the latter; Weir displayed twenty-one paintings and sixty-eight etchings, and Twachtman, twenty-eight paintings and sixteen pastels. There has been some question in the past as to whether these shows were linked.[234] It is now clear that they were, as the catalogue of French works, which has recently come to light, starts its numbering where the catalogue of American works leaves off.[235] The connection between the displays was also made by the critics, who took the opportunity to compare the works of the four artists. For example, the *New York Times* described the show as "a large

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

collection of paintings and pastels by four artists . . . who are devotees of the latest effort to give the impression either of sunlight in the open, or of the brightest diffused light when the sun is obscured."[236]

Such a statement was not exactly true of Besnard, however. A student of the French academic painter, Alexandre Cabanel (1824-1889), Besnard was a portraitist, who used a dynamic *alla prima* style, but whose works lack the incisive observation of character, the daring compositions, and the dynamic brushwork of the art of Manet and Sargent (the latter was a friend of Besnard and an influence on his art) (figs. 374-375). In the 1893 show, which was intended as an introduction of his art to American audiences, Besnard was represented, as one critic noted, by "women half length, very bold in coloring."[237] Since Besnard was not a leading figure in the French avant-garde and was not known in America, it is curious that he was selected as the second French painter in the show. He was perhaps chosen because he exemplified a *juste-milieu* middleground between academicism and Impressionism that was more acceptable to American audiences than a full-fledged dissolution of forms in sunlight--the extremist position that Monet represented. In addition, Besnard's works had an appealing sentimental quality that counterbalanced Monet's dizzying chromatic effects. A writer for the *New York Mail and Express* stated that some viewers were certainly "dazzled" and "affrighted" by Monet's "gorgeous tints," while commenting that "Besnard's faces and figures will be a surprise to most visitors and an agreeable one. They are striking in the extreme; and in some of them there is an underlying refinement and delicacy of expression that is highly suggestive."[238]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, critics focused less on the relationship between Monet and Besnard than on that between Monet and the two Americans in the show. The *New York Sun* announced: "Here is a treat for the apostles of light and air and the hot vibrations of sunlight in painting; for the devotees of simple abstract color and illumination. It is also a fine opportunity to compare the works of Monet, the most conspicuous of Parisian impressionists, with those of two of our own most advanced followers in his footsteps."[239] The *New York Evening Post* remarked: "Weir and Twachtman, in their general point of view, affiliate very naturally with Monet. They are all pursuing effects of light, color, and air. . ."[240] A critic for the *Art Amateur* made a special point of noting the similarities between Twachtman's subject matter and Monet's:

> One of Monet's pictures is of his house in a garden of sunflowers; two are of haystacks; and Mr. Twachtman seems to have taken a hint from this preference for commonplace subjects made beautiful by light, and has given us several views of his house (more picturesquely situated, it is true) in summer and in winter. His snow scenes, with blue shadows or unseen trees lying across rocks and garden walls, are the most charming things he has done.[241]

This critic was probably referring to the work in the show by Monet that was entitled *Maison de Monet*. Described by the *New York Times* as a view of Monet's "own garden and queer home, made of two houses of different sizes bumped together at the top of a flight of stone steps, and various terraces, covered with sunflowers and other brilliant blossoms," *Maison de Monet* was perhaps the painting known today as *Monet's Garden at Vétheuil*, of 1881, in which sunflowers cover almost the entire facade of the artist's home in the Paris suburb of Vétheuil (fig. 376).[242]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although pointing out similarities between Monet and the two Americans, critics also focused on differences between them, and they seem to have agreed that the Americans were less radical in their approach than the French painter. A critic for the *New York Sun* wrote: "While like Monet, [Weir and Twachtman] have striven toward the expression of Impressions of landscape and figure, they have looked with soberer eyes. There is none of the splendid, barbaric color that distinguishes the works of the Frenchman. They tend to silvery grays modified by greens and blues quite as silvery."[243] Writing in the *Collector*, Alfred Trumble found the American works weak in comparison with those of Monet: "When you turn around among the Weir and Twachtman pictures, you seem to be looking at Monet, at Sisley, at Bastien Lepage, through a fog, which washes out the force and substance and leaves the shadow. The mannerisms are all here. But the virile power is not."[244]

Other critics took a more sympathetic view, describing Twachtman's colors as "refined," stating that his canvases were "feelingly painted," and noting that his compositions had a "decorative" quality, in the sense that they presented not only nature as experienced, but as "brought together in a pleasing, artistic way."[245] Using Twachtman's *Snowy Day* as an example, the *New York Evening Post* critic explained:

> The round sweep of the distant hill, the lines of the middle distance, the little tree at the right, all combine for rhythmical composition; the light, the air, the snow all combine to make charming color. It is this that we call the decorative quality.[246]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It was van Rensselaer who once again made the most discerning remark, however. She pointed out that scores of French and American artists had been trying "to see and paint like Monet," and, in the process, were creating "unrealities and painted daubs." She exempted Twachtman and Weir from this group, claiming that to say that these two artists

> have been influenced by Monet is not to their discredit. They have not tried to imitate him. They have merely been inspired by his results, as true artists always may be inspired by results which seem to them very admirable and novel enough to promise that a fresh path in art is opening out, offering fresh triumphs to any earnest student who will try, standing on his feet to explore it. A comparison of their pictures with Monet's shows that other men, holding similar aims may likewise compass interesting and individual results.

Van Rensselaer saw Twachtman as an artist who illustrated her credo: "The thing for an artist to do is to learn to see for himself, and then to paint what he sees in a way that suits himself."[247]

By 1893, it is clear that Twachtman had begun to paint in a more Impressionist manner than he had in 1891, as may be determined by the paintings he showed at the American Art Galleries that may be linked with extant works (to be identified later in this discussion). The change in his art suggests that he had become increasingly familiar with Monet's art. Indeed, he may have seen the two shows in which Monet was featured in 1891, a large solo exhibition at the Union League Club in February, and a group exhibition of works by Monet, Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), and Alfred Sisley (1839-1899), held at J. Eastman Chase's Gallery in Boston in March.[248] Monet's 1891 shows in New York and Boston presented some of his most vivid works to date, including views of fields of poppies and wheatfields, haystacks, images of the Creuse River, and scenes of the cliffs of Etretat and Dieppe.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reflecting Monet's influence, the paintings Twachtman exhibited at the American Art Galleries demonstrate his greater willingness than previously to utilize bright color and to define form in general terms. Of the identifiable works he showed, *In the Sunlight*, a depiction of the artist's wife seated on the open back porch of the Greenwich house, the garden's flowers behind her, demonstrates a painterly application of free, buttery strokes that Twachtman had not used since his Munich years and a vibrant range of rich green and pink tones (fig. 377).[249] The influence of Monet is suggested in the way that Twachtman chose to treat the figure as a part of the landscape rather than as a separate element. He emphasizes this aspect of his image by conveying the way that the same breeze that lifts the blossoms of the garden gently plies the figure's dress. Leaving the figure's face undifferentiated, Twachtman asks us to see her not as an individual, but as part of her environment. At the same time, the casualness of her pose gives the work a human perspective. Indeed, the painting illustrates Twachtman's credo on figurative art. As he told his class of Cos Cob students in 1899:

> If you are working from the figure, do not do the conventional sort of thing that we find in a sketch-class model, but rather the unconscious attitude. . . . Do we like people who pose? No. A figure that is obviously arranged affects one in the same way. . . . Do not do the girl with a book unless you can make us see something new.[250]

Among the oils Twachtman showed at the American Art Galleries were several of flowers including *Sweet Williams*, *Golden Rod and Wild Aster*, *Tiger Lilies*, and *Gladiolus*. Of these *Gladiolus* is likely to have been the painting known today as *Flowers*, one of only two known images by Twachtman of flowers in still life arrangements (fig. 378).[251] Twachtman's Impressionist treatment in this work seems inconsistent with his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

inanimate subject, yet he imbues this indoor motif with the same plein-air feeling as his views of flowers in the open air. In general, however, his images of flowers growing freely in nature are more convincing in their realism. In *Meadow Flowers*, for example, which is very likely to have been the painting exhibited in 1893 as *Golden Rod and Wild Aster*, he captures the litheness and freedom of pink and orange blossoms floating in a hazy, breezy atmosphere (fig. 379).[252] His method in this work was to lay down layers of pale green and turquoise ground to establish the atmosphere. Over this surface, he applied strokes of orange, pink, white, and yellow impasto in quick, fleeting dabs that seem only to graze the canvas's surface, conveying the fragility and animation of blossoms in the wind. In *Tiger Lilies*, Twachtman used a more aggressive brushwork (fig. 380).[253] Employing vigorous strokes of green and turquoise that contrast with the bright orange tone of the flowers, he creates a dynamic, exuberant image that reveals his confident conversion to an Impressionist aesthetic.

In their reviews of the American Art Galleries show, critics generally treated the works Twachtman showed as a group rather than singling out individual images. They did so probably because most of their attention was focused on Monet's paintings and on a comparison of how Monet differed from his American counterparts rather than specifically on each American artists' contribution. Thus, critics made fewer specific references to Twachtman's paintings than they had in 1891.

Among Twachtman's works shown in 1893 that may be linked with extant paintings, *The Last Touch of Sun* is clearly the painting of this title known today, a depiction of the artist's home seen from the back under snow (fig. 381).[254] *Mother and*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Child was the painting identified by this title today (fig. 357). Depicting a casual domestic scene of a mother holding her baby before a mirror, this painting, Twachtman's only figural interior, has an affinity with the maternal images of Mary Cassatt (1844-1926). Like Cassatt, Twachtman uses his subject matter to convey the empathic understanding between mother and child, expressing the mother's pleasure in the child's recognition of itself in the mirror. Among other works shown, *The End of Winter*, *The Frozen Brook*, and *Connecticut Hills* are possibly the paintings with these or similar titles known today (figs. 382, 360, 382).

Two paintings exhibited in 1893 that received much attention were *A Snowy Day* and *Edge of Mill Pond Meadow*. *A Snowy Day* was mentioned along with *Old Homestead* and *Frozen Brook* by a critic for the *New York Evening Post*, who wrote that all three works were "beautiful pieces of light, air, and color--especially refined color," while the *Sun* noted that *A Snowy Day* and *Moissehassiky* [sic] *Falls* were "delightful works and full of the sentiment that a poet-painter may hope to express."[255] Despite these descriptions, *A Snowy Day*'s identity cannot be determined today. *Edge of Mill Pond Meadow* was described by the *Sun* as a work in which "a clump of tall trees is reflected in the water."[256] This work was possibly the painting now known as *The Pool*, although the above description is too vague for a definite identification (fig. 383).

The titles of other works shown at the American Art Galleries give very little indication of their subject matter, although a few handwritten comments in a copy of the catalogue provide some clues. *From My Window* was described as "sun on snow"; *The Old Homestead* was described as "house on . . . on snow"; *Late Afternoon* was described

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as "snow, white walk"; and *Snowbound* was described as "farmhouse."[257] The latter was undoubtedly one of the two winter scenes with this title in which Twachtman's home appears (figs. 384, 364). The titles of other paintings that Twachtman showed in 1893 are: *My House and My Garden*, *Autumn*, *The Golden Glow of Summer*, *Reflections in the Pond*, *A Shady Spot*, and *Looking Across the Hills*. None of these works may be identified today.

Despite the evidence of Impressionist influence in works Twachtman showed in 1893, the period just after the show may have been the time when he felt most free to explore the French style. In December 1894, he exhibited a painting entitled *Autumn* at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts which won the Academy's Temple Gold Medal, an annual award given to the best painting in the show.[258] Twachtman himself was on the jury that selected his work and other members of the jury were friends, including Frank Benson, Joseph De Camp, Robinson, and Weir.[259] Indeed, without such a sympathetic group of evaluators, Twachtman's painting would not have stood a chance, as the attacks on it by local critics suggest. Philadelphia newspapers uniformly denounced the work as an example of the worst and most extremist form of Impressionist art. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported:

> Impressionism is now the idol to which every knee must bow to receive the Academy's benediction. This is shown in the work of the students, in the prominence given impressionistic paintings in exhibitions, and finally the seal has been set by awarding the Temple Gold Medal, the highest honor of the exhibition to a small Impressionist picture--a misty agglomeration of blues and reds--a thing of shreds and patches. Not but that Mr. Twachtman's bit of landscape in and of itself is admirably done for a thing of its kind--and the kind is well enough if it is made an incident in art, but to apotheosize it, to ignore all else, is nothing less than rank heresy--it is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> the effort of a few young sprigs of genius to overthrow the serious results of a thousand years of the best artists--an attempt that must prove futile. Impressionism certainly contains germs of truth. It has its mission.
>
> It has taught the use of color as well as its abuses, but to claim for it the beginning and end of art is madness. It is a streak of fancy that will soon pass away, leaving a small residuum of truth which will be of lasting value. It is a sore disappointment to the serious artists of the day to see this vagary of art preferred above that painstaking serious effort of years, which is grounded upon the first principles of art. It is said that one of the leading impressionist pictures in the exhibition was painted in two hours by one of the best painters of the old school in this country, who sent it in as a joke. It was accepted and now he is wondering whom the joke is on. . . .[260]

The *Philadelphia Times* stated:

> The award of the Temple gold medal yesterday afternoon to J. H. Twachtman's "Autumn" is a matter of more than surprise. It is a regret. While it is necessarily an award which no jury of amateurs would make, the "Autumn" is hardly a picture. Its art is experimental, and however fashionable it may be, has only the subterfuge of an affected technique to recommend it. Mr. Twachtman has five outdoor pictures, all in the same manner, painted in and scratched out probably with a palette knife. This art "may appeal to the soul of the artist," as one of the fraternity remarked yesterday, but it surely will to nobody else.[261]

Although *Autumn* cannot be identified with certainty today, it was probably similar to *Hemlock Pool (Autumn)*, a work filled throughout with flickering dabs of vibratory color (fig. 385). In the painting, landscape elements seem dissolved in wind and light, but standing at a distance from the work, the shape of the pool and its place in the scene gradually emerge, demonstrating Twachtman's continued commitment to realism and to transcribing what he experienced.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Niagara Falls (1893-1894)

The experimental direction of Twachtman's art in the mid-1890s is exemplified by his images of Niagara Falls and Yellowstone Park, Wyoming. Despite the fame of these sites, Twachtman did not resort to stereotypical ways of portraying them, and, traveling to both locales, he captured the way they affected him personally.

Earlier in his career, Twachtman had created a Niagara scene, a grisaille depiction of the falls in winter which he dated 1879 (fig. 386). Undoubtedly rendering this work from a photograph or stereo view, he probably intended to submit it to a magazine for illustration (fig. 387). By contrast, the vibrant views of Niagara that he created during his Greenwich period communicate his firsthand experience of the falls.

The timing of Twachtman's journey to Niagara Falls is somewhat of a mystery. He had clearly visited the falls by the winter of 1893-1894 as he showed a work entitled *Horseshoe Falls, Niagara--Afternoon* at the National Academy of Design exhibition which opened on 2 April 1894. This painting was described by a critic for the *New York Times* as "'Niagara in Winter. . . a partial view of the Horseshoe taken in the afternoon. It rivals in beauty and delicate touch his 'Winter,' at the society's show."[262] However, some of Twachtman's extant Niagara scenes appear to be summer views, and the possibility that his trip north took place during the summer was, indeed, suggested by Robinson, who wrote on the 9th of March 1895: "P.m. to Twachtman's--saw one of his Niagara's done last summer--a charming thing and very complete--light, mysterious."[263] Robinson could have been misinformed as to when Twachtman's Niagara trip occurred, but Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

did feature Niagara scenes that were not winter views in exhibitions in the spring of 1895. At the Society show that opened on 25 March, he displayed an oil entitled *A Pier on Niagara River*, which a critic called a "firmly painted" work which "conveys a distinct impression of the place--the embankment with its long line of trees, the crooked pier head, with its pent house and the force of water gliding past it," and which another critic discussed as "a successful study in many ways, but hardly in giving motion to the water, which, we imagine, was his leading intention."[264] This work is not known today, but from the descriptions given there is a possibility that Twachtman's *Pier on Niagara River* is the painting entitled *Reflections*, a work that has not previously been associated with Twachtman's Niagara trip (fig. 388).[265] If this painting was created on Twachtman's trip to Niagara, it could very well have been the work Robinson reported seeing on 1 July 1894, of which he stated: "One, on the river, is pretty, but looks to me a little too much like a Monet."[266]

The question of when Twachtman's Niagara trip took place or whether he visited the falls twice cannot be resolved at this point. A historian at the Niagara Falls Public Library reports that the winter of 1893-1894 was an extremely cold one, and that the falls would have been covered in ice throughout the winter months. It is his opinion that works such as Twachtman's *Niagara Falls* (National Museum of American Art) and *Niagara Falls* (Horowitz Collection) could not be winter views (figs. 389-390).[267] Thus, although Twachtman's Niagara images have strong plein-air qualities, it is conceivable that he modified and finished some of them with the aid of photographs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Whenever he visited Niagara, Twachtman is known to have stayed in Buffalo, New York, with Dr. Charles W. Cary (1852-1931), a physician and professor of anatomy at the University of Buffalo, and a member of an important Buffalo family.[268] It is not clear exactly how Twachtman became acquainted with Cary, although it is possible that the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens served as the conduit between Twachtman and Cary. Saint-Gaudens, who had known Twachtman since the days of the Tile Club, had met Dr. Walter Cary (Charles Cary's father) and his wife and children (probably including the young Charles) while studying in Paris in 1867.[269]

Despite suggestions that Cary commissioned Twachtman's Niagara works, there is no evidence that he did so.[270] *Niagara Gorge* is, in fact, the only Niagara scene by Twachtman that Cary is known to have owned (fig. 391). Indeed, Twachtman's motivations for painting the famous site are not clear as previously he had avoided such obviously grandiose imagery. He perhaps decided to "do Niagara" in the belief that the fame of the subject would lead to sales of his paintings.[271] However, this intention is not apparent in his works, as he left out of them the ingredient that artists usually emphasized in depictions of the falls: their imposing size and majestic force. Showing Niagara close up rather than from the panoramic perspectives favored by other artists, Twachtman gave no indication of its scale, velocity, or power, elements that had been essential to the success of such works as Frederic Church's famous painting of 1857 (fig. 392).[272] Yet, as Charles de Kay, proposed, Twachtman's Niagara views surpassed those of other painters because of their truthful representation of "the rush of foam and the downward plunge of solid water."[273]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As in his scenes of the small cascade on his own property, in his Niagara images, Twachtman used his subject as an opportunity to explore decorative and sensuous possibilities. Rather than conveying the force of the falls, he brought out the subject's coloristic and compositional aspects. In *Niagara in Winter*, for example, his design consists of two opposing diagonals, created by a frozen section of the falls in the foreground, which draws our gaze upward, and the downward flow of falling water beyond (fig. 393). In *Niagara Falls* (Horowitz), he uses a low vantage point instead of the aerial views preferred by most artists who portrayed the falls, making the viewer take more account of the veil of foam and mist that rose from the falls than of their plunge (fig. 390). Instead of loud crescendos of roaring sound that works such as Church's seem to emit, Twachtman's falls seem to descend like curtains of soft gauze.

Twachtman's trip to Niagara took place during an eventful time in the history of the falls. A long-planned scheme to harness the power of Niagara to produce hydro-electric power was coming to fruition in 1892 and 1893, and an industrial city in the neighborhood of the falls was beginning to emerge.[274] Buffalo was soon to have electricity transmitted underground from the falls, and by 1892, publications emerged such as A.E. Richmond's pamphlet, *The New Wonder of the World: Buffalo, the Electric City*.[275] Although the preservation of the scenery of Niagara was assured by both New York State and Canada, the knowledge of the new ability of the falls to generate power that could run street-railways, operate factories, and light homes could not have escaped those who visited the falls in the early 1890s. As a writer noted of a trip to Niagara in the winter of 1893:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> The engineering possibilities at Niagara impress themselves on my mind, whether in summer or in winter, and even when all about is most beautiful, as now, with stalactites weighing tones dropping from the cliffs and stalagmites like young hills reaching up to meet them, with foam frozen as into marble, with every rock encrusted with ice, with the thickly-clad visitors crossing and recrossing on the great ice bridge . . . with the swirling of might waters, the thundering of echoes that they raise, the mad antics of ice-cakes as they gyrate through the rapids, or float on seaward, carried by a current against which it would be in vain to protest, with the rainbow broken up and displayed on every hand, with the burning sun shining without effect on the giant snow fields and ice floes, with the frosty air nipping the features, with the fretted waters below the falls assuming myriad and ever changing patterns, while I hold my breath without knowing why--through all this comes, in winter as in summer, this thought: Three million horse power![276]

By the turn of the century, hydraulic power had transformed the landscape of Niagara. As noted by a writer in 1901, where Bridal Veil falls had once commanded the landscape below the American falls, one was now confronted with "as foul and unsightly a milling village as ever dishonred a river's brink. Flush with the edge of the denuded cliff they stand, flouring-mills, aluminum works, breweries . . . hulking factories, advertisement-blazoned sheds, shapless rookeries. Down the discolored face of the cliff run certain exaggerated stovepipes, painted Indian red . . . On the naked débris-slope at the foot of the bluff, once clothed in the tenderest of mist-fed verdure, crouch two more factories, utilizing over again the water which has already turned the wheels of the mills above."[277] How much of this might have been anticipated in 1893 is unclear, but certainly perceptions of Niagara were already changing. The understanding that Niagara's force could be made to serve utilitarian and technological needs must have altered perceptions of what had earlier been seen as the "sublimest of sublimities, the terrestrial worlds grandest symbol of divine omnipotence"; this awareness could not have been missed by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

visitors to the falls in the 1890s.[278] Twachtman's Niagara images indirectly reflect changing perceptions of the falls. Although he did not paint the turbines that produced hydraulic energy from Niagara, his works portray a humanized falls suggestive of a new realization that Niagara was not an invulnerable and invincible force of "might and majesty," but that it could be simply enjoyed for its aesthetic and sensuous aspects.[279]

Yellowstone Park (1895)

While staying in Buffalo, Twachtman was introduced by Charles Cary to his old friend, Major William A. Wadsworth (1847-1918), a resident of Geneseo, New York, who gave Twachtman the financial backing to create a series of images of Yellowstone Park.[280] Like Cary, Wadsworth came from a wealthy and illustrious background. The Wadsworth family had settled in New York's Genesee Valley in 1790 where, as a 1959 book reported, they "preserved the great traditions of country life and sportsmanship on their almost feudal domains."[281] Wadsworth, a son of United States Senator James W. Wadsworth, was an unusual patron for Twachtman as art collecting was not normally one of his interests. He was recalled by a biographer as having

> an unusual combination of sporting character and intellectual. Not that he ever cultivated his mind as assiduously as he did his fields, or raised any intellectual crops on it. Nevertheless, it was rich in taste and learning acquired by accident, so to speak--by reading good books for no other reason than love of them.[282]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wadsworth was an avid fox hunter and enjoyed sponsoring coach races. Among his circle of acquaintances were a number of literary and political figures including Mark Twain, Theodore Roosevelt, and William McKinley.[283]

The exact arrangement reached between Wadsworth and Twachtman is not known. The most likely scenario is that Wadsworth was intrigued by Twachtman's Niagara works and proposed the Yellowstone trip, offering the artist funds for the venture in exchange for a number of paintings. Wadsworth acquired at least four of Twachtman's Yellowstone scenes as he sent them to an exhibition at the Buffalo Fine Arts Center in 1913, where they were shown with the title, *Study, Yellowstone Park*.[284] These works may be pool scenes known to have belonged to him, of which two are in private collections and one is in the collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut (fig. 394).[285]

Twachtman probably reached Yellowstone in mid-September, as he wrote to Wadsworth on the 22nd of the month:

> My Dear Mr. Wadsworth,
> I am overwhelmed with things to do that a year would be a short stay. Your reply to my telegram came and I thank you for your liberality. This trip is like the outing of a city boy to the country for the first time. I was too long in one place. This scenery too is fine enough to shock any mind. We have had several snow storms and the ground is white--the cañon looks more beautiful than ever. The pools are more refined in color but there is much romance in the falls and the cañon. I never felt so fine in my life and am busy from morning until night. One can work so much more in this place never tiring. My stay here will last until the first, perhaps. I want to go to Lower Falls, they are fine. There are many things one wants to do in this place. Believe me.
> Sincerely Yours,
> J. H. Twachtman
> Sept. 22, 1895[286]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's stay in Yellowstone probably lasted only around a month, but, as in the case of Niagara, he created both winter and summer views of the Park's sites, which suggests that he may have rendered some images from photographs.

The wonders of Yellowstone Park were not as famous as those of Niagara, and the two areas had very different histories. Whereas Niagara had been of fascination to early western settlers in the New World, expeditions to Yellowstone only began in the late 1860s.[287] However, in the next decade information about the spectacular site in northwest Wyoming spread quickly. In 1871, Nathaniel Langford, who had accompanied the expedition of 1870 led by Henry D. Washburn, published two illustrated articles on Yellowstone in *Scribner's Monthly*.[288] Within the year, other parties were exploring the area, notably the expedition led in 1871 by the director of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Ferdinand Vandiveer Hayden.[289] Among those in Hayden's company were painter, Thomas Moran, and photographer, William Henry Jackson (1843-1942). Jackson's photographs and Hayden's reports were influential in convincing the United States Congress to set Yellowstone apart as the country's first national park, an act put into the legislature by Ulysses S. Grant in 1872.

Other explorers visited Yellowstone in the period that followed and railroad lines reached the park in the early 1880s.[290] Moran returned to the area in 1892 and many other artists also visited including Albert Bierstadt and Sanford Gifford.[291] Due to inefficient administrations, and in order to stop the leasing of park land for private purposes, in 1886, the United States Cavalry took over the management of the park and established a military presence in the role of the Park's Acting Superintendent. Around

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the same time, the Northern Pacific Railway Company constructed a number of hotels in various locations in the park, including the Grand Cañon. As the stationery on which Twachtman wrote to Wadsworth indicates, it was at this hotel (no longer in existence) that Twachtman stayed. Of the hotel, Hiram Chittenden remarked in 1895: "It is half a mile beyond Cascade Creek, in an open park, a little way back from the brink of the Cañon. From its porch, the crest of Upper Fall can be seen, and roar of both [Upper and Lower] cataracts is distinctly audible."[292]

For Twachtman, this hotel was perfectly located, as it was set amidst some of the Park's most spectacular scenery, and, as usual, Twachtman did not search far for his subjects. One of his main sites was the Grand Canyon itself, a few steps from his lodging. Of this site, Chittenden wrote:

> The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone is acknowledged by all beholders to stand without parallel among the natural wonders of the globe. Other cañons, the Yosemite, for example, have greater depths and more imposing walls, but there are none which, in the words of Captain William Ludlow, "unite more potently the two requisites of majesty and beauty." The cañon itself is vast. A cross-section in the largest part measures 2,000 feet at the top, 200 feet at the bottom, and is 1,200 feet deep, giving an area of over thirty acres. But such a gorge in any other part of the world would not be what it is here. Its sides would soon be clothed with vegetation, and it would be simply an immense valley, beautiful, no doubt, but not what it is in the Yellowstone Park. . . . It is the volcanic rock through which the river [at the base of the canyon] has cut its way that gives the Grand Cañon its distinctive character. It is pre-eminently a cañon of color. The hue has no existence which can not be found there. . . . From the dark, forest-bordered brink, the sides descend for the most part with the natural slope of the loose rock, but frequently broken by vertical ledges and isolated pinnacles, which give a castellated and romantic air to the whole.[293]

In Yellowstone, Twachtman also portrayed the Lower Falls which was a short walk from his hotel (figs. 395-396). To reach these sites, he would have followed the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

road that led through the canyon, which afforded a clear view of the Upper Falls. At the foot of a stairway that led from the road to the bottom of the canyon, Lower Falls would have come into sight. Chittenden wrote that the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone:

> must be placed in the front rank of similar phenomena [to the Grand Canyon]. It carries not one-twentieth of the water of Niagara, but Niagara is in no single part so beautiful. Its height is 310 feet. Its descent is very regular, slightly broken by a point of rock on the right bank. A third of the fall is hidden behind the vast cloud of spray which forever conceals the mad play of the waters beneath; but the mighty turmoil of that recess in the rocks may be judged from the deep-toned thunder which rises in ceaseless cadence and jars the air for miles around.[294]

The Reverend Dr. Wayland Hoyt described the Lower Falls similarly in 1887:

> Look yonder--those are the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone. They are not the grandest in the world, but there are none more beautiful. There is not the breadth and dash of Niagara, nor is there the enormous depth of leap of some of the falls of Yosemite. But here is majesty of its own kind, and beauty too. On either side are vast pinnacles of sculptured rock. There, where the rock opens for the river, its waters are compressed from a width of two hundred feet between the Upper and Lower Falls to one hundred feet where it takes the plunge. The shelf of rock over which it leaps is absolutely level. The water seems to wait a moment on its verge; then it passes with a single bound of three hundred feet into the gorge below. It is a sheer, unbroken, compact, shining mass of silver foam. But your eyes are all the time distracted from the fall itself, great and beautiful as it is, to its marvelous setting--to the surprising overmastering cañon into which the river leaps and through which it flows, dwindling to but a foamy ribbon there in its appalling depths. As you cling here to this jutting rock the falls are already many hundred feet below you. The falls unroll their whiteness down amid the cañon glooms. . . . These rocky sides are almost perpendicular; indeed, in many places the boiling springs have gouged them out so as to leave overhanging cliffs and tables at the top.[295]

In addition to painting the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone and its waterfalls, Twachtman portrayed a number of the park's non-eruptive geysers and pools. He found these sites primarily in the Upper Geyser Basin, near the junction of the Firehole and Little Firehole Rivers (fig. 397). Although not as close to his hotel as were the Grand Canyon

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and its waterfalls, this area would have been easily accessible to him as, beginning in 1891, the Yellowstone Park Transportation Company had begun a service of shuttling tourists by carriage to different areas of the Park, and there was probably an arrangement for such a service between Twachtman's hotel, the Grand Cañon, and the hotel operated at the Upper Geyser Basin.[296] Chittenden observed of the Basin: "This locality is probably the most popular of any in the Park. . . . It is the home of the genus geyser, seen in its highest development. There are fifteen examples of the first magnitude and scores of less important ones. The quiescent pools and springs are also numerous and of great beauty."[297] As the title of one of Twachtman's paintings reveals, the Morning Glory geyser in the Upper Geyser Basin was one of his subjects (fig. 398).[298] Chittenden wrote of this site: "In this beautiful object the quiescent pool is at its best. The exquisite bordering and the deep cerulean hue of its transparent waters make it, and others like it, objects of ceaseless admiration."[299] This description perfectly matches the image that Twachtman created. Interestingly Twachtman did not portray any of Yellowstone's eruptive geysers or fountains, subjects that Moran depicted often. Twachtman's preference was for the serene pools with their irregular curved boundaries and crystalline still waters.

Twachtman's Yellowstone works depart from the precedents set by Moran and others. Although he painted some of the park's best known sites, as in his Niagara works, he did not emphasize their grandeur or vastness of scale, preferring to convey their sensuous qualities. In his views of the Grand Canyon, he captured effects of light cast on high granite walls, noting the shimmering reflective surfaces of the canyon with tones of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lavender, pink, mauve, and peach (figs. 399-400). His images illustrate Chittenden's description of the locale as "preeminently a cañon of color. The hue has no existence which can not be found there."[300] Despite the verisimilitude achieved by Moran in his Yellowstone canyon scenes, Twachtman accomplished something that Moran did not, expressing the poetic experience of standing before high arching walls seemingly composed of shimmering light and scintillating color (fig. 401). Chittenden wrote of the difficulties encountered by those attempting to convey the experience of the Canyon, and quoted Moran on the subject:

> It is not strange that this cañon has been a theme for writer, painter and photographer, from its discovery to the present time. But at first thought it is strange that all attempts to portray its beauties are less satisfactory than those pertaining to any other feature of the Park. The artist Moran acknowledged that "its beautiful tints were beyond the reach of human art," and General W.T. Sherman said of this artist's celebrated effort: "The painting by Moran in the Capitol is good, but painting and words are unequal to the subject."[301]

Impressionism allowed Twachtman to achieve the aim that Moran felt was impossible, of capturing the canyon's "beautiful tints."

In his views of the Lower Falls, Twachtman used layerings of vivid pastel tones to record the luminous qualities of plunging torrents, rising steam, and soft mists. In *Waterfall, Yellowstone*, he portrays the Lower Falls seen from below, revealing the force of the cascade and its long plunge over its perpendicular cliff face (fig. 402). Using a vertical canvas, he accentuated the steepness of canyon walls and the narrow slit of water falling between them. In *Lower Falls of the Yellowstone*, he used a square canvas and balanced the falls within the center of his composition (fig. 403). His method was to paint the steadily flowing river, glimpsed in the canvas's upper right, with smooth strokes, while

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

depicting the rushing movement and the glistening falls with brushstrokes loaded with a variety colors that he dragged vigorously over each other. He conveyed the foamy surface of the water with rich latherings of white impasto over a ground of light blue and turquoise. The result is a work in which water and land interact with each other, the pink, mauve, and lavender rock surfaces reflecting a myriad of flickering light and shadow effects received from the falls as it descends.

Twachtman's images of geysers are among the unusual works of his era (figs. 404-406). Instead of portraying these basins in their environmental context, he focused on their shapes and colors, noting the azure and sapphire qualities of their depths, their emerald-toned shallower areas and reflective light across their surfaces. Showing watery chasms within undifferentiated stretches of land, he created highly abstract works that may be appreciated both as realist depictions and purely formal compositions.

Whereas Moran's transcriptions of the extraordinary topography and the dramatic scale of Yellowstone expressed the expansionistic sentiments of the mid-nineteenth century, Twachtman's conveyance of the evanescent qualities of the falls reflect an era that, in the face of rapidly escalating progress, prized the spiritual and meditative side of life.

Twachtman exhibited Yellowstone works for the first time at the Society of American Artists spring exhibition of 1896, showing *Grand Cañon in Winter* and *Water-Falls*, also a Yellowstone scene. These paintings were well received by the critics. The *New York Times* stated: "Mr. Twachtman's agreeable color sense has rarely been better

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

demonstrated than in his 'Grand Canon [sic] in Winter,' wherein the artist, keeping his tones very high, has, nevertheless achieved much brilliancy and produced a delicate harmony. A second picture, 'Water Falls,' lower in key, is thoroughly agreeable, and scarcely less successful."[302] The *New York Evening Post* stated: "Mr Twachtman has recently rediscovered the Yellowstone, and one of his pictures (No. 158 [*Water-Falls*]) gives us some idea of how that country looks to the eye of a modern painter. It is very charming in color, as is his second picture (No. 180 [*Grand Cañon in Winter*]) in the slip and fall of the water."[303] A somewhat dissenting note was sounded by the *Critic Magazine* reviewer who was troubled, as writers had been in the late 1870s, by the presence of landscape sketches in the show:

> The exhibition is not particularly rich in landscapes, and several of those that are shown are no more than successful sketches. In some cases the sketch can hardly be said to be successful as representation of the subject. Thus Mr. Twachtman's "Grand Cañon in Winter" gives no indication of the scale of the scenery and might as well represent a raving in Ulster County. His "Waterfalls," a more careful study of rocks and falling water on a small scale is much more interesting.[304]

Twachtman appears to have publicly shown a geyser pool scene in only one instance, at an exhibition of the Philadelphia Art Club in 1896.[305] Described as "a snow-filled canyon or crevice in which the pool is conspicuous by its silence," and "a group of huge rocks with a spray of water at their feet . . .aglow with that delicious light and play of color which Twachtman alone of our landscape painters beholds in nature," this work was possibly *Emerald Pool*, now in the Phillips Collection (fig. 406). Since this painting was obviously different from any others in the Art Club's display, it is not surprising that a writer for the *Philadelphia Press* reported: "'The Pool' is the riddle of the gallery and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

likely to be its gathering point of doubt, challenge, and discussion." But instead of dismissing the painting, the critic took the time to explain that even though the work was unusual, Twachtman had captured the essence of his subject:

> Without study, a previous condition of servitude to certain recent artistic conventions and a fond desire to see the picture, nothing can be made out of it. Yet, granting Mr. Twachtman's method, his point of view, and his purpose--and every artist has a right to these--and there is here a picture clear, distinct, accurate and unmistakable, of the fashion in which sandstone cliffs in an early stage of erosion in an atmosphere considerably elevated above the surface of the sea, present themselves in the chill vision of quiet air which succeeds the first light snow of the season when it has come to stay. This is worth doing and it is worth seeing. Whether it is the best art to present the unusual in an obscure fashion for the infrequent admirer is another question altogether. In all the arts of expression the men never need diagram or explanation.[306]

It was not until 1901 that Twachtman would again show a Yellowstone scene. In his January 1901 solo exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago, he included a painting entitled *Yellowstone*, a canyon scene, and in his April-May solo show of the same year at the Cincinnati Art Museum, he displayed a work entitled *Yellowstone Falls*. The only comment on the painting he showed in Chicago appeared in the *Chicago Journal*, in which it was attacked: "One of his paintings--"Yellowstone Falls"--we must baulk at. If it is a true representation of that natural wonder then the present writer, who is under the impression he has twice seen these falls and their surroundings has indeed never seen them once."[307]

Other writers from the early twentieth century to the present have faulted Twachtman for being either making his Yellowstone views too intimate or not making them intimate enough. Describing a Yellowstone pool included in Twachtman's 1903 estate sale, a critic for the *New York Tribune* commented that in the work "the artist fails

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to realize his aim, the effect is heavy, and even artificial."[308] In 1924, Eliot Clark wrote that although Twachtman's Yellowstone scenes are "interesting in color," they

> have not the same intimate charm as the more familiar subjects found nearer home. Twachtman was evidently not impressed by the grandeur and sublimity of nature, or perhaps thought it outside of the limitations of pictorial representation. We sense the fact that he is happier within the human habitat, where the presence of man, if not indicated is always suggested. He failed to humanize the Yellowstone, or to bring to it that human emotion which might do so, but he brought back some splendid bits of color from its opalescent pools and radiant waterfalls. His intimate placing of forms and his endeavor to see things in a new way are, however, not so happy in the presence of great constructive forces where nature has built on a grand scale and has patterned everything relative to stress and strain. Twachtman was not impressed by that elemental power; nor did he attempt to express it. He is more purely sensuous in his perception.[309]

In 1979, Richard Boyle wrote that "Twachtman fared better with his series of Yellowstone Park" than with his Niagara paintings, but Boyle perceived Twachtman's *The Rapids, Yellowstone* as an uneven work that suffered from lack of scale (fig. 407).[310]

Although perhaps revealing less of the empathy for nature evident in his images of the Greenwich countryside that he loved, Twachtman's Yellowstone works present the park as he experienced it, conveying his excitement in a landscape that he felt would "shock any mind," a place of "romance" unlike any he had experienced previously.[311] Unprecedented in American art, the abstraction in Twachtman's Yellowstone works directly reflects the impact of this new scenery on the artist.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Exhibitions at St. Botolph Club, the Cincinnati Art Museum, The Art Institute of Chicago, and Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York (1900-1901)

In 1900, Twachtman was featured in two shows along with his son Alden (1882-1964), who had recently completed two years of study at Yale University School of Art.[312] Far smaller than Twachtman's exhibitions of 1891 and 1893, the first of these shows, held at the St. Botolph Club in Boston in February-March, included eleven oils and thirteen pastels by Twachtman, and ten oils, nine sepia and color drawings, and two study heads in charcoal by his son.[313] The second show, held at the Cincinnati Art Museum in April, included even fewer pictures, consisting of two oils and nine pastels by Twachtman and five oils, eight sepia and color drawings, and one charcoal study by Alden.[314]

The works in both shows reveal that father and son were deriving inspiration from the same subject matter, the landscape of their Greenwich home. At the St. Botolph Club, John Twachtman displayed paintings and pastels entitled *The Brook*, *Water Fall*, *My House in Winter*, *Garden Path*, *My House*, *My Brook*, and *Spring* while Alden presented works entitled *White Bridge*, *Phlox*, *Front of the House*, *The Barn*, *The Garden*, *The Brook*, and *Barn Yard*. Some paintings by Alden that are known today pose questions as to whether works attributed to his father are perhaps his.[315] Indeed, in at least one instance, the two worked together. Speaking to a reporter for the *Chicago American* in 1901, Twachtman stated that of the works in his show in Chicago in this year, "The scenes on my farm at Greenwich, Connecticut, are perhaps my favorites, although an artist should not judge his own works--one of these painted by my son, J. Alden Twachtman, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

myself--the one representing a little child feeding chickens--is an especial favorite of mine.[316] In his painting, *The Barnyard*, which is signed by John H. Twachtman, it is not possible to discern what Alden might have contributed (fig. 408). In another instance, a painting signed by Alden of the garden behind the Twachtman house, with the back of the house visible through foliage, bears all the recognizable signs of his father's handling (fig. 409).[317]

The third phase of Twachtman's Greenwich period was marked by three large solo exhibitions of his work that were held in 1901, at the Art Institute of Chicago in January, at the Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York in March, and at the Cincinnati Art Museum in April.[318] In contrast to his exhibitions of 1891 and 1893, in which pastels had been included, these shows consisted exclusively of oil paintings. The three shows featured many of the same pictures, and, although some images of Greenwich were on view, all the shows were dominated by works Twachtman had produced during the previous summer in Gloucester, Massachusetts. Indeed, the paintings Twachtman created in Greenwich during the last years of his life reveal many of the traits of his final stylistic phase, which Hale named the Gloucester period.[319] In general, the style Twachtman evolved in the late 1890s in his Greenwich art was characterized by a use of high-key colors, a free, uncontrolled brushwork, less layering and glazing than previously, and radically simplified designs. These qualities would become more pronounced in the images Twachtman created in Gloucester, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's style in the third phase of his Greenwich period is exemplified by images he created at the time of the waterfall on his property. Although he had shown a painting entitled *Moissehasseky* [sic] *Falls* in his 1891 Wunderlich and 1893 American Art Galleries, he did not exhibit a waterfall scene again until 1894, when he showed one at the Society of American Artists. However, it was not until the very end of the century that he focused intensively on the waterfall subject, as may be determined by exhibition records.[320] At the 1898 annual of the Pennsylvania Academy, he displayed *Waterfall and Pool*; it was possibly this work that he sent as one of his six contributions to the first Ten exhibition in New York and Boston.[321] In 1899, Twachtman displayed a work entitled *The Waterfall* at the Carnegie Institute International Exhibition, which resulted in his receipt of an honorable mention. In 1900, two waterfall scenes were included in his one-man show at St. Botolph Club, and a waterfall image was one of the two paintings he showed at the Cincinnati Art Museum. Purchased from the show by the museum, this work, *Waterfall, Blue Brook*, was the first and only museum sale that Twachtman made in his lifetime (fig. 410).[322] Twachtman included a painting entitled *Waterfall* in all three of his 1901 shows in Chicago, New York, and Cincinnati. (In the last-named city, this work was joined by another waterfall scene, the museum's newly purchased painting.[323]) At the third annual exhibition of oil paintings at the Worcester Museum in 1901, Twachtman sent a painting entitled *The Torrent*, probably the work known by this title today (fig. 411). In 1902, he exhibited a waterfall scene at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

The progression that occurred in Twachtman's waterfall imagery is a matter for conjecture. His initial Greenwich waterfalls were perhaps characterized by *Horseneck*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Falls, a view of the falls seen from a distance in which a cascade spills into a pool and then seeps between prominent rocks in the foreground (fig. 412). The brown, aqua, and jade-green tones in the landscape suggest that the painting dates from early in the 1890s, before Twachtman had adopted a fully Impressionist palette. In the waterfalls that Twachtman probably executed in the late 1890s, he reduced his depth of field, portrayed only a single aspect of a cascade, and de-emphasizing the reality of his motif, he concentrated on its abstract possibilities (figs. 413-415). Straddling the line between realism and abstraction, Twachtman's turn-of-the-century waterfalls demonstrate his role as a liaison between late nineteenth-century art and the modern movements that emerged in the early twentieth century. At the same time, the innovative formalist dimensions of his works are related to their realism, as the motion of his brushwork and his dynamic coloristic interactions express the feeling of a waterfall in abstract terms.

The process Twachtman used to create his waterfalls in the late 1890s may be analyzed. Initially he filled areas of the canvas with broad strokes of relatively dry pigment in a range of warm earth tones. With this first layer of color, he established the essential masses of the landscape, including the basic shapes of rocks that lined the waterfall's path. Instead of covering the entire canvas, in this phase of the work he left some areas of prime exposed, while covering others with thin, transparent washes of color. Once the ground was established, he used a brush loaded with impastos in white and pastel tones to convey the changing rhythms of the falls. Letting the motion of his brush follow the changing force and flow of the water, he left paint thick in areas where water gathered or struck rocks and lathered it in smooth, long strokes where the water

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rushed across the stream bed. The result is a dynamic experience for the viewer in which the inanimate painting almost convinces us that its forms are in motion.

Twachtman's waterfall images were so unique that they confounded some period critics. For example, a *Boston Evening Transcript* writer found little to admire in Twachtman's *Waterfall and Pool*, shown at the Ten exhibition at the St. Botolph Club in 1898, and called the painting "chaotic and incomplete."[324] Another Boston critic, reviewing Twachtman's solo show in 1900 at the St. Botolph Club commented:

> The pictures, most of them, are unusual . . . especially the water-fall paintings of which there are several.
>
> One of them which may have been meant to typify a whirlpool, resembles nothing short of a boat coasting down hill with a teaming shoal exactly in front. The first has a sail set and what looks like the figures of death in the stern, and a greenish-yellow sky adds to the strangeness. But there is one of these waterfall pictures which is strikingly fine and full of power.[325]

A writer for the *New York Sun* was also critical of the waterfalls Twachtman had included in his 1901 solo show at Durand-Ruel Galleries, remarking that Twachtman's waterfalls were "superficial" as he paid "more attention to the mere surface of the water than to the suggestion of its movement and forces or of the rocky formation underneath."[326]

However, in 1901 and 1902, critics who praised the waterfalls Twachtman showed were in the majority. A writer for the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, who reviewed Twachtman's 1901 show at Durand-Ruel, remarked: "To turn to the more pleasant duty of commendation, there are some mountain streams dashing over rocks that are wholly agreeable. Thus the 'Waterfall' has most beautiful opalescent tones, and the construction of the landscape is all we could ask, and a 'Torrent' has these same qualities, with harmonious, lovely tints."[327] Reporting on the same show, a critic for the *New York*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Evening Post commented that "a waterfall, hanging at the west end of the gallery, lingers longest in the memory unstimulated by a catalogue," while the reviewer for the *New York Mail and Express* took the time to notice the range of waterfalls in the show: "Comparing the several versions of a waterfall (some of them familiar from previous exhibitions), one notes wide differences in appeal. For instance, the one entitled 'Waterfall' has more vigor than 'Cascade' or 'Trout Pool.'"[328] Reviewing Twachtman's 1901 show in Chicago, a critic commented: "'A Waterfall' foaming down among rocks and bushes, recalls the fact that Twachtman won an honorable mention on a waterfall at Pittsburgh one year."[329] Of the Cincinnati Art Museum's *Waterfall, Blue Brook*, shown at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, critic Charles Caffin observed that of Twachtman's works on view "the best without much doubt is the *Waterfall*, owned by the Cincinnati Museum Association. It is fine in color and renders truthfully the babbling movement of the water."[330] Remarking on Twachtman's display of a waterfall at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1902, a critic commented that the work "seems more colorful than usual."[331]

Other Greenwich works that Twachtman is likely to have created in the late 1890s reveal the change that was occurring in his style. Although the early history of the painting is not known, it is likely that *Snow*, which features the barn on Twachtman's property, dates from the late Greenwich years (fig. 416). The scene is the same as in *Winter* (Phillips Collection), but whereas in *Winter*, he treated forms as soft, flowing masses, in *Snow*, he created a more ordered composition by defining the lines and shapes in the scene with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clear, angular contours, and giving the barn a prominent position, accentuated by the fact that its square shape echoes that of the canvas (fig. 369).

In *Hemlock Pool* (Addison Gallery), the "increased personal force" that a *New York Daily Tribune* writer had commented was apparent in Twachtman's art toward the end of his life may be seen (fig. 417). The rim of ice gives structure to the pool while providing a subtle transition between the pool's mauve-toned reflective surface and the peach-beige colors of the landscape. This painting undoubtedly dates from around 1899-1900 as it was shown in the Ten exhibition of March 1900 at the Durand-Ruel exhibition and illustrated in Charles Caffin's review of the show that appeared in *Harper's Weekly Magazine* on 14 April 1900.[332] Caffin called the work a "revelation" when one viewed it from a distance and then at close range, noting that the painting "reveals a thickness of pigment and almost incisive application of stroke; while the effect when seen at the proper distance, is delicate beyond description in atmosphere, color, and sentiment."[333]

Describing the Ten show of 1900 in general, a writer for the *Artist Magazine* noted the "subtle delineation of atmospheric effects and values" in Twachtman's pictures, and, singling out *Hemlock Pool*, he or she commented that these qualities are well represented in "'The Brook in Winter' and 'The Hemlock Pool.' In both, the broad and rugged aspects of the scene are faithfully reproduced, and then stealing over all is the suggestion of suspended animation, the still torpor of winter. They are canvases of remarkable beauty and most superior accomplishment."[334] This reviewer's comments perhaps prompted Twachtman to exhibit what were probably the same two works at the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

seventieth annual of the Pennsylvania Academy in January-February 1901. As a reviewer of that show observed:

> Mr. Twachtman sends two phases of the same brook [no. 73, *Brook in Winter* and no. 80 *Hemlock Pool*], one a pool in a little gorge, the other where it emerges into meadows. With the utmost sketchiness, these give a convincing feeling of winter, in the snowbound edges of the brook, the shivering reflection of some slender birches, and the ground broken by crystals of frost.[335]

No works with the title *Hemlock Pool* were included in Twachtman's show in Chicago in January 1901, but the *Hemlock Pool* featured in Twachtman's exhibition at Durand-Ruel in March of the year may have been the Addison's painting. Referring to the picture on exhibit, a *New York Times* reporter wrote: "To see him at his best is to look at the 'Hemlock Pool,' with slopes all snowy, but set with brown bushes and trees and the water of the brook fringed with white ice."[336] A writer for the *New York Sun* commented on the work as well, remarking that the artist's paintings would "bid fair to improve with time. In the 'Hemlock Pool,' seen many times before, one already notices a ripening of tone and increasing coherence of effect."[337] It was possibly the recollection of having seen this painting that prompted the collector John Gellatly to purchase it in the following year.

Another change occurred in Twachtman's art in the late 1890s that was not in the realm of style, but in his subject matter and attitude. A number of landscapes from this time reveal more evidence of cultivation and settlement than had been present in his images previously. These works perhaps reflect a phase in Twachtman's life when, after years in Greenwich and after extensive modification of his home and land, he had come to feel comfortably settled into a place that he felt to be his own. *Summer* exemplifies this new

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

orientation (fig. 418). Showing the house presiding over the open sun-filled meadow, and firmly ensconced in the landscape, the painting conveys a mood of contentment. The lines of the hillside above the house descend to join the line of its roof, while the landscape below sweeps up to embrace the structure. A tree behind the house roots it in its space. Covering the canvas with a thick, densely woven layer of paint, Twachtman conveys a sense of the heavy heat and dry ground in summer. Patches of light and shadow are strongly contoured, revealing a light that is defining rather than transitory.

The feeling of domestic contentment expressed in *Summer* is also conveyed in *On the Terrace*, a painting which appeared in the Ten exhibition of 1901 (fig. 419). In this work, Twachtman depicted his wife and three children, all in white, enjoying sunlight and the neatly ordered plantings of the garden around them, while a vine trellis crowns the gabled doorway at the back of the house. Twachtman's *On the Terrace* speaks perhaps most fully of the satisfaction that he had in his home and family in his late Greenwich years

Whereas in most of his images of his house, Twachtman showed its back facade, in the late 1890s, after he had finished remodeling the structure, he began to depict it from the front and to feature its classical portico. In these works, the house assumes a more elegant and stately appearance than his images of it from the back. In *The Portico*, which was probably shown in the 1900 exhibition of the Ten with the title, *My House*, the columned facade and carefully tended potted plants are matched by the strong, balanced composition, crisply defined areas of color, and a golden light that suffuses the scene (fig. 420).[338] The figures seated on a low step seem disproportionately small in comparison to the architecture. Thus, Twachtman suggested the capacity of his residence to provide

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shelter and security. In *My House*, another painting in which the portico appears, Twachtman featured the columned entryway from the side, making it appear almost as a small Greek temple in a pastoral landscape (fig. 421). Probably exhibited in the Ten show of 1899 and in Twachtman's 1901 show at Durand-Ruel as *My House*, this painting was singled out by a critic in 1899 who noted its "vivacity" and described it as "a sunlit white porch surrounded with greenery [that] was as gladsome and spontaneous as could be."[339] In 1901, a *New York Times* reviewer called the painting a view of "a white house--very deliciously painted is its portrait, too--and through the arbors and porch sunlight falls in broad yellow streaks but even so, sunlight though it be, not too yellowy or too hotly."[340]

Twachtman's paintings of the white footbridge that he constructed over Horseneck Brook in the late 1890s also demonstrate a humanized view of nature. Although he exhibited paintings entitled *The Bridge* in the Carnegie Institute annual exhibition of 1896 and in the Pennsylvania Academy's sixty-sixth annual in December 1896-January 1897, his first showing of a work entitled *The White Bridge* did not occur until April-May 1897, when he exhibited a painting with this title at the National Academy of Design. The white bridge was probably the subject of a work called *The New Bridge* which Twachtman exhibited at the sixty-seventh annual of the Pennsylvania Academy in January-Feburary 1898 and at the first exhibition of the Ten in March-April 1898 in both New York and Boston. At the Carnegie Institute annual of 1899, he again showed a work entitled *The White Bridge*. A view of a white bridge was also included in Twachtman's 1901 show at Durand-Ruel, while a work entitled *The Little White Bridge* appeared in his 1901 show in Cincinnati.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In each of his six extant paintings in which the bridge appears, Twachtman explored different compositional schemes.[341] Indeed, his images of the bridge are so different that the bridge seems to change form from one work to another. In *The White Bridge* (Minneapolis), his interest was in the interweaving of motifs seen through and screened by each other (fig. 422). His orientation of the design to the square shape of the canvas results in a feeling of harmony and order. This painting was perhaps the work shown in Twachtman's 1901 Durand-Ruel exhibition of which a critic for the *New York Tribune* wrote: "In the large uncatalogued picture of a river crossed by a white bridge, which is seen through the thin foliage of trees in the foreground, the work seems unfinished, but enough is there to proclaim the loveliness and freshness of the subject."[342]

In *The White Bridge* (Chicago), the bridge also takes on the character of the surrounding landscape (fig. 423). Seen from an oblique angle, it extends on an active diagonal that seems to comply with the rapid flow of the brook. This painting was very likely to have once been called *The New Bridge*, a work Twachtman included in the first exhibition of the Ten. A *New York Daily Tribune* writer described the painting: "'The New Bridge,' which is extremely deft in its expression of the freshness of the trees, the brightness of the color, the movement of the brook which crosses the canvas."[343] When this painting was exhibited in Boston, a *Boston Evening Transcript* reviewer commented: "the 'New Bridge' has one very pleasant note in it, and that is the filmy cloud of pale green foliage in the willow tree in very early spring."[344]

In another painting of the bridge, also entitled *The White Bridge* (Rochester), Twachtman's approach was utterly different (fig. 424). Using *alla prima* handling, as in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the images he created in Gloucester during the summers of 1900-1902, this painting was undoubtedly created after the turn of the century.

Stylistic elements of other Greenwich images link them with Twachtman's Gloucester period rather than with the Greenwich period.[345] For example, *My Autumn Studio*, a work that Twachtman showed for the first time in his 1901 Cincinnati exhibition, reveals the abrupt and aggressive brushwork characteristic of Twachtman's images of Gloucester (fig. 425).[346] *Summer Afternoon*, in which the white bridge appears, and *Hidden Pool* are other paintings that are in the manner of Twachtman's Gloucester period approach (figs. 426-427). On the other hand, some paintings that we know Twachtman created at the turn of the century do not reflect Gloucester period characteristics. One such work is *Misty May Morn*, which has the unusual trait of bearing a date (fig. 428). Dated 1899, this painting demonstrates the soft pastel glazing and intricate layering of impasto that Twachtman had employed in some of his earliest Greenwich paintings. Thus, the dividing line between Greenwich works that belong to the Greenwich period and those that belong to the Gloucester period is not a matter of a particular cut off date, but of stylistic method.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's Greenwich Art in Perspective: Questions of Tonalism, Seriality, Modernism, and the Importance of Familiarity

During his Greenwich period, Twachtman used Impressionist methods influenced by Claude Monet and other French and American artists both to record effects of light and atmosphere in nature and to express the moods of his sites. As he was drawn to quiet places that evoked introspection and was sensitive to subtle shifts of tone and atmosphere, Twachtman has frequently been associated with the American Tonalists, the group of landscape painters including Charles Harold Davis (1856-1933), Charles Warren Eaton (1857-1937), Alexander Harrison (1853-1930), Lowell Birge Harrison (1854-1929), John Francis Murphy (1853-1921), Henry Ward Ranger (1858-1916), and Dwight Tryon (1849-1925), who were dedicated to expressing poetic and spiritual qualities in nature.[347]

There are a number of similarities between Twachtman and the Tonalists. The main influences on the Tonalists--Whistler, the French Barbizon School, and the Hague School--were also significant sources for Twachtman. Both Twachtman and the Tonalists used gentle tonal modulations to convey atmosphere and emotion. The Tonalists often painted the same sorts of misty and snowy days that were favored by Twachtman.

However, there are significant differences between Twachtman's art and that of the Tonalists. Working in the studio from sketches or from memory, the Tonalists' aim was to convey their subjective responses to nature and their recollections of places served as the basis for their images. Generalizing forms, they created harmonious images with elaborate glazing methods and by emphasizing a single tone. Often showing their sites at

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

transitional times of day--sunrise, sunset, dusk, moonlight--the Tonalists produced romantic visions that encouraged the viewer to muse on the passing of time, on cycles of nature and human life, and on spiritual, transcendent properties in nature (figs. 429-431).

Bringing out evocative qualities suggested by his sites, Twachtman created works that also engage the viewer emotionally. However, using an Impressionist technique and relying on firsthand observation, Twachtman never sacrificed the real aspects of a place to a purely subjective art. Even his most evanescent and subtle images reveal an attention to the specific physical properties of a landscape, to the organic nature of forms, and to transitory effects of light and atmosphere. A writer for the *Studio* in 1891 recognized Twachtman's achievement:

> [W]e should not expect to find Twachtman's portfolios full of anatomical studies of trees and leaves, cloud-forms and rock-formations. Yet there is science enough for the scientific: trees really growing; firmly planted, freely branching; here is solid earth, and the runnel sauntering, according to the laws of gravity, through the snow-bound meadow; the brook leaping, foaming, from rock to rock.[348]

Twachtman's perspective was unique in American painting of his era as he gave a Tonalist approach the reality in which it was often considered deficient while infusing Impressionism with a poetic feeling it was frequently accused of lacking. In his Greenwich art, he synthesized Tonalism and Impressionism, creating images in which he recorded observed effects of light and atmosphere while bringing out the poetic feeling that a landscape evoked through a sensitive manipulation of his formal means.

The subjective aspect of Twachtman's art sets it apart from the work of Claude Monet, and a comparison between these two artists helps to define what was distinctive in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's approach. During the 1890s, there were a number of close parallels between Twachtman and Monet. At his home in Giverny, Monet focused his attention on the motifs on his property and in the nearby vicinity, among them the grainstacks and poplar trees common to the Normandy countryside (figs. 432-435).[349] Like Twachtman, Monet returned over and over to the same subjects, finding infinite satisfaction in familiar views. There are, nonetheless, clear differences in the artists' viewpoints.

Monet charted changing optical sensations by studying a subject at different times of day and noting the way it was transformed by shifts of light and atmosphere. Although Monet did not take a purely objective stance, his outlook was more scientific and analytical than Twachtman's.[350] Exploring how a site appeared to change in different conditions, Monet intended his works that depict the same subjects to be seen together as a series, as a group of interrelated images in which a progression may be noted and in which we come away with a new understanding of how objects are transformed by our perception of them. Monet exhibited each of his series upon its completion, reinforcing the fact that he wanted his works to be viewed collectively rather than individually.[351]

Twachtman undoubtedly knew of Monet's serial approach. One source of his knowledge was undoubtedly Robinson, who in May 1891, had been one of the first viewers of Monet's serial images of Rouen Cathedral.[352] Robinson had written to Weir of these works shortly after seeing them, and he perhaps wrote to Twachtman as well.[353] In the years that followed, Robinson followed Monet's lead, creating several series of his own including views of the Valley of the Seine, created in 1892, and images of the Port Ben, Delaware, and Hudson Canal, Napanoch, New York, rendered in 1893. Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

assuredly saw works from these series.[354] In addition, Twachtman had a number of opportunities to see examples of Monet's serial images himself. In 1891, Monet's art was showcased at the Union League Club in New York and at J. Eastman Chase's in Boston. In both shows, works from Monet's Giverny series were included.[355] Monet's Giverny images were also featured in the 1893 exhibition at the American Art Galleries in which Twachtman's art was also shown.[356]

Despite this exposure to Monet's work, Monet did not influence Twachtman to return repeatedly to the same motifs, as Twachtman had begun this practice in Greenwich on his own by early 1891.[357] In addition, earlier in his career, Twachtman had often chosen to portray a single subject from a number of viewpoints. It is also clear that Twachtman's works reveal a different process and attitude from Monet's. Unlike Monet, Twachtman did not paint certain motifs during a particular time span; throughout his years in Greenwich, he returned to the same subjects.[358] He also did not exhibit images of the same motif in groups. Despite the appearance of a few barn scenes in his 1891 exhibition at Wunderlich, and a few waterfalls in his 1900 show at the St. Botolph Club, he never specifically or exclusively featured works depicting the same site in an exhibition.[359]

More significantly, however, there are no sequential aspects to Twachtman's images. Few parallels may be drawn between his depictions of a particular site. For example, his hemlock pool scenes frequently look as if they are in utterly different settings; two autumn views are related only because they portray the same site (figs. 436, 417). His white bridge scenes, as noted, are each so utterly different that even the bridge seems to change from one work to the next (figs. 423-424). Instead of creating serial imagery,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman constantly challenged himself to capture fresh impressions of sites that he knew well.

In the 1890s, Twachtman and Monet used Impressionism for divergent results. For Monet, Impressionist techniques were a means of exploring issues of perception, a way of questioning whether the tactile, visual world as we know it actually constitutes reality. In 1891, Monet stated to a friend: "a landscape hardly exists at all as a landscape, because its appearance is constantly changing; it lives by virtue of its surroundings--the air and light--which vary continually."[360] Monet's viewpoint was further explained by critic Gustave Geoffrey, who wrote in a catalogue essay for a show of Monet's grainstack images that Monet was interested in the way that "immutable objects constantly took on new forms, [in] the unceasing flow of changing sensations in front of an invariable spectacle, one interwoven with the other [and in] the possibility of summarizing the poetry of the universe in the restricted space [of a canvas]."[361] For Monet, the series was a means of questioning the nature of reality, a way of determining whether a landscape was a specific physical phenomenon or whether it was simply a result of reflected light and atmosphere received by the retina. His works pose questions similar to those addressed in the era in the realms of science and psychology in which a belief in a reality revealed by observation was shaken, such as Albert Einstein's theory of relativity (1915) and Sigmund Freud's theory of the unconscious (late 1890s).

Twachtman's pursuit was simpler, less self-conscious, and less philosophical. His aim was not to explore perceptual issues or the decomposing powers of sunlight. Instead he sought to make the inherent freshness, the evocative qualities, and the beauty of nature

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

come alive on canvas so that the experience for his viewers was as close as possible to an actual experience of nature. Eliot Clark commented on his success at achieving this objective: "the spectator shares with the painter the exhilaration of the moment, the feeling that each new motive is a new discovery. One senses the animation of the artistic adventure, the delight in the search for the beautiful in nature."[362] Twachtman's point of view was perhaps best elucidated by his student Carolyn Mase, who wrote that his primary desire was for a "communion" with nature through creating art:

> Nature spoke to Twachtman as she has spoken to but few from the beginning. He won her confidence, and she told him her innermost secrets. He never told them, never could tell them in words--only through his works. It was a spiritual communion.[363]

In his 1957 dissertation, John Douglass Hale took a different view of Twachtman's motivation for repeatedly painting the same motifs on his Greenwich property. According to Hale, Twachtman's main interest was in abstract design, in exploring relations of color, mass, and shape. He wrote:

> Utmost use was made of the pictorial properties of the farm, Twachtman like Monet, tending to paint the same subjects many times, not because he was necessarily fond of them as subjects, but because he seemed to be able to find new possibilities in familiar views. . . . The fact that he might have painted the subject the week, or the day, before was unimportant since the objects in the scene were a means to an end. From all accounts, nature moved Twachtman deeply, not because of admiration for the objects that made up the scene, but for their appearance as masses of color, value, etc., often imperfectly related by nature, but amenable to the organizing power of the painter's brush.[364]

Hale felt that Twachtman's approach was akin to Whistler's as "each used the view as an excuse for design," even though Twachtman was "necessarily more influenced by his subject for not working in the studio" and despite differences in the two artists' stylistic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

methods.[365] Although recognizing that Twachtman was known to have loved nature, Hale asserted that this love of nature was not a factor in Twachtman's art, due to Twachtman's primary fascination with exploring objects "for their appearance as masses of color, value, etc."[366] Hale further explained that Twachtman painted the same subjects over and over to prove his "theory of beauty's universality" by demonstrating that "variety could be found in the familiar."[367] According to Hale, Twachtman could have found inspiration for his art anywhere and painted his property simply because it happened to be there.

Hale seems to put Twachtman in the role of a twentieth-century modernist whose concerns were purely with the formal dimensions of art, and his analysis of Twachtman's art follows this line of thought as, in most cases, he discusses Twachtman's style without mention of his iconography. Perhaps reflecting the era in which he was writing, a time of the rise of Abstract Expressionism, Hale took a view that does not now seem adequate to explain Twachtman's art. Indeed, what is compelling in Twachtman's Greenwich works is their strong sense of place. Although Twachtman's canvases may be enjoyed exclusively for their formal qualities, the feeling they convey for sites as directly experienced by the artist is essential to them. In contrast to Hale's view that Twachtman used his subjects to create abstract compositions, I propose that he explored properties of form and color as a way of finding a new and fresh way to achieve a traditional end, of expressing what he found special and appealing in nature.

I also disagree with Hale's view that Twachtman was not selective about his subjects and simply painted the motifs that were the most accessible to him. Twachtman's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

images of Greenwich clearly reveal his delight in a landscape that he knew well and with which he felt an attachment. He brought out in his images the personal experience that he had of the countryside. Although Twachtman left no other written statements of his passion for painting his Greenwich acreage other than his comment to Weir in 1891 that he felt it necessary to live in the country at all seasons of the year, both his student Carolyn Mase and his friend Edward Simmons explained his point of view.[368] Mase wrote that he "had a very decided conviction that you painted best where you knew Nature's moods, and most loved her."[369] In his 1903 article on Twachtman in the *North American Review*, Simmons recalled Twachtman's belief that it was essential for one "who wishes to paint landscape to live surrounded by what he loves" as "no man expresses well in art what he does not know to the bottom."[370]

Other writers and friends compared Twachtman with Henry David Thoreau, pointing out that both artist and essayist found that nature's beauty was most apparent in familiar places. Thomas Dewing remarked that Twachtman's paintings were like pages "from Thoreau's note books," and Hassam commented that, like Thoreau, "that other remarkable landscapist and pleinairiste in words," Twachtman created images of "delicate refinement and truth."[371] Thoreau's decision to live on a small plot of land in Walden, Massachusetts, a scenery "on a humble scale, and though very beautiful, does not approach to grandeur," parallels Twachtman's choice of Greenwich.[372] Also, like Twachtman, Thoreau believed that it was not necessary to go far afield; as a hillside could "illustrate the principle of all the operations of Nature."[373]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thoreau's observations of Walden Pond evoke Twachtman's paintings of the Greenwich landscape. For example, Thoreau wrote of observing a day "when the ground was partially bare of snow, and a few warm days had dried its surface somewhat," a time when "it was pleasant to compare the first tender signs of the infant year peeping forth with stately beauty of the withered vegetation, which had withstood the winter," a description evocative of Twachtman's many views of the end of winter.[374] Both Thoreau and Twachtman sought to make their audiences aware that nature's vitality is best understood by a sensuous appreciation rather than by scientific examination. Thoreau wrote that there was nothing inorganic in nature as exemplified by frost coming out of the ground in the spring.[375] Twachtman certainly would have been in accord with Thoreau's view that "The earth is not a mere fragment of dead history, stratum upon stratum like the leaves of a book, to be studied by geologists and antiquaries chiefly, but living poetry like the leaves of a tree, which preceded flowers and fruit--not a fossil earth, but a living earth."[376] For Twachtman, as for Thoreau, an understanding of nature involved an attention to the subtleties of nature in commonplace landscapes. Charles de Kay noted that it was this process of discovering the novelty in such locales that distinguished Twachtman's works:

> [Twachtman's paintings] demand your attention . . . a prolonged, close attention, for they do not give themselves to the first comer; they are reserved; they are Thoreauish, Emersonian. You must wait and let them come out of their coverts [sic] like the immobile, hushed, expectant creatures clad in furs or feathers, denizens of some wildwood into which a heavy-footed mortal has blundered . . . . Gradually the inner things of a Twachtmannic picture begin to stir and are visualized; one penetrates into the picture and seizes on unsuspected beauties.[377]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman shared a predilection for familiar motifs with Weir and Robinson, and their recorded comments shed light on his attitude. Responding in 1892 to a poem entitled "The Brook" that Twachtman's son, J. Alden (then age nine) had sent to him, Weir wrote back: "There is another, a greater stream which this little one will teach you about--the stream of life--home is the starting place and love the guide to your actions. Great men who loved their homes and were kind and generous to their playmates in their youth, learned many truths which were of much value to them through their lives."[378] Weir expressed the view that one's familiarity with a subject can add significantly to one's ability to depict it and express its essence. Describing the experience of coming upon an old clump of trees that stood on his property in Branchville, he told Joseph McSpadden in 1917: "Now I had seen those old trees year after year until they had become a part of me, so to speak. One day the impulse seized me to paint them, and the picture instantly 'caught on.' This proves to my mind that you must make a subject a part of yourself before you can properly express it to others."[379]

Robinson also felt it necessary to find a subject matter that he could claim as his own. After his final return to America in 1892, he followed the example of Weir and Twachtman and looked for a place to settle where, as he wrote in his diary, he could "get acquainted with it--grow up with it," and on Weir's recommendation, he gave "Cos Cob a thought."[380] However, in 1896 he returned to the Vermont town where he had spent the early years of his life. He wrote to novelist Hamlin Garland of the satisfaction that he felt in painting a subject matter that he considered meaningful--a subject matter that he explored only briefly due to his death within the year:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> This year I got back among the hills I knew when a boy--I was born in Vermont--and I am just now beginning to paint subjects that touch me. I have chosen my subjects hitherto because they were good subjects for painting; now I am painting subjects that are something more than "good bits." There is a mysterious quality in the landscapes of one's native place--you quoted something from Whitman once, what was it? . . . . All I have done seems cold and formal to me now. What I am trying to do this year is to express the love I have for the scenes of my native town.[381]

Having spent so much time abroad, Robinson struggled with questions of identity after returning to America permanently in 1892. He expanded on the notion of familiarity to include ideas of nationality, expressing the belief that American artists should paint American motifs as they could not paint foreign subjects with the same understanding and involvement that they could paint American ones.[382] However, he was unsure of what exactly constituted "American" subject matter and he sought ways of emancipating himself from a European standpoint as to what was beautiful or of interest. He wrote in his diary in 1893 that he was sorry that he had

> done nothing with the little square, box-shaped white houses, often very pretty as notes and even more. Much can be done, I'm sure, by tackling anything and everything, and not avoiding things very typical like our frame buildings. We have been . . . choosing things we have painted abroad or similar ones rather than painting as the Dutchmen did, patiently and sincerely, their kind of house, ugly as it may appear to some. And new beauties, new oddities, new points of interest are awaiting discovery.[383]

Robinson's attitude was undoubtedly influenced by his communication with Garland, who had become an advocate for an "American" Impressionist art in the early 1890s. In *Impressions on Impressionism* (1894) Garland wrote approvingly of American Impressionist works included in the World's Columbian Exposition, and commented that he felt the "next step is to do interesting American themes and do it naturally."[384] Garland sent Robinson a copy of his book, which the artist found "witty and sensible and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

suggestive--the sort of thing that ought to be good."[385] In his *Crumbling Idols* (1894), Garland went further, promoting the idea that American art should be distinct in subject and expression:

> One school . . . cannot copy or be based upon the other without loss. Each painter should paint his own surroundings, with nature for his teacher, rather than some Dutch master, painting the never-ending mists and rains of sea-level. This brings me to my settled conviction that art, to be vital, must be local in its subject; its universal appeal must be in its working out,--in the way it is done. Dependence upon the English or French groups is alike fatal to fresh, individual art.[386]

Perhaps inspired by Garland, in 1895, Robinson was still pondering how to "paint American," and he identified works by his friends as achieving the aim for which he himself was striving, commenting in his diary: "I think the N[ew] E[ngland] Barn is typical . . . and interesting in several ways. We should paint them as in the old world one paints cathedrals or castles. Weir has done this--Twachtman as well."[387] However, Robinson seems to have never fully decided exactly which subjects were to be classified as characteristically American, and his view toward the end of his life appears to have been that it was sufficient simply for an artist to paint a place with which he or she had personal associations. He wrote of a December 1895 meeting with fellow artist Daniel Burleigh Parkhurst (b. 1854): "Parkhurst called--was glad to hear him say that he is a firm believer in painting your own country--not in principle, but because you are drawn there by ties of race . . . . hence [you can] paint it better than another country. By 'country' he means the section, more or less circumscribed, where lived one [as a youth], as for me, Windham Co. Vt."[388]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's sentiments are likely to have been similar to Robinson's. Painting over and over the landscape that he found around him and that he had shaped himself, he conveyed the fondness in his art that comes from an intimate understanding of a place. Never trying to make his acreage look like the Italian or French countryside, his images are of a particular landscape that he had come to know over time. His pleasure was in recording his experiences of passing casually through a countryside that he knew well. Weir commented on Twachtman's pleasure in a landscape that he knew intimately, stating that in Twachtman's works we can feel "the spirit of the place and the delight with which the work was done."[389]

Although there is no particular evidence that Twachtman had a nationalistic aim in painting his home grounds in Greenwich, his decision to do so has resonances with several elements in his past. In his 1880 article, "The Material of the American Landscape," William Mackay Laffan had suggested that Twachtman had found in his European training a freedom that opened his eyes to the possiblities of American scenery and that he had come home with a concern for rendering "the things whereof we have the best and truest knowledge, whereof the images are implanted in our minds and which we unconsciously love and cling to from mere association and familiarity. . . .The forms of our trees, the color of our vegetation, the moods of our skies, every physical manifestation of our daily life, are things understood by us and fitted to us and with which we are in full accord and sympathy."[390] In the Tile Club, Twachtman had participated in discussions about the need for a new American landscape art that was based in contemporary experience rather than in the formulas of the Hudson River School.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Since in all of his art, created both at home and abroad, Twachtman had remained committed to portraying his sites as he experienced them directly, there is no proof that he was specifically interested in the American scene. However, as he did choose to return to America from Europe and to give his attention during his mature career to the landscape that he found around him, he possibly carried out the the hopes of Laffan and van Rensselaer that a new American landscape art, based in realities of the native scene, was finally emerging.

The focus on familiar places adhered to by Twachtman, Weir, and Robinson clearly reflects the influence of the French Barbizon and Impressionist painters, who had earlier concentrated on intimate, commonplace locales, but this orientation may be also related to a cultural development that took place in America toward the end of the nineteenth century: the disappearance of boundaries between settled land and wilderness. It was, indeed, in 1890, a year after Twachtman moved to Greenwich, that the United States Bureau of Census pronounced that there was no longer a line of settlement and that the Western frontier had officially closed.[391] Whereas the Hudson River School had expressed the vision and experience of the nation when America's vast unsettled wilderness had been the defining characteristic of the country, Twachtman, his close friends, and other late nineteenth-century American landscape painters who painted familiar grounds, created images of the country that may be seen as reflecting a post-frontier standpoint. By depicting the settled regions where they lived and worked, Twachtman and other American painters of his time suggested that it was the character of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

places experienced everyday that constituted the country's identity at a time when the frontier idea no longer had validity. Rather than searching out new sites, as had the Hudson River School, they brought out the ordinary features of the locales to which they were accustomed.

The connection between works by Twachtman and his circle of friends who painted in Connecticut (including Weir, Robinson, and Hassam) and the closing of the American frontier was proposed by Charles Eldredge in "Connecticut Impressionists: Spirit of Place," an article published in *Art in America Magazine* in 1974.[392] Eldredge pointed out that the regionalist emphasis in the works of Connecticut artists reflected a broad national trend both in art, with the rise of local painting schools in different areas of the country, and in literature, as seen in the writings of authors such as Garland, Lewis Mumford, Willa Cather, Lincoln Steffens, and D.H. Lawrence, who described the locales where they lived and called for a turning away from 'a hunger for land to a love of soil.'[393] Relating the viewpoint on nature expressed in works by Connecticut Impressionists to the American Parks Movement, Eldredge further proposed that the post-frontier period saw the emergence of a new view of nature in America from that embodied in Hudson River School works. Whereas in Hudson River School works, nature was reflective of the divine force that was still present in the pristine American wilderness, in the art of Connecticut Impressionists, nature was simply a source of aesthetic pleasure, to be enjoyed for its sensuous qualities and experienced for its recreational possibilities.[394]

This new post-frontier view of nature was also the basis for the American suburban movement and its ideals, as they were defined beginning in the 1890s. In the next section,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I will consider Twachtman's images of Greenwich in the light of these ideals, suggesting how his works may be related to them and therefore to the American context of his era. My analysis builds on the foundation that Eldredge established, considering how one artist's work may be related to a specific cultural phenomenon.

Twachtman's Greenwich Art in the Context of the American Suburban Movement: An Iconographical Study

Painting the familiar landscape in Greenwich, Twachtman captured the qualities that were unique to his home grounds. Simultaneously, he expressed the attitude of an era in America when the nation's suburbs were gaining a distinct identity, when they were becoming associated with a new kind of nature that retained the freedom of the pristine wilderness, celebrated in earlier native landscape painting, while reflecting the appreciation of a more ordered, humanized landscape that accompanied the rise of an increasingly sophisticated, civilized, and culturally aware society. The American suburban aesthetic of Twachtman's era was an Arcadian vision, but it did not encompass pastoral fields, farms, or grazing cattle. Instead, it was based in the aesthetics of the English picturesque garden, in a respect for nature in a pristine state, and in a consciousness of principles of artistic composition.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As proposed earlier in this chapter, the way that Twachtman modified his home and property followed many of the recommendations of writers on the American suburb, beginning in the 1890s. His paintings also express the ideals of this movement; thus they demonstrate an American point of view in keeping with his time.

There are two sections to this discussion. In the first, I clarify the attitude toward nature as revealed in Twachtman's Greenwich art by comparing his works with examples by the Hudson River School. In the second, I compare Twachtman's Greenwich images with works by the French Impressionists. In these comparisons, I suggest how Twachtman's Greenwich art reflects his own time and links up with earlier established American views of nature. My focus will be on an analysis of subject matter and how subject matter is presented rather than on obvious differences of style between Twachtman and Hudson River School artists and Twachtman and French Impressionists.

In Greenwich, Twachtman not only designed his home and land in keeping with American suburban ideals as expounded in publications from the 1890s to the 1910s, he also expressed them in his images. In his Greenwich art, he depicted a countryside that was neither wild nor cultivated, but a zone in between, adhering to the English picturesque garden model in its American wild form that was praised by Mariana van Rensselaer and other native writers as an optimal sort of suburban terrain. This point of view is exemplified in Twachtman's *End of Winter* (fig. 437). In this image of the brook zigzagging through the countryside, it is not possible to determine where human habitation begins and where nature on its own terms takes over: horizontal lines in hillside could be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the natural lay of the land or cleared paths, colors of distant buildings are the same as those of the surrounding landscape, and architectural forms are aligned with the contours of the topography.

Twachtman's view of nature in this work is illuminated by a comparison with that in Hudson River School works. For example, in *The Oxbow*, 1836, Thomas Cole divides his site in the Massachusetts countryside into wild and cultivated areas, each distinguished by different traits (fig. 438). The pristine landscape (where Cole's allegiance lies as it is evident in the presence of the artist at work) is characterized by steep rises, thick forests, and powerful stormy skies, while the human side is represented by cultivated fields divided by neat lines of evenly-spaced trees, and a clear sunny sky. Cole suggests that an ideal landscape consists of both civilized and natural aspects.

This notion is also conveyed in the second painting in Cole's epic series, *The Course of Empire*, 1836, a view of an Arcadian landscape where emblems of civilized life may be seen within an otherwise lush, uncultivated landscape (fig. 439). This pastoral vision was followed in the series by an image of a society that was enterprising, but that already revealed hints of what would come in the next painting in the series, a view of a community that had become vulgar, materialistic, and corrupt. In the last painting, a depiction of a landscape in which only ruins remain as reminders of the civilization that had existed, we know that humanity has destroyed itself, and that the landscape is in the process of returning to its initial wild state. As Cole saw the wilderness as America's salvation and promise, he lamented its destruction and decried the march of progress. In his view, ultimately man and nature would always be in conflict and, therefore, as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

civilization was always advancing, a landscape could never remain in a pastoral state. He wrote in 1836 of the countryside near his home in Catskill, New York:

> Last evening I took a walk up the Catskill above Austin's hill, where the Rail Road is now making--This was once a favourite walk but the charm of quietness and solitude is gone--it is still lovely, man cannot remove the mountains, he has not yet felled *all* the woods and the stream will have its course. If men were not blind and insensible to the beauty of nature the great works necessary for the purpose of commerce might be carried on without destroying it, and at times might even contribute to her charms by rendering her more accessible--but it is not so--they desecrate whatever they touch--they cut down the forest with a wantonness for which there is no excuse, even gain, and leave the herbless rocks to glimmer in the burning sun.[395]

Even though the majority of other Hudson River School artists expressed a more optimistic vision of the spread of civilization in the wilderness, suggesting that the Arcadian ideal could absorb the spread of technology without damage, they still drew a clear line between wilderness and human society. In Asher B. Durand's *Progress*, 1853, for example, a thriving town nestles in a valley below a primeval forest that rises on rough hilly ground above it (fig. 440). Pockets of town life at the shore in the distance may readily be distinguished from forbidding inland mountain ranges.

By contrast, in Twachtman's *End of Winter*, there is no line at which pure landscape and civilized life are divided. Even though no figures are present, the painting suggests a harmonious accord between man and nature. Rather than one dominating the other, or co-existing beside each other, the two are inextricably linked. Whereas in Cole's *Oxbow*, trees establish a regimented order on the civilized side of the work, marking the boundaries between fields, in Twachtman's *End of Winter*, irregularly spaced trees create a rhythmic pattern and do not exert control over other natural forms. In Twachtman's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

painting, the stream wanders freely rather than conforming to an ordered loop, as does the river in Cole's painting. A sketch for *The Oxbow* reveals that Cole changed the shape of the river to make it more circular and symmetrical (fig. 441).[396] Twachtman, by contrast, was accepting of the diverse qualities of the terrain, bringing out its flowing lines, irregular curves, and gentle inclines. In *The Oxbow*, the viewer is presented with a choice, as only one side of the canvas can be taken in at a time, and we must therefore decide where to focus our gaze. In Twachtman's *End of Winter*, we experience an opposite sensation. Since light is muted, even, and diffused throughout the work, a feeling of calm repose is conveyed, and the entire site may be taken in at once. Omitting a foreground plane, Twachtman entreats the viewer to take part in the scene, experiencing it from the point of view of a landowner familiar with the terrain and enjoying the surprise of finding novelty in well-traveled ground, rather than as a visitor or tourist who might overlook the site's subtle charms in search of more dramatic vantage points.

In his white bridge scenes, Twachtman similarly showed a unity between natural and human elements In *White Bridge* (Minneapolis Institute), the bridge is floating and suspended in nature, seemingly interwoven into the landscape (fig. 422). The branches of a foreground tree appear to twist into its latticed railing, while the bridge is partially submerged by atmosphere at the left. In the painting Twachtman emphasizes the beauty of the bridge over its function. He underplays any utilitarian purpose the bridge might have served; no paths lead to it and there is no evidence as to why a bridge would be crossing the brook at the point that it does.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In many of his Greenwich works, Twachtman shows nature in a vignetted form, a glimpse of a single aspect of a landscape seen close up. This format may be seen, in particular, in his views of the hemlock pool. In *Winter Harmony*, for example, he creates a feeling of intimacy by eliminating both the foreground plane and the horizon line, and by focusing the viewer's attention on the open space of the iced-over pool, which is enclosed by soft masses of snow (fig. 367). The fuzzy snow border pulls us toward the clear filmy surface of the pool and the reflections of trees and foliage in its depths. The experience that results is one of a private communication between the viewer and nature. This is a secluded place to be experienced by only one person at a time who stands looking into the pool directly.

The portrayal of such a hidden niche in nature is the antithesis of the panoramic views of the Hudson River School. In John Kensett's *Lake George*, 1869 (fig. 443), for example, the setting is clearly more intimate than in Cole's *The Oxbow* or Church's South American scenes of the 1860s, but the experience of the work is still quite different from that expressed in Twachtman's *Winter Harmony*. In Kensett's painting, we perceive the scene from the outcropping of rocks in the foreground. From this point, we are drawn across the water to the canvas's outer edges and we are made aware that the lake continues beyond the boundaries of the frame. The hazy shapes of distant landscape elements, especially at the shoreline, make us aware of the limits of perception and that this is a landscape controlled by mystical forces beyond our command. Twachtman's *Winter Harmony* evokes the opposite feeling. The soft banks of snow that slant downward toward the pool emphasize the sheltered and secluded nature of the spot, while

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

slender, lavender-toned trees at both sides of the pool create a curved, convex screen that enframes but does not encroach on the pool. We have a sense of being protected by this gently ordered scene, the feeling of privacy within a self-contained world that was part of the American suburban ideal.

In many of his Greenwich works, Twachtman conjures the other quality called for by writers on the American suburban landscape: a sense of nature's boundless freedom and spontaneity. Such a feeling is conveyed in *The Torrent* (fig. 411). In this painting, a short cascade rushes over a steep but rather short incline in the upper right corner of the canvas. Such a waterfall does not prepare us for the rush of water that splashes and fans buoyantly across the landscape. The water comes toward us as if to involve us in its curling motion, and the painting evokes a feeling of surprise at how nature confounds our expectations, moving in ways antithetical to the logic of human routines. Similarly in *The Cabbage Patch*, floral and possibly vegetal forms seem to have a life of their own, rising and curving in all directions (fig. 444). The skeletal outline of the roof of Twachtman's house, rising from their midst, seems part of the garden. Treated in an abstract fashion, the garden's yield is suggestively portrayed so that we experience the feeling of the abundance of nature without perceiving specific natural forms.

The chaotic, unconstrained motion of the waterfall in *The Torrent* and the overabundance of plantings in *The Cabbage Patch* perhaps represented for Twachtman the opposite experience from New York City, which he described to Josephine Holley in 1901 as a "den of iniquity" that caught him "in the meshes."[397] In this attitude, he would

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

have been in accord with writers on the American suburb who saw the liberating aspects of country life as an essential antidote to the confining rigidity of the city.

Twachtman's images of his home are among the most obvious of his works to reflect American suburban values. In *Summer*, he depicts the back of his house seen from the vantage point of the barn that stood approximately 100 feet from the house (fig. 418). From this view, the house appears comfortably tucked into its site. As noted earlier, this painting expresses the attitude reflected in a number of Twachtman's works of the late 1890s, as it presents a cultivated landscape. Presiding with ease and confidence over the countryside, the image of the house conveys the feeling that an American suburban dwelling was meant to evoke according to literature of the era, of the creative control of the landowner over his/her acreage and a mood of settled contentment. The curve of the land is protective, and, echoing the shape of the canvas, the house is sheltered within its environment. The rooting of the house in the land expresses the rootedness of the homeowner within her/his domain. In *Summer*, warm, Impressionist colors, the sensuous layering of paint, and the way that forms flow together make the site come alive for the viewer, and, despite the lack of figures in the scene, the painting brings to mind thoughts of companionship, of rambling with a friend over the rolling hills to the modest and inviting house. Consisting of two joined gables and two dormer windows, even the design of the house itself suggests partnership of husband and wife or homeowner and neighbor.

Twachtman conveys a similar feeling in *From the Upper Terrace* (fig. 445). In this painting, the house, as Twachtman intended in his remodeling of it, is gently embraced by the landscape. Rather than intruding or imposing on the site, it takes on the colors of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

garden and seems floral-like itself. The meandering pathways evoke feelings of spontaneity, informality, and freedom reflective of American notions about the optimal suburban landscape. This image may be contrasted with Jasper Cropsey's *Bareford Mountain, West Milford, New Jersey*, 1850, in which the land has been cleared to accommodate the lonely homesteader and a piece of the wilderness subdued to make way for a cultivated field (fig. 446). Whereas Cropsey characterizes country life as one of laboring on and subduing the land, Twachtman portrays it as a place purely for sensuous and aesthetic pleasures.

The change in American attitudes in the late nineteenth century are further exemplified in a comparison of Frederic Church's *Home by the Lake*, 1852 and Twachtman's *On the Terrace* (figs. 447, 419). Church divides his scene into separate zones of settlement and wilderness, defined by light and shade, and makes clear how the settlers on the land subsist: tree stumps reveal the source of the log cabin's walls and firewood; a woman carries water from a well while her husband shoots game from a boat on the lake; and cows graze just beyond the cabin's doorway. In Twachtman's *On the Terrace*, by comparison, home is not a place for farming or work, but as writers on the American suburb advocated, a place simply to enjoy nature. Whereas Church captures the life of the pioneer on the frontier, Twachtman portrays suburban existence in which homedwellers have free time to adorn their house with flowering vines, plant gardens, and absorb the sunlight. Dressed in white, the artist's wife and daughters spend time delighting in the sunlight and each others' company.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In contrast to works such as Sanford Gifford's *A Home in the Wilderness*, 1865-1867, in which a small homesteader's cabin is set within a vast, wild countryside and overshadowed by a mountain that stands silhouetted against a sunset-infused sky, in Twachtman's *My House*, a view in which the columns of the portico are seen through a soft summer mist, the landscape and the man-made additions to it are seen close up and on a human scale. The entire setting is perceived as a place to experience nature as art (figs. 448, 421).

When compared with Hudson River School works, Twachtman's Greenwich images clearly reveal not only a different aesthetic but also a different a point of view toward nature. His images reflect a general shift in national perceptions from a vision of nature as cosmic force to which man was subservient to a vision in which nature was mainly perceived of as a source of personal gratification and aesthetic enjoyment and a vehicle for escaping from tensions of modern life into a freer, fresher, and more vital realm; this viewpoint was at the heart of the American suburban movement as established in the 1890s.[398]

The experience of nature put forth in Twachtman's Greenwich works might seem less to have been a reaction to changing American attitudes than it was a reflection of international art trends. However, the degree to which Twachtman's art may be linked specifically with changes in American life is demonstrated when his paintings are compared to suburban images by French Impressionists. Before such a comparison can be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

made, however, it is important to clarify some of the basic differences between the French and American suburbs.

Although the suburbs of Paris emerged for many of the same reasons as did those of United States cities--namely urban expansion and the desire on the part of urban dwellers for the refreshing and wholesome qualities of the country--there were significant differences between Parisian and the American suburban developments that rose on the outskirts of the nation's major cities--New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia.[399] In most cases, the suburbs of Paris grew in places where towns had long been in existence, and village architecture and traditions shaped the identities of new residential communities. By contrast, the American suburbs usually developed in previously uninhabited or sparsely inhabited places where new train lines were reaching for the first time.[400] In the majority of American suburbs that emerged in the 1890s, residents were middle class although there were some pockets of affluence.[401] By contrast, those living in the suburbs of Paris were representative of Paris society as a whole, including the middle class, who chose to leave the city, the working class, who could not find satisfactory housing in the city and sought cheaper accommodations, and the upper class, who constructed fancy villas.[402] Thus, as Robert Herbert points out in *Impressionism: Art Leisure, and Parisian Society* (1988), the habits and culture of the Paris suburbs resembled the habits and culture of Paris.[403] The diverse population of the Paris suburbs led to their rapid development and attracted the interest of entrepreneurs, who took advantage of rising real estate prices and the commercial needs of inhabitants.[404] Such a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

phenomenon did not occur in America because land outside of city limits was generally plentiful and therefore relatively inexpensive.

Another discrepancy between the Parisian and American suburbs was in the realm of industry. In America most manufacturing plants were concentrated in cities with a small number situated in isolated country settings. In France, however, industry was located in the countrysides where the suburbs emerged, and factories were built along the same waterways and rail lines that transported suburban commuters to jobs in Paris.[405]

A further contrast between the Parisian and American suburbs was that the environs of Paris became places for entertainment, whereas those of America were less often developed for recreational purposes.[406] Transportation, principally the train, was the vehicle of the increasing commercialization of the Parisian suburbs, as well as a factor in their emergence as centers for holiday entertainments.[407] Indeed, the look and development of the Paris suburbs were shaped by the growth of a leisure industry. During the Second Empire and the Third Republic, the suburbs of Paris became places not only for suburbanites to live, but also for middle-class urbanites to visit on day, weekend, and holiday jaunts. Gathering at suburban areas that became resorts, Parisians frequented cafés, boating establishments, and restaurants, and attended festivals and outdoor concerts. Even when they left the city to experience nature, Parisians found the country populated with other Parisians, and the activities to be engaged in were of the same sort to be found in Paris. Those who traveled to the suburbs came upon the debris left by visitors before them, and, instead of nature's quiet, they were confronted by the constant sounds of civilized life. As T.J. Clark wrote in *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Manet and His Followers (1984), Parisians found in the suburbs the sort of nature they wanted: "a kind of demi-Paris whose trees were like those on the boulevards, and whose restaurants resembled the best in the Rue Monmartre. Should not a village be equipped, to count as a village at all, with 'sellers of *coco* and amusements, games of macaroon, shooting galleries, swings, and a motley crowd of people, swarming and rowdy, all using Parisian argot, and studded with *modistes*, drapers' assistants, students, and reporters?'"[408] In 1884, Louis Blairet described the Parisian suburb of Argenteuil for the journal *L'Opinion*:

> Come Sunday, there is an invasion of the Gare Saint-Lazare, lady fruit-sellers from the Rue Saint-Denis, cabinetmakers from the Rue de Cléry, girls who make chocolate in the Rue de Vivienne--there is not one of them who does not descend on the banks of the Seine, beneath the Moulin d'Orgemont or in the Auberge des Canotiers. And wherever there trots a Parisienne, a Parisien is sure to follow. . . . There is singing, shouting, dancing, running about, falling down, and going astray. It all begins with *entrecôtes au cresson* and ends with aching limbs. The banks of the Seine are full of mysteries that day, mysteries of the private and pastoral life.
>
> Here we serve lobster salad on the grass, messieurs![409]

In the suburbs of Paris, the nature to be appreciated was of a cultivated sort. Promenades, boating basins, overlooks, and gazebos were strategically placed for the visitor to look out onto nature rather than to experience it directly. As a writer suggested in *La Vie Parisienne* in 1875, the suburban landscape was to be treated as if it were made for human needs and enjoyed as merely a novel background for social activities:

> Hour by hour the invasion mounted, taking possession of the countryside as of a vast *guinguette*, a café-concert even larger than those on the Champs Elysées.
>
> These people came to handle the hillsides as if they were breasts, to look up the skirts of the forests, and disarrange the river's costume.
>
> The breeze began to murmur jokes and catcalls. The smell of fried fish and fricasse of rabbit rose in the air along the riverbanks and wafted across the fields. A concert of popping corks began, of knives clinking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> against glasses, and dirty songs; and it went on till nightfall, getting louder all the time . . .[410]

As pointed out by Robert Herbert, all of the changes that occurred in the suburbs of Paris are revealed in French Impressionist paintings. He wrote that in French Impressionist works:

> We see vacationers and pleasure-seekers, and the effects they had on the region, their boats, bathing establishments, cafés, chalets, gardens, and well-worn paths. We see the rivers, roads, and bridges that transported them back and forth. Along the edges and in the distances, but seldom nearby, we occasionally find steaming trains or tugboats, and smoking factories. Villages appear, but not as frequently as the roads and rivers that lead in and out of them. Meadows and gardens are painted much more often than cultivated fields; orchards more than forests.[411]

Clearly Greenwich offered recreational activities similar to those found in the French suburbs. The Holley House as well as the hotels in the area catered to holiday-goers who came to escape the city, enjoy the outdoors, and participate in pleasure boating on the Long Island Sound. In her recent article on Theodore Robinson's images of the Greenwich waterfront, Susan Larkin argues convincingly that Robinson was conscious of both the old maritime presence that was fading in Greenwich as well as the new leisure boaters who frequented the local yacht clubs and hotels.[412] She identifies both aspects of the Greenwich waterfront experience in Robinson's works. In general, however, Greenwich's recreational life was only a small part of the town experience and was far less dominant than it was in comparably sized Parisian suburbs. Indeed, an attraction of Greenwich and Cos Cob was that they were not overly developed, and they certainly did not see the stampede of urbanites who ventured from Paris to Argenteuil and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Louvenciennes. Much of Greenwich was still farmland in the 1890s, which was gradually becoming a far-reaching settlement of suburban homes nestled into natural surroundings.

Even a quick glance at Twachtman's Greenwich art reveals that it is the countryside experience of Greenwich that held Twachtman's attention not its leisure side. His works convey the dominant characteristics of the American suburb of his era, portraying not a place packed with tourists, but a landscape to be lived in and enjoyed year-round. Differences between his works and those of French Impressionists reveal essential disparities between American and French suburban experiences.

The French Impressionists often included suburban homes in their views of the Parisian environs, but their depictions of this subject differ in significant ways from Twachtman's images of his home or of houses in Cos Cob. For example, in *Villeneuve-la-Garenne*, 1875, Berthe Morisot (1841-1895) portrays a community seen from the vantage point of the Seine (fig. 449). The disorderly spread of houses in a variety of sizes along the shore conveys the rapidity with which new development in the area was occurring and the way that human structures were overtaking the natural landscape. Twachtman's low-lying home, seen amidst a blossoming landscape in *The Twachtman House* expresses an anithetical experience (fig. 363). Twachtman shows a countryside that has not been essentially altered by human presence, in which the form of the small dwelling has accommodated itself to the lay of the land. The same attitude is conveyed by Twachtman in a view the Holley House in Cos Cob (fig. 450). Even though the house is shown in a large scale in relation to the canvas, it takes a subordinate role to nature as its forms blend in with those of the trees and bushes that fill the foreground plane.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A similar disparity may be seen in a comparison of Monet's *Houses at the Edge of a Field*, 1873 and Twachtman's *Old Holley House, Cos Cob* (figs. 451, 450). In Monet's painting, three almost identically constructed villas stand in a line parallel to a ripe field of grain. As they are detached visually from the field and do not look like the modest homes of rural dwellers, the villas clearly belong to vacationers rather than farmers. By contrast, in *Old Holley House, Cos Cob*, Twachtman chose to portray a dwelling that has become part of the landscape. The building's double-gable roof repeats the rounded masses of thick snow that cover the ground. A bare tree's branches echo and weave themselves into the lines of the house.

Some parallels may be drawn between Monet's *Monet's Home at Argenteuil*, 1873, and Twachtman's *The Portico* (figs. 452, 420). In both works, the artists featured the facades of their own homes, However, Twachtman's shows a more informal setting. In Monet's painting, carefully ordered rows of plantings, including a line of oriental vases probably brought by Monet from Holland, accentuate and enframe the open space of the patio, where the artist's well-dressed son plays with a hoop.[413] Nature's role in the work is to ornament the human elements of the patio and house. Here Théodore Duret's commentary on Monet in 1878 seems apt. Duret noted that Monet was "little attracted by rustic scenes," and that "he feels himself drawn towards decorated nature."[414] In Twachtman's *The Portico*, by contrast, potted plants are less studiously placed. Their purpose is to soften the lines of the house and to suggest its own organic structure. A tree in the canvas's left foreground echoes the verticals of the portico, further linking the house and grounds. The well-defined areas of light and shade in Monet's painting contrast with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the play of light that softens both natural and architectural forms in Twachtman's *The Portico*.

Monet's *Monet's Garden at Vétheuil*, 1881 has resemblances to Twachtman's images of his house and garden such as *The Cabbage Patch* (figs. 376, 444). Yet, significant differences may be noted in the two works. In Monet's Vétheuil scene, the same vases that appeared in his Argenteuil view are present, but this time, plantings--predominantly sunflowers--have a commanding presence, almost entirely engulfing the house in their abundance. Some background on Monet's painting sheds light on it. As Herbert wrote of it: "We would hardly guess from this picture that this is a rented house, so firmly does the artist plant not only his vases and terraced ground, but also, with their aid, an idea of belonging. We would not guess, either, that a public road separated the garden from the house . . ."[415] However, Monet's painting does suggest the artist's careful effort to hide the house. The section of the uniformly rectangular structure that we can see is not attractive, and it is clear that the flowers are meant to cover up this fact. Monet makes other efforts to focus us on the flowers and not on the house. The oriental vases with their flowers guide us to the sunflowers above. The children on the steps provide a decorative element like that of the flowers.

The sense of belonging that Monet strove for is captured easily by Twachtman in works such as *The Cabbage Patch*. As in Monet's painting, in Twachtman's image, a burgeoning garden almost entirely obscures an artist's home. However, even though Twachtman's showed less of his house than did Monet of his, Twachtman conveys the attractiveness of the architectural form and associates it aesthetically with the garden's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

plantings. The light, skeletal framework of the house has a floral-like quality, directly relating it to the garden's yield. The characteristic that differentiates Twachtman's and Monet's views of their homes was, in fact, hinted at by an American critic in 1893, who in comparing a scene by Monet, probably *Monet's Garden at Vétheuil*, with Twachtman's views of his own home and garden stated that Twachtman had shown houses that were "more picturesquely situated" than had Monet.[416]

The differences between Monet's and Twachtman's views of suburban life may also be seen in a comparison of Monet's *The Luncheon (Decorative Panel)*, 1874, and Twachtman's *In the Sunlight* (figs. 454, 377). In Monet's painting, evidence of the sophisticated and cultured tastes of the proprietors of the house and garden may be seen in the neatly set table and the presence of a parasol and hat of a visitor who strolls with her host in the distance. In Twachtman's image of his wife at the edge of his garden, such formalities are not apparent. The figure sits relaxed and at ease, her dress caught up in the same breeze that buoys the flowers swaying around her. As these works suggest, for Monet, suburban life was a place for carrying on the social and genteel habits of the city, whereas for Twachtman, it was a place purely to escape from social pressures and to receive the comfort and refreshment of outdoor air and light.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between Twachtman's Greenwich images and those of the French Impressionists was that Twachtman downplayed or avoided signs of industry and progress in the suburban landscape, whereas the French Impressionists frequently emphasized these elements. New railroad bridges and roads, trains passing through the countryside, and the smokestacks of factories were often included in French

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Impressionist works (figs. 455-459). Even in images of placid landscapes, such as a study by Georges Seurat (1859-1891) of the bank of the Seine at Asnières, smokestacks may be seen in the distance on the opposite shore (fig. 460). In *Dans les blé*, 1875, Berthe Morisot portrays a field of wheat in which a peasant stands, an image reminiscent of the rural imagery of the Barbizon School, but instead of a forested backdrop, the viewer looks across the field to a town where industrial smokestacks rise (fig. 461).

In his art, Twachtman took no interest in the development of, or changes taking place in, the town of Greenwich. He never portrayed the bustling commercial zone that was within a short distance of his home. He did not portray the train that played such a significant role in his life due to his frequent commutes to New York. In the few instances that he depicted roads, he did not present new throughways, preferring old countryside routes curving through the landscape, and in particular, Round Hill Road, on which his house was situated (figs. 462-463, 286). In the 1890s, he also avoided the manufacturing companies that thrived in Greenwich and its environs, which produced iron, paper, wire, woolen and tinners' tools, rock drills, railway supplies, gasoline engines, and ships (figs. 464-465).[417] Twachtman would have been familiar with the series of images that Weir created from 1893 to 1895 of a silk factory in the countryside locale of Wilimantic, Connecticut, but such industrial motifs did not engage his attention during his Greenwich years (fig. 466).

Industry does play a minor role, however, in a number of Twachtman's images of Cos Cob. In two paintings in which he portrayed Cos Cob's Lower Landing, he featured a grist mill operated there by Edward Holley from 1882 until 1899 when it burned down

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(figs. 467-469). A few images he created from the porch of the Holley House after the turn of the century include the warehouses of the Palmer & Duff Shipyard located across the Mianus River (figs. 470-471).

However, the industrial subjects that held Twachtman's interest were essentially different from those focused on by the French Impressionists. Instead of the modern factories spreading throughout newly gentrified suburban neighborhoods depicted by French artists, he showed older industrial sites that were relics of an earlier era. In his two images of Cos Cob's Lower Landing, he portrayed a mill which had been in existence since 1760, and the buildings on the landing were holdovers from a bygone era when the Cos Cob waterfront had been the center of Greenwich's commercial life. Twachtman's *Cos Cob* suggests the quiet, desolate experience that the mill and Lower Landing evoked in the 1890s (fig. 469). An empty rowboat holds our attention in the work's foreground, its solitary presence and stillness echoing the abandonment and dormancy of buildings on the landing. The softly blurred reflections of the buildings in the water convey a feeling of meditativeness as they reveal the barely ruffled surface of the mill pond. The only animate form in the work is a lone sailboat which is seen gliding slowly along the left edge of the landing.

Like the mill, the Palmer & Duff Shipyard was relatively inactive at the turn of the century. Established in 1851 on the site of a salt works that had operated during the Revolutionary War, the shipyard engaged in the overhauling, repairing, and building of sailing vessels. At the turn of the century, its owners were octagenarians, and its business was in a state of decline. It closed its doors in 1907.[418] Twachtman's views that include

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the shipyard are among those he created from the porch of the Holley House at the turn of the century (figs. 470-471). Portraying the shipyard only in snow scenes, days when surely no work was taking place at the company, he conveys the firm's quiet, nonactivity. Buildings are visible only as soft, mauve-toned silhouettes and the long rectangle of the shipyard's warehouse reinforces the quiet, stability achieved by the stressing of horizontal elements throughout the composition.

For Twachtman, signs of progress were not of interest during his Greenwich years. What fascinated him was nature left largely untouched or seemingly untouched, where human presence was unobtrusive and/or respectful of the inherent beauty of the place. Indeed, there are no parallels in French Impressionist works for the brook, waterfall, and hemlock pool scenes that he painted.

It is evident that Twachtman's Greenwich works reveal a different experience of the suburbs from that presented in French Impressionist works. He portrayed landscapes unmarred by modern industry and untouched by gentrification, where nature was to be experienced for its evocative and reviving properties and where human forms did not distract or intrude, merely enhancing what existed naturally. Although he used a style influenced by French Impressionism, the subject matter and viewpoint of his art directly reflects the American scene of his time.

The attitude toward nature expressed in Twachtman's Greenwich art also demonstrates his American perspective. From the beginning of his career, Twachtman had cast off the conventions of landscape painting adhered to by the Hudson River School, but

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in seeking the spiritual presence in nature, he carried on the Hudson River School's legacy. Whereas the Hudson River School sought an understanding of nature in vast, unsettled wildernesses, Twachtman sought one in intimate glimpses of a familiar and semi-cultivated countryside. Instead of revealing what was special about a scene with panoramic vistas and excessive detail as the Hudson River School had, he used an expressive and personalized Impressionist technique and innovative, unusual compositional means. Rather than traveling to previously unexplored places, he sought new experiences in nature by portraying sites freshly that he knew well and had depicted many times before. His Greenwich works pose the idea that a patch of ground could be as compelling as the most impressive of mountain ranges, which could be made to seem dull anyway if depicted according to the same old formulas. His works propose that even with the city nearby and wilderness lands subdued and systematically swallowed up by civilization that nature's solace and poetry could still be summoned within a more circumscribed domain.

During his years in Greenwich, Twachtman had long departed from the idealized visions of the Hudson River School, but seeking novelty, refreshment, and the emotional uplift that a landscape could arouse, he updated the Hudson River School tradition in terms appropriate to the post-frontier era. Instead of painting remote places in the American frontier, he found the frontier within the terrain of the suburban familiar.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Six: Notes

[1] In May 1889, Twachtman received confirmation of his teaching appointment at the Art Students League. See Twachtman, New York, to Miss Ketcham, Art Students League, New York, 7 May 1889, Art Students League Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll NN5925, frame 466.

On the express train service to Greenwich in the late nineteenth century, see Susan G. Larkin, "The Cos Cob Clapboard School," in *Connecticut and American Impressionism*, exh. cat. (Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 83-84.

[2] From Greenwich, Twachtman would have traveled a short distance east on the New York line to South Norwalk and then connected to the Danbury and Norwalk line which traveled north and stopped in Branchville.

[3] Hale 1957, pp. 69-70.

[4] Alfred Goodwin, "An Artist's Unspoiled Country Home," *Country Life in America* 8 (October 1905): 625.

[5] For sources on Greenwich, see my bibliography, part II, under Greenwich, Connecticut, History and Surveys of Art in Connecticut.

[6] Lydia Holland, *Greenwich, Old & New* (Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwich Press, 1935), p. 150.

[7] Spencer P. Mead, *Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1911), p. 340.

[8] *Greenwich in Illustrated History: A Celebration of 350 Years* (Greenwich, Conn.: Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1990), p. 61.

[9] On Benedict and Tod, see *Greenwich in Illustrated History* 1990, pp. 57-61.

[10] See Junior League of Greenwich, *The Great Estates of Greenwich, Connecticut, 1880-1930* (Greenwich, Conn.: Junior League of Greenwich, 1986), pp. 85-89.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[11] On Belle Haven, see *Greenwich in Illustrated History* 1990, p. 63.

[12] The clubs included the Greenwich Yacht Club, the Indian Harbor Yacht Club, and the Riverside Yacht Club. Among the hotel/boarding houses were the Kent House, the Homestead Hall, and the Edgewood Inn.

[13] Robinson Diaries, 24 August 1894, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

[14] Nelson White recalls that Twachtman made this statement to his father, Henry C. White, on a visit to Greenwich in 1891. Noted by White in a telephone conversation with Susan G. Larkin, and quoted in Larkin, "Light, Time, and Tide: Theodore Robinson at Cos Cob," *American Art Journal* 23 (1991): 88.

[15] Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931), pp. 436-437.

[16] On Hangroot, see Catherine McNamara, *Oral History Interview with Louise Van Dyke Brown*, 29 July and 10 August 1977 (Greenwich, Ct.: Greenwich Library, 1977), pp. 6-7.

[17] Noted in report by Nils Kershus, 1 March 1993.

[18] Information on the Husted family is found in Mead 1911, pp. 576-593.

[19] The first owner of the house was Abraham Husted (1739-1819), a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and a fifth generation descendant of Robert Husted (1596-1652), who had been a witness to the signing of the Indian deed of Greenwich in 1640. If Twachtman's house was constructed in the 1840s, its builder was Allen Green, listed in Greenwich census records as a Black male. See title search report by Nils Kerschus for the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1991.

[20] See title search report by Nils Kerschus for the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1991.

[21] Greenwich Town Hall Records document the land Twachtman purchased as a plot "with buildings . . . bounded on the east by Round Hill Road, to the north by the land of Samuel Merritt, to the west by the estate of the late Aaron Husted, and to the south by the grantor." See Mortgage deed, David S. Husted to John Henry Twachtman of Greenwich,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

$900, 18 February 1890, Greenwich, Connecticut, Town Hall Records, book 63, p. 10 and Waranty Deed, David S. Husted to John Henry Twachtman, 18 February 1890, Greenwich, Connecticut, Town Hall Records, book 61, p. 65. The mortgage was to be paid in installments of $200, and the balance met within a three year period, with an annual interest rate of six percent. The purchase of this first tract of land was finalized on the 7th of March 1890 with "Mattie S. Twachtman, wife of John Henry Twachtman," as the stated owner. In the following month, Twachtman transferred the house and property into his wife's name for purposes of indemnification. Twachtman effected this transfer by selling the property to a non-family member, Charles Cameron, who on the same day, sold it to Martha Twachtman. See waranty deed: Charles Cameron to Mattie S. Twachtman, wife of John Henry Twachtman of said town of Greenwich, 7 March 1890, Greenwich, Connecticut, Town Hall Records, book 60, p. 236.

[22] Warantee Deed: John Henry Twachtman purchase from David S. Husted of Greenwich, 1 December 1891, Greenwich, Connecticut, Town Hall Records, book 61, p. 488.

[23] Goodwin wrote that the "vine-clad eating hall" was similar to "a pergola, or one of those charming open-air cafés sifted around in the forest of the Bois de Boulogne." Goodwin 1905, p. 628.

[24] At both front and back facades of the old saltbox, the roof, which Goodwin noted had been "high and uncompromising, like a triangle stuck up aloft," was extended "in a strong, full sweep till it had connection and relation with the ground." Goodwin 1905, p. 625.

[25] Robinson diaries, 30 May 1894.

[26] There is no record of White's involvement in Twachtman's portico. However, White's use in his own home at St. James, Long Island, New York, of narrow Tuscan columns similar to those on Twachtman's portico suggests White's participation in Twachtman's home. White's home is described in Lionel Moses, "The Stanford White House at St. James, L.I.," *Art World* 3 (January 1918): 351-355 and Barr Ferree, "The House of Stanford White, Esq., St. James, New York," in *American Estates and Gardens* (New York: Munn and Company, 1904): 138-146.

[27] Robinson diaries, 16 May 1894.

[28] Goodwin 1905, p. 625.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[29] See for example, *Snowbound* (Montclair Art Museum) and *Artist's Home Seen from the Back* (Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., New York).

[30] For a discussion of Twachtman's garden, see Lisa N. Peters, "Twachtman's Greenwich Garden," in *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman*," exh. cat. (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1989), pp. 11-21.

[31] Goodwin 1905, p. 630.

[32] Goodwin 1905, p. 628.

[33] A photograph of steps on Twachtman's property was accompanied by a caption in Goodwin's article that reads: "How an artist handled native stone work--note the various sizes of stones and the irregular way in which they are fitted in, no mortar being used." Goodwin 1905, p. 629.

[34] Goodwin 1905, p. 629.

[35] Goodwin mentions the willows Twachtman planted on the sides of the brook, Goodwin 1905, p. 629.

[36] Goodwin 1905, pp. 629-630.

[37] Goodwin 1905, p. 630.

[38] Goodwin 1905, p. 630.

[39] See my bibliography, part II under, The American Suburb.

[40] The best source on the rise of the American suburb is Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). On the 1890s, see chapter three, "Home, Sweet Home: The House and the Yard," pp. 45-86. See also John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[41] Jackson 1985, pp. 45-86.

[42] Mariana Van Rensselaer, "A Suburban Country Place." *Century Magazine* 54 (May 1897):, p. 3.

[43] "What This Magazine Stands For," *Country Life in America* 1 (November 1901):

[44] J. P. Mowbray, "Going Back to the Soil," *World's Work* 1 (January 1901): pp. 267-268.

[45] "What This Magazine Stands For" 1901, 24-25.

[46] "The Mission of Country Life Magazines," *Suburban Life* (new series) 1 (August 1905): 3.

[47] Mowbray 1901, p. 267.

[48] On nineteenth-century attitudes toward American farms and farmers, see Sarah Burns, *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

[49] Henry David Thoreau, *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (1852; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 147.

[50] "Farming Life in New England," *Atlantic Monthly* 2 (August 1858): 335.

[51] "Farming Life in New England" 1858, p. 335.

[52] "Farming Life in New England" 1858, p. 336.

[53] "Farming Life in New England" 1858, p. 336.

[54] "Farming Life in New England" 1858, p. 338.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[55] E.S. Martin, "Random Reading. Miniature Essays on Life: The Country," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 104 (April 1902): 825.

[56] Martin 1902, p. 830.

[57] William Bishop, "Hunting an Abandoned Farm in Connecticut," *Century Magazine* 47 (April 1894): 919.

[58] "The Contemporary Suburban Resident," *Architectural Record* 11 (January 1901): 69.

[59] John Wright Buckham, "The Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--IV. Some Architectural Details, as Illustrated by the Doorways of Old Salem," *Country Life in America* 3 (July 1902): 85.

[60] Bishop 1894, p. 919.

[61] Alfred Morton Githens, "The Farmhouse Reclaimed I," *House and Garden* 17 (June 1910): 217.

[62] Bryant Fleming, "The Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--III. Planting the Place," *Country Life in America* 2 (June 1902): 47.

[63] "Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--I. Choosing the Site, and General Advice," *Country Life in America* 1 (April 1901): 201.

[64] "Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--II. The Grading of the Land. The Boundaries, The." *Country Life in America* 2 (May 1902): 7.

[65] "The Contemporary Suburban Residence" 1901, p. 79.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[66] Clarence A. Martin, "The Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--V. The External Aspect of the House," *Country Life in America* 2 (August 1902): 144.

[67] "The Contemporary Suburban Residence" 1901, pp. 79-80.

[68] "The Making of a Country Home I" April 1901, p. 203.

[69] [Mariana] van Rensselaer, *Art Out-of-Doors: Hints on Good Taste in Gardening* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp. 67-68.

[70] "The Contemporary Suburban Residence" 1901, p. 77.

[71] Claude Bragdon, "The Making of a Country Home: Hints on External Treatment," *Country Life in America* 2 (September 1902): 172.

[72] Bishop 1894, p. 916.

[73] Bishop 1894, p. 916.

[74] Bishop 1894, p. 920.

[75] "The Making of a Country Home I" 1901, pp. 201-202.

[76] Githens I 1910 and Alfred Morton Githens, "The Farmhouse Reclaimed II," *House and Garden* 18 (July 1910): 11-15.

[77] Githens I 1910, p. 217.

[78] Githens 1 1910, pp. 271-218.

[79] Mary Caroline Robbins, *The Rescue of an Old Place* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[80] Robbins 1892, p. 3.

[81] Sara Cone Bryant, "A Suburban Place of Four Acres," *Country Life in America* 4 (August 1903): 266-267.

[82] Fleming 1902, p. 47.

[83] Van Rensselaer, 1897, pp. 7-8.

[84] "Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--I. Choosing the Site, and General Advice," *Country Life in America* 1 (April 1901): 200.

[85] "Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--II. The Grading of the Land. The Boundaries," *Country Life in America* 2 (May 1902): 7-9.

[86] Helena Rutherfurd Ely, *The Practical Flower Garden* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1911), p. 165.

[87] "The Making of a Country Home I" 1901, p. 202.

[88] Robbins 1892, pp. 68-69.

[89] Ely 1911, p. 179.

[90] Ely 1911, pp. 181-192.

[91] Bryant 1903, p. 267.

[92] Bryant 1903, p. 267.

[93] Van Rensselaer 1893, pp. 8-9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[94] Van Rensselaer 1897, p. 8.

[95] Robinson diaries, 30 December 1894.

[96] Information based on Robinson diary entries of 2 and 13 January 1895.

[97] Robinson diaries, 2 January 1895.

[98] J. Alden Weir to Ella Baker Weir, 10 January 1895, J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 71, frame. 64. Sona Johnston suggested the possible identification of Collins as the Boston painter who visited Giverny in 1898 and later settled there. See William H. Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), p. 110.

[99] Robinson diaries, 14 January 1895.

[100] See Robinson diaries, 14 January 1895.

[101] Family legend is the only evidence that Twachtman created these images in response to Elsie's death.

[102] The destruction of items that would possibly carry infection was common in the case of scarlet fever. Twachtman would later follow this precaution when his son, Alden, came down with the disease. See Robinson diaries, 13 February 1895.

[103] Robinson diaries, 15 January 1895.

[104] See Robinson diaries, 11 February 1895.

[105] Robinson diaries, 11 February 1895.

[106] Robinson diaries, 13 February 1895.

[107] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[108] Quoted in Charles Baldwin, *Stanford White* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976), p. 373.

[109] Robinson diaries, 17 August 1894.

[110] Robinson diaries, 16 November 1894.

[111] Twachtman, Fort Monroe, Virginia, to Josephine Holly, Cos Cob, 4 June 1902, Greenwich Historical Society Archives, Connecticut.

[112] Information from Addison Gilbert Hospital Records, telephone conversation, 1990.

[113] Twachtman was a member of the Players Club from 1889 until his death in 1902.

[114] The figures in this work are probably Marjorie and Violet.

[115] "The Society of American Artists," *Art Amateur* 32 (May 1895), p. 158.

[116] Dewing's admiration for Twachtman is mentioned in Susan Hobbs, Thomas Wilmer Dewing," in William H. Gerdts et al, *Ten American Painters* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990), p. 99.

[117] On Taylor, see William C. Agee, "Rediscovery: Henry Fitch Taylor," *Art in America* 6 (November 1966): 40-43.

[118] See Robinson diaries, 23 April 1893: "Out to Greenwich with Taylor--raw and cold. Went to Cpt. Merritt's--where Taylor has boarded--I will go there for a while next month. I think, and 'try it on.'" Merritt is identified in Larkin 1991, p. 106fn.

[119] See entries throughout Robinson's diaries.

[120] See Robinson diary entries of 17 April 1894 and 28 January 1895.

[121] Robinson diaries, 24 December 1892.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[122] Hale 1957, p. 85.

[123] Robinson diaries, 11 April 1894

[124] Robinson diaries, 15 June 1893.

[125] Robinson diaries, 6 July 1893.

[126] Robinson diaries, 28 May 1893.

[127] Weir's first wife, Anna, died in childbirth in 1891. Ella Baker was her sister.

[128] Robinson diaries, 31 October 1893.

[129] Robinson diaries, 30 November 1893.

[130] Robinson diaries, 10 December 1893.

[131] Robinson diaries, 16 February 1894.

[132] Robinson diaries, 8 April 1894. On Weir's involvement in *Japonisme*, see Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1983), pp. 202-212.

[133] Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxii.

[134] Mase 1921, p. lxxii.

[135] Hale 1957, p. 114.

[136] Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 115.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[137] Young 1960, p. 155.

[138] See Hildegard Cummings, "Home is the Starting Place: J. Alden Weir and the Spirit of Place," in *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own*, exh. cat. (Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 26-27.

[139] See Cummings 1991, p. 28.

[140] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [Branchville?], 29 September 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[141] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [?], 29 September 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[142] Goodwin 1905, p. 628.

[143] Kathleen A. Pyne, "John Twachtman and the Therapeutic Landscape," in *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), pp. 49-71.

[144] Robinson diaries, 16 February 1893.

[145] Robinson diaries, 15 June 1893.

[146] On the Cos Cob art colony and the Holley House, see "An Art School in Cos Cob," *Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899): 56; Steffens 1931; Larkin 1980, pp. 82-113; "Biographies of the Artists," in *Connecticut and American Impressionism* 1980, pp. 150-179; Kathleen Burnside, *Childe Hassam in Connecticut*, exh. cat. (Old Lyme, Ct.: Florence Griswold Museum, 1987); Susan Larkin, *The Ochtmans of Cos Cob*, exh. cat. (Greenwich, Ct.: The Bruce Museum, 1989); Susan Larkin, *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House*, exh. cat. (Greenwich, Conn.: The Bruce Museum, 1990); Larkin 1991.

[147] See Larkin 1980 for a survey of the artists associated with the Cos Cob Clapboard School, pp. 82-99.

[148] Steffens 1931, p. 437.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[149] Information from *Bush-Holley House: Headquarters of The Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, Inc.*, pamphlet, n.d., n.p.

[150] J. Alden Weir to John Ferguson Weir, 1 October 1880, J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Roll 71, frame 1028.

[151] There is no evidence that Twachtman and Weir were teaching in Cos Cob before 1892, and this may have been the first summer that they held their class. Twachtman mentioned their joint teaching activities in a letter to Weir. Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[152] This assumption is based on the fact that many of Twachtman's Cos Cob students participated in his classes at the League.

[153] On the school and student life there, see Larkin 1980, pp. 90-91.

[154] Twachtman mentioned in a letter to Weir that he was seeing student work once a week. Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[155] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[156] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[157] Young 1960, pp. 186-192.

[158] Susan Larkin discusses MacRae's role in the exhibition in *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House*, exh. cat. (Greenwich, Conn.: Bruce Museum, 1990), pp. 24-25.

[159] Elmer MacRae, [New York], to Emma Constant Holley, [Cos Cob], 3 December 1897, MacRae Collection, Archives, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

[160] I would like to thank Susan Larkin for providing a sheet with clippings pertaining to the League's class in Norwich in the summer of 1898, which Twachtman taught. On the Norwich class, see also Larkin 1990, 24-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[161] Unsourced newspaper clipping, "Reception for the Art Students," 15 July 1898.

[162] Quoted in Larkin, MacRae, p. 25.

[163] "An Art School in Cos Cob" 1899, p. 56.

[164] "An Art School at Cos Cob," 1899, p. 57.

[165] Allen Tucker, *John H. Twachtman* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1931), pp. 7-8.

[166] On Twachtman's teaching at the League, see Hale 1957, "Twachtman the Teacher," pp. 141-159, a discussion derived from interviews and correspondence with Twachtman's former students. See also John C. Van Dyke, "The Art Students' League of New York," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 83 (Oct. 1891): 691-692; Tucker 1931, p. 7; Louise Jones DuBose, *Enigma: The Career of Blondelle Malone in Art and Society, 1879-1951* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina, 1963), p. 15; and Clark 1924, p. 17.

[167] Spencer H. Coon, "The Work of the Art Students' League of New York," *Metropolitan Magazine* 5 (June 1897): 424.

[168] John C. Van Dyke, "The Art Students' League of New York," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 83 (Oct. 1891): 691-692.

[169] Tucker 1931, p. 7.

[170] Jonathan Thorpe, "John H. Twachtman," *Arts* 2 (October 1921): 5.

[171] Robinson diaries, 28 January 1895.

[172] Quoted in DuBose 1963, p. 15.

[173] Arthur Crisp, Biddeford, Maine, to Hale, 5 September 1955. Quoted in Hale 1957, p. 149.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[174] Clark 1924, pp. 16-17.

[175] See Robert W. Rydell and Carolyn Kinder Carr, *Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, 1993).

[176] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[177] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [Chicago], 26 September 1892, Weir Family Papers.

[178] The deluxe publication planned by Millet never came to fruition. [add references]

[179] Hale stated that Twachtman went to Chicago to see the exposition, receive his silver medal, and fulfill a speaking engagement at the Chicago Art Institute. Hale 1957, p. 92. However, there is no evidence that Twachtman went to Chicago at the time of the Fair. He did go in 1901 at the time of his one-man show at the Art Institute, as newspapers reported on his presence and on the lectures he gave. See "Say the Art Institute Falls Short of Mission," *Chicago Tribune*, 15 January 1901, clipping, Artist's Files, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[180] Robinson diaries, 12 March 1894.

[181] Twachtman's five known Columbian Exposition works are *Court of Honor, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago* (Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio), *World's Fair* (Tweed Museum of Art, Duluth, Minnesota), *The World's Columbian Exposition, Illinois Building* (private collection), *The Fountain* (private collection), and *World's Fair* (private collection).

[182] "Say the Art Institute Falls Short of Mission," *Chicago Tribune*, 15 January 1901.

[183] Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 7 December 1883, Weir Family Papers.

[184] Robinson diaries, 20 November 1894.

[185] The most thorough account of the Ten is, Gerdts et al. 1990. On Twachtman's participation in the Ten, see Lisa N. Peters, "John H. Twachtman," pp. 129-134 and "John

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

H. Twachtman: *The Torrent*," pp. 166-169. See also Ulrich W. Hiesinger, *Impressionism in America: The Ten American Painters* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991).

[186] Frank W. Benson to Dorothy Weir Young, 8 July 1938, Weir Family Papers, quoted in Sheila Dugan, "Frank W. Benson," in Gerdts et al. 1990, p. 85.

[187] Quoted in Hale 1957, p. 96.

[188] On Hassam's involvement in initiating the Ten, see Kathleen M. Burnside, "Childe Hassam," pp. 102-107 and Gerdts, "Ten American Painters: A Critical Chronology," in Gerdts et al 1990, p. 11.

[189] Childe Hassam, "Reminiscences of Weir," in Duncan Phillips et al., *Julian Alden Weir: An Appreciation of His Life and Works* (New York: Century Club, 1921), pp. 67-68.

[190] See Gerdts, "Ten American Painters: A Critical Chronology," in Gerdts et al, p. 11.

[191] "Eleven Painters Secede," *New York Times*, 9 January 1898, p. 12.

[192] The dating of *Hemlock Pool* is suggested by the illustration of it that appeared in C[harles] H. Caffin, "Third Exhibition of the 'Ten American Painter,'" *Harper's Weekly* 44 (14 April 1900): 338.

[193] The works he showed were entitled *Bathing Pool*, *The Falls*, and *Gloucester*.

[194] See "Art: The Ten American Painters Show at the Durand Ruel Gallery," *New York Mail and Express*, 2 April 1902, p. 9 and "Ten American Painters," *New York Times*, 2 April 1902, p. 8.

[195] See T.W. Dewing, Childe Hassam, Robert Reid, Edward Simmons, and J. Alden Weir, "John Twachtman: An Estimation, *North American Review* 176 (April 1903): 554-562.

[196] *Sale of the Work of the Late John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: American Art Galleries, 1903). The sale was held on 24 March 1903.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[197] [Royal Cortissoz], "Art Exhibitions: The Annual Show of the Ten American Painters," *New-York Daily Tribune*, 19 March 1903, p. 9.

[198] [Cortissoz] 1903, p. 9.

[199] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [New York?], 16 December 1891, Weir Family Papers.

[200] "Art Notes," *New York Times*, 9 March 1891, p. 4.

[201] Mariana G. van Rensselaer, "Questions of Art," *New York World*, 25 June 1893, p. 9.

[202] "John H. Twachtman: Death of the Famous Landscape Painter at Gloucester, Massachusetts," *New York Times*, 9 August 1902, 9.

[203] "Twachtman's Paintings: Memorial Exhibition and Sale of Works by John H. Twachtman, *New York Times*, 22 March 1903, p. 9.

[204] Clark 1924, p. 58.

[205] Charles Curran, "The Art of John H. Twachtman," *Literary Miscellany* 3 (Winter 1910): 75-76 and Hale 1957, pp. 247-248.

[206] According to Hale, J. Alden Twachtman recalled that his father returned four or five times to a site before he finished a picture. Hale 1957, p. 265. See Clark's discussion of Twachtman's Greenwich painting procedure, Clark 1924, p. 59.

[207] Hassam 1903, p. 555.

[208] Clark 1921, p. lxxxvii.

[209] See *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection (New York, 1987), essays by Phillip Dennis Cate, Nancy Finlay, and David W. Kiehl, and catalogue by David Kiehl.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[210] Hale discusses Twachtman's interest in changing his compositions to suit varying canvas shapes. See "Picture Proportions," in Hale 1957, pp. 281-289.

[211] Edward Simmons, *From Seven to Seventy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), p. 325.

[212] For a discussion of American artists' use of the square format, see William H. Gerdts, "The Square Format and Proto-Modernism in American Painting," *Arts Magazine* 50 (June 1976): 70-75.

[213] Clark 1924, pp. 44-45.

[214] Twachtman, [Greenwich], to Harrison Morris, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 2 December 1897, Archives, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

[215] Lisa N. Peters, "Twachtman's Greenwich Paintings: Context and Chronology," in *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes* 1989, pp. 13-49.

[216] *"Notes"--"Harmonies"--"Nocturne,"* exh. cat. (New York: Wunderlich Gallery, 1889. The show's installation was described in "Mr. Whistler's Pictures at the Wunderlich Gallery," *New York Sun*, 10 March 1889, p. 14.

[217] "A Criticism," *Studio* 6 (25 April 1891): 203.

[218] "Art Notes: Pictures by J.H. Twachtman at Wunderlich," *New York Evening Post* (9 March 1891): 7.

[219] "My Notebook," *Art Amateur* 24 (April 1891): 116 and "The World of Art: An Impressionist's Work in Oil and Pastel--Mr. J. H. Twachtmann's Pictures," *New York Mail and Express*, 26 March 1891, p. 3.

[220] "Art Notes: Pictures by J. H. Twachtman at Wunderlich," *New York Evening Post*, 9 March 1891, p. 7.

[221] "The World of Art: An Impressionist's Work in Oil and Pastel--Mr. J. H. Twachtmann's Pictures," *New York Mail and Express*, 26 March 1891, p. 3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[222] "My Notebook," *Art Amateur* 24 (April 1891): 116.

[223] Daniel M. Mead, *A History of the Town of Greenwich, Fairfield County, Conn.* (New York: Baker & Godwin Printers, 1857), p. 245. Moissehasseky was also mentioned in J. Hammond Trumbull, *Indian Names of Places Etc., in and on the Borders of Connecticut: With Interpretations of Some of Them* (Hartford, Conn.: J. Hammond Trumbull, 1881), p. 30. Trumbull wrote that the Miossehassaky was a brook that "extended from The Brothers (two small streams in Greenwich) to Byram river."

[224] This copy of the catalogue from Twachtman's and Weir's 1893 exhibition at the American Art Galleries is in the collection of the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., American Art Exhibition Catalogues, 1803-1845, frames 335-350.

[225] "My Notebook," *Art Amateur* 24 (April 1891): 116 and "The Fine Arts: Oil-Paintings and Pastels by Mr. Twachtman," *Critic* 18 (March 1891: 146-147.

[226] "Art Notes: Pictures by J. H. Twachtman at Wunderlich," *New York Evening Post*, 9 March 1891, p. 7.

[227] "A Criticism," *Studio* 6 (25 April 1891): 203.

[228] "Snow Scenes in Oil-Painting," *Art Amateur* 44 (March 1901): 100.

[229] Charles de Kay, "John H. Twachtman," *Arts and Decoration* 9 (June 1918): 73.

[230] "Art Notes," *New York Times*, 9 March 1891, p. 4.

[231] "Art Notes: Pictures by J. H. Twachtman at Wunderlich," *New York Evening Post*, 9 March 1891, p. 7.

[232] "The Academy Exhibition, First Notice," *New York Evening Post*, 6 April 1892, p. 7.

[233] "The Academy of Design," *New York Sun*, 9 April 1892, p. 6 and "Two Salons of New-York: Landscapes and Marines at the National Academy," *New York Times*, 1 May 1892, p. 17.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[234] I was not clear on this in Peters, "Twachtman's Greenwich Paintings: Context and Chronology" 1989. See page 27. Other essays on Twachtman have not indicated the linkage between the two displays.

[235] See *Paintings by Claude Monet and Paul Albert Besnard*, exh. cat. (New York: American Art Galleries, 1893). I am grateful to Professor Gerdts for bringing this catalogue to my attention.

[236] "Some Dazzling Pictures," *New York Times*, 4 May 1893, p. 6.

[237] "Some Dazzling Pictures," *New York Times*, 4 May 1893, p. 6.

[238] "World of Art: French and American Impressionists' Work at the American Art Galleries," *New York Mail and Express*, 10 May 1893, p. 11.

[239] "A Group of Impressionists," *New York Sun*, 5 May 1893, p. 6.

[240] "Some French and American Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, 8 May 1893, p. 7.

[241] "French and American Impressionists," *Art Amateur* 29 (June 1893): 4.

[242] "Some Dazzling Pictures," *New York Times*, 4 May 1893, p. 9.

[243] "A Group of Impressionists," *New York Sun*, 5 May 1893, p. 6.

[244] Alfred Trumble, "Impressionism and Impressions,".*Collector* 4 (15 May 1893): 213.

[245] "A Group of Impressionists," New York Sun, 5 May 1893, p. 6 and "Some French and American Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, 8 May 1893, p. 7.

[246] "Some French and American Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, 8 May 1893, p. 7.

[247] Mariana G. van Rensselaer, "Questions of Art," *New York World* (25 June 1893): 9.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[248] *The Impressionists of Paris: Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Alfred Sisley, from the Galleries of Durand-Ruel, Paris and New York*, (New York: Durand-Ruel Galleries, 1891) and *Exhibition of Paintings by Old Masters, and Modern Foreign and American Artists, together with an Exhibition of the Work of Monet the Impressionist* (New York: Union League Club, 1891).

[249] For a discussion of the figural images Twachtman created in Greenwich, see John Douglass Hale, "Twachtman in Greenwich: The Figures," in *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1989), pp. 37-45.

[250] Quoted in "An Art School at Cos Cob" 1899, p. 56.

[251] See William H. Gerdts, "'Like Dreams of Flowers,'" in *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman* 1989, pp. 31-32.

[252] See Gerdts 1989, p. 29.

[253] There is another extant painting of tiger lilies by Twachtman, *Tiger Lilies*, oil on canvas, 30-1/8 x 25 inches (private collection).

[254] This work's early history may be traced. It was exhibited in the second annual of the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, in 1897 and in the sixty-seventh annual at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, in 1898, eventually entering the collection of Andrew Carnegie. Labels on the back of the painting verify this provenance.

[255] "Some French and American Pictures," *New York Evening Post*, 8 May 1893, p. 7 and "A Group of Impressionists," *New York Sun*, 5 May 1893, p. 6.

[256] "A Group of Impressionists," *New York Sun*, 5 May 1893, p. 6.

[257] See the copy of the catalogue from Twachtman's and Weir's 1893 exhibition at the American Art Galleries in the collection of the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., American Art Exhibition Catalogues, 1803-1945, frames, 335-350.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[258] See *Catalogue of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Exhibition, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1894). The show was held from 17 December 1894 to 23 February 1895. Previous Temple Award winners included Sargent (1893), Whistler (1893), Abbott Thayer (1891), Charles Sprague Pearce (1885), and George Maynard (1884).

[259] The other members of the jury were Thomas Hovenden, William Trost Richards, Robert Vonnoh, Carl Newman, John Lambert, Jr., A. Stirling Calder, Charles Grafly, George H. Bogert, Charles Melville Dewey, and William Sergeant Kendall.

[260] "New Pictures at the Academy," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 16 December 1894, p. 5.

[261] "The Academy Exhibition," *Philadelphia Times*, 16 December 1894.

[262] "Academy Prices and Prizes," *New York Times*, 9 April 1894, p. 2.

[263] Robinson diaries, 9 March 1895.

[264] "The Society of American Artists," *Art Amateur* 32 (May 1895): 158 and "The Fine Arts: Exhibition of the Society of American Artists," *Critic* 23 (30 March 1895): 150.

[265] The idea that Reflections might be an image of Gloucester was suggested in Lisa N. Peters, entry in *Twachtman in Gloucester: His Last Years*, 1900-1902, exh. cat. (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1987), p. 54.

[266] Robinson diaries, 1 July 1894.

[267] Conversation with Donald Loker, 17 April 1992, Niagara Falls Public Library, Reference and History Department.

[268] See Austin M. Fox, "Saint-Gaudens and Buffalo," *Buffalo Spree* 22 (Spring 1988, pp. 43-45. In addition to many accomplishments in medicine, Cary was well known for developing Buffalo's first golf course and forming a polo team.

[269] Fox 1988, pp. 43-45.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[270] See Richard J. Boyle, *John Twachtman* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1979), p. 19 and Peters, *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, 1989, pp. 31-32.

[271] A comprehensive discussion of artists views of Niagara and how the subject has been perceived historically is Jeremy Elwell Adamson et al, *Niagara: Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes*, 1697-1901, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1985). For other sources on Niagara, see my bibliography, part II, under Niagara, History.

[272] On Church's *Niagara*, see Jeremy Elwell Adamson, "Nature's Grandest Scene in Art," in Elwell et al 1985, pp. 62-69.

[273] de Kay 1918, p. 76.

[274] For references to Niagara and electric power, see my bibliography, part II, under Niagara Falls, History.

[275] A.E. Richmond, *The New Wonder of the World: Buffalo, the Electric City* (Buffalo, N.Y.: A.E. Richmond, 1892).

[276] Robert Grimshaw, "Three Million Horse-Power in Winter," *Cassier's Magazine* 3 (January 1893): 178-179.

[277] Mary B. Hartt, "The Passing of Niagara," *Outlook* 68 (4 May 1901): 23.

[278] Quoted in Charles Mason Dow, *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls*, 2 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: J.B. Lyon & Co., 1921): 2: 826.

[279] Niagara's "might and majesty" was noted in *The Crayon* 4 (February 1857): 54. Quoted in Elwell 1985, p. 63.

[280] The Wadsworth and Cary families were socially connected; the Carys traveled to Genesee for yearly fox hunts and the Wadsworths participated in polo games in Buffalo. See Alden Hatch, *The Wadsworths of the Genesee* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1959).

[281] Hatch 1959, [front flap].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[282] Hatch, p. 112.

[283] Hatch 1959, p. 112.

[284] See The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings and Pastels by the Late John H. Twachtman*, 11 March-2 April 1913, nos. 30-33.

[285] Despite name similarities, William Wadsworth had no connection with the Wadsworth Atheneum. The painting passed from his collection to that of his son, who sold it to Knoedler Gallery, New York. The painting was sold by Vose Galleries of Boston to the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1979.

[286] J. H. Twachtman, Grand Canyon Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 22 September 1895, to W[illiam] A. Wadsworth [Geneseo, New York], The Wadsworth Family Papers, College Libraries, State University of New York College of Arts and Sciences at Geneseo. Twachtman remained in Yellowstone Park for around a month.

[287] On Yellowstone, see my bibliography, part II, Yellowstone Park, History and Art.

[288] Nathaniel P. Langford, "The Wonders of Yellowstone," *Scribner's Monthly* 2 (1871): 1-17; 113-128.

[289] On Hayden's expedition, see Particia Trenton and Peter H. Hassrick, *The Rocky Mountains: A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press [in association with the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming], 1983), pp. 164-166.

[290] On the history and development of Yellowstone, see Hiram M. Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke Company, 1895; revised and enlarged sixth edition, 1911).

[291] On Bierstadt's and Gifford's trips to Yellowstone, see Trenton and Hassrick 1983.

[292] Chittenden 1911, p. 317.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[293] Chittenden 1911, pp. 317-318.

[294] Chittenden 1911, p. 319.

[295] Reverend Dr. Wayland Hoyt, quoted in William M. Thayer, *Marvels of the New West* (Norwich, Conn.: Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1887).

[296] See Chittenden 1911, p. 116. Both hotels were built by the Yellowstone Park Association.

[297] Chittenden 1911, p. 294.

[298] The titles of Twachtman's other pool scenes are descriptive and do not correspond with current or historical names of Yellowstone pools.

[299] Chittenden 1911, pp. 294-295.

[300] Chittenden 1911, pp. 317-318.

[301] Chittenden 1911, p. 319.

[302] "Society of American Artists--The Landscapes," *New York Times*, 4 April 1896, p. 4.

[303] "Society of American Artists, First Notice," *New York Evening Post*, 9 April 1896, p. 7.

[304] "The Fine Arts: Exhibition of the Society of American Artists, Second Notice," *The Critic*, 11 April 1896, p. 360.

[305] *Eighth Annual Exhibition of Oil Paintings and Sculpture*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Art Club of Philadelphia, 1896).

[306] "The Art Club Exhibition," *Philadelphia Press*, 22 November 1896, p. 11.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[307] "E.A.F.," "Current Art Exhibitions," *Chicago Journal*, 12 January 1901, Clippings File, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[308] "Art Exhibitions: The Twachtman, Colman, and Burritt Collections," *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 March 1903, p. 9. The critic was referring to No. 49 in the estate sale, listed as *A Pool--Yellowstone Series* (30 x 25 inches). Sold to W.M. Clancy, this painting is possibly the work known today as *Edge of the Emerald Pool* 30 x 25 inches), private collection, Texas.

[309] Clark 1924, pp. 50-51.

[310] Boyle 1979, p. 62.

[311] J. H. Twachtman, Grand Canyon Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 22 September 1895, to W[illiam] A. Wadsworth [Geneseo, New York], The Wadsworth Family Papers, College Libraries, State University of New York College of Arts and Sciences at Geneseo.

[312] Alden Twachtman studied at the Yale School of Art from 1897 to 1900, where one of his instructors was John Ferguson Weir. As Yale's records suggest, in 1899, Twachtman gave his painting now entitled *My House* to the art school to pay for Alden's tuition at Yale. Twachtman wrote to John Ferguson Weir on 15 December 1899: "We have decided that it is better to leave the matter of the selection of the picture you are to send in for Alden's art school expenses entirely up to you and I would suggest that it would be well if this could be before April 16 as a matter for record . . . " Yale University Art Gallery Archives. Yale's accession number for *My House* is 1887.1, indicating that the painting was given to the collection in 1887. This date is clearly in error, and, as Twachtman's letter clarifies, the painting was given in 1899. While at Yale, Alden Twachtman received the Winchester scholarship, which enabled him to study in Paris, where he trained for two years from 1901 to 1903 at the Ecôle des Beaux-Arts under Leon Bonnat. After 1906, he established himself as an architect and focused on mural paintings. His most significant project was a set of murals for the home of Henry Clay Frick, works that are now on the walls on a private floor of the Frick Collection. See William B. McCormick, "J. Alden Twachtman--Mural Painter," *International Studio* 75 (April 1922): 91-96.

[313] *J.H. Twachtman and his Son, Alden Twachtman*, exh. cat. (Boston: St. Botolph Club, 1900).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[314] *Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings, and Pastels by J.H. Twachtman and his Son Alden Twachtman*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Museum Association, 1900).

[315] Several works by Alden Twachtman that belong to his descendants reveal thick impastos and abstract compositions like those used by his father. These works may date from a period early in Alden's career when he was working alongside his father and was strongly indebted to him. In general, however, Alden's works are readily distinguished from his father's, as he was not nearly as adept in the handling of atmosphere, treated forms in a much more wooden fashion, created uninventive compositions, and later in his career, included tight details and used crisp draftsmanship not seen in any of John Twachtman's works.

[316] *Chicago American*, 7 January 1901, p. 106, Clippings File, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[317] It can be surmised that J. Alden Twachtman's contribution to *Greenwich Garden* was mainly the addition of the foliage at the canvas's upper register. The staccato cross-hatched strokes in this area would not have been employed by John Henry, yet the rest of the canvas bears little or no sign of the Alden's hand. It is possible that the canvas was a cooperative effort from the start, yet it seems more probable that John Henry left the canvas unfinished at his death in 1902, and that it was later completed and signed by his son.

[318] *Exhibition of the Works of John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1901 and *Exhibition of Sixty Paintings by Mr. John H. Twachtman Formerly Resident in Cincinnati*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1901. No catalogue was published for the New York show.

[319] Hale 1957, pp. 263-280.

[320] Twachtman exhibited a waterfall scene at the Society of American Artists annual exhibition in the spring of 1894.

[321] There were no descriptions of *Waterfall and Pool* in reviews of the first exhibitions of the Ten in New York and Boston.

[322] The painting was purchased from Twachtman through the museum's annual membership fund.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[323] The museum went on to lend its waterfall to the Panama-Pacific Exposition in Buffalo in 1901 and to the annual of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1902.

[324] "The Fine Arts: Exhibition by Ten American Painters at the St. Botolph Club," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 27 April 1898, p. 16.

[325] "Art Notes," *Boston Daily Advertizer*, 27 February 1900, p. 8.

[326] "Around the Galleries, *New York Sun*, 20 March 1901, p. 6.

[327] "The Art-World: Mr. Twachtman at Durand-Ruel's," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 5 March 1901, p. 4.

[328] "Art News," *New York Evening Post*, 5 March 1901, p. 4 and "Art Notes," *New York Mail and Express*, 7 March 1901, p. 5.

[329] "Exhibitions Next Week," *Chicago Post*, 5 January 1901, Clippings File, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[330] Charles H. Caffin, "The Picture Exhibition at the Pan-American Exposition, Concluded," *International Studio* 15 (December 1901): xxxvi.

[331] Charles H. Caffin, "The Picture Exhibition at the Pan-American Exposition, Concluded," *International Studio* 15 (December 1901): xxxvi and "Art: Another Glance at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art Exhibition," *New York Mail and Express*, 21 January 1902, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian.Institution, Washington, D.C., Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Papers, roll P53, frame 565.

[332] C[harles] H. Caffin, "Third Exhibition of the 'Ten American Painter,'" *Harper's Weekly* 44 (14 April 1900): 338.

[333] Caffin 1900, p. 338.

[334] "Third Exhibition of Ten American Painters," *The Artist* (May 1900): xxviii.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[335] "The Fine Arts: The Pennsylvania Academy," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 19 January 1901, p. 4.

[336] "A Trio of Painters: Pictures by Three Americans in Three Fifth Avenue Galleries," *New York Times*, 7 March 1901, p. 8.

[337] "Around the Galleries," *New York Sun*, 6 March 1901, p. 6.

[338] A reviewer of the show wrote: "'My House,' with its white walls and portico and its green lawn, had considerable charm." "Art Notes: Ten American Painters and Their Third Annual Exhibition at the Durand-Ruel Gallery," *New York Mail and Express*, 21 March 1900, p. 9.

[339] "Ten American Painters," *The Artist* 28 (June 1899): xii-xiii.

[340] "A Trio of Painters: Pictures by Three Americans in Three Fifth Avenue Galleries," *New York Times*, 7 March 1901, p. 8

[341] The six images of the bridge are: *The White Bridge*, oil on canvas, 30 x 30-1/4 inches (Art Institute of Chicago); *The White Bridge*, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 30-1/4 inches (Minneapolis Institute of Arts); *The White Bridge*, oil on canvas, 30-1/4 x 25-1/8 inches (Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester); *The Little White Bridge*, oil on canvas, 24-1/2 x 24-1/2 inches (Museum of Art, University of Georgia, Athens); *Bridge in the Woods*, oil on canvas, 26 x 14 inches (private collection); and *Summer Afternoon*, oil on canvas, 25 x 16 inches (private collection).

[342] "Art Exhibitions," *New York Tribune*, 6 March 1901, p. 6.

[343] "Art Exhibitions: 'Ten American Painters,'" *New York Daily Tribune*, 30 March 1898, p. 7.

[344] "The Fine Arts: Exhibition by Ten American Painters at the St. Botolph Club," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 27 April 1898, p. 16.

[345] For a discussion of some Greenwich works that reveal aesthetics of the Gloucester period, see Hale 1957, pp. 263-280.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[346] This painting was identified as possibly an image of Gloucester in a 1987 exhibition catalogue. On the basis of a survey of the area where Twachtman lived in Greenwich, it has since been identified as the studio that Twachtman built on his property in Greenwich to the north of his home. After Twachtman's death, the studio was expanded and became the home of the artist's son, Alden. See Lisa N. Peters, entry in John Douglass Hale, Richard J. Boyle, and William H. Gerdts, *Twachtman in Gloucester: His Last Years, 1900-1902*, exh. cat. (New York: Universe/Ira Spanierman Gallery, 1987), p. 82.

[347] The best source on Tonalism is William H. Gerdts, Diana Dimodica Sweet, Robert R. Preato, *Tonalism: An American Experience*, exh. cat. (New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, Inc. of New York, 1982). See also Wanda M. Corn, *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism, 1880-1910*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1972).

[348] "Paintings in Oil and Pastels by J.H. Twachtman," *Studio* 6 (28 March 1891): 162.

[349] An excellent treatment of Monet's serial art is Paul Hayes Tucker, *Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in association with Yale University Press, 1989).

[350] Tucker discusses many instances in which Monet departed from a concern with recording light and made changes to canvases for subjective reasons.

[351] See Tucker for discussions of Monet's exhibitions of his serial images in groups.

[352] Robinson diaries, 15 December 1892 and 23 December 1892.

[353] See Robinson, [Giverny, France], to Weir, [Branchville or New York], [May 1891], quoted in Young 1960, p. 190. See Robinson diaries, 4 June 1892.

[354] In April 1894, Robinson mentioned his *Port Ben* and *Evening on the Lock* paintings in his diary. Presumably these paintings were in his studio where Twachtman would have seen them. Robinson diaries, 11 April 1894.

[355] Among the works at the Union League Club were: *The Oatfield* (now, *Oat Fields*, 1890, private collection), *Hoar Frost, Morning Sun* (Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, Connecticut), *Ravine of the Creuse* (now, *The Petite Creuse (Sunlight)*), 1889, private

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

collection), *A May Morning* (now, *Printemps, Bord de L'Epte*, 1885, private collection), *Mountains of the Creuse* (now, *Valley of the Petite Creuse*, 1889, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and *Meadow with Poppies* (now, *Les Coquelicots à Giverny*, 1887, private collection).

[356] Giverny works by Monet included in the American Art Galleries show were *Route de Giverny*, *Ravin de la petite creuse*, *Les Peupliers*, and *Vue de Rouen*.

[357] Twachtman showed a few images of the barn on his property in his March 1891 exhibition at Wunderlich Gallery. Throughout his career, he had often painted several images from the same angle of a single motif.

[358] On the basis of stylistic evidence and exhibition data, it is clear that, unlike Monet, Twachtman did not focus his attention in a concentrated way within a particular time frame on a single motif, exhausting his interest in a subject before moving on to another; instead he created paintings depicting a variety of subjects throughout the Greenwich period. For example, he executed new hemlock pool, house, and barn scenes at the turn of the century, subjects which he had painted from the time of his move to Greenwich.

[359] The barn and the hemlock pool appear to have been a focus of Twachtman's attention during his first years in Greenwich; at least two depictions of the barn and one image of the hemlock pool were amongst the twelve oil paintings in Twachtman's 1891 exhibition at Wunderlich Gallery. In his 1893 joint show with Weir at American Art Galleries, out of the twenty-eight paintings that Twachtman showed, around six seem to have been depictions of his house seen from the back; three of these were among the ten paintings that went on to Boston for a showing at the St. Botolph Club. Twachtman first exhibited an image of a waterfall in 1894 at the April-May National Academy of Design annual; two waterfalls each were shown at exhibitions at the St. Botolph Club and the Cincinnati Art Museum in 1901, but only one out of these four can be identified with assurity as a Greenwich scene. The 1897 spring show at National Academy marked Twachtman's first showing of a work with the title *White Bridge* (although he had shown a work entitled *The Bridge* at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts the previous December-February). Twachtman never exhibited more than one bridge painting in a show. In his three solo shows held in 1901, which were dominated by Gloucester works, he had opportunities to exhibit groups of works depicting the same subject, but instead of doing so, he included a representative sampling of different Greenwich subjects.

[360] Quoted in Tucker 1989, pp. 95-96.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[361] Quoted in Tucker 1989, p. 93.

[362] Clark 1924, p. 45.

[363] Mase 1921, p. lxxv.

[364] Hale 1957, p. 72.

[365] Hale 1957, p. 236.

[366] Hale 1957, p. 72.

[367] See Hale 1957, p. 147.

[368] Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [New York?], 16 December 1891, Weir Family Papers.

[369] Mase 1921, p. lxxiv.

[370] Edward Simmons, "John Twachtman: An Estimation, *North American Review* 176 (April 1903): 36.

[371] Thomas Dewing, "John Twachtman: An Estimation, *North American Review* 176 (April 1903): 554; Childe Hassam, "John Twachtman: An Estimation, *North American Review* 176 (April 1903): 556.

[372] Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 175.

[373] Thoreau 1971, p. 308.

[374] Thoreau 1971, p. 309.

[375] Thoreau 1971, p. 309.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[376] Thoreau 1971, p. 309.

[377] De Kay 1918, p. 73.

[378] J. Alden Weir, [Branchville, Connecticut], to J. Alden Twachtman, 3 January 1892. Quoted in Young 1960, p. 177.

[379] J[oseph] Walker McSpadden, *Famous Painters of America* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1917): pp. 388-389.

[380] Robinson diaries, 11 April 1895.

[381] Hamlin Garland, "Theodore Robinson," *Brush and Pencil* 4 (1899): 285-286.

[382] See Robinson diaries, 4 December 1895, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

[383] Robinson diaries, 29 October 1893, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

[384] "A Critical Triumvirate" [Charles Francis Browne, Hamlin Garland, Lorado Taft], *Impressions on Impressionism* (Chicago, 1894). Quoted in William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville, 1984), pp. 144-145.

[385] Robinson diaries, 19 November 1894.

[386] Hamilton Garland, *Crumbling Idols: Twelve Essays on Art* (1894). New edition (Cambridge: Mass.: Harvard University, Belknap Press, 1960), pp. 103-104.

[387] Robinson diaries, 2 September 1895.

[388] Robinson diaries, 4 December 1895, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

[389] J. Alden Weir, "John Twachtman: An Estimation, *North American Review* 176 (April 1903): 562.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[390] William Mackay Laffan, "The Material of the American Landscape," *American Art Review* 1 (July 1880): 30.

[391] Many sources discuss the closing of the frontier, its impact on American life, and how the frontier thesis and closing are reflected in American literature and thought. Some sources are: Sean Dennis Cashman, "The Closing of the Frontier," in *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Roosevelt* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), pp. 255-280; Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985); _____, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992); Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); Lucy Lockwood Hazard, *The Frontier in American Literature* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1941). Richard Slotkin's two books provide the most comprehensive discussion of how the frontier effected American culture and writings. Both books contain extensive bibliographies.

[392] Charles Eldredge, "Connecticut Impressionists: Spirit of Place," *Art in America* 62 (September-October 1974): 84-90.

[393] Eldredge 1974, p. 85. Eldredge quotes Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades, 1865-1895* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931; New York: Dover, 1971), p. 29. "Land hunger is one thing, and love of the soil is another. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that it was only in the Brown Decades that the second attitude began to replace the first. This was not a process of romantic idealization: romanticism of the most touching sort was not, apparently, incompatible with bad farming and the general desecration of the wilderness. . . . The concern for the soil of America, as distinct from its republican institutions, was one of the genuine marks of the Brown Decades."

[394] Eldredge 1974, p. 88.

[395] Thomas Cole to Luman Reed, 6 March 1836, Cole Papers, New York State Library, Albany, New York. Quoted in Oswaldo Rodriguez Roque, entry on *View on the Catskill--Early Autumn*, in John K. Howat et al, *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), p. 129.

[396] See Oswaldo Rodriguez Roque, entry on Cole, *View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm (The Oxbow)*, in Howat et al 1987, pp. 125-127.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[397] Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Mrs. Edward Holly, Cos Cob, Conn., 2 January 1902, Archives, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

[398] In the future, I will be studying the works of other native Impressionists who created images expressive of the American suburban aesthetic during the 1890s and 1910s.

[399] My primary source on the history of Paris in the late nineteenth century is Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), chapter six, "Suburban Leisure," pp. 195-263. Although the subject of Herbert's book is French Impressionist art, his summary of cultural changes in the suburban areas that the Impressionists portrayed is well researched and provides significant basis for comparison with American historical sources. T.J. Clark also furnishes an interesting discussion of the Paris suburbs and images of them in "The Environs of Paris," in *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

[400] See my bibliography, part II under The American Suburb.

[401] See Jackson 1985 and other sources on the American suburb listed in my bibliography, part II.

[402] See Herbert 1988, p. 195.

[403] Herbert 1988, pp. 195-196

[404] Herbert 1988, p. 196.

[405] Herbert 1988, pp. 200, 202.

[406] Herbert 1988, pp. 195-263. Herbert's chapter six, "Suburban Leisure," treats this theme in general. In H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry, *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), a chapter entitled "The Country" includes a section on "The Country Retreat and the Suburban Resort." See pages, 88-143. However, no suburban resorts are specifically discussed with the exception of a few coastal towns, such as Bellport and Far Rockaway Beach, Long Island, that were a short

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

train trip from Manhattan. These areas were beach towns, however, not suburban neighborhoods.

[407] Herbert 1988, pp. 196-198.

[408] Victor Fournel Bernadille, "Le Parisien en villégiature," in *Esquisses et croquis parisiens: Petite Chronique du temps présent*, 1st ser. (Paris, 1876), p. 350. Translated and quoted in Clark 1984, p. 153.

[409] Louis Blairet, "Autour de Paris," *L'Opinion* 8 (Juńe 1884), n.p. Translated and quoted in Clark 1984, pp. 177-178.

[410] "Y," "Un Dimanche d'éte," *La Vie Parisienne*," 3 July 1875, pp. 375-376. Translated and quoted in Clark 1984, p. 149.

[411] Herbert 1988, pp. 195-196.

[412] Larkin 1991.

[413] This painting is discussed in Herbert 1988, p. 259. Herbert suggests that Monet brought the vases from Holland.

[414] Theodore Duret, *Les Peintres impressionistes*, 1878, in his Critique d'avant-garde, 1885, pp. 71-72. Quoted in Herbert 1988, p. 261.

[415] Herbert 1988, p. 263.

[416] "French and American Impressionists," *Art Amateur* 29 (June 1893): 4.

[417] A survey and description of industry in Greenwich may be found in Mead 1911, pp. 338-355.

[418] On the history of the Palmer & Duff Shipyard, see Mead 1911, pp. 345-346.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Seven

"A New Personal Force": Winter Solace in Cos Cob, Connecticut, and Summer Holidays in Gloucester, Massachusetts (1900-1902)

A Second Home in Cos Cob

After the turn of the century, Twachtman was often away from his home in Greenwich, and most of his time was split among three places. He spent three summers, from 1900 to 1902, in Gloucester, Massachusetts, while during the rest of these years he was frequently residing either at the Holley House in Cos Cob or at the Players Club in New York. The reasons for this new pattern are unclear. Since Twachtman's wife, Martha, was seldom with him during the last three years of his life, it seems possible that he was distancing himself from Greenwich because of stress in his marriage. There is, nonetheless, scant evidence that the Twachtmans had become detached from each other, with the exception of one letter Twachtman wrote to Josephine Holley in February 1902: "Until there is a change in the condition of things at home I do not think that I shall return. It is impossible for me to work."[1]

During his last three years, Twachtman wrote frequently to Josephine Holley when he was away from Cos Cob, and the letters she preserved now belong to the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.[2] As these letters reveal, an affectionate relationship

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

existed between Twachtman and Joe, but there is no proof that the two were ever romantically involved. As his correspondence indicates, he found in Joe, a sympathetic listener and supportive friend. His closeness to her is suggested in a letter he wrote on 25 January 1902 from the Players Club, after returning from a visit to the New Jersey coast in the off-season:

> My dear Joe, How is it that when people live at Roxbury [Connecticut] they get letters from you and that I, here in this wilderness of houses, receive none? That even my letters to you are not answered. I found that [Sea Girt] was the dreariest place on the Atlantic Coast and the dreariness of vacant houses is something awful. . . . I made a number of oil sketches . . . but the surroundings are not congenial. There are so many noises that keep your mind off your work. Then the congeniality of friendship is attractive and you can not get away from it. At least--I don't want to. . . Kindest regards to all, Johnie.[3]

While Joe obviously returned Twachtman's friendship, she seems to have had to discipline him occasionally, sending him away to New York when circumstances called for it. These instances were trying for Twachtman, as during his Greenwich years, the city had become increasingly oppressive to him. By comparison, Cos Cob was a haven of repose. He wrote to Joe on 2 January 1902 from the Players Club:

> The town is using me up. I am on the go from morning until night and nothing doing. Always busy about some damned unnecessary thing and spending money to beat the band and to no purpose. And I also miss the painting. . . .I am caught in the meshes of this den of iniquity.
>
> Yesterday they tried to blow the city into the sea and I wish they had and then I could row ashore and go back to Cos Cob.[4]

In a letter to Joe of 17 January 1902, Twachtman bemoaned the fact that he had been forced from Cos Cob, and expressed the dreariness of life at the Players Club:

> This is different! I am absolutely unfit to enter the ring and find that training at Cos Cob puts me in another class. But it does not follow to make comparisons. A cab just came to the door and there are people playing pool and there are people talking seriously in wispers [sic]. I am

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> smoking a sigar [sic]. There is some one writing opposite to me and his scratching on the paper is just the same as my scratching. But I shall get my pitcher of water in the kitchen and go to my room and in the morning I shall wake up and--no--not walk out onto the upper porch to see what the day is like--but look down into an airshaft and when in the street see the ugly holes of the sub-way on Fourth Avenue. If the whole thing were only covered with snow and made beautiful.
>
> I do hope you miss me and do hope you will tell me so. It is a beastly thing to be left alone.
>
> I wonder why Joe does not bring me my pitcher of water. . . .
>
> When may I come back?[5]

The reasons that Twachtman was banished from the Holley House are not evident from his letters. He may have been occasionally a disruptive presence at the inn, perhaps due to alchohol consumption (there are no records in his correspondence or in archival materials of his friends inferring that he had a drinking problem, but there are many rumors to this effect).[6]

Although Twachtman's affiliation with Cos Cob had begun with the classes he taught there starting in the early 1890s, he only became a boarder at the Holley House after 1900. Some of the times that he resided at the inn may be determined from extant board receipts. He was a guest from the 9th of October 1901 to the 15th of January 1902, from the 29th of January to the 2nd of February, from the 8th to the 25th of February, and from the 11th of April until the 30th of May.[7]

Indeed, during these and other stays in Cos Cob Twachtman became part of a group of artists and writers that was gathering regularly at the inn.[8] Those who spent time in the town at the turn of the century include Twachtman's close friends, Weir, Hassam, and Henry Fitch Taylor. Others who participated in gatherings at the Holley House were Twachtman's former students, D. Putnam Brinley, Eliot Clark, Charles Ebert,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ernest Lawson, Carolyn Mase, and Genjiro Yeto. This group was joined by artists who had settled in the area or spent extended periods of time there such as Walter Clark (1848-1917), Paul Cornoyer, Walter Fitch (?-?), Will Howe Foote (1874-1965), Leonard Ochtman (1854-1934), and Lewis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933). Among the writers who took part in Holley House gatherings were novelists Ernest Thompson Seton and Willa Cather, the critic William C. Brownell, and the journalist Lincoln Steffens. Steffens, who developed a close rapport with Twachtman, wrote of Twachtman's central role in evening gatherings at the Holley House in his *Autobiography*:

> There was a long veranda where the breezes blew down from the river, up from the Sound, and cooled the debaters and settled the dinner debates that Twachtman started. We dined all together at one long table in a fine, dark, beflowered dining-room. The game was always the same. Twachtman would whisper to me as he passed on on to his place, "I'll say there can be no art except under a monarchy." Waiting for a lull in the conversation, he would declare aloud his assertion, which was my cue to declare the opposite. . . Others would break in on his side or mine, and marking our followers, he and I led the debate, heating it up, arousing anger--any passion, till, having everybody pledged and bitter on a side, we would gradually change around till he was arguing for the republic, I for the monarchy. Our goal was to carry, each of us, all our party around the circle without losing a partisan.[9]

At the Holley House, Twachtman participated avidly in social events as a photograph of him playing charades on one of the inn's porches suggests (fig. 473).

Despite the upheavals caused by frequent moves during the final phase of his life, Twachtman's last two winters, spent largely in Cos Cob, were among his most productive, times when he worked in an especially inspired and impassioned way. Among his motifs at this time were the old houses of the area. Typically he did not seek far for his sites, focusing mostly on the Holley House and the adjoining Brush house with its attached

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

store.[10] He also repeatedly painted the scene from the lower and upper porches of the Holley House, a view opened up in 1899 when the Cos Cob grist mill, which had previously stood in front of the inn, was destroyed by fire. At times observing his site from a window inside the inn, and at other times, setting his easel on one of the inn's porches, Twachtman captured the diverse compositional possibilities afforded by the scene.

Indeed, the span across the Mianus River, which included a bridge that doubled as a dam and encompassed a range of architectural forms in the distance, inspired some of Twachtman's finest works. He wrote to his son, Alden, of the fervor with which he painted this site on a snowy day, probably in the winter of 1901: "Yesterday I painted all day looking from a window at the blizzard and it recalled the one we had at home but not so fierce. But it was beautiful and I could not stop painting and painted until it was too dark to see and I was tired out. It seemed to be a fifty round go and I got knocked out at about the eleventh round."[11] In the letter, he enclosed sketches of a view from the porch of the Holley House and of the back of the house, both of which may be linked with extant works (figs. 474). Carolyn Mase also recalled the impassioned manner that Twachtman painted during the winters he spent in Cos Cob at the end of his life. She wrote of a morning at the Holley House:

> He came into the breakfast room of the Holley House with a rush, a vigour, bringing with him a sense of good fellowship with the world. . . . "Hurry," he said to the maid, "and bring me--well, a half dozen eggs, a rasher or two of bacon, several cups of coffee, and a dozen or so cakes. I am hungry!" And as the smiling but puzzled maid went out to fill his order, he sauntered towards the window, and stood silent there for a few moments. Turning he said, "But Nature is fine this morning!" and went out of the room. The maid brought in his breakfast and set it down. It grew cold, and somebody went to find Mr. Twachtman. They found him standing outside in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> snow, painting like mad, utterly forgetful of the breakfast, ordered but never eaten. He was not making a "human camera" of himself . . . but he was painting under the stress of the emotion produced by the sight of his beautiful Mother Nature that morning, and the result was one of the wonderful snow canvases for which he is now so justly famous.[12]

In two paintings of Cos Cob, Twachtman featured the old Brush house and the store adjacent to it in winter (figs. 475-476). Showing buildings enveloped by snow, he conveyed the isolation and comfort evoked by a country home in mid-winter (figs. 477-479). He avoided the sentimentality that this subject might have evoked through his spare and subtly elegant designs in which square architectural forms are placed away from the center of square canvases and through his unified surfaces of thick mat paint comprised of a range of light pastel tones mixed with white. The overgrown landscape that surrounded the Holley House in the spring inspired three of Twachtman's most experimental canvases. Abandoning the layering characteristic of much of his Greenwich art, he applied paint with an athletic exuberance, conveying the liveliness of untended weeds and bushes that surround and screen the countryside dwelling. Rather than distinguishing the house from the landscape, he treated both as part of the same interwoven pattern so that instead of seeing architectural forms as distinct from their surroundings, the viewer is compelled to see them together. Whereas in his New York scenes, Twachtman had used a sketch technique to reveal the raw energy of the city, in his Cos Cob views, he employed this method to express the freeing experience of being in a familiar countryside.

The images Twachtman created from the porches of the Holley House reveal another aspect of his art at the end of his career, his attentiveness to the expressive possibilities of abstract form (figs. 480-482, 470-471). Although, as he and Mase

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reported, he worked on these paintings directly, they reveal a new confidence, sophistication, and elegance, which may be seen in his consciousness of how each placement of a form, each subtle shift of color or pigment application, and each slight shift in his angle on a scene contributed to the design of an image and to the mood it evoked. For most of his images from the Holley House, Twachtman worked on square-shaped canvases, accentuating the design on the picture plane rather than a progression into space.

In *From the Holley House, Cos Cob*, he evokes the fresh and animated feeling of spring, using a palette of soft pastels and a delicate treatment of forms, which seem to move in a push-pull pattern in the space: the red building stands in the distance, yet its bright color brings it forward; the lilac bushes in the foreground seem to merge with the landscape beyond; the angled opening in the porch is echoed by the square red building, which is in turn repeated by the shape of the canvas (fig. 480). The mood of *Bridge in Winter*, by contrast, is one of soothing tranquility (fig. 470). The bridge, shown on a less severe diagonal than in the spring scene of the same motif, leads one into the distance at a slower pace. The lilacs are centered and less active than in the spring view, conveying a staid effect; the strong horizontals and muted unified palette also express serenity. In *View from the Holley House, Winter*, the mood is even more hushed (fig. 471). Twachtman suggests the heaviness of a misty atmosphere that anticipates a new snowfall. Here, too, horizontals dominate the composition evoking stability, but with no lilac bushes to soften the foreground, the scene seems frozen in stillness, its icy chill only broken by the two thin

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

vertical poles that stand in front of the low warehouse structure on the right, and by their reflections in the water below.

Summers in Gloucester

Like Cos Cob, Gloucester was a place for Twachtman to be among friends. The shores of Cape Ann had attracted artists since the mid-nineteenth century, when Fitz Hugh Lane (1804-1865) painted its quiet coves and peaceful harbors. In the late 1870s, a steady stream of artists were discovering the area's harbors, with their array of sailing vessels, and the Cape, with its varied, craggy beaches. Among the visitors during the decade were Winslow Homer (1836-1910) and William Morris Hunt (1824-1879). However, it was in the 1890s that Gloucester became one of the most popular artists' colonies in America. In the summer of 1890, Helen Knowlton (1836-1918), a former student of William Morris Hunt, reported that East Gloucester "was never so full of artists, and is getting to be called the Brittany of America." Among the artists observed by Knowlton were Rhoda Holmes Nicholls (1854-?), accompanied by her family and a dozen pupils, who rose "at 5 o'clock in the morning to catch the fascinating early mists," and Frank Duveneck, along with a class from Boston whose "very strong work comes from under their white umbrellas."[13] The dominance of painters in Gloucester was even acknowledged by Baedekers 1893 guidebook, which made note of the area as "a great resort of artists," whose presence was

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"owing partly to the picturesqueness of the town itself and partly to the fine scenery of Cape Ann."[14]

Although Twachtman certainly would have heard of Gloucester's attractions in the 1890s on his own, it was probably Duveneck who persuaded him to visit the area--Duveneck had begun sojourns to Cape Ann by 1890, returning in 1892 and 1893, and summering regularly in Gloucester after 1898.[15] Because Duveneck had moved permanently to Cincinnati in 1890, the two artists had seen little of each other since their days in Florence in 1880-1881. Thus their reunion in Gloucester was undoubtedly joyous for both. In Gloucester, Twachtman inspired Duveneck to explore an Impressionist technique and Duveneck, in turn, probably encouraged Twachtman to return to the *alla prima* approach that both artists had used during their days in Munich.

The length and details of Twachtman's stays in Gloucester may be determined to some extent by reports in local newspapers. In June 1900, the *Gloucester Daily Times* recorded Twachtman's presence in the town, noting that the artist and his family "who have been stopping at the Pilgrim House awaiting an available cottage for their occupancy, have secured apartments in the 'Amenity cottage,' the new Rockaway annex for the season."[16] Located on Rocky Neck, an inlet that extended from the East Gloucester shore, the Rockaway Hotel was the focal point of a community of artists who gathered during this summer (fig. 483). On the 16th of June, Duveneck arrived, and on the 26th, the newspaper reported that "Theodore Wendell of Ipswich was a guest at the Rockaway."[17] By August, the artist population had grown substantially and consisted of many of the old Duveneck "boys," who had been together in Munich, Venice, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Florence, as well as their pupils. The works produced by this gathering were organized in an exhibition, which was covered in the *Gloucester Daily Times* by a reporter who pointed out the relationships between the participants:

> During the season such prominent artists as Duveneck, DeCamp, [Alfred Vance] Churchill, [Arthur Merton] Hazard, [Dana] Pond, Potthast, [Charles L.] Adams, [Edmund E.] Case, Twachtman, Corwin, A[lbert]. C. Fauley, L[ucy]. S. Fauley, Katherine T. Farrell, Walter Clark and his son Eliot Clark, have arrived at the Rockaway, and in their coming the art of Massachusetts, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and the West have united in happy congeniality and the universal love of Gloucester and its never-ending charms for the artist.
>
> Mr. Duveneck's reputation as an artist and sculptor is too well known to need comment and his presence alone made all happy.
>
> Mr. Twachtman is a New Yorker, a pupil of Duveneck and an instructor in the Art League and Cooper Institute of New York. His group of very small pictures which he termed "postage stamps" were marked $100 each. Mr. Twachtman is a modern impressionist.
>
> Mr. Corwin, who also exhibited some much admired pictures is an instructor in the Chicago Art Institute and a pupil of Duveneck.
>
> Mr. De Camp who is termed one of the strongest painters of "the new" is a pupil of Duveneck. Mr. Pond is a pupil of DeCamp.
>
> Potthast, who exhibited some of his Adirondack sketches, was a winner of the $500 prize at the New York academy. He has also won a reputation for his fine figure work.
>
> Mr. Walter Dean joined the exhibitors and sent several of his fine marines to add to this charming exhibit.
>
> All of the artists added bits of seashore, country and harbor, conceptions which can only give to Gloucester her right as a beautiful scenic spot.[18]

The show was still on view a week later when the paper reported: "The artists at the hotel are making a continuous exhibit of their pictures in the parlor and there are large numbers of visitors to see the work daily which is said to be the strongest from an artistic standpoint ever exhibited here. Several sales have been made."[19] Indeed, due to the strong presence of artists, art students, and guests of the artists, during the summer of 1900, the paper announced that there had been a renewal of "the artistic atmosphere of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

by-gone seasons."[20] Eliot Clark also later recalled the summer fondly: "It was a memorable experience and it has since impressed me that the young student instinctively imbibes more from the psychic radiance of creative personality than from doctrinaire precepts."[21]

The following summer, Twachtman went to Europe for probably the first time since the mid-1880s, but his trip abroad was brief. He joined his family for about a month in Honfleur, possibly in June.[22] His arrival on Cape Ann later in the summer was not mentioned by the newspaper, but he probably returned to Gloucester with the purpose of resuming the teaching activities he had begun in the previous summer. As the paper reported on August 20: "The members of the Art Students League of New York, who are making the Rockaway their summer home were the prime movers in one of the prettiest and jolliest costume dances ever given in the summer colony at the Rockaway last evening. . . . The veranda of the art students' cottage was also covered with jack-o-lanterns."[23] Despite teaching responsibilities, this summer was a time when Twachtman was absorbed in work, as it is evident from the twenty-four small-scale charcoal sketches rendered after paintings he had produced, that he sent, presumably in the early fall, to his son Alden, who was either just about to leave for Paris or had arrived in the French capital where he attended the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.[24] Many of these sketches may be linked with paintings known today, and Twachtman inscribed a number of them with titles, dimensions, and humorous notes (figs 484-488).

Twachtman returned to Gloucester in the summer of 1902, taking up residence in a small cottage that was part of the Harbor View Hotel in East Gloucester (figs. 489).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Standing on high wooden posts, this cottage was elevated over the ocean, giving Twachtman a view across the harbor and out to sea. During this summer, Twachtman was again teaching in Gloucester, along with his fellow Cincinnatian and colleague from the Ten, Joseph DeCamp. The newspaper observed on June 24, 1902: "Mr. J. H. Twachtman, an annual artist guest, and a prominent instructor in the New York Art Students' League will have a summer class here in conjunction with Mr. Joseph De Camp, his collaborator in New York. Mr. Twachtman is at the Harbor View."[25]

Twachtman's family was again in Europe in the summer of 1902, with the exception of his daughter Marjorie, who was present when he passed away at Gloucester's Addison Gilbert Hospital on August 8, four days after his forty-ninth birthday.[26] The *Gloucester Daily Times* ran the story in its evening edition: "John H. Twachtman, one of the greatest painters of the present period, died in Gloucester this morning. Mr. Twachtman and his daughter, Miss Margery [sic], have been guests at the Harbor View Hotel for some time. A few days ago, he was taken ill and Dr. Knowles considered the case a critical one."[27]

New York papers carried the story the following day. The *New York Tribune* reported: "The death of John H. Twachtman, the landscape painter, at the Addison Gilbert Hospital, in Gloucester, Mass., yesterday terminated a career rich in accomplishment and richer in promise. He was a valued member of the younger school of American art, illustrating certain of the advanced ideas which are influencing the more important groups of painters here and abroad."[28] The *New York Times* printed a long piece describing the "genuine feeling for Nature shown by Twachtman," and calling him "a minor poet of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

brush, producing pictures that never weary one by their elaboration or startle one by some unusual thing, but win their way to your heart by the seeming ease of their workmanship, the simplicity of their theme, the truth of their observation."[29]

With his family abroad, arrangements for a funeral appear to have been forgone, and, instead of returning Twachtman to a burial place near his beloved home in Greenwich, he was laid to rest in Gloucester's Oak Grove cemetery where his simple gravemarker may be found today (fig. 490).[30]

Gloucester Period Art: Style and Criticism

In response to the brilliant light and picturesque scenery of Gloucester, Twachtman developed a new style. Although his Gloucester manner was in many ways an extension of his Greenwich approach, its distinctive traits may be discerned, and the works of Twachtman's last three summers may be identified with a new career phase, which has been named, the Gloucester period.[31] As explained earlier, some of Twachtman's images of Greenwich and Cos Cob reveal elements of his Gloucester period approach. However, the works he produced in Gloucester itself show most clearly the path he was taking at the end of his life and suggest the direction that he might have pursued had he lived longer.

The main characteristic of Twachtman's Gloucester manner was his renunciation of the elaborate layering methods he had used in Greenwich and his return to the *alla*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prima approach of his Munich years. In Gloucester, he executed his works "in one go," often letting large areas of his grounds remain exposed. A factor that encouraged his direct method in Gloucester was that he frequently painted on cedar-wood cigar-box lids, creating the works he called "postage stamps."[32] As they were light weight and readily portable, cigar box tops had a freeing influence on Twachtman, encouraging him to work spontaneously (figs. 491-494). At the same time, the simple, casual designs and the rapid, sketch technique seen in these small works are also apparent in the larger canvases he created in Gloucester. In *Bark and Schooner*, for example, his minimalist design, featuring a large Italian salt bark that is positioned parallel with the horizontal axis of the work, is complemented by Twachtman's forceful, succinct application of paint (fig. 495). He portrayed both the bark and a small schooner beside it with long, sustained strokes of dark paint, while treating water and reflections with quick swirls of color. Whereas in Greenwich, he had used extensive layering and built up his paint in thick curving strokes of impasto to give his images a feeling of immediacy, in Gloucester, the sustained, laborious process of creating the appearance of spontaneity yielded to a genuinely spontaneous method.

Although he worked rapidly to create his Gloucester works, Twachtman did not revert to the painterly bravura of his Munich style. Demonstrating the confidence that he had developed in the course of his career, he applied every stroke and color element purposefully, so that there are no extraneous aspects to a work. This quality in his art may be seen in a comparison of his *New York Harbor* of ca. 1879 and his *Fishing Boats at Gloucester* of ca. 1901 (figs. 58, 496). Whereas both paintings position the viewer at the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

edge of a pier looking toward an array of boats and wharf structures, the forms in the New York work have a random, brusque quality drawing our attention in different directions, while every brushstroke and shape in the Gloucester painting fulfills a purpose in the design. Masts and lowered sails which create an internal compositional grid pull our gaze inward, counterbalancing the foreground pier and receding wharf which open outward. *Beach at Squam* also exemplifies the succinctness of Twachtman's Gloucester period technique (fig. 497). In this view of an intimate cove in the Annisquam area of Gloucester, he spread a thin layer of mauve and white to convey the damp surface of the sand from which the ocean had recently receded, and he indicated the tide mark on the beach with a single dragged stroke of dark mauve-brown paint. For the grassy dune that dominates the scene, he used energetic and rhythmic dabs to portray the grass and brush that spread over its surface and crest. To render the sky, he applied long, sustained strokes of white and blue paint that suggest its endless expanse. Twachtman's ability to capture the scene in strong and palpable terms was noticed when the painting was included in his one-man show at the Durand-Ruel Galleries in New York in 1901. For example, a *New York Times* reporter described it as "a bit of water and a sand dune rising to a knoll, and a sky streaked with clouds that arrest the attention as in nature they so often do."[33]

In Gloucester, Twachtman continued to mix paints on canvas, but instead of creating dense masses of color, he applied pigments in thin swaths, with either dry paint dragged across the surface of a work or liquid pigments that he let bleed together. Often leaving areas of prime exposed, he brought the canvas tone and weave into his designs. This technique, a continuation of the similar method he had used in pastel since the late

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1880s, demonstrates the strength and conviction of his oil painting method at the end of his life. The economy of means evident in Twachtman's Gloucester works reflects the degree to which the lessons he had learned earlier in his career had become part of an intuitive process.

Another change that occurred in Twachtman's Gloucester art was that he returned to black, brown, and gray pigments, which he had not used since his Munich years. Committed to Impressionism in Greenwich, he had avoided dark tonalities, noting shadows with variations in color and avoiding the black outlines associated with academic draftsmanship. In Gloucester, Twachtman did not allow black or brown to dominate a work as they had in his Munich period art, however. Instead he used them as accents and contrasts, for expressive rather than descriptive purposes, to create form rather than to define it.

In some Gloucester works, Twachtman used higher key tones and stronger color contrasts than in the past. For example, in a view of a group of fishermen's homes, he used a palette of bright pink, magenta, and green, and did not resort to his usual tendency to soften relations between colors with tonal modulation (fig. 498). Twachtman's color scheme for this work was not arbitrary, however, as he identified the subject of this painting as "red houses" in the charcoal sketch that he created after this work, which suggests that his palette was based on the actual scene (fig. 499). In *Waterfront Scene--Gloucester*, a view of sheds lining a dock, Twachtman used tones of lavender, red, pink, and gray-purple (fig 500). He complemented the vivacity of this color scheme with an agile, nervous brushwork that accentuated the slightly irregular lines and shapes of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

buildings and the movement of the water below. Although portraying an ordinary Gloucester site of a deserted wharf, the painting seems filled with tension and even a sense of uneasiness that was new in Twachtman's art.

Critics took note of the unique qualities of the Gloucester images Twachtman included in his three solo exhibitions of 1901. It was on the basis of Gloucester works--"street scenes, fishermen's huts and wharfs in fresh and fleeting sketches"--that a critic for the *Chicago Times Herald* proclaimed Twachtman an artist whose mood "is almost habitually joyous."[34] The *Chicago Post* commented on the vibrancy of his Gloucester images:

> His paintings look like water colors, so free, so sketchy, so splashy and unfinished are they. They are for the most part, concerned with scenes about East Gloucester, and convey the impression of a chalk formation in the old seaport, or very white sand, very green vegetation and houses calcimed in delicate tints or grown pearly gray through stress of what appears to be singularly pure air. Even the boats in the harbor retain the fresh-colored paint on their hulls in a way that would seem little short of miraculous to a Chicago River pilot.[35]

The *Chicago Chronicle* was also appreciative of Twachtman's innovative approach: "He takes homely river scenes, coal barges, and the like and puts brilliant dresses on them in a manner really astonishing. The water he delights to paint is a novel mixture of bright yellows of blues and greens and what not, seemingly put on a helter-skelter. . . "[36] Of the Gloucester works Twachtman included in his 1901 show at New York's Durand-Ruel Gallery, a critic for the *New York Commercial Advertiser* commented: "A 'Ferry Landing,' presumably of Gloucester, Mass. is thoroughly entertaining in arrangement and execution, and there are innumerable sketches of sea, river, wharves, shipping and landscapes that excite enthusiastic admiration at the skill, craftsmanship and good color taste."[37]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman received a less positive reception to a Gloucester scene that he showed at the exhibition of the Ten American Painters in New York in 1901, which the *New York Evening Post* called "a large impression of 'Gloucester,' which proves on examination to be one-half absolutely bare canvas."[38] The *New York Times* described this work as a "view of Gloucester [that] is smashed in with great sweeps of white paint," while a critic for the *New York Sun* wrote: "By J. H. Twachtman there is a canvas on which are some bread thin washes of white and blue by way of sky, water and buildings and some green and yellow patches and wriggles of the brush as a child might attempt to draw trees. Labelled 'Gloucester,' the thing is either a bad joke on the public or the result of morbid introspectiveness, contributing to abnormal self-complacency; either way, very sad."[39]

However, by the time Twachtman passed away in following year, his new approach was becoming appreciated. The strength of his art at the end of his career was given recognition in his obituary in the *New York Tribune*:

> [O]f late years, [Twachtman's] ideas underwent a clarifying process; his hand became firmer as his vision became more acute, and in the paintings of this period, he showed that he had travelled far from the uncertainties of his earlier experiments. His work became stronger in design, more attractive in color and more delicate in atmosphere. At the same time his art increased in personal force [with] more subtlety and depth . . . [and] greater pictorial freedom without sacrificing accuracy and form.[40]

The change that occurred in Twachtman's art in Gloucester may be attributed to a number of factors. He was clearly effected by the scenery and the town's brilliant light, elements that induced other artists as well to work in freer and more colorful modes than they did

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

normally. At the same time, the style he employed in Gloucester was also a natural evolution in his art. As he had been moving toward greater economy and employing strong contrasts of color in his Greenwich works of the 1890s, his Gloucester art simply carried forward a progression that was already occurring in his work. Another influence on Twachtman's Gloucester style was proposed by Eliot Clark. Clark, who was with Twachtman during his Gloucester summers, later noted the frenetic way that Twachtman painted and suggested that his new method reflected his consciousness of the short time he had left. Clark wrote: "There was something gnawing at the soul of the man, and for one who was approaching fifty something curiously uncertain and restless."[41] The restless feeling expressed in works such as *Waterfront Scene--Gloucester* suggests the truth of Clark's viewpoint (fig. 500)

Yet another source may have contributed to Twachtman's Gloucester method. Always attentive to the spirit of his age, in his Gloucester art, he may have been responding to the energy, dynamism, and conflicts that were coming to the fore in the new century. Indeed, the bold, forthrightness with which he approached industrial themes in Gloucester links his art with the works that would be created by the Ashcan School in the years ahead. At the same time, the strong abstract compositions and vibrant color schemes of his Gloucester works parallel qualities in the art of the French Fauves.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gloucester: An American Fishing/Resort Town

From the time Gloucester was first explored by French and English merchants in the early seventeenth century, it had been a place for fishing, and, by the late nineteenth century, Gloucester's commerce in fish had increased to the point that the town was acknowledged to be the largest fishing port in the world.[42] Crowded with sailing vessels, ranging from small dories to exotic Italian Salt Bark schooners, its wharves and docks were always filled with activity, while the commercial establishments in the town and outlying areas housed numerous facilities for processing, drying, and curing fish.

While fishing dominated Gloucester during the 1890s as it had earlier, a number of changes took place in the town during the decade. It became more cosmopolitan than it had been previously, although without losing its fresh, salty atmosphere. As reported by Edmund Garrett in 1897: "Active and busy are the streets that have replaced the rough paths of earlier days. Banks, churches, offices, and stores line their length, but even to their most urban parts comes the cool refreshing breath of the sea."[43] By 1901, changes in Gloucester had been so significant that Lillian Betts reported: "Anything less like a fishing hamlet than the Gloucester of to-day could not be conceived. A city of paved streets, electric cars, free postal collection and delivery, electric lights, and the tlephone, and that last mark of commercial greatness, a foreign population and consequent social problems--that is the Gloucester of to-day."[44] The century's end saw the modernization of the fishing industry with the arrival of the first gas-powered fishing boats, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

development of refrigerated train cars that allowed fish to be transported to great distances, and new machinery for the curing of fish. Around 1900, horse-drawn omnibus lines were established as were electric train cars that encircled Cape Ann.[45] Steam tugs began to be used as ferries that offered transportation across the Inner Harbor, dramatically shortening the trip which had previously necessitated a circuitous journey by carriage around the harbor.[46] It was also in the 1890s that a large influx of artists and literary figures converged in Gloucester, filling many of its small hotels and boarding houses.

The authors and painters who gathered in Gloucester in the 1890s heralded another change that was occurring by the decade's end, the arrival of a community of leisure-seekers from Boston and other urban areas, who began to spend summers vacationing in the town.[47] Catering to this populace, hotels and boarding houses sprang up along the coast of East Gloucester, on Rocky Neck, and later in Rockport, on the northeast side of Cape Ann. The rise of a tourist industry on the Cape was recognized by Garrett who referred in 1897 to East Gloucester and Rocky Neck, as a "land of rackets and golf clubs, summer girls, novels, and hammocks, water-color kits, and white umbrellas."[48]

The pattern that occurred in Gloucester has parallels with what took place in the French beach towns on the English channel that were painted by the French Impressionists. Both Trouville and Deauville in Normandy were quiet fishing villages in the mid-nineteenth century that were discovered two decades later by recreation seekers and saw the mushrooming development of tourist hotels.[49] However, here the similarities

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with Gloucester end. In the Normandy towns, tourism overwhelmed and eventually completely eclipsed the fishing industry, and local fisherfolk became a class of servants and shopkeepers who provided services to visiting Parisians.[50] Beaches were overtaken by portable bathing huts; seaside casinos, theaters, and cafés opened; and polo matches and regattas became popular and frequent entertainments.

By contrast, even as tourists and artists arrived in Gloucester, the town remained dedicated to fishing and its angling community continued to be the strongest presence in the area. Although pleasure yachts anchored at its docks and regattas were held in the summer, Gloucester held its reputation as a place for fishermen and the serious business of catching, processing, and selling fish. During the 1870s in Trouville and Deauville, any locals still involved in the fishing business were obliged to keep their distance from the fashionable set that had come to dominate the towns. In Gloucester, such a separation was far less extreme.[51] Although some hotels were located at a remove from Gloucester's active harbors, many others were boxed in between busy docks. Indeed, while visitors to the area certainly sought the isolated beaches and uninhabited rocky spits that provided places to look out to sea, they also delighted in the picturesque qualities of the town's wharves, boats, and fishermen at work. These elements were considered a significant aspect of Gloucester's appeal, not a detraction from it. The pleasure in observing the animated qualities of the Inner Harbor was expressed by an author in 1916:

> A solid line of wharfs encircles Inner Harbour and everyone of them has its shipping, its sheds where work is in progress, its wagons loading and its boats unloading. From upper windows huge brown seines are being thrown down to men waiting below. Fish flung on the end of a dock are pitchforked into the covered sheds, where the workers snatch them up, split them and clean them and throw them into tubs. The tang of the salt, drying flakes is strong in the air. . . . Beyond the dock were drying flats or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> "flakes," where the fish, spread on wooden frames and sparkling with salt, dry in the sun. Shelters of snowy canvas are spread above them, the direct rays evidently being too strong.[52]

Given the differences between Gloucester and French towns on the English channel, it makes sense that whereas French Impressionists who visited Trouville and Deauville painted the sunbathers and cafés that they encountered, not the local fishermen, the American Impressionists who worked in Gloucester featured harbors, boats, and views of the jagged outlines of the town seen from the water.

Twachtman's works were no exception as his Gloucester art is dominated by images of harbor and shipping motifs. At the same time, his images reflect the transformation of the town at the turn of the century as Gloucester became a place for summer leisure and recreation.

In *Little Giant*, Twachtman summed up qualities that distinguished Gloucester (fig. 501). In the painting, he featured one of the steam tugs that operated as a ferry in the Inner Harbor, depicting it leaving the landing at Rocky Neck. At this location, the ferry did not stop; instead it merely slowed down and passengers had to jump on. Twachtman suggests that the ferry was for tourists rather than fishermen by conveying the leisurely pace of the boat, rendering rippling rose-tinted reflections in the water beneath it, and including sketchy figures who stand at the edges of its open deck. Painting the canopy over the deck with a quick swath of white impasto, he implies that the canopy's purpose was to allow riders to enjoy the view without receiving too much direct sun, something that would not have been of concern to fishermen used to long days at sea. Twachtman expresses the agreeable nature of the ferry trip ahead, portraying the placid waters of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

harbor with pale blue and lavender paint rubbed into the canvas weave and showing occasional sailboats merged with the gently contoured landscape of the distant shore. On the other hand, in contrast to the soft tones of the harbor, he rendered the roughly built pier from which the ferry departed with strong, calligraphic lines of pigment forcefully dragged across the canvas surface and depicted the pier's shadow in the water with sketchy strokes of inky black and green paint. His inclusion of both the pleasure-filled and rougher sides of Gloucester convey his consciousness of the dual nature of the town, its comfortable leisure life and its unrefined fishing town atmosphere.

The Harbor View Hotel in East Gloucester is another site Twachtman depicted that specifically reflects the experience of the summer visitor in Gloucester. His painting features the group of buildings that constituted this East Gloucester hotel seen dwarfed by a large oak tree that stood at the beginning of a causeway (fig. 502).[53] Extending from the hotel to Rocky Neck, this causeway was probably newly constructed when Twachtman painted the scene and was taken down by 1909 as it does not appear in either Twachtman's charcoal sketch of the hotel after a 1901 painting (location unknown) or in an advertisement for the hotel included in a 1909 book (figs. 503-503a).[54] It was perhaps the novelty of the causeway that attracted Twachtman's attention to the site, and he accentuated its diamond shape by leaving his canvas bare for most of the section of it that he included. Positioning the viewer on the causeway, which is cropped in the foreground, he makes us experience Gloucester as a summer guest, drawing us along the breezy walkway over the water and focusing our attention on the pleasant view ahead of the hotel's glistening white buildings shaded by trees. The oak tree at the center of the work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

serves as a steadying element, anchoring the composition at the point where the causeway ends at the grounds of the hotel.

Twachtman's views from East Gloucester's Banner Hill further conjure the vacationer's perspective on the town. In *Gloucester Harbor*, Twachtman captures the diversity of the Gloucester scene, including a Victorian-style, many-gabled house set amidst lush hills, the crowded array of sheds, piers, derricks, and boats at the East Gloucester shore, the quiet water of the harbor, and Gloucester beyond with a church spire and the outline of City Hall Tower seen against the horizon (fig. 504). The focal point of the work is the pier that functioned as East Gloucester's ferry landing, which stretches in a long diagonal on spindly pilings across the center of the work. Through the range of his imagery, Twachtman conveys the mixture of old fishing village and new resort town that characterized Gloucester at the turn of the century. However, while suggesting the chaotic array of forms that the town revealed from his hillside post, he subtly brought out the scene's harmony. Guided across the panoramic expanse, accentuated by a high horizon line, we are at first struck by the myriad of forms, but gradually a sense of the scene's structure emerges, as we are slowly drawn to the crossing of two diagonals at the center of the composition. The satisfying experience in looking at this scene was recognized by critics when the work was shown with the title of *Ferry Landing* in Twachtman's solo exhibition in Chicago in 1901. A reviewer for the *Chicago Times Herald* reported:

> "The Ferry Landing" should be noted as one of the most delightful in the group. It is full of vigorous painting, exquisite color and atmosphere, capital tendering of the twinship of water and boats. It is a scene that Whistler might have etched--yes painted. In the foreground are houses, plumelike trees bending their head before the gentle breeze, a skeletonlike

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> trestle jutting out into the inlet from the sea forming the landing, while the distant shore shows a village on the hill, church spires placed against the blue sky.[55]

The *Chicago Post* stated that the view "seen from above is Japanese and charming in arrangement. We see the roofs of the houses and the slender landing stages running out into the water, like centipedes, on their many piles . . . ."[56]

In *View from East Gloucester*, which Twachtman rendered from a position lower down on Banner Hill, he featured only a few elements, none of them representative of the recreational side of Gloucester (fig. 505). However, the freshness of his palette, dominated by pink and green, his simultaneously brisk and flowing strokes, and his lively assymetrical arrangement express the jubilant feeling of Gloucester on a warm July day. Recognizing these qualities of the work, a critic wrote in 1901: "'A View from East Gloucester' is full of charm and the very breath of summer."'[57]

In *Gloucester*, another view from Banner Hill, Twachtman gave a central place to a cluster of gleaming white buildings nestled in a dip in the hills and situated at the water's edge (fig. 506). The U-shaped complex appears to the viewer to be a resort, an appearance heightened by the presence of sailboats on a sparkling blue sea in the distance. However, as a photograph from the era reveals, the site was actually an industrial zone and the buildings were sheds set a distance from each other (fig. 507). For Twachtman, it was the mood and experience of Gloucester that undoubtedly effected his portrayal, not the actual identity of his motifs. He further conveyed the feeling of the locale through his treatment, using a palette of pastel tones, showing forms softened in a thin atmospheric

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

haze, and repeating rounded shapes of the landscape in a tree at the work's right side. In 1943, a writer took note of the way Twachtman had interpreted the scene:

> The realistic . . . approach of Twachtman's early work has disappeared in this scene of Gloucester for a more poetic and personal attitude. He represents the view as bathed in a soft, delicate light which blurs contours and immaterializes solid forms into amorphous, drifting areas of color . . . there is an evanescent and delicate charm in the very lightness of the tonality.[58]

In *Wild Cherry Tree*, which Twachtman painted from just to the left of his vantage point for *Gloucester*, he took an unusual perspective on the Banner Hill view (fig. 508). Rather than allowing himself an open vista, he depicted the town through the full branches of a cherry tree. As he noted on the charcoal sketch that he created as a record of the work: "All Gloucester seen through the tree." (fig. 509) [59] Indeed, he did not paint the tree over an image of the scene beyond, instead rendering both simultaneously so that the leafy forms in the foreground blend with the fragmented landscape motifs beyond. Buildings on the shore, the soft blue water of the cove, and even the strip of land are seen through the interstices between leaves and branches. Using the tree as a vehicle, Twachtman conveyed the holiday atmosphere of Gloucester as he softened the diverse forms of the town with the tree and showed forms of nature, houses, wharves, and boats harmoniously combined. A writer commented on Twachtman's objective in 1907: "Nothing is more difficult to reproduce than the aspect of the country seen through interposing foliage. Twachtman rendered it here in the quality of a veil across the light."[60] In a 1916 exhibition catalogue, another writer described what Twachtman achieved in the work: "The tree's slender, willowy branches distribute its feathery foliage almost wholly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

across the picture, emphasizing and relieving rather than obscuring the fair land- and sea-scape beyond."[61]

In a few other works that Twachtman created from Banner Hill, he showed Gloucester as a quiet coastal resort rather than a busy fishing port. Showing landscape forms through a misty atmosphere within a square composition, in *Inner Harbor, Gloucester*, he conveyed the languid feeling of a summer day at the coast (fig. 510). In *White Dories*, a flowering tree partially screens the landscape, obscuring evidence of the town's harbor life and focusing our attention on the lush foliage of the hillside where two white houses are nestled, on the barely ruffled surface of the sea, and on two white sailboats in the distance (fig. 511).

Twachtman's images of Gloucester's wharves show less of the leisure experience of Gloucester than do his views from Banner Hill. Indeed, they mark a return, at least to a degree to the interest in industrial themes and the dynamic qualities of his scenes of New York from 1879. Works such as *Fish Sheds, Gloucester* reveal the painterly directness that Twachtman had achieved in his New York images while *Aboard a Steamer* positions the viewer on a tugboat, achieving a confrontation between the viewer and modern industry as he had in *Dredging in the East River*, of ca. 1879 (figs. 496, 512, 68). However, his brighter colors, succinct arrangements, and focus on the shape of a sail, shed, or a patch of reflections moving in the water as the principal form in a work give his Gloucester images a light celebratory mood different from the raw dynamism of his New York scenes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rendered directly with vibrant colors and strong, simple arrangements, Twachtman's Gloucester works are among his most abstract and modern. At the same time, attentive to the mood and spirit of his sites, Twachtman used his new stylistic method to capture his personal experience of Gloucester, conveying the mixed sensations of a place that was both an active fishing port and a newly popular resort. His works reflect the changes in general that were occurring at seaside locations in America at the turn of the century as the public began to discover the recreational and leisure-time enjoyments of the outdoors life.

Reactions to Twachtman's Art in the Early Twentieth Century

Despite the visibility afforded by exhibitions in the last phase of his life, and the appreciation of his art on the part of fellow painters and critics, Twachtman's Greenwich, Cos Cob, and Gloucester works were ignored by the public as well as by dealers. During the 1890s, both J. Alden Weir and Edward Simmons approached dealers on Twachtman's behalf, but found their efforts to be futile. F. Newlin Price reported: "Many stories are told of Weir and Twachtman; how Weir tried to sell Twachtman's paintings to a Fifth Avenue dealer who held his hands aloft and exclaimed, 'Why doesn't he paint beautiful fields with flowers in the foreground and a brook rushing over pebbles? Why does he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paint such dismal swamps?'"[62] In his autobiography, *From Seven to Seventy*, Edward Simmons wrote of "walking wearily up and down Fifth Avenue all of one afternoon with Twachtman, each of us with one of his unframed landscapes under his arm, visiting dealer after dealer in a vain effort to sell one of them for twenty-five dollars in order that he might obtain enough money to remain a member of the The Players."[63]

As Twachtman's obituary in the *New York Times* reported, his work had "hardly been understood by the majority of picture buyers" and a 1903 article covering his estate sale stated:

> The fact is that John H. Twachtman was more a painter's painter than a painter for the public. The latter did not find enough accent, force, brilliancy in his work; it was too gentle and reserved. The public can hardly be expected to appreciate the delicate hand that overcomes a difficulty only known to an artist; it is much if the public, or a small fraction of the public, recognized that Twachtman had anything at all to say that was worth hearing.[64]

Carolyn Mase wrote of the disappointment Twachtman felt but rarely expressed:

> During those last years when he was painting canvas on canvas, which those who saw knew were destined for everlasting fame--but which he could not persuade the American public to buy--only once during all this time did I ever hear him utter words of complete discouragement. It was the year before he died. He said, "Do you know that I have exhibited eighty-five pictures this year, and have not sold one?"[65]

Twachtman's disheartenment at his lack of success was suggested by Weir in a letter written to the Oregon collector C.E.S. Wood at the time of Twachtman's death: "You probably saw by the papers that Twachtman died this summer. Poor fellow, he was demoralized with the lack of appreciation of his art and that begat other things."[66]

Twachtman's friends suggested that he had not achieved success in the public realm as he had not given in to popular tastes and because he had created a body of work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that was too subtle and too modern to be understood by the masses. Simmons wrote: "The canvases which Twachtman has left us, like all work of signally original merit, may prove for a time too fine a food for the general public."[67] Dewing explained: "He is too modern, probably, to be fully recognized or appreciated at present; but his place will be recognized in the future, and he will one day be a 'classic,' to use the literary term; for the public catches but slowly the professional opinion, though in the end the professional opinion becomes the public opinion."[68] Weir similarly predicted that, "Rare as were the qualities which Twachtman possessed, it is hard to think that they [will] remain veiled from the public."[69]

True to Weir's forecast, there were already signs of Twachtman's growing acclaim shortly after his death. Twachtman's obituary in the *New York Times* predicted the attention that he would receive in the years ahead, noting that he had begun to win "a larger audience when he died."[70] As Twachtman had not received attention from the art buyers of his day, it is ironic that in addition to his artist-colleagues, the organizers of his 1903 estate sale included some of the most important art collectors of his time, Thomas B. Clarke, Charles Lang Freer, John Gellatly, J.D.J. Kelley, David A. Monro, and Henry W. Poor, all of whom purchased works from this sale. The sale brought out the artist's most vociferous supporters, the art student population of his time. The *New York Times* reported:

> Impressionists filled the American Art Galleries, on South Madison Square last night on the occasion of the sale at auction of the paintings of the late John H. Twachtman. There were so many art students present that many of the would-be buyers were crowded out, and it became necessary to clear and reserve a part of the front rows for persons who are known to have the habit of bidding.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> As the artist whose pictures were for sale is to be reckoned among the moderns, the students did not hesitate to express their opinions of the objects offered. Long-haired men and short-haired women uttered exclamations of surprise when a picture brought a good price. They found fault with the foreshortening and when they could find nothing else to be troubled about--with the way the pictures had been framed.[71]

After over a decade in which Twachtman had barely been able to sell a painting, every work from his estate was sold, bringing amounts up to five hundred dollars, a high price by the day's standards.[72] In an article entitled, "Twachtman Pictures, $16,610," and subtitled, "Artists Among the Buyers, to Art Students' Applause; Everybody Anxious to Get One of the Late Painter's Works, and Their Sale was Successful to a Degree He Never Saw in His Lifetime," the *New York Sun* stated:

> While he lived Mr. Twachtman was appreciated in words by those who had only words to bestow; he was admired by many a man who saw nature in a rare delicacy of beauty, but he offered some of his works at auction and only the small-change compartment of purses was opened.
>
> Last night, when his friends put up his pictures, buyers were more liberal, and the last picture up was competed for most persistently of all, not apprarently because some bidders desired not to miss the opportunity to buy a Twachtman.
>
> The sales gallery was crowded to overflowing. Mr. Kirby was obliged once to stop the sale to order back people who wanted to stand in the aisles. More persons stood in adjoining galleries than could possibly get a look through the doorways at the pictures, and among these were buyers.
>
> Artists and their wives were in the audience, along with the men and women who buy their works, and the artists were buyers this time. Whole rows of art students of the city made the occasion unusual by their attendance, in more or less artistic habits, the girls removing their hats, and they were generous in their applause of the impressions Mr. Twachtman had fixed on canvas and paper. They crowded out some bidders, but they demonstrated their regard for art and Twachtman.
>
> Among the well-known people present, most of whom were purchasers were J. Alden Weir, Childe Hassam, Robert Reid, Stanford White, the Rev. Dr. W. S. Rainsford, Thomas B. Clarke, William T. Evans, John Gellatly, Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton, Walter Shirlaw, Whitney Warren, George Francis Train, and Charles L. Freer.
>
> Some of the women bidders were so eager that Mr. Kirby gallantly had to assure them that he would not let them bid against themselves.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> His "Oh! I'll keep you straight, madam," was the signal for general laughter. But he kept his promise and the women got their share of the pictures. Dealers took very few of the canvases.
>
> One of the paintings which drew applause from students, artists, and others, brought the highest price paid up to the offering of that lot (No. 59 [*Drying Sails*, Freer Gallery of Art]), and was bought by Charles L. Freer of Detroit, for $500, which remained the high figure until the final lot.[73]

John Gellatly was one of the only collectors actually to purchase works directly from Twachtman.[74] By 1899, Gellatly owned Twachtman's *On the Terrace* (fig. 419), and, in 1902, he acquired *Hemlock Pool* (fig. 417), presumably from the artist. Gellatly bought three works from Twachtman's estate sale and from 1910 to 1920, he purchased other works, including three paintings and four pastels which he bequeathed to the Smithsonian Institution in 1929 (now in the collection of the National Museum of American Art).[75] The other major collector to acquire Twachtman's work in the early twentieth century was William T. Evans.[76] Evans purchased only one painting from Twachtman's estate sale, *Niagara in Winter* (fig. 393), but, between 1904 and 1909, he acquired another nineteen works. In 1909, Evans gave a group of works to the Smithsonian, now in the collection of the National Museum of American Art, including *End of Winter*, *The Torrent*, *Round Hill Road*, *Meadow Flowers*, and *Fishing Boats at Gloucester* (figs. 437, 411, 462, 379, 496). Four years later, under financial duress, Evans was forced to sell his collection in its entirety, and the works by Twachtman that had remained in his possession were dispersed at the time.

Among the other collectors who organized Twachtman's estate sale, few expanded their collections of works by Twachtman in the years following the sale. Charles Lang Freer's *Drying Sails* became part of the Freer Gallery of Art's collection, and, in 1913,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Freer purchased *The Hidden Pool*, from the Evans salé, adding it to the Freer Gallery collection (figs. 513, 427,). Other early collectors of Twachtman's works include Robert Woods Bliss, Dr. Alexander Humphreys, Burton Mansfield, Caroline C. Haynes, and Mrs. John Cowdin, all of whom contributed works along with Martha Twachtman to an exhibition of twenty-one works by Twachtman held at the Lotos Club, held in 1907.[77]

Due to financial pressures, Martha Twachtman made extensive efforts to sell Twachtman's works in the years following his death. Even after the ninety-eight works were sold in 1903, a vast amount of Twachtman's oeuvre remained in his estate, especially Greenwich period works. In 1905, a sale and exhibition of nineteen works that came directly from the estate was held at Knoedler Galleries in New York.[78] After the 1907 Lotos Club show, both Knoedler and Macbeth Gallery became actively involved in selling works from the estate. Their success with the day's buying public was suggested in the Macbeth Gallery publication *Art Notes* in 1908: "The present attitude of collectors towards pictures by Robinson and Twachtman illustrates the growth of taste and discrimination strongly. Ten or fifteen years ago these artists were considered by most people to be so radical in their methods that they deserved no consideration."[79]

The most active private dealer of Twachtman's works in the early twentieth century was the elusive Silas S. Dustin (?-after 1940), an artist.[80] Working directly with Martha Twachtman, Dustin was responsible for offering Twachtman's works to museums and sending them to exhibitions. In 1906, Dustin arranged the sale of Twachtman's *Sailing in the Mist* to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (fig. 341). In the following year, he negotiated the sale of *Flowers* to the Academy and of *February* to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1907 (fig. 378). Dustin was responsible for Twachtman's inclusion in the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, in 1905 and in the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in 1909.[81] From 1908 to 1912, Dustin also sent works by Twachtman to annual exhibitions at the Cincinnati Art Museum, the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the City Art Museum of St Louis (now the St. Louis Art Museum), and the Toledo Art Museum. There is no evidence that Dustin owned works by Twachtman.

Museums continued to purchase Twachtman's work at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1907, the Carnegie Institute bought *River in Winter* (fig. 514). The next year, the Worcester Art Museum acquired two Greenwich period works, *Waterfall* and *Snow*, and, in 1909, the Detroit Art Museum purchased *The Pool* (figs. 415, 416, 383). Four years later, interest in Twachtman's work remained strong as two large exhibitions of art from his Greenwich and Gloucester periods were held one in New York at the New York School of Applied Design for Women (including fifty-one works) and the other in Buffalo at the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy/Albright Art Gallery (including forty-one works). At a time when American audiences were being introduced to modernism in the Armory Show exhibitions in New York, Chicago, and Boston, Twachtman seems to have been one of the few American Impressionists to remain popular, especially among American avant-garde artists such as Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), John Marin (1870-1953), and Arthur Dove (1880-1946) (see next section). At the Armory show, Twachtman's *Hemlock Pool*, lent by Macbeth Galleries, and *Sea Scene*, lent by his old friend Henry Fitch Taylor, who had been a chief organizer of the show,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were, in fact, among a small number of American Impressionist works exhibited (figs. 417, 515).[82]

The esteem with which Twachtman's work was held in an age of abstract art was demonstrated in 1915 when a gallery at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was devoted to his works. The only other American painters accorded this honor were Chase, Duveneck, Hassam, Gari Melchers (1860-1932), Edward W. Redfield (1869-1965), John Singer Sargent, Edmund Tarbell, and Whistler. The twenty-six works by Twachtman on view were admired by reviewers, one of whom pointed out that Twachtman was among "several big men for the time broadly and publicly known--men appreciated by their brother artists and those who know what's what and who's who in our art, but only vaguely known to the world until now . . . ."[83]

In 1919, Macbeth continued its efforts to showcase Twachtman's art with an exhibition and sale of nineteen works from different phases of Twachtman's career.[84] Vose Gallery in Boston held its first two solo shows of Twachtman's work in the same year, with an exhibition of eight paintings that opened in January at the conclusion of the Macbeth exhibition, and a show in November that included fourteen works.[85] By the early 1920s, Milch Galleries, in New York, had become active in handling Twachtman's art, and many of its holdings came directly from the Twachtman estate or from Martha Twachtman, as correspondence reveals.[86] Milch held a one-man show of fourteen paintings and a group of pastels in 1928.[87] Another Twachtman exhibition was held at Milch in 1949.[88]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the 1930s, Twachtman's works continued to receive attention from dealers and scholars. Babcock Galleries, in New York, included Twachtman in group exhibitions throughout the decade, and in 1937, Twachtman was chosen by John Baur as one of four artists, along with Mary Cassatt, Hassam, and Weir, presented in a show at the Brooklyn Museum entitled *Leaders of American Impressionism*.[89] Seventeen works by Twachtman were included. When the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute held a show of Twachtman's works in 1939, which included twenty works, half were lent by museums, demonstrating the growth of public interest in Twachtman since the turn of the century.[90] In the 1940s, a statement that appeared in the catalogue for a one-man show of Twachtman's work held at Babcock Galleries stated the esteem with which his work was held in war-time: "In a world of strife and bloodshed, an exhibition of the work of such a poetic painter as Twachtman, is perhaps out of key; but we hope, there are still human beings who can be lured by tranquility and beauty."[91]

The only significant showcase of Twachtman's work in the next decade was a loan show of his work along with that of Abbott Thayer, held at the Century Association in 1952.[92] John Douglass Hale's dissertation in 1957 for Ohio State University was a turning point in scholarship on Twachtman, providing a wealth of biographical detail and aesthetic analysis as well as a catalogue raisonné. Its presence was no doubt an influence on the growth of interest in Twachtman's art that occurred in the next decade when, in 1966, a full retrospective of Twachtman's art was held at the Cincinnati Art Museum, including 134 paintings, pastels, and prints.[93] This exhibition was reviewed by *Time Magazine*, which reported that "Twachtman had none of the dramatics of Whistler, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

figurative poise of Mary Cassatt, or the cheerfulness of Childe Hassam," but noted that the show established him as "a top-rate U.S. impressionist," giving him "his greatest recognition so far."[94]

Hale's dissertation and the Twachtman retrospective in Cincinnati initiated the scholarly and public interest in Twachtman's work that has continued steadily to the present day. In 1989, the same works that the public had overlooked in Twachtman's time, his Greenwich paintings, were featured in an exhibition at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., a show that ran concurrently with an exhibition of works by Frederic Church.[95] *The Wall Street Journal* reported on the differences between the two presentations:

> If you like big, showy, stage-set paintings, full of extraordinary, not-quite-believable lights and vistas that are oh-so-impressive, you'll love the Church landscapes. . . . The exhibition of Twachtman's marvelously intimate landscapes, on the other hand, is an unadulterated treasure. Most of the works are seasonal landscapes; all are accomplished, but a handful of the winter scenes are hauntingly beautiful. One beholds in them to adapt the concluding lines of Wallace Stevens's poem, "The Snow Man," nothing that is not there and the nothing that is.[96]

Despite recent enthusiasm for Twachtman's art on the part of scholars and the public, and increasingly higher auction prices for his works, his works still do not appeal as readily to those interested in Impressionist art as do those of other artists who painted attractive female figures in gardens or painted prettier, more varied countrysides. With their quiet tonal harmonies and deceptively casual designs, Twachtman's images take concentration and patience. As Ira Spanierman wrote: "Twachtman's paintings don't come to me, but rather I go to them. They are paintings that make me work. At first, I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

didn't suspect this danger. His landscapes appeared so low-keyed, wistful, and calm. But once I was drawn in, I discovered a world of poetic and mysterious haunting beauty."[97]

Twachtman's Legacy

Because of the highly original techniques that Twachtman used and the very personal nature of his vision, his work was not easily or frequently emulated by artists of his time. Of his students, those who studied with him in Cos Cob and Gloucester clearly learned from him ways of seeing sites freshly, of using pigments expressively, and of creating compositions that demonstrated an awareness of abstract values. Both Elmer MacRae and Carolyn Mase painted many of the same subjects that Twachtman favored in Cos Cob. In a view from the porch of the Holley House, MacRae used the diagonal line of the bridge as an organizing form in his composition as had Twachtman in several of his images (fig. 516). Like Twachtman in *View from the Holley House, Spring* (fig. 341), MacRae brought out the hazy atmosphere that shrouded landscape forms in soft tones of lavender, peach, and muted greens. However, MacRae's painting lacks the abstract strength of Twachtman's delicately balanced arrangement in which the forms of motifs and their interaction create a myriad of subtle interchanges. Mase perhaps came the closest to emulating Twachtman's images from the Holley House porch, but her located works are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mere sketches, providing little indication of what she might have created in finished works (figs. 517-518). Mase and MacRae also painted the old houses of Cos Cob in winter as had Twachtman, but neither were able to match him in making pigment textures express the textural variety of snow (figs. 519-520, 475).

Both MacRae and Mase also created very Twachtmanesque pastels, using toned papers and rendering forms with a minimum of form and color (figs. 521-523). However, MacRae's *Ship at Dock* is in a far more illustrational vein than any of Twachtman's comparable pastels of boats, and his draftsmanship is heavy handed and obvious when compared with the fluid spontaneity in works such as Twachtman's *Newport Harbor* (fig. 271). A view of a waterfall by Mase comes closer to Twachtman's approach, but, again, where Twachtman makes landscape forms appear to emerge gradually from soft atmospheric backgrounds established by the tones of his papers, Mase's motifs of water and rocks seem to be conspicuously placed on the paper's surface.

Another Cos Cob student, Daniel Putnam Brinley was perhaps influenced by Twachtman's images of his wife and children in the outdoors as suggested in a view of his own wife and daughter in a garden setting (fig. 524). Brinley's treatment of the figure as if it were another landscape motif seems to follow figural modes by Twachtman. However, Brinley uses a more conventional Impressionist brushwork and showing his wife sewing, he complies with a more traditional view of the female figure than did Twachtman. A landscape by Brinley suggests Twachtman's influence in its animated patterned surface in which foliage and architectural forms are interwoven (fig. 524). Cos Cob and Art Students League student, Alice Judson (?-1948), also demonstrates

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman's influence in a view of quickly painted flowering trees that partially screen a view of a river landscape, while Gloucester student Katherine Farrell's *Summer Cottage* shows a lively garden before a gabled country home, a work reminiscent of Twachtman's images of his home in Greenwich seen from the vantage point of his garden (figs. 525-526). Allen Tucker, who studied with Twachtman at the Art Students League and in Cos Cob, was one of the only American artists to become significantly influenced by the art of Vincent van Gogh, and the merged influences of van Gogh's dynamic, swirling brushwork and Twachtman's interest in tone and pattern may be seen in works such as Tucker's *October Cornfield*, 1926 and *Winter Landscape*, 1920 (figs. 527-528).

Images by artists who studied with or were influenced by Twachtman in Gloucester reveal the impact of Twachtman's Gloucester approach. Arthur Merton Hazard's (1872-1930) *Gloucester Scene* is painted with the same kind of *alla prima* brushwork that Twachtman used in similar views of wharves, although Hazard's composition is more static and conventional than in works by Twachtman such as *Landscape with Boat* (figs. 529-530). *Under the Wharf* by Twachtman's devoted admirer, Eliot Clark, follows the format that Twachtman used in *Boat Shed* (figs. 531-532). Both artists took advantage of the way that the wharf structure seen from below created a natural framing device for forms of architecture and boats. Clark's canvas is more structured than Twachtman's quickly painted sketch, however, and thus lacks the vitality and freshness that Twachtman's reveals. Albert C. Fauley (1858-1919) adopted aspects of Twachtman's loose brushwork and compositions in which an abstract shape of a boat or pier is given dominance (fig. 533).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Of Twachtman's students, the one who went on to achieve the greatest acclaim was Ernest Lawson. For Lawson, Twachtman was a decisive influence. Although Lawson was also inspired by other sources, including Alfred Sisley, whose works he saw on an 1893 visit to the town of Moret-sur-Loing where Sisley was working at the time, throughout his career, Lawson's art reveals both a stylistic and thematic debt to Twachtman. Lawson, like Twachtman in his Greenwich landscapes, achieves luminosity through a layering of variegated colors which convey effects of light and atmosphere on the landscape. The sensuous and direct expression of outdoor light achieved in Lawson's painting may be traced directly to his teacher. Indeed as critic Hilton Kramer noted in 1976, even though "Lawson was still in his teens when he studied with John H. Twachtman . . . he never strayed very far from this basic influence in a long lifetime of painting."[98] Like his teacher, Lawson varied his treatment to suit his subjects and used his brush and paints to capture the coloristic properties of snow, transitional times between the seasons, and the exuberance of a flower garden in summer (figs. 534-536). Conscious of decorative properties in nature, Lawson followed Twachtman's example in bringing them out with a subtle grace without departing from a naturalistic presentation. Although Lawson used stronger colors than Twachtman and painted in a more vigorous, muscular fashion, building up thickly encrusted canvases, his awareness of how paint could express textures in nature and his subtle designs reflect Twachtman's tutelage.

Critics often suggested that one difference between Lawson and Twachtman could be seen in the fact that Twachtman was drawn to quiet rural countrysides whereas Lawson sought his motifs in the ragged zones at the fringe of the city.[99] However, the realism to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which Twachtman was committed throughout his career established the foundation for Lawson. Lawson's images of the partially inhabited places that lay beyond city boundaries and of suburban locales in the Bronx and Westchester follow directly from Twachtman's images of suburban locales in Jersey City, Cincinnati, and Greenwich (fig. 537).

Twachtman also had an impact on the art of his close friends. In the late 1880s, Twachtman inspired Weir to focus on landscape painting, a genre Weir had previously explored infrequently. Following Twachtman's lead, Weir chose landscape sites that allowed him to explore tonal and design possibilities, and he oriented forms to the shape of his canvases. Twachtman's influence is clearly seen in works such as Weir's *Early Spring at Branchville*, which features the rising diagonal of a hillside as an organizing element, a design construction used frequently by Twachtman, as seen in works such as *February* and *End of Winter* (figs. 538, 371, 437). Weir's depictions of cloudy, overcast days in which he observed soft and subtle atmospheric effects clearly also demonstrate Twachtman's impact. However, as noted in chapter five, Weir held firmly to his academic lessons even when he became an Impressionist and never let himself paint in the spontaneous, rhythmic manner of his friend. In addition, the impact of Twachtman on Weir did not prove to be long lasting, as after the turn of the century, Weir often repeated compositional formulas he had explored earlier and created tonal landscapes in a romantic vein, painting softly defined forms and occasionally including anecdotal elements and idealized figures.[100]

The interchange between Robinson and Twachtman is less easy to discern. While Robinson probably played a role in convincing Twachtman to explore the modes of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

French Impressionists, Twachtman may have encouraged Robinson to paint more often in a freer manner, expressing his felt responses to a site rather than his intellectual appreciation of it. In a few cases, Robinson adopted techniques of Twachtman's. For example, in his view of Twachtman's house, Robinson used a technique similar to Twachtman's for snow, applying rough, dry white impasto over underlayers of color (fig. 349). In *White Bridge on the Canal*, Robinson followed Twachtman's practice of reducing an arrangement to a few geometric elements, each brought out with a different velocity of brushstroke and tone (fig. 539). Indeed, for Robinson, Twachtman's method seemed masculine, a quality that he felt lacking in his own work. In one instance in his diary, Robinson stated that Twachtman had painted "man-fashion" rather than focusing on useless detail--what he feared that he was doing.[101] However, like Weir, Robinson was hestitant to let go of the structured methods he had learned as a student in Paris, and never painted with the vigorous directness of Twachtman.

Another artist influenced by Twachtman was his old teacher Frank Duveneck. Duveneck who had spent the 1890s teaching in Cincinnati and had retreated to a far more conservative style than that of the brilliant and radical works he had created in Munich. Although colorful, many of Duveneck's Gloucester paintings reveal a kind of tight detail that he had eschewed earlier in his career (fig. 540). Some of his works, however, suggest Twachtman's influence as Duveneck was more conscious of tonal unity and reflective qualities of light, and employed his brush in an expressive fashion suggestively to bring out textures (figs. 541-542). By the turn of the century, student and teacher had reversed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

roles. Whereas Duveneck had given Twachtman his first taste of modernism, Twachtman returned Duveneck to this track in the early twentieth century.

After Twachtman's death, his message if not his style was carried on by Robert Henri (1865-1929), one of the leading American art teachers of the early twentieth century. Although Henri criticized the works of American Impressionists for their gentility, he held Twachtman in esteem for the lack of sentimentality in his works and for his commitment to a personalized art.[102] Henri advocated individual expression and inspired artists to create works that reflected immediate experience, the main tenets that Twachtman had also taught and that had been the basis for his art. Twachtman's statement to his Cos Cob students in 1899 to "avoid poses above everything. Go to the markets, to the elevated railway station and you will find nature is always changing" forecasts the Eight's concern with modern life and focus on city motifs.[103] At the same time, Twachtman's views of New York and New Jersey also set precedents for the urban scenes of the Eight, while his images of Cincinnati, Greenwich, and Gloucester demonstrate a consciousness of aspects of modern American life, although depicting the suburbs and the coast rather than the city.

Although representing the other pole of American painting from the realist images of the Eight, the modernist artists associated with Alfred Stieglitz also respected Twachtman's art. They were, however, less impressed with its realism than its abstract qualities. Marsden Hartley, Arthur Dove, and Milton Avery were inspired by Twachtman's Greenwich images early on in their careers and emulated his muted palettes and quietly balanced compositional schemes.[104] Although they went on to explore new

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

directions in abstract painting and used color freely for its subjective properties, the understanding of which Twachtman had been cognizant, of the expressive potential of design continued to underlay their art throughout their careers. Hartley, who saw Twachtman only once, recalled the "admixture of emotion" in his face, and wrote:

> He cared too much for the essential beauties to involve them with analyses extraneous to the meaning of beauty. . . . his own personal lyricism surmounts his interest in outer interpretations of light and movement, and he leaves you with his own notion of a private and distinguished appreciation of nature. In this sense, he leads one to Renoir's way of considering nature which was the pleasure in nature for itself.[105]

Twachtman's delight in the sheer sensuousness of paint and in the emotion aroused by line and form may even be seen to link up with directions in the Abstract Expressionist art of the 1950s.

In the end, the chief legacy that Twachtman left was not in the way he painted, but in the message conveyed by his art that American artists could create original works that made use of, but did not depend on European influence. His individualized Impressionist approach paved the way for other native painters to break free from conventions and to develop unique ways of seeing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Seven: Notes

[1] Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Mrs. Edward Holley, Cos Cob, Conn., 4 February 1902.

[2] See appendix one for typescripts of these letters.

[3] Archives, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

[4] Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Mrs. Edward Holley, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 2 January 1902, Archives, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

[5] JHT, The Players, New York, to Mrs. Edward P. Holly, Cos

Cob, Connecticut, 17 January 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

[6] Kathleen Pyne notes Twachtman's "tendency to drink heavily," in "John Twachtman and the Therapeutic Landscape," in *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), p. 65. She provides no substantiation for this statement. Her comment was clearly the basis for other references such as Stephen May, "Visual Poetry: The Landscapes of John Henry Twachtman," *Carnegie Magazine* 60 (January-February 1991), p. 39. The only reference I have found to Twachtman and alchohol is that of Robinson who stated in his diary on 15 June 1893: "Twachtman is allowed a drink of whisky 'criticism day' to recuperate his wasted energies."

[7] See Board Records, Archives, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, Connecticut.

[8] On the Cos Cob art colony and the Holley House, see "An Art School in Cos Cob," *Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899): 56; Steffens 1931; Susan G. Larkin, "The Cos Cob Clapboard School," in *Connecticut and American Impressionism*, exh. cat. (Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 82-113; "Biographies of the Artists," in *Connecticut and American Impressionism* 1980, pp. 150-179; Kathleen Burnside, *Childe Hassam in Connecticut*, exh. cat. (Old Lyme, Ct.: Florence Griswold Museum, 1987); Susan Larkin, *The Ochtmans of Cos Cob*, exh. cat. (Greenwich, Ct.: The Bruce Museum, 1989); Susan Larkin, *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House*,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exh. cat. (Greenwich, Conn.: The Bruce Museum, 1990); Larkin, "Light, Time, and Tide: Theodore Robinson at Cos Cob," *American Art Journal* 23 (1991): 74-109.

[9] Steffens 1931, p. 437.

[10] According to the Greenwich Historical Society Archives, the Brush House was built around 1750. It was torn down in 1920.

[11] Twachtman, Cos Cob, Connecticut, ca. winter 1901, to J. Alden Twachtman, [Yale University School of Art], private collection, Vermont.

[12] Mase 1921, p. lxxii.

[13] Helen Knowlton, "A Home-Colony of Artists," *Studio* 8 (July 1890): 326.

[14] Karl Baedeker, *The United States with an Excursion into Mexico: A Handbook for Travelers*, (Leipzig, Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1893), p. 92.

[15] On Duveneck in Gloucester, the best source is Jan Newstrom Thompson, *Duveneck: Lost Paintings Found*, exh. cat. (Santa Clara, Calif.: Triton Museum of Art, 1987).

[16] "East Gloucester . . ." *Gloucester Daily Times*, 6 June 1900, p. 3.

[17] "East Gloucester . . ." *Gloucester Daily Times*, 16 June 1900, p. 4; "East Gloucester . . ." *Gloucester Daily Times*, 26 June 1900, p. 3.

[18] "East Gloucester: Delightful Entertainment and Exhibit at the Hotel Rockaway," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 10 August 1900, p. 6.

[19] "East Gloucester," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 17 August 1900, p. 6.

[20] "East Gloucester," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 1 September 1900, p. 5.

[21] Eliot Clark, "Notes from Memory," *American Artist* (Summer 1957): 88.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[22] The information regarding Twachtman's 1901 trip appears in an inscription by J. Alden Twachtman on the back of a photograph of his father with either Godrey or Quentin, Spanierman Gallery Collection. The inscription reads: "John H. Twachtman at Honfleur--1901. Had come over to spend a month with the rest of the family in a beautiful old stone house on the Cote de Grace--gardens at the edge of high bluff overlooking the Seine River, Le Havre in distance."

[23] "East Gloucester," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 20 August 1901, p. 8.

[24] These sketches belong to a descendant of the artist.

[25] "East Gloucester," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 24 June 1902, p. 5.

[26] The *Gloucester Daily Times* noted that Twachtman's family was in Europe: "Great Artist Dead: John H. Twachtman Passed Away at the Addison Gilbert Hospital," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 8 August 1902, p. 7.

[27] "Great Artist Dead: John H. Twachtman Passed Away at the Addison Gilbert Hospital," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 8 August 1902, p. 7.

[28] "John H. Twachtman," *New York Tribune*, 9 August 1902, p. 8.

[29] "John H. Twachtman: Death of the Famous Landscape Painter at Gloucester, Mass.," *New York Times*, 9 August 1902, p. 9.

[30] The latin phrase appears on Twachtman's gravestone: "Anima ejus per misericoriam Dei requiescat in pace" (By the mercy of God may his soul rest in peace.) See James F. O'Gorman, "A Painter's Grave in Gloucester," *North Shore*, 14 April 1973, p. 12.

[31] See Hale 1957, pp. 263-280.

[32] "East Gloucester: Delightful Entertainment and Exhibit at the Hotel Rockaway," *Gloucester Daily Times*, 10 August 1900, p. 6.

[33] "A Trio of Painters," *New York Times*, 7 March 1901, p. 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[34] "Exhibitions of the Week," *Chicago Times Herald*, 30 December 1901, unpaginated clipping, Scrapbook, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[35] "Exhibitions Next Week," *Chicago Post*, 5 January 1901, unpaginated clipping, Scrapbook, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[36] *Chicago Chronicle*, 14 January 1901, untitled and unpaginated clipping, Scrapbook, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[37] "The Art-World: Mr. Twachtman at Durand-Ruel's," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 5 March 1901, p. 4.

[38] "Pictures of 'The Ten,'" *New York Evening Post*, 20 March 1901, p. 4.

[39] "The Ten Bolters," *New York Times*, 19 March 1901, p. 9 and "Around the Galleries, *New York Sun*, 20 March 1901, p. 6.

[40] "John H. Twachtman," *New York Tribune*, 9 August 1902, p. 8.

[41] Clark 1924, p. 28.

[42] On Gloucester, see my bibliography under Gloucester, Massachusetts, History and Art.

[43] Edmund Garrett, *Romance and Reality of the Puritan Coast* (Boston: Little Brown, 1897), pp. 184-185.

[44] Lillian W. Betts, "Gloucester: The Fishing City," *Outlook* 68 (4 May 1901): 66.

[45] On the omnibuses of Gloucester, see Joseph E. Garland, *Boston's North Shore* (Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1978), p. 316. On the electric train cars, see Betts 1901, p. 69.

[46] On the steam tugs that became ferries, see Joseph E. Garland 1978, p. 316.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[47] On the hotels of Gloucester, see James F. O'Gorman, *This Other Gloucester: Occasional Papers on the Arts of Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (Boston: James F. O'Gorman, 1976), p. 37 and Garland 1978, pp. 316-321.

[48] Garrett 1897, p. 185.

[49] My source on the changes that occurred in Normandy beach towns is Robert L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 265-303.

[50] See Herbert 1988, pp. 265-270.

[51] On Trouville and Deauville, see Herbert 1988, pp. 265-270.

[52] Hildegarde Hawthorne, *Old Seaport Towns of New England* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1916), pp. 139-140.

[53] In *Harbor View Hotel*, Twachtman left a large area of the canvas bare, which has led to the suppositions that the work is unfinished and that it is the artist's last painting. See "Twachtman's Last Picture for Kansas City," *Art Digest* 7 (May 1933): 18; Hale 1957, p. 289; and Richard J. Boyle, *John Twachtman* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1979), p. 84. However, since Twachtman often purposefully left areas of canvas exposed during his time in Gloucester, neither of these hypotheses can be verified. Indeed, as a charcoal sketch that Twachtman identified as "Harbor View Hotel, 6 x 10" is included among the charcoal sketches he created after works rendered in the summer of 1901, he was already portraying the hotel during that summer, and there is therefore no reason to think that his painting even dates from his last summer. More significantly, the areas of bare canvas in the painting play an integral role in the composition, disproving the idea that the work is unfinished. Exposed canvas is left specifically to portray the causeway that extended in a diamond from the front of the hotel.

[54] *Picturesque Cape Ann* (Gloucester, Mass: E.C. McIntire, 1909), n.p.

[55] "Exhibitions of the Week," *Chicago Times Herald*, 30 December 1901, unpaginated clipping, Archives, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[56] "Exhibitions Next Week," *Chicago Post*, 5 January 1901, unpaginated clipping, Archives, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[57] "Exhibitions of the Week," *Chicago Times Herald*, 30 December 1901, unpaginated clipping, Archives, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

[58] *Art Institute of Chicago, The Walter Schulze Gallery of American Paintings* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1943), p. 33.

[59] Collection of charcoal sketches after Gloucester paintings, ca. 1901, private collection.

[60] David Lloyd, "The Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy," *International Studio* 31 (March 1907): xx.

[61] American Art Association, unpaginated sale catalogue, 18-20 January 1916, cat. no. 28.

[62] F. Newlin Price, "Weir--The Great Observer," *International Studio* 75 (April 1922): 130.

[63] Edward Simmons, *From Seven to Seventy: Memories of a Painter and a Yankee* (New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1922), p. 324.

[64] "John H. Twachtman: Death of the Famous Landscape Painter at Gloucester, Mass.," *New York Times*, 9 August 1902, p. 9; "Twachtman's Paintings: Memorial Exhibition and Sale of Works by John H. Twachtman," *New York Times*, 22 March 1903, p. 9.

[65] Mase 1921, p. lxxv.

[66] J. Alden Weir, [Branchville, Conn.] to C. E. S. Wood, [Portland, Ore.], 18 September 1902, Roll 125, frame 91, Weir Papers, Archives of American Art.

[67] Edward Simmons, "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation," pp. 560-561.

[68] Thomas Dewing, "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation," p. 554.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[69] J. Alden Weir, "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation," p. 562.

[70] "Twachtman's Paintings: Memorial Exhibition and Sale of Works by John H. Twachtman," *New York Times*, 22 March 1903, p. 9.

[71] "Twachtman Picture Sale," *New York Times*, 25 March 1903, p. 5.

[72] *Drying Sails*, a Gloucester painting, went for the highest amount in the sale. It was purchased by Charles Lang Freer.

[73] "Twachtman Pictures, $16,610," *New York Sun*, 25 March 1903, p. 5.

[74] See Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "The American 19th Century, Part 3: The Gallatly Legacy," *Art News* 67 (September 1968): 48-51+.

[75] Gellatly's gifts to the Smithsonian were *On the Terrace* (fig. 419), *Misty May Morn* (fig. 428), *Figure in Sunlight (Artist's Wife)* (fig. 310), *Niagara Falls* (fig. 389), *Hemlock Pool, Autumn* (fig. 436), *The Brook, Greenwich, Connecticut* (fig. 372), *Haystacks at the Edge of the Woods* (pastel) (fig. 281), *Flowers* (pastel) (fig. 289), *Wild Flowers* (pastel) (fig. 291), *Tiger Lilies* (pastel) (fig. 292), and *Chesnuts* (pastel) (fig. 297).

[76] See William H. Truettner, "William T. Evans, Collector of American Paintings," *American Art Journal* 3 (Fall 1971): 50-79.

[77] *Exhibition of Paintings by the Late John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Lotos Club, 1907).

[78] *Memorial Exhibition of Pictures by John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Knoedler Galleries, 1905).

[79] *Art Notes* (Macbeth Gallery) 35 (March 1908), n.p.

[80] Born in Richfield, Ohio, Silas Dustin received art training at the National Academy of Design and under William Merritt Chase. In 1940, Dustin was living in Los Angeles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[81] Twachtman's *Sailing* (now, private collection), *Summer Day* (now, Indianapolis Institute of Arts), *Summer* (now, Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.); *February* (now, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), *Yellowstone Falls* (identity unknown), and *Niagara* (identity unknown) were lent by Dustin to the Lewis and Clark Exposition and his *Greenwich Hills* (now, Denver Art Museum) and *Spring Morning* (now, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh) were lent by Dustin to the Alaska-Yukon Exposition.

[82] The other American Impressionists in the Armory Show were Childe Hassam, J. Alden Weir, Mary Cassatt, Theodore Robinson, and Ernest Lawson.

[83] Michael Williams, "A Pageant of American Art," *Art and Progress* 6 (August 1915): 347.

[84] *Exhibition of Paintings by John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Macbeth Gallery, 1919).

[85] *Exhibition of Selected Works by John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (Boston: Vose Gallery, 1919) and *Exhibition of Paintings by J. H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (Boston: R.C. & N.M. Vose, 1919).

[86] See Milch Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[87] *Exhibition of Paintings and Pastels by John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Milch Galleries, 1928).

[88] *Paintings by John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Milch Galleries, 1949).

[89] *Leaders of American Impressionism: Mary Cassatt, Childe Hassam, John H. Twachtman, J. Alden Weir*, exh. cat. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Museum, 1937).

[90] *Presenting the Work of John H. Twachtman: American Painter*, exh. cat. (Utica, N.Y.: Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, 1939).

[91] *Paintings, Water Colors, Pastels by John H. Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Babcock Galleries, 1942), n.p.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[92] *Exhibition of Paintings by Abbott Thayer and John Twachtman*, exh. cat. (New York: Century Association, 1952).

[93] *John Henry Twachtman: A Retrospective Exhibition*, exh. cat. (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1966.

[94] "Painting: The Quiet American," *Time Magazine*, 14 October 1966, p. 90.

[95] Deborah Chotner, et al, *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989) and Franklin Kelly et al, *Frederick Edwin Church*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989).

[96] "Leisure and Arts--The Gallery: Another 'Genius' on Parade," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 November 1989, p. A12.

[97] Ira Spanierman, "Introduction," in *Twachtman in Gloucester* 1987, p. 7.

[98] Hilton Kramer, "Bringing an Entire Career to Life," *New York Times*, 19 December 1976, section 2, p. 31.

[99] Among Lawson sources, see Edgar Holger Cahill, "Ernest Lawson and His America," *Shadowland* 6 (March 1922): 22-23, 72; Frederic Fairchild Sherman, "The Landscape of Ernest Lawson," *Art in America* 8 (January 1919): 32-39; and Duncan Phillips, "Ernest Lawson," *American Magazine of Art* 8 (May 1917): 257-263.

[100] See the discussion in Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Pree, 1983), pp. 229-239.

[101] Robinson diaries, 10 August 1892

[102] See William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 74, 163.

[103] "An Art School at Cos Cob" 1899, p. 57.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[104] See Barbara Haskell, *Milton Avery*, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1982), pp. 19, 21.

[105] Marsden Hartley, *Adventures in the Arts* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1921), p. 77.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conclusion

John Twachtman never professed an interest in chronicling modern life, and he had no social or political agenda that he sought to get across in his work. Nonetheless, the driving force behind his art--a desire to express his direct, unmediated responses to his subjects--led him not only to experiment with new and original techniques, but also to create images that reflected truths about his sites and his era. Although his works reveal an understanding of form and design that reflect the advanced artistic trends of his time, his aim was not to experiment with new aesthetic means. Instead, he used novel methods for expressive ends, to get across his impressions of his subjects. It was, indeed, due to his non-literal approach that he was able to communicate the "spirit of the place," absorbing the viewer in a subject rather than simply describing it as would a more consciously reportorial artist. Attentive to his own subjective reactions to his sites and using original means to convey what he saw and felt, he expressed the texture of life in the places he worked.

In Venice in 1878, Twachtman eschewed the romanticized images of other artists, who conjured the Venice of the Golden Age. Capturing the varied shapes and textures of the city--its rough warehouses, the gleam of church facades, the choppy water of the Grand Canal, the dark angular shapes of steamships, the lively verticals of pilings--he conveyed the invigorating feeling of modern Venice with its mixed sensations of new and old.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rendered with the painterly bravura and rich dark tonalities characteristic of his Munich period style, his images of New York harbors and of the shore in and around Jersey City, New Jersey, reveal the dynamic spirit of the New York metropolitan area during the 1870s. His works convey a viewpoint similar to that expressed by writers of the era, suggesting that although New York's waterfront was crude and wretched, with its bursting energy, it represented the city's ascendancy on the national and even international stage. His images reflect a time of optimism about the American city in general, when the progress and growth of the country's urban centers heralded the great future that lay ahead for the nation.

The works Twachtman created in the Cincinnati suburb of Avondale in the early 1880s reflect a development that paralleled the growth of the American city, that of the fringe community that was away from and yet dependent on an urban center. Portraying an area made readily accessible for the first time in the 1870s, when incline railways were constructed that surmounted Cincinnati's hills, he presented a new kind of American landscape that was neither wilderness nor farmland, where overgrown nature was left intact while accommodating the homes of middle-class families. In contrast to the pastoral depictions of harmonious rural sites by the Hudson River School, his views of verdant and snow-covered hills, where houses rise at intervals, show a partially developed landscape in which human elements converge somewhat awkwardly with natural ones.

The works Twachtman created in Holland and Normandy, from 1883-1885, reveal a countryside antithetical to that he had depicted in his New York and Avondale views. Modifying his style from the direct, bravura of his Munich manner to the soft tonalities and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fluid paint application of his French period style, he conveyed the wistful, lyrical, and tranquil qualities of locales that had endured largely unchanged over long periods of time and had been slowly, gently, and gradually shaped by human involvement.

In his painting of the Brooklyn Bridge, probably rendered in 1888, Twachtman presented a very different view of the New York waterfront than he had in 1879. Depicting the famous suspension bridge five years after its completion, he suggested the quiet order it brought to the urban scene. He similarly expressed harmonious elements in the industrial waterfront of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

After moving to Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1889, Twachtman focused on painting the home and land that he purchased and was constantly in the process of modifying. In his quietly luminous and sensuously painted scenes of Greenwich, he captured the refreshing and welcoming qualities that characterized the new American suburban landscape aesthetic of the 1890s. In contrast to the images he had created of Avondale, which had shown a suburb where man and nature co-existed with some discordant elements, in his Greenwich works, he portrayed a landscape where human and natural forms were in harmony, each enhancing the beauty of the other. His works express the qualities called for by American writers on the suburb from the era, showing a new type of Arcadian landscape which did not encompass farms, fields, or cows grazing, but instead consisted of a natural terrain where the wildness of nature was gently offset by civilized accents. He depicted a landscape where nature was to be appreciated as art.

At the same time, although departing dramatically from the panoramic views of wilderness sites depicted by the Hudson River School, his images of Greenwich suggest

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that the American suburb of the 1890s was a place where one could find qualities of the wilderness experience prized by Americans of an earlier era while enjoying a secure, strife-free domestic existence. His works exemplify the new type of American landscape valued in the post-frontier era, a landscape where the discoveries to be made were not of remote, previously unexplored sites, but of familiar grounds, their beauty experienced by seeing them freshly and enjoying their transformation in changes of weather, season, and varying conditions of light and atmosphere.

Twachtman's views of Newport, Rhode Island, rendered in the summer of 1889, and of Gloucester, Massachusetts, created in the summers of 1900-1902, capture the festive qualities of American resort towns at the turn of the century. Although depicting modest sailboats and wharves rather than the pleasure palaces for which Newport was famous, he captured the animated mood of the vacation town. In Gloucester, Twachtman painted images that revealed the mixed nature of a place that was both an important fishing port and an emergent summer resort. He included elements of both sides of Gloucester in his works, suggesting the lively feelings of both being on holiday and of experiencing the invigorating salty air of a town where the catching of fish came first.

As a study of Twachtman's art reveals, his works reflected some of the major developments that occurred in American life in the late nineteenth century. He conveyed the pride in the city that emerged in the 1870s as the nation's industrial strength grew and became concentrated in urban centers and when communities of commuters surfaced in outlying areas of the city. He also created works reflecting the nature cult of the 1890s, which emerged as the ills of the city increasingly became apparent--this cult that did not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

result in a return of the native populace to farms, but was instead manifested in conservation efforts, nostalgia inspired wilderness groups, the rise of lush, natural suburbs, and the development of resorts in the country and at the ocean.[1] As Roderick Nash wrote in *Wilderness in the American Mind* (1967):

> [*F*]*in-de-siecle* America was ripe for the widespread appeal of the uncivilized. The [wilderness] cult had several facets. In the first place, there was a growing tendency to associate wilderness with America's frontier and pioneer past that was believed responsible for many unique and desirable national characteristics. Wilderness also acquired importance as a source of virility, toughness, and savagery--qualities that defined fitness in Darwinian terms. Finally, an increasing number of Americans invested wild places with aesthetic and ethical values, emphasizing the opportunity they afforded for contemplation and worship.[2]

On his property in Greenwich, Twachtman undertook a personal search for the wilderness experience lost in the post-frontier age. Using an individualistic vocabulary of color, brushwork, and form enriched by Impressionist techniques, he expressed the infinite novelties of his own seventeen acres experienced at all times of year and as affected by all of nature's moods. Twachtman's images of the natural motifs on his property express a reverence for the pure and natural kind of landscape prized by the wilderness cult followers of his age. Thus, although Twachtman was influenced by the principal European sources that had impact on American landscape painters in the late nineteenth century, his images of his homeland reflect his cultural context.

In the early twentieth century, as the Ashcan School came to dominate the American art scene, Twachtman was grouped along with other American Impressionist

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

landscape painters of his time as a painter of genteel scenes who had focused on aesthetic concerns exclusively, avoiding modern life. Twachtman's work does not hold up to this characterization. Whether painting New York harbor or his own property in Greenwich, he expressed what he experienced visually and emotionally, transcribing his experiences with potent, flexible expressive means into his art. Just as the Ashcan School revealed the character of New York's tenement districts and industrial waterfronts in the early twentieth century, Twachtman broke down the gap between art and life in views that captured the experience of urban, suburban, countryside, and resort locales from the 1870s through the turn of the century.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Conclusion: Notes

[1] On the wilderness cult of the 1890s, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 141-160. Nash makes the point that the ending of the frontier prompted many Americans to seek ways of retaining the influence of the wilderness in modern civilization, and cites the initiation of wilderness clubs and the Boy Scout movement as examples.

[2] Smith 1967, p. 145.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

JOHN TWACHTMAN (1853-1902) AND THE AMERICAN SCENE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE FRONTIER WITHIN THE TERRAIN OF THE FAMILIAR

Volume II

by Lisa N. Peters

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1995

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chronology

1853

4 August. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, to Frederick Christian and Sophia Droege Twachtman.

Grew up in Over-the-Rhine, Cincinnati's German district.

Late 1860s

Worked for Breneman Brothers Decorating Firm, Cincinnati, where his father was employed.

1868-1871

Studied art at Ohio Mechanics' Institute, Cincinnati; received first degree awards in 1869-1870 and 1870-1971.

1871-1875

Attended McMicken School of Design.

1873

Exhibited *Tuckerman's Ravine* at Cincinnati Industrial Exposition.

1874-1875

Winter-spring. Studied in evening class under Frank Duveneck at Ohio Mechanics' Institute

1875

August. Left with Frank Duveneck, Henry Farny, and Frank Dengler for Munich.

15 October. Enrolled at Munich Royal Academy in a class in life drawing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1876

Mid-May. Signed Streicher Inn Guestbook, Polling, Germany. Visited Polling with Wilder Darling and Charles Ulrich.

1877

Late May. Joined William Merritt Chase and Frank Duveneck in Venice. Took care of Chase, who became ill with malaria.

1878

March. Exhibited at the Society of American Artists for the first time.

Probably by late April. Returned to Cincinnati on hearing of the death of his father.

April. Showed four works at the Women's Art Association, Cincinnati

1879

Winter. Moved to New York. Painted scenes of New York harbors and Jersey City, New Jersey.

April-May. Exhibited at the National Academy of Design for the first time.

June-July. Traveled with the Tile Club on a barge trip up the Hudson River to Lake Champlain.

16 October. Became a member of the Society of American Artists.

Fall. Returned to Cincinnati. Began teaching drawing and oil painting at the Women's Art Museum Association.

December-January 1880. Began to explore etching. Joined the Etching Club of Cincinnati.

1880

Painted in hills of Cincinnati.

Continued teaching at Women's Art Museum Association.

15 June. Left Cincinnati for New York. Then traveled along the Atlantic coast.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

By 29 June. In Nonquit Beach, New Bedford, Massachusetts. Visited with R. Swain Gifford and Chase. Probably traveled to Block Island.

August. Spent time in New York.

Early September. Returned to Cincinnati.

2 October. Sailed for Europe.

By early November. Became a teacher at Duveneck's art school in Florence. Painted in Tuscany.

1881

Remained in Tuscany.

21 April. Back in Cincinnati. Married Martha Scudder.

late June. Participated in Tile Club boat trip on Long Island Sound.

Spring or early summer. Left for honeymoon in Europe. Joined J. Alden Weir and John Ferguson Weir in Dordrecht, Holland. Visited and painted in Dordrecht, Pappendrecht, and Alblassadam.

July or August. Visited Anton Mauve in The Hague.

15 August. Signed guestbook at Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

Between 15-20 August. Left Holland and traveled south to Munich and Schleissheim in Bavaria.

Fall. In Venice, joined by Henry Muhrman, Duveneck, and Robert Blum.

By mid-December. Returned to Cincinnati. Resumed teaching at Women's Art Museum Association.

1882

Resided in Avondale, Ohio, a suburb of Cincinnati, with Twachtman's father-in-law, Dr. John Milton Scudder.

Winter. Resumed teaching at Art Museum Association.

February. Exhibited at the Fifteenth Annual Exhibition of the American Water Color Society at the National Academy of Design.

5 March. J. Alden Twachtman, the artist's first child born.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Painted landscapes in Avondale.

1883

Remained in Avondale for part of the year. Continued to paint Avondale scenes.

February. Exhibited at Closson's Gallery, Cincinnati, with Kenyon Cox, Joseph DeCamp, George Hopkins, and Theodore Wendel.

Summer or fall. Left with his wife and son for Paris.

In Paris, resided at 141 Avenue de Villiers in the seventeenth arrondissment.

Enrolled at Académie Julian on the Faubourg St. Denis under Gustave Boulanger and Jules-Joseph Lefebvre. Met future members of the Ten: Frank Benson, Willard Metcalf, Robert Reid, Edward Simmons, and Edmund Tarbell.

1884

Continued to study at Académie Julian.

9 June. Birth of Marjorie, Twachtman's second child.

Summer. Rented a château with a garden in the Normandy town of Arques-la-Bataille. Visited Dieppe.

Visted Honfleur, probably spent time with Homer Dodge Martin.

25 December. Marjorie baptized in Paris.

1885

Continued to study at Académie Julian.

February. First one-man show, at J. Eastman Chase's Gallery, Boston.

April. In Normandy, possibly at Honfleur.

16 April. Martha Twachtman and the artist's children leave Europe bound for Cincinnati.

11 June. Signed Frans Halsmuseum guestbook in Haarlem.

Painted in Dordrecht again. Probably stayed in Holland through the summer.

Summer. Created first pastels.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5 September. Visited the Frans Halsmuseum with William Merritt Chase and Walter Launt Palmer. Signed guestbook again.

1 October. Arrived in Venice. Joined Duveneck "boys," but Duveneck not in Venice. Resided with Blum at Palazzo Contarini di Scrigni in San Trovaso quarter on the Grand Canal. Took care of Blum through bout of cholera.

Late December or early January. Returned to America.

1886

January. Probably went directly to Cincinnati after sailing home.

January-February. Second one-man show, also at J. Eastman Chase's Gallery, Boston.

10 June. On Pelee Island, Ontario, Canada, in Lake Erie, where he collected cattle for Dr. Scudder's marsh farm. Received word that the crate of his works sent from Europe were to be salvaged from the *S.S. Oregon*, which had sunk off the coast of Fire Island, New York.

By 10 October. In Chicago. Participated in painting cyclorama of the Battle of Gettysburg to be erected in Pittsburgh.

2 November. Birth of Elsie, Twachtman's third child.

1887

Spent time on Pelee Island, probably in the summer.

By fall or winter 1888. In New York. May have taken a studio in the Benedick Building with William Langson Lathrop.

1888

Winter or spring. Began visiting frequently with J. Alden Weir in Branchville, Connecticut. Created etchings on Weir's press and concentrated on pastel.

May 1888. Exhibited at second exhibition of Society of Painters in Pastel. Showed Dutch and Venetian subjects.

Summer. Rented a house in Branchville near Weir's farm. Created pastels and paintings in Branchville.

Summer or fall. Began working in Bridgeport, on the Connecticut coast. Created paintings, etchings, pastels, and watercolors.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1889

Early February. Joint exhibition and sale with J. Alden Weir of paintings at pastels at Fifth Avenue Galleries, New York Sale conducted on 6 February by Ortgies & Co.

June. Exhibited at third exhibition of Society of Painters in Pastel.

June through the end of the summer. Taught in Newport. Created paintings, pastels, etchings, and watercolors.

Fall. Began teaching at Art Students League, New York, as instructor of the Preparatory Antique Class. Held this position until the end of his life.

Probably moved to Greenwich, Connecticut, renting a house on Round Hill Road. Began focusing his attention on motifs found on his property..

Became a member of the Players Club, New York

1890

18 February. Purchased his home and three acres of land in Greenwich.

12 May. Birth of Eric Christian, the artist's fourth child.

June. Participated in fourth and final exhibition of the Society of Painters in Pastel.

Summer. Probably began teaching summer classes in Cos Cob with J. Alden Weir

1891

March. One-man show at Wunderlich, Gallery, New York. Showed pastels and oils.

25 September. Death of Eric Christian Twachtman.

1 December. Purchased 13.4 additional acres of land in Greenwich.

Summer. Probably taught with Weir in Cos Cob.

1892

6 September. Birth of Quentin Twachtman, the artist's fifth child.

Summer. Taught with Weir in Cos Cob. Continued to teach classes after Weir left for Chicago in August.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1893

May. Exhibition with J. Alden Weir, Claude Monet, and Paul-Albert Besnard at American Art Galleries, New York.

Late October. To Boston to attend wedding of J. Alden Weir to Ella Baker. Saw exhibition of Japanese prints at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

November. Joint show with J. Alden Weir at St. Botolph Club, Boston.

Stayed in Buffalo with Dr. Charles Cary and visited Niagara Falls, in the winter and/or the summer.

Summer. Taught in Cos Cob with Weir.

1894

Began teaching the elementary cast drawing classes at the Cooper Union School of Design for Women.

Worked on images of Chicago World's Columbian Exposition for deluxe history of the Fair.

Summer. Taught in Cos Cob with Weir.

December. On hanging committee of Sixty-fourth Annual Exhibition of Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Won Temple Award for the best landscape by an artist under the age of forty from the Academy for *Autumn*.

1895

14 January. Death of Elsie Twachtman from scarlet fever.

23 May. Birth of Violet Twachtman, the artist's sixth child.

Fall. Visited Yellowstone Park in Wyoming upon receiving a commission for views of the Park from Major William A. Wadsworth of Genessee, New York.

Summer. Taught at Cos Cob with Weir.

Death of Twachtman's mother.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1896

2 April. Death of Theodore Robinson in New York.

Summer. Taught in Cos Cob with Weir.

1897

Resigned from Society of American Artists. Helped to form the Ten American Painters.

Summer. Taught alone in Cos Cob.

Early December. Show of Twachtman's Cos Cob students' work at Art Student's League.

Birth of Godfrey Twachtman, the artist's seventh child.

1898

March-April. Showed with the Ten at Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York.

April-May. Showed with the Ten at St. Botolph Club, Boston.

Summer. Taught at the Art Student's League first summer session in Norwich, Connecticut, with Bryson Burroughs.

1899

April. Showed with the Ten at Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York.

Summer. Taught alone in Cos Cob.

1900

February-March. Joint show with his son, J. Alden, at St. Botolph Club, Boston.

March. Showed with the Ten at Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York.

April. Show of work by Twachtman and his son at Cincinnati Art Museum. Acquisition by the museum of Twachtman's *Waterfall: Blue Brook*.

Showed with the Ten at St. Botolph Club, Boston.

May. Participated in Twenty-fifth Anniversary Exhibition of the Art Students League, New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

June. In Gloucester, Massachusetts, with his family. Stayed through the summer, residing at the Rockaway Hotel on Rocky Neck.

August. Participated in exhibition at the Rockaway.

1901

January. One-man show at Chicago Art Institute. Visited Chicago and gave lectures at the Art Institute.

Winter. Stayed frequently at the Holley House in Cos Cob.

March. One-man show at Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York.

Showed with the Ten at Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York.

April. One-man show at Cincinnati Art Museum.

May. Participated in Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo.

June. Spent a month in Honfleur with his family.

Summer. In Gloucester, probably teaching students from the Art Students League.

1902

Winter. Stayed frequently at the Holley House in Cos Cob.

March-April. Showed with the Ten at Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York.

April-May. Showed with the Ten at St. Botolph Club, Boston.

Summer. In Gloucester, stayed at the Harbor View Hotel in East Gloucester and taught classes with Joseph DeCamp.

8 August. Died in Gloucester.

1903

24 March. Sale of 98 works from the artist's estate at American Art Galleries, New York.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix One

Twachtman's Correspondence

The following are transcripts of all of Twachtman's letters to J. Alden Weir and Josephine Holley.

The original letters from Twachtman to Weir are in the collection of the Harold B. Lee Library, Archives, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (MSS 41). These letters have been known from typescripts of them prepared by Weir's daughter, Dorothy Weir Young. For the most part Young's typescripts are accurate, but in consulting the originals, a few errors were found.

Twachtman's letters to Josephine Holley, belong to the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

A few other notable letters are also included. Their collections are indicated.

Boldface type represents the citation for each letter. Brackets indicate illegible writing. All misspellings and grammar errors have been left as in original letters. Illustrations are described in brackets. When a date appears only in a postmark, it is surrounded by {}.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, Munich, to Miss Alice Minning, Cincinnati, 16 November 1876, private collection, Cincinnati

Munich Nov. 16th 1876

My Dear Alice[1] :
You do not know how glad I was to receive that letter from you. I will never forget you for that reason, and will answer you with much pleasure.

You and Arthur[2] have I guess grown real big since I am away, and when I come back I will not know you.

George[3] wrote me that he was going to be assistant marshall. We have not got elections over here but we have got torch-light processions, when some of the smart teachers die. Tell Arthur he must not be so bad or I wont bring something along for him when I come home. I am glad that the monkey did not hurt him when you went to the zoo--zoo. There are some monkeys who are as big as your papa, and who can eat up the people. They are called baboons.

I like it in Germany very much and wont come home for a long long while. I also get enough to eat and will now tell you what I eat. In the morning I get up at seven o'clock and go to a Coffee-house where I drink a cup of coffee and eat a piece of bread. I never eat butter. At dinner time I go to a 'Gast-house' where I get some soup, meat, potatoes, beer and bread, after which I smoke a pipe which the following is a picture, and I got it from a friend whose name is Ritter[4] [picture of hand holding a pipe]. When I come home I will ride in the inclined plane cars that go on the hill. During this summer there was a street rail-road built in Munich which is called the "Munchner Tramway." I did not ride on them yet. They haven't got an elevator in Munich. Now I will close with love for your father and mother, Arthur and yourself.
From your far off uncle.
John.

[caricatures of two heads] Two of our teachers.

Twachtman, Cincinnati, 14 June 1880, to Weir, New York, Weir Family Papers

Cin. June 14th 1880

My dear Weir,
Why have you neglected writing all this while? Are you angry with me?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tomorrow I will leave here for N.Y. and be with you on Thursday. It has been excessively hot here.
As ever your friend
J.H. Twachtman

Twachtman, Nonquit Beach, New Bedford, Mass., to Weir, 29 June, 1880, Weir Family Papers

My dear Weir,
After a great deal of searching for a nice place I have finally landed here at Nonquit Beach, a place near New-Bedford, Mass. It would be hard to tell how I got here. Several times I was on the point of going to the coast of Maine but each time was interfered with by some small circumstance. Almost the whole coast of this state is familiar to me for I have traveled its whole length since I left N.Y. I was on the point of going to Mt. Desert on Saturday and accidentally met an artist friend on the streets of Boston who, after making inquiries, wanted to know why I didn't go to Nonquit, a place I had never heard of before. He told me that Gifford[5] and other artists were down here and I decided to go at once. I might as well have stayed West as to have gone to M.D. alone.

Everything is lovely here--beautiful sailing and magnificent scenery, and I am glad to have come.

By this time there is, no doubt, some mail for me from Cincinnati and do send it at once. Will it not be best to put it in a new envelope so that it will be sure to reach me? Write the address very nice and plain. Possibly you can send it by telegraph.

Write me a long letter and write it about everything. It is so near to N.Y. that you must come for a short time. I can't expect you to stay very long, I know that you must go to Mt.D. or to some place that will be made equally interesting by the fairest charmer, but one, that lives.
Ever your friend,
J. H. Twachtman

New Bedford
Nonquit Beach
Mass.

Nonquit
Tuesday, June 29th 1880

P.S. I have seen much of Gifford since here and will go with him to Block Island for a few days.

T.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, Cincinnati, to Weir, 5 September 1880, Weir Family Papers

Cin. Sep. 5 1880

My dear Weir--
During all of my stay east my movements were so sudden and frequent that I stayed but a short time at one place. About a month ago I was in N.Y. and then called at your house which I found empty, only a servant in charge. By this time you have surely returned, even returned from Mt. Desert!!! I am very happy and am anxious to see you, which I expect to very soon. About a month ago Duveneck[6] wrote me from Italy and offers me certain inducements to join him at Florence where he has sort of a private school and in which I am to teach. You will see me soon, as I intend to sail on the second of October from N.Y. You do not know how tempting every opportunity is to me and how I long to go in quest of fame and fortune. Why should it be the latter too? or rather, why should it be either and can't happiness be complete without either or both? No! my star shines brighter and I see greater possibilities. In my mind I have finer pictures than ever before. Ten thousand pictures come and go every day and those are the only complete pictures painted, pictures that shall never be polluted by paint and canvas. Let me hear from you and write to me all your experiences this summer. Tell me that you are happy.
Let me hear from you very soon.
Ever yours
most sincerely,

J. H. Twachtman
520 Race St.
Cincinnati
Ohio

Twachtman, Avondale, to Weir, [?], 188[2], Weir Family papers

My dear Weir--
I just got your letter this very moment. I was glad to hear from you and such news. I congratulate you with all my heart and see you happy.[7] You are just the man to make a woman happy and will be happy in return. My dear fellow you will find your life fuller and finest instincts of your manhood will show themselves. You will be very happy. You will have your own home and that means that you will be a father and your ties will grow stronger. When is it to be? When our baby is born we shall again go abroad. I think. I feel much like staying in this country but do not want to stay here in Cin. Mrs. T. takes a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hearty interest in your future and sends kindest wishes from the depths of her purest of pure hearts. She says all sorts of good things about you, and I join with her.

Very sincerely your friend

J.H. Twachtman

Send those water colors to Philadelphia if you think best. Nothing of ours sold I believe. Two of them can be sold here so you may send them. The three mills and the view of Venice. The one with the lump of piles in the right hand corner, the largest of them all. To save trouble just send them all back again. If you want the willows you may have them. Send three or four with those two I mention above.

Twachtman, Avondale, to Weir, [New York], 5 March 1882, Weir Family Papers

Avondale March 5 -- 1882.

My dear Weir--
To-day will be marked in our calendar as one of much importance. We had a son born to us.[8] He is well and strong and his mother is as well as circumstances permit.

Yesterday I sent you my work which has very little new in addition to what we did in Holland. On some of these I worked but I feel that nearly all, at any rate half of them should have more work. As you see the Holland work remains the best and of two I feel advance has been made on my previous work. Some of my earlier work is better as regards unity and these last are more like studies. Write what you think of them. There are too many to send them all to the Society and if you think it advisable send some to the Academy, either my own or Mrs. Twachtman's. Will you send this year to the A? The frames are not much of a success but it was the best I could do here and save you the trouble of framing. The one in a fancy frame with shadow-box is not for sale as it is already sold without its frame. At first we put the red-roofed houses in this fancy frame but it did not suit. The frame in which the red roofs now are seems to suit it quite well but if you think another frame would be better for it let me know. The red roofs and the small landscape in the same kind of frame I should like to put good prices on. [see sketch with price given as $175.] The doctor[9] has taken a fancy to this [the small one] and the other might be good for me to keep. [another sketch of landscape with houses, with price of $200.]

I sent you the study of the girl too. What will you have to exhibit? Your water-color was highly spoken of by all the critics. The Tribune mentioned us together and I felt proud of it. You did not send any criticisms.

In my pocket I have a long letter written to you but never sent it. One naturally falls into a state of doing nothing out here. A good many people, all of them supposed to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be up in art matters, have seen my paintings but I am convinced they care little for them. This is a very old foggied place and only one kind of art is considered good. The old Dusseldorf school comes in for its full share of honor. There is no good art influence here and I shall be glad to leave. We will either go to N.Y. or abroad. The latter is probably the best thing to do and then I can study independent of every thing.

You will have had enough about myself in this letter. I just now wish for a few days in N.Y. to be near you. Is it possible for one to do good work away from all sympathetic art influence? if so then my study is a failure here. I am doing nothing.

Write a long letter all about what you are doing!!

Two of those water colors are sold and will you please send them. The one with the three mills and the Venice called "View in Venice," [sketch] we have a chance of selling, another one of Holland so will you please send them at once.

Our boy was born this morning and we have already discovered many wonderful talents in him. He is a real nice fellow.

Remember me to all in the "Benedict."

Very sincerely yours,
J. H. Twachtman

Care of
Dr. Scudder

[Weir wrote on the letter: "Afternoon in Venice" Mr. J. Twachtman, Pomegranates."]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [?], 7 December 1883, Weir Family Papers

Paris Dec. 7--1883--

My dear Weir--
Your letter came to hand all right a few days ago and I was glad to hear from you. I was glad that you had my painting on your wall and that you like it, and I was also pleased that you had sold the green thing for me. How did you ever stick anybody with that I should like to know, and as for the price, you know how very refreshing it is to sell at all. It is the only thing I have sold since last spring when you sold that green landscape to Mr. Davis.[10] I believe I shall have to appoint you my sole and everlasting agent; no one else cares a damn for my things. The old gentleman wrote from Cincinnati the other day that not less something turned up we should have to make that hog-sticking-city our home. You remember what Pinio said about every other man from Cin. and how can one help going into the hog-sticking business if you must make it your home. I am drawing from the figure, nude, this winter and you know how much I need drawing. I don't know a fellow who came from Munich that knows how to draw or ever learned anything else in that place. I know that you will agree with me that I am doing the right thing. Write what you think about it.

Your letter had little to say about yourself or wife. You are in your studio again and have a flat on 10th Street. M. Lucia[11] arrived a few days ago and had a message of love from you which I was glad to get. And the Society will have its ex. in the Academy this coming season. It seems to me that we are now driven to the wall and the only reason we take it is because there is nothing else to get. The U.S. is a country of fifty millions of people and in all the broad land there is not even one gallery to exhibit in. The annual county fairs where hams are hung along side of Corots--(and how much they do talk of art)--can hardly be considered good art exhibitions. Why not acknowledge that society in N.Y. has no interest in the S.A.A. and not hold any more shows. They are never patronized in any way excepting possibly the art critic who has told us that some of these men promise good. They have been promising for a long time.

Let me hear more about yourselves in your next letter and what you are painting. Little Alden is in splendid health and so is his mother.

At the Art Union there is a Marine of mind and if you have a chance to stick some one for $25.00 (twenty five) for that I should be very happy.

You spoke of my sending over something but I am painting very little. Do not trouble yourself too much about the Marine but if you should have a chance to sell it I should be glad to have the money.

Write to me soon and believe me sincerely your friend.
J.H. Twachtmann

care of Drexel, Harjes & Co.
31 Boul. Haussman

Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [New York], 2 January 1885, Weir Family Papers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Paris January 2--1885--

My dear Weir--
Messengers of friendship should always make quick journeys as your letter did which I received to-day. I have no doubt that my last letter never reached you, written from Arque where we spent the summer and in which I described our chateau and beautiful garden. You remember that project you had of buying a chateau in company with Bastien LePage. His illness was the talk amongst the painters and everybody but himself knew that it must prove fatal. But death is a thing with which we never become familiar and when he died it seemed as if he had not been ill at all--it was felt by the whole artist community. At his funeral every one seemed to be present--there was such a large gathering. I stood opposite his house from which he was now taken forever and I thought of you and wished that I might cull a few flowers and send them to you. The hearse was covered with them. The procession moved slowly away and it was altogether a very sad scene. You know he lived near Park Monceau and he was buried from the church in the Rue Bremontier, farther west and near where we live.

All the papers had articles on him and some of the illustrated papers have cuts after his photograph.

In his painting he seldom went beyond the modern realism which, to me consists too much in the representation of things. Sometimes he did get beyond that and in his "Joan d'Arc" he was truly poetic, and in his "First Communion," which I saw in 1878, he was more complete--there seemed in it something more than a study and something that he loved more than the mere doing. What tasks the man did set himself in the painting of a white apron with which he was as much in love as the face or the person. He was a wonderful force in art and will no doubt live as long as his canvas will last. Character in a blade of grass or a potato--the handle of a hoe or anything material was made true and looked like the real thing. In his technique, for which I care but little, he has had many imitators. But you know all this and better than I do.

I wrote you a long letter in Octobre last. I am afraid it never reached you--You never tell me what you are doing or how much longer you intend to live in exile. If I must go home soon I hardly know what will take [the] place of my weekly visit to the Louvre. Perhaps patriotism, but my country shall always have that and the best possible paintre I can make of myself. Many happy returns of the day to you and yours from all of us. My wife says that you never told us what you named your baby. Our little girl is called Marjorie and was baptized on Christmas day.
Ever sincerely your friend
J. H. Twachtman

Remember me to all the fellows in N.Y.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, Paris, to Weir, [?], 6 April 1885, Weir Family Papers

Paris April 6--1885--

My dear Weir--
Your letter came to-day and as you have been very negligent with me it was a very agreeable surprise. I was rather sorry that you should be a little blue for it goes to prove that even an artistic temperament as yours finds not enough to keep it from ennui. And the papers are so full of art news and what the artists are doing that, if newspapers were a safe thing to go by, America would be the Artistic and France quite dead. Unfortunately for America that it should be so.

We have been having some treats this winter and have had as many as twelve exs. at a time. How anybody can find time to go to all and see the Louvre at least once a week I can't see. We are now having the Bastian LePage and Delacroix; and the Water Color just closed and the Pastel following in its place. Ribot's ex. of designs was quite disappointing to me as he lacks every search after the character of nature and not so interesting as his painting by far. All the younger men are mad on B. LePage and say that he is the greatest of modern masters and compare him to Holbein, a thing that I cannot understand. Aside of him he was always small and fussy and never looked for the value of a large mass for the whole but made a bit of lace as interesting as an eye. And so you leave his ex. rather [more] puzzled and tired than comforted. He was sincere, but very restless.

We have a new acquisition to the Louvre in the way of some portraits by Frans Hals. A light complexioned woman with dark eyes and hair with the most wonderful finish of the face so that you would hardly take it for his work. A portrait of a man and a large family group are the other two. About the finest picture here is the Marguerita by Velasquez. In spite of his great cleverness he has adopted a workmanship adapted to his subject and it is painted as if a child had done it.

I have again been at school this winter. Last summer's work went to Boston where I had an ex. at Chase's[12] with moderate success financially. I was told that artistically it attracted some attention and they were liked by the artists. You will see my largest one at the American Art Association and write me how you like it.

I took a month from school this winter and painted a large canvas for the Salon but it was rejected. Dannat[13] like it and was much surprised to hear of this. Others who saw it seemed sure of its getting in all right and I should not dwell upon it if it were not that I know of some very bad works accepted.

We go to the sea-side in a week and remain there until the 16th of May when my wife sailes for America in the "Normandie" of the french line. I hope that she will have a chance of seeing you and your family so you must keep a lookout for the steamer. As Dr. Scudder will be in N.Y. when they arrive their stay there will not be so very long and I want you to do me the favor of seeing them. My wife very much looks forward to the pleasure of meeting you and your wife and baby. Write to me soon again and tell me all

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

about yourself. My wife joins me in kindest remembrances to you and yours and believe me as ever your sincere friend.
J. H. Twachtman

Please send me the Article you had published about B. LePage as it would interest us very much to read your reminiscences.

Twachtman, Venice, to William Merritt Chase, New York, 26 December 1885, Chappellier Gallery Papers, Robert Blum Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll N68-101, frames 9-10.

{Dec. 26, 1885}

Dear Chasey,
Now I take my pen in hand to inform you that I am well and hoping that you are the same. Blum[14] never knows how to commence a letter's [?]. The weather is fine although it is cold and chilly with occasional rains and fogs. The barber suggests that there should be a change very soon. Don't you think so too? Please answer. I hope you are in good health with fair prospects for the happy new year. The jews will not be allowed on the "Lido" next summer--don't come[?] !!!!! Chase your lights out!!!!! Old Clerke has rested [?] Blum [?] for his Holland trip. He thinks some of taking the "Bed." Clerke asked me for your address. Blum is going to send you his name [?]. We hope you are in good health--Please answer. The weather is very fine and its snowing. By Jove! it's a nice winter--isn't it now. I saw your caricature the other day now [?] I hardly notice the smallest change. I recognized you at once. Shoot the hat!! The Xmas present hasn't come yet. You ought to see [Bisbing's][15] hat, it's a poser. He is going to cut his own hair and will look like this. How do you like his beard? Please answer. What do you think of pastels?

Blum's got the cholera--His hair is coming out. Hoping that you are well for I am the same--Write soon
Your friendly Twatty--

Twachtman, Pelee Island, Ontario, to Weir, New York (forwarded to Branchville), 10 June 1886, Weir Family Papers

Pelee Island

Ontario June 10 -- 1886

My dear Weir--
I have received a communication from Jacob R. Telfare, 56 Wall Street, that my case of pictures that went down with the S.S. Oregon has been rescued and will be sold by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

auction to pay for salvage. Now, if possible, I should like you to look after my interests in the matter and have the pictures bring as much as possible. Will you communicate with Mr. Telfair and ascertain what is to happen to my things? You know that the case might be sold and not bring more than ten or twenty dollars and if the sale were made known they would bring much more. There are a great number of things in the box and several that I am sure you would like. If you have already left the city will you hand this over to any mutual friend.

I have written you several letters and hope you will now let me hear from you.

Did you get a medal at the Prize Exhibition? I know that you deserved one--

Very sincerely your friend

J. H. Twachtmann

Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [New York?], 16 December 1891, Weir Family Papers

Dear Weir

That was a splendid talk we had this evening and I became more convinced each time I see you. I want to tell you how confident I feel. To-morrow will be a fine day and I wish for lots of canvas and paint to go to work with. To-night is full moon, a cloudy sky to make it mysterious and a fog to increase mystery. Just imagine how suggestive things are. I feel more and more contented with the isolation of country life. To be isolated is a fine thing and we are then nearer to nature. I can see now how necessary it is to live always in the country--at all seasons of the year.

We must have snow and lots of it. Never is nature more lovely than when it is snowing. Everything is so quiet and the whole earth seems wrapped in a mantle. That feeling of quiet and all nature is hushed to silence.

I will see you again on Friday.

Twachtman

[In the same envelope]

My dear Weir

After thinking it all over it appears to me that it would be best to let Robinson[16] have all the space at the Architectural Show. It seems that it was so intended by the management in the beginning. He will have a better chance for success as the space is rather small. As for my things, they have all been seen only last spring. Go and see him and tell him what I think and it will save me the trouble of writing another letter.

My wife joins me in kindest regards to Mrs. Weir and yourself.

As ever

Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, Chicago, 27 August 1892, Weir Family Papers

My dear Weir
Your letter was a long time coming--I had expected a note from Windham at any rate. You see that I was disappointed.

I have been ill since you went away and for two weeks did not do any work. I could not sit up nor do a thing. I'm all right again and have tried work this week.

There are only a half dozen students left and I go over once a week to see their work. One of the lessons, just before I got sick, was by far the best of this summer and if they had all remained until October it would have been a good thing for them.

How do you get on with your work? By this time it must be interesting to you. The experience will be splendid for anybody. You say nothing about the artists and what they are doing. Is Sargent[17] there? I should like to see his decoration. I can imagine what the others would do and the charm of surprise does not go with their work. "Ou il n'y est pas de mystere, il n'y est point de charme." How could you ask me about decorative landscape when you must see Millet daily? I have heard nothing officially.

Mrs. Twachtman sends compliments and believe me always your friend.
Twachtman

Aug. 27.--

Twachtman, [Greenwich], to Weir, [Chicago], 7 September 1892, Weir Family Papers

My dear Weir
A little boy was born to us yesterday.[18] Mrs. Twachtman is doing well. I read your letter to her and she wants me to write to you of our good fortune. The baby is a monster and poor Mrs. Twachtman had a very hard time. There is compensation in every thing and I am darned glad that I was not in Chicago yesterday.

I hope that your family are all well and must write to Windham to-day.
Yours in haste
Twachtman

Wednesday Sep. 7th 1892

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [Chicago], 26 September 1892, Weir Family Papers

Dear Weir,

Your letter excited me for a moment as I read it. I am very glad that I did not go to Chicago as my wife was quite ill and has not left her room yet. The baby is now three weeks old. Every thing goes on nicely and we hope to have Mrs. Twachtman down stairs this week. You have quite forgotten that the League begins next week and that I could not leave on that account. My purse is low and if I went to Chicago I would earn only half as much as I do by remaining here. After paying my board there would be about twenty dollars a week left to me. There it would be work every day and here only two days of the week are taken up, giving me four days at home. I should like to see you but the Fair buildings have no attraction for me.

The weather continues very fine. There has been so much sunshine for months that a grey day is a fine and rare thing. The foliage is changing and the wild-flowers are finer than ever. There is greater delicacy in the atmosphere and the foliage is less dense and prettier. The days are shorter which gives us a chance to see more of early morning effects.

My wife sends her kindest regards and the children have much love in their hearts for you.
As ever yours
Twachtman

Twachtman, Greenwich, to Weir, [Branchville?], 29 September 1892, Weir Family Papers

Sep 29th 1892

My dear Weir
Your brother John sent the photographs of your drawings. They are very fine--especially the one in action. They show that you are working hard and that you take pleasure in your work. And then with the color added, and the color as I know you will make it. I should like to drop in on you and see you at work and see what you are doing. You are a bad correspondent of late as from your letters I have not the remotest idea of what your surroundings are. You do not mention a single individual and you might be in Africa where you would at least speak of the natives. Do not imagine that I know not what your thoughts and feelings are. Our God has our destiny in His hands and the task for the noblest souls has always been the hardest. I am a firm believer in martyrs and if I better knew the life of Christ I might be a devoted churchman. We are direct opposites in our outward practices but it does not prevent us from knowing each other. That which is to me the most precious part of you is your devotion for the real in life. Your destiny lies not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

within your control and your courage must not fail you. I have no fear when I see you sad or downcast but remember that you have much hard work before you.

The house is quiet and all are asleep--even Jack breathing heavily in the next room. It is nine o'clock and very near my bed-time.
Ever yours
Twachtman

Twachtman, Grand Canyon Hotel, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 22 September 1895, to W[illiam] A. Wadsworth [Geneseo, New York], The Wadsworth Family Papers, College Libraries, State University of New York College of Arts and Sciences at Geneseo

My dear Mr. Wadsworth
I am so overwhelmed with things to do that a year would be a short stay. Your reply to my telegram came and I think you for your liberality. This trip is like the outing of a city boy to the country for the first time. I was too long in one place.

This scenery too is fine enough to schock any mind. We have had several snowstorms and the ground is white--the canon looks more beautiful than ever. The pools are more refined in color but there is much romance in the falls and the canon. I never felt so fine in my life and am busy from morning until night. One can work so much more in this place--ever tiring.

My stay here will last until the first, perhaps I want to go to Lower Falls, they are fine. There are many things one wants to do in this place.
Believe me
Sincerely yours
J. H. Twachtman
Sep 22--1895

Twachtman, [Greenwich], to Weir, [Branchville] [1890s], Weir Family Papers

My dear Weir
Sorry not to be able to go to you for a visit now. We are without a cent in the house and cant go anywhere where walking is bad.

We go to Cos Cob to-morrow to board for a while and hope that our credit will be good there. Why dont you come to see me? You pass Greenwich and don't make an effort to see me when it is not a question of money and only to stop over a train? or better still, over night?
Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Weir.
As ever yours
Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mrs. Twachtman had a delightful visit and, besides it did her much good in the way of happiness and chance.

Twachtman, [Holley House, Cos Cob, Connecticut], to J. Alden Twachtman, [Yale University, New Haven], [ca. winter 1901], descent of the artist, Vermont

My dear Alden
Yesterday I painted all day looking from a window at the blizzard and it recalled the one we had at home but not so fierce. But it was beautiful and I could not stop painting and painted until it was too dark to see and I was tired out. It seemed to be a fifty round go and I got knocked out at about the eleventh round.

I do not dare look at my work to-day as I am tired again of teaching but I am in better health than in a long time. Not that I had any special ailment but I feel as though I could do anything.
[sketch of Old Holley House painting]

I saw Macmonnies[19] to-day at the club and he complimented me on some things of mine he saw at Durand Ruels. He said "I like them very much--very much indeed--I think they are fine." In a quiet way and the praise was sweet to my ears. They were things I did here this winter and he had just seen an exhibition of Monet's things in another part of the establishment. But I seem to be sounding my own praises--but you don't mind that but like it. I am going to begin early tomorrow to work.
[sketch of view from the Holley House porch]

Make some sketches for me.
Your father

Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Conn., 2 January 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{2 January 1902}

Dear Joe
These letters that come are all very nice and I wish I were back. The town is using me up. I am on the go from morning until night and nothing doing. Always busy about some damned unnecessary thing and spending money to beat the band and to no purpose. And I also miss the painting.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What a lovely chance too to paint with Grandpa[20] and Eddie[21] and Sara[22] away!! Just my luck. I hope it hotter than Hell where they go to. Don't tell them.

But I send you my love and I wish I were home again. But I am caught in the meshes of this den of iniquity.

Yesterday they tried to blow the city into the sea and I wish they had and then I could row ashore and go back to Cos Cob.

But it's all up to me and if you will please give me my pitcher of water I'll go to bed and you can awake me at ten in the morning.

With the kindest regards to all and more love for you.

Johnnie

Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 17 January 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{17 January 1902}

My dear Joe

This is different! I am absolutely unfit to enter the ring and find that training at Cos Cob puts me in another class. But it does not follow to make comparisons. A cab just came to the door and there are people playing pool and there are people talking seriously in wispers. I am smoking a sigar. There is some one writing oposite to me and his scratching on the paper is just the same as my scratching. But I shall get my pitcher of water in the kitchen and go to my room and in the morning I shall wake up and--no--not walk out onto the upper porch to see what the day is like--but look down into an airshaft and when in the street see the ugly holes of the sub-way on Fourth Avenue. If the whole thing were only covered with snow and made beautiful.

I do hope you miss me and do hope you will tell me so. It is a beastly thing to be left alone.

I wonder why Joe does not bring me my pitcher of water.

I did call on Cara Haynes[23] this morning and we had a walk to-gether down the street.

When may I come back?

I send you all my love.

Your Johnnie

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 25 January 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{25 January 1902}

My dear Joe
How is it that when people live at Roxbury they get letters from you and that I here in this wilderness of houses, receive none? That even my letters to you are not answered. I found that Sea [Gate or Girt] was the dreariest place on the Atlantic Coast and the dreariness of vacant houses is something awful

But I think there is another decoration in view. I showed the man a pencil sketch of landscape made near your old place and he liked it. I made a number of oil sketches for him but the surroundings here are not congenial. There are so many noises that keep your mind off your work. Then the congeniality of friendship is attractive and you can not get away from it. At least--I don't want to.

Tell Elmer[24] that the exhibition is going to be done in real style. And tell him to get Jessie's[25] things ready. Everything is to be done in "pass-par-tout."

I will write him about it.

Kindest regards to all.
Johnnie

Twachtman, The Players, New York, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Conn., 4 February 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{4 February 1902}

My dear Joe
Until there is a change in the condition of things at home I do not think that I shall return. It is impossible for me to work.
With love
Your Johnie
Write me a letter

Twachtman, Chamberlin and Hygeia, Fort Monroe, Virginia, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 4 June 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{4 June 1902}

My dear Joe
Doctor Guiteras recommended a sea voyage and here I am and have just arrived this minute. I have a new story for you when I return. A Southern story.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

We were in a fog all night and there was nothing but blowing of whistles. Guiteras says that quinine is all that ails me.

The band is about to play.

This is a view from the desk where I am writing.

Your Johnnie

Twachtman, The Harbor View, East Gloucester, Massachusetts, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 21 June 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{21 June 1902}

My dear Joe

Why did not you answer my letter? Or Emma or Elmer do so? Marjorie is coming over and, I think, sails to-day. I shall go to New York to meet her. She is coming over with Mrs. Spring[26] of Greenwich and I may keep her with me all of next month.

I have bought some frames and rented a studio and have been doing a few things. The weather is cold and disagreeable. The landscape is hard as nails and the sea is too blue for painting.

[sketch] This is a view from my window.

Do answer this letter.

With my love to all of you.

Johny

Twachtman, The Harbor View, East Gloucester, Massachusetts, to Josephine Holley, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 30 June 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{30 June 1902}

My dear Joe

I was glad to know that you are up and able to write if even a short note. I expect to have a telegram from Marjorie at any moment. I think she sailed with Mrs. Spring of Greenwich a week ago yesterday but do not know by what line or steamer. Will you ask Elmer to pack my paints, easel and palette and send them to me. I may have to wait a whole week for Marjorie[27] to arrive and I am very anxious to get to work. I have taken a small studio and some of my pupils have already come and the class is started.

My love to all of you.

Johnnie

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, The Harbor View, East Gloucester, Massachusetts, to Elmer MacRae, Cos Cob, Connecticut, 10 July 1902, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

{10 July 1902}

My dear Elmer
I got your letter this morning. Sign my name like this
J. H. Twachtman
Get just as much for the picture as you can and as you have really done the work tell Edwards[28] that I wish your name to be put just under mine. Do not ask less than $50.00 and get $75.00 if possible. Keep all get for yourself.

Will you kindly make a bundle of my shirts and ties, vests and kerchiefs and send them to me? If you possibly can come up here for a month--have a change and do a lot of work. Bring your water-colors with you. It will do you good. Give my love to Joe and the rest.

The weather has been bad. . Rainy and cold.
Very sincerely
J. H. Twachtman.
You may choose this signature if you think best. Come up if you can.

There is a trunk at the station. Will you take it out and send it by express to me?

I have a letter from Marjorie and she arrives on Wednesday next. She writes that she may to Cos Cob for night. She may arrive late in the afternoon and she would have to be chaperoned.
JHT.

Twachtman, [?], to Elmer Mac Rae, no date, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

My dear Mac Rae
I was just over to call on your family and found your mother working on some darned old crochet, but sublimely happy.

Jessie is very much interested in all kinds of work and is having the kind of luck that I had when I was his age. his is very much alive to things and you would be interested in all sorts of impossible things he is trying to do. But he is working and we are now going to make a drawing (historical) together. We will let you see it when you return. He insists that it should be decorative and I insist that it must first be real. I am going to make him do all the work and then sign it myself and then have it copyrighted and then it will be legally mine--See?
With kindest regards to both of you.
Sincerely, J. H. Twachtman

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Twachtman, [?], to Mrs. Elmer MacRae (Emma Constant Holley), [?], no date, after October 1900, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich

My dear Mrs. MacRae
Joe is writing and I send you these few lines. Joe is not writing now as she gave me her darned old pen to write with and I shall never be able to write what I want to as this darned old pen makes me mad. I am going to get some stub pens.

The kids have just returned and they had the unusual pleasure of dining with some family called Mead (darn this pen) at Greenwich. Joe is going out in society this winter and I have to do the escorting because Dad is going to the Transvall, South Africa, or some other damned place.

The kids just brought in some ice cream and Joe and I are watching them eat it. They talk of nothing but things to eat. Send on those stubs. A new family have just rented the Brush house near the water so that no one can cross it but this darned new family.

I just found a new pen. But do send on the stubs. I went to the foot-ball at Yale yesterday and Yale worked the centre. The New Haven R.R. Co. still run trains this way but have decided to make Cos Cob the last station West.

The kids are still eating.
JHT

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix One: Notes

[1] Alice Minning, Twachtman's niece and daughter of his sister Amilia.

[2] Arthur Minning, Twachtman's nephew and son of his sister Amilia.

[3] Presumably Twachtman's brother, George (1856-?).

[4] The artist, Louis Ritter.

[5] The artist, R. Swain Gifford.

[6] The artist, Frank Duveneck.

[7] Refers to Weir's engagement to Anna Dwight Baker, who he married on 24 April 1883.

[8] John Alden Twachtman, the artist's first child.

[9] Dr. John Milton Scudder, Twachtman's father in law.

[10] The New York collector, Erwin Davis.

[11] M. Lucia's identity is unknown.

[12] J. Eastman Chase's Gallery, Boston.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[13] The American painter, William Turner Dannat, an expatriate in Paris.

[14] The artist, Robert Blum.

[15] The artist, H. Singlewood Bisbing (1849-1933).

[16] The artist, Theodore Robinson.

[17] The artist, John Singer Sargent.

[18] The artist's son, Quentin.

[19] The artist, Frederick Macmonnies (1863-1937).

[20] Josephine's husband Edward was nicknamed Grandpa.

[21] Josephine and Edward's son Eddie.

[22] Josephine and Edward's daughter, Sara.

[23] The artist Caroline Haynes (?-?).

[24] The artist Elmer MacRae.

[25] [Jessie]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[26] Mrs. Spring's identity is unknown.

[27] The artist's daughter, Marjorie.

[28] Edwards's identity is unknown.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix Two

Twachtman's Students

The following is a preliminary list of artists who are known to have studied with Twachtman. Clearly Twachtman had a vast number of students during his years at the Art Students League. Unfortunately there are no lists of them. Thus, this information is drawn from other sources. Names and information on Twachtman's students will be added to this list in the future.

For each artist listed, information is provided as to where they studied with Twachtman, at the Art Students League (ASL), in Cos Cob, Florence, or Gloucester.

Adams, Katherine Langhorne (married name Pettengill) (b. 1885) (ASL, probably in Cos Cob)

Brinley, Daniel Putnam (1879-1963) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Church, Frederick Edwin (1876-1964) (ASL)

Clark, Eliot (1883-1980) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Corwin, Charles (1857-1938) (Florence)

Crisp, Arthur (1881-?) (ASL)

Ebert, Charles (1873-1959) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Ebert, Mary Roberts (see Roberts)

Eddy, Henry Stephens (1878-1944) (ASL)

Evers, I.E. (1866-?) (ASL)

Farrell, Katherine Levin (1857-1951) (Gloucester)

Grover, Oliver Dennett (1861-1927) (Florence)

Heineman, Otto (?-?) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hopkinson, Charles (1869-1962) (ASL)

Judson, Alice (?-1948) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Kaelin, Charles (1858-1929) (ASL)

Kroll, Leon (1884-1974) (ASL)

Lawson, Ernest (1873-1939) (ASL, Cos Cob)

MacRae, Elmer Livingston (1875-1953) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Malone, Blondelle (1879-1951) (ASL)

Mase, Carolyn (?-1929) (Cos Cob)

Maynard, Richard Field (1875-?) (ASL)

Meyer, Herbert (1882-1960) (ASL)

Agnes Richmond (1870-1964) (ASL)

Roberts, Mary (married Charles Ebert) (1873-1956) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Julius Rolshoven (1858-1930) (Florence)

Thorpe, Jonathan (?-?) (ASL)

Tucker, Allen (1866-1939) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Washburn, Cadwallader (1866-1965) (ASL)

Yeto, Genjiro ((1867-?) (ASL, Cos Cob)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix Three

Twachtman's Illustrations

Along with other artists of his day, Twachtman benefitted from the change that occurred in American illustration techniques in the 1880s. Whereas previously artists created illustrations by drawing with lead pencils and India ink upon blocks coated with Chinese white which were then cut away by the engraver, the development of photo-engraving made it possible to produce facsimile images directly from works rendered in any medium. This advance made illustration work accessible to a much broader group of participants than the commercial illustrators who had previously controlled this field and brought about the rise of the painter-illustrator movement. By 1892, William Coffin was able to write: "The group of painter-illustrators in the United States is a large one, and includes some of the best-known of all our artists. Some of them are constant workers in drawing for reproduction, while others contribute irregularly, but often enough to have become noted in this branch of art."[1]

In the distinction made by Coffin, Twachtman certainly belonged to the occasional painter-illustrator category rather than to the constant workers in drawing for reproduction. From 1879 to 1893, his illustration work was infrequent. With the exception of one image that was illustrated in *Harper's Weekly*, all of his illustrations appeared in *Scribner's Monthly* and later *Scribner's Magazine*. Nonetheless, his illustration work drew praise. Coffin singled out Twachtman for his ability to make "a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

beautiful page with the simplest of motives . . . . Color is suggested oftentimes in his black and white drawings, and they are always eminently decorative."[2]

A number of the works Twachtman created for illustrations are known. Most of these images seem to have been rendered specifically for reproduction as they are oils rendered in a grisaille palette that Twachtman normally eschewed. Twachtman probably used photographs as the basis for the majority of his illustrations, since there is no evidence that he visited most of the places he depicted. Some generic images such as a view of wildflowers, a row of urban brownstones, and an image of a stream with poplar trees at its edge, may have been based on firsthand experience.

Below is a list of all of Twachtman's illustrations. I have noted when his signature appears on an illustration as well as the names of engravers, when provided. I have indicated cases where an attribution to Twachtman may be made even though his name does not appear with an illustration. In these cases, an attribution may be made due to the listing of his name in the magazine's index as an illustrator of the article in question.

1. caption: "Slate Boats at Low Water"
in "Over the Narrowest Narrow gauge," *Scribner's Monthly* 18 (August 1879): 595.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman 79*
engraver: C. Cullens

2. probably Twachtman
caption: "At the Dock, Foot of West Tenth St."
in William McKay Laffan and Edward Strahan, "The Tile Club Afloat," *Scribner's Monthly* 19 (March 1880): 642.
Twachtman identified as one of the article's illustrators
engraver: H. Wolf

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. caption: "Restaurant du Grand Vatel in Bleecker Street"
in William H. Rideing, "The French Quarter of New York," *Scribner's Monthly* 19 (November 1879): 2.
Twachtman identified as illustrator in the article's index
engraver not identified

4. caption: "Oyster Boats, North River"
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman / N.Y. 79*
in William C. Brownell, "The Younger Painters of America," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880: 332.
engraver: Juengl

5a. Twachtman
caption: "Under the Iron Pier"
in William Bishop, "To Coney Island," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880): 362.
engraver not identified
Twachtman identified as one of the article's illustrations; attribution of this illustration based on existence of work.
work: *Under the Iron Pier*, oil on canvas, 12 x 14 inches, location unknown (sold American Art Association, New York, 16 March 1917, no. 24)

5b. probably Twachtman
caption: "From Brighton Pier"
in William Bishop, "To Coney Island," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880): 362.
Twachtman identified as one of the article's illustrators.
engraver: Evans

5c. caption: "The Sand Dunes, Back from the Beach"
in William Bishop, "To Coney Island," *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880): 362.
Twachtman identified as one of the article's illustrators; attribution of this illustration based on extant work.
engraver: Kilburn
work: *Dunes Back of Coney Island*, oil on canvas, 23.x 29 inches, Charles and Emma Frye Art Museum, Seattle, Washington

6. caption: "Dredging in New York Harbor"
signed lower right: J.H. Twachtman
in "Dredging in New York Harbor," *Harper's Weekly* 26 (10 June 1882): 356.
engraver: Porin
work: *Dredging in the East River*, ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 11-9/16 x 17-5/8 inches, Elie Hirschfeld.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. caption: "Below the Brooklyn Bridge"
John Bogart, "Feats of Railway Engineering," *Scribner's Magazine* 4 (July 1888): 2.
at lower center: "from a painting by J.H. Twachtman"
engraver: J. Clement
work: *Brooklyn Bridge*, oil on panel, 16 x 10 inches, private collection.

8. illustration for poem, Percival Lowell, "Fuji: The Sacred Mountain," *Scribner's Magazine* 4 (September 1888): 365.
Twachtman identified as illustrator in index.
engraver: Elbridge Kingley
work: *Fujiyama*, oil on canvas, 16 x 10 inches, Cincinnati Art Museum, Gift of Harold W. Nichols.

9. illustration for poem, A. Lampman, "Winter Evening," *Scribner's Magazine* 4 (December 1888): 748
Twachtman identified as illustrator in index
engraver not identified

10. caption: "At the Entrance of a Carry"
in *Scribner's Magazine* 4 (December 1888): 647.
signature appears to be *J.W.T*, but this is the only illustration in the article that could be by Twachtman
Twachtman identified as illustrator in index
engraver: Elbridge Kingsley

11a. illustration for poem, Lloyd McKim Garrison, "Montauk Point," *Scribner's Magazine* 6 (December 1889): 694.
signed lower right: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver: Elbridge Kingley
work: *Montauk*, pastel on paper, 13 x 17, Alice Kaplan

11b. illustration for poem, Lloyd McKim Garrison, "Montauk Point," *Scribner's Magazine* 6 (December 1889): 695.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver: F. French, S.C.

12. illustration for poem, G. Melville Upton, "The Season's Boon," *Scribner's Magazine* 8 (August 1890): 223.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

13. caption: "The Stream Effect: Lombardy poplars and birches for emphasis"
in *Scribner's Magazine* 9 (March 1891): 353
Signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
at lower left: "Drawn by J.H. Twachtman"
engraver: H.W. Peckwell

14. tailpiece for Edward L. Wilson, "The Biography of the Oyster," *Scribner's Magazine* 10 (September-October 1891): 485.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
related work: *Tailpiece for "The Biography of the Oyster,"* ca. 1891; gouache on paper; 10-3/8 x 8-1/2 inches, Spanierman Gallery, New York
engraver not identified

15. caption: "Dugout of a Southwestern Pioneer"
in John R. Spears, "Odd American Homes," *Scribner's Magazine* 10 (September-October 1891): 309.
engraver not identified
work: *Dugout of a Southwestern Pioneer*, oil on academy board, 14-1/2 x 24-1/2 inches, Brandywine River Museum, Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania

16a. caption: "Environs of the Oasis of Ouargla"
in Napoléon Ney, "The Proposed Trans-Saharian Railway," *Scribner's Magazine* 10 (November 1891): 635.
signed lower right: *J.H. Twachtman*
Engraved by F.A. Pettit

b. caption: "Artesian Well in the Oued Rir"
in Napoléon Ney, "The Proposed Trans-Saharian Railway," *Scribner's Magazine* 10 (November 1891): 636.
signed lower left: J.H. Twachtman
engraver illegible

17. caption: "Cape York, Greenland"
in Benjamin Sharp, "The Arctic Highlander," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (February 1892): 245.
work: *Cape York, Greenland*, oil on canvas, 21-1/2 x 29 inches, Jules and San lee Brassner
engraver not identified

18. caption: "Winter Evening"
in William A. Coffin, "American Illustration of To-Day," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (February 1892): 204.
at lower left: "From a drawing by J.H. Twachtman"
engraver not identified

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

19a. caption: "Eastern Shore of Cape Ann, showing small re-entrant with pocket-beach, Thatcher's Island in the distance"
in N.S. Shaler, "Sea-Beaches," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (June 1892): 772.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

19b. caption: "Carmel Beach, Cal."
in N.S. Shaler, "Sea-Beaches," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (June 1892): 773.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

19c. caption: "The Isles of the Cyclops, near Catania, Sicily"
in N.S. Shaler, "Sea-Beaches," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (June 1892): 774.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtmann*
work: *The Needles, Isles of Wight*, oil on canvas, 17-1/8 x 23-1/2 inches, private collection
engraver not identified

19d. caption: "Eastern Side of Cape Ann, Mass."
in N.S. Shaler, "Sea-Beaches," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (June 1892): 775.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

19e. caption: "Eastern Shore of Cape Ann"
in N.S. Shaler, "Sea-Beaches," *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (June 1892): 776.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
work: *Gloucester Coast* (*Eastern Shore of Cape Ann*), oil on canvas, 16 x 22 inches, private collection.
engraver not identified

20a. caption: "Peasants Coming to Town with Produce:
in Alfred Jerome Weston, "From Spanish Light to Moorish Shadow," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (February 1893): 193.
Signed lower left: J. H. Twachtman
engraver not identified

20b. caption: "Walls of the City of Tangier"
in Alfred Jerome Weston, "From Spanish Light to Moorish Shadow," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (February 1893): 198.
Signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

21a. caption: "A Quivfra Mythmaker"
in Charles F. Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (April 1893): 469.
Signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

21b. caption: "Abó--At the Western Wall"
in Charles F. Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (April 1893): 471.
Signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

21c. caption: "Cuaraí from the Southwest"
in Charles F. Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (April 1893): 472.
signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

21d. caption: "Interior of the Ruin of Cuaraí"
in Charles F. Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (April 1893): 473.
Signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

20e. caption: "Rear Entrance with Carved Lintel"
in Charles F. Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (April 1893): 474.
Signed lower left: *J.H. Twachtman*
engraver not identified

21f. caption: "Tabirá--Main Entrance to the Great Hall"
in Charles F. Lummis, "The Cities that were Forgotten," *Scribner's Magazine* 13 (April 1893): 475.
Signed lower left: *J.H.T.*
engraver not identified

22. caption: "Windsor, Nova Scotia"
in Gustav Kobbé, "The Tides of the Bay of Fundy," *Scribner's Magazine* 14 (September 1893): 339.
two drawings, each signed lower right: *J.H. Twachtman*
at lower left: "drawn by J.H. Twachtman"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix Three: Notes

[1] William A. Coffin," American Illustrators of To-Day," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (February 1892): 196.

[2] Coffin 1892, pp. 198-199.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PLEASE NOTE

Materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation, however, in the author's university library.

Illustrations
Pages 568 - 1034

UMI

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bibliography, Part One

This bibliography encompasses sources on Twachtman and on references that are relevant to a study of his art. This list represents only a select portion of the material on Twachtman that has been gathered for the catalogue raisonné. I have included publications only if they are primary sources, if they include significant discussions of Twachtman's art and/or career, or if they include material pertinent to this dissertation. Exhibition and collection catalogues that only list a work or mention Twachtman in passing or in a brief entry have been excluded. The catalogue raisonné will provide a comprehensive listing of Twachtman references.

The sources provided below for artists related to Twachtman have been limited to only important and recent publications.

The second part of this bibliography includes sources on the locations where Twachtman worked, on the art produced in each of his painting locales, and on relevant historical material that I consulted. There are some crossovers in the two lists. A reference is listed twice if it includes information on Twachtman and on a place that he worked.

Primary Sources

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Weir Family Papers, MSS 41, Harold B. Lee Library, Archives and Manuscripts, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BOOKS AND EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Boyle, Richard J. *John Twachtman*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 1979.

Boyle, Richard J.; and Baskett, Mary Welsh. *John Henry Twachtman: A Retrospective Exhibition*. Exh. cat. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1966.

Chotner, Deborah; Peters, Lisa N.; and Pyne, Kathleen A. *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989.

Clark, Eliot. *John Twachtman*. New York: Privately printed, 1924.

Hale, John Douglass. *The Life and Creative Development of John H. Twachtman*. 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1957. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1958.

Hale, John Douglass; Boyle, Richard J.; and Gerdts, William H. *Twachtman in Gloucester: His Last Years, 1900-1902*. Exh. cat. New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1987. Catalogue entries by Lisa N. Peters.

Peters, Lisa N.; Hale, John Douglass; Gerdts, William H.; and Boyle, Richard J. *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman*. Exh. cat. New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1989. Catalogue entries by Lisa N. Peters.

Tucker, Allen. *John H. Twachtman*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1931.

Wickenden, Robert J. *The Art and Etchings of John Henry Twachtman*. New York: Frederick Keppel and Co., 1921.

EXHIBITIONS: ONE- AND TWO-MAN SHOWS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

J. Eastman Chase's Gallery, Boston, *Paintings by J.H. Twachtman*, 10-20 February 1885.

J. Eastman Chase's Gallery, *Paintings and Pastels by J.H. Twachtman*, 18-30 January 1886.

Fifth Avenue Galleries, New York, *Paintings in Oil and Pastel by J. Alden Weir and J.H. Twachtman*, 1-7 February 1889; sale conducted by Crtgies & Co. on 7 February.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

American Art Galleries, New York, *Paintings, Pastels, and Etchings by J. Alden Weir and J. H. Twachtman*, May 1893.

St. Botolph Club, Boston, *An Exhibition of Oil Paintings by Messrs. Weir and Twachtman*, 27 November-9 December 1893.

St. Botolph Club, Boston, *Exhibition of Paintings by J.H. Twachtman and His Son Alden Twachtman*, 26 February-13 March 1900.

Cincinnati Art Museum, *Exhibition of Paintings, Drawings and Pastels by J.H. Twachtman and his son Alden Twachtman*, 6 April-13 May 1900.

Art Institute of Chicago, *Exhibition of Works by John H. Twachtman*, 8-27 January 1901.

Durand-Ruel Gallery, New York, *Paintings and Pastels by John H. Twachtman*, March 1901. (no catalogue)

Cincinnati Art Museum, *Exhibition of Sixty Paintings by Mr. John H. Twachtman Formerly Resident in Cincinnati*, 12 April 1901-16 May 1901.

Knoedler Galleries, New York, *Memorial Exhibition of Pictures by John H. Twachtman*, January 1905.

Lotos Club, New York, *Exhibition of Paintings by the Late John H. Twachtman*, 5 January and following days, 1907.

New York School of Applied Design for Women, *Fifty Paintings by the Late John H. Twachtman*, 15 January-15 February 1913.

Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, *Paintings and Pastels by the Late John H. Twachtman*, 11 March-2 April 1913.

Macbeth Gallery, New York, *Exhibition of Paintings by John H. Twachtman*, January 1919.

Vose Gallery, Boston, *Exhibition of Selected Works by John H. Twachtman*, 27 January-15 February 1919.

Vose Gallery, Boston, *Exhibition of Paintings by J.H. Twachtman*, 10-22 November 1919.

E. & A. Milch Galleries, New York. *An Important Exhibition of Paintings and Pastels by John H. Twachtman*, 12-24 March 1928.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Brooklyn Museum, New York, *Leaders of American Impressionism: Mary Cassatt, Childe Hassam, John H. Twachtman, J. Alden Weir*, 17 October-28 November 1937. Essay by John I.H. Baur.

Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York, *Presenting the Work of John H. Twachtman, American Painter*, 5-28 November 1939.

Babcock Galleries, New York, *Paintings, Water Colors, Pastels by John H. Twachtman*, 9-28 February 1942.

Milch Galleries, New York, *John H. Twachtman*, 14 November-3 December 1949.

Century Association, New York, *Exhibition of Paintings by Abbott Thayer and John Twachtman*, 5 March-4 May 1952.

Cincinnati Art Museum, *John Henry Twachtman: A Retrospective Exhibition*, 7 October-20 November 1966. Essays by Richard J. Boyle and Mary Baskett.

Ira Spanierman Inc., New York, *John Henry Twachtman, 1853-1902: An Exhibition of Paintings and Pastels*, 3-24 February 1968. Essay by John Douglass Hale.

Ira Spanierman Gallery, New York. *Twachtman in Gloucester: His Last Years, 1900-1902*, 12 May-13 June 1987. Essays by John Douglass Hale, Richard J. Boyle, and William H. Gerdts; catalogue entries by Lisa N. Peters.

Spanierman Gallery, New York. *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman*, 10 May-10 June 1989. Essays by Lisa N. Peters, John Douglass Hale, William H. Gerdts, Richard J. Boyle; catalogue entries by Lisa N. Peters.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, 15 October 1989-28 January 1990; Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, 18 March-20 May 1990. Essays by Lisa N. Peters, Kathleen A. Pyne, and Deborah Chotner.

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES *(in chronological order; limited to articles that focus on specifically on Twachtman)*

William Mackay Laffan. "The Material of the American Landscape." *American Art Review* 1 (July 1880): 29-31.

George McLaughlin. "Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School." *American Art Review* 2 (December 1880): 45-46.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Fine Arts: Mr. Twachtman's Paintings." *Boston Daily Advertizer*, 13 February 1885, p. 4.

"Art Notes: Mr. Twachtman's Landscapes." *Boston Evening Transcript*, 17 February 1885, p. 2.

"The Fine Arts." *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1886, p. 5.

"Paintings and Pastels by J. H. Twachtman." *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 January 1886, p. 6.

"Fine Arts." *Boston Morning Journal Supplement*, 30 January 1886, p. 1

"The Weir and Twachtman Exhibition." *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 2 February 1889, p. 1.

"The Weir-Twachtman Paintings." *New York Times*, 3 February 1889, p. 13.

"Pictures by Messrs. Weir and Twachtman." *New York Daily Tribune*, 7 February 1889, p. 7.

"Weir and Twachtman Pictures." *New York Sun*, 8 February 1889, p. 3.

"Art Notes." *Art Interchange* 22 (February 1889): 3.

"Paintings by Weir and Twachtman." *Critic* 2 (February 1889): 69.

"Paintings and Pastels by J. H. Twachtman and J. Alden Weir." *Studio* 4 (February 1889): 43-45.

"The Weir and Twachtman Exhibition." *Art Amateur* 20 (March 1889): 75.

"Art Notes: Pictures by J.H. Twachtman at Wunderlich." *New York Evening Post*, 9 March 1891, p. 7.

"Art Notes." *New York Times*, 9 March 1891, p. 4.

"The World of Art: An Impressionist's Work in Oil and Pastel--Mr. J.H. Twachtmann's Pictures." *New York Mail and Express*, 26 March 1891, p. 3.

"Art Notes." *New York Times*, 12 April 1891, p. 12.

"A Criticism." *Studio*, 25 April 1891, p. 203.

"Special Exhibitions." *Magazine of Art* 14 (1890-1891): xxvii-xxviii.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"The Fine Arts: Oil-Paintings and Pastels by Mr. Twachtman." *Critic* 18 (March 1891): 146-147.

"Paintings in Oil and Pastels by J.H. Twachtman." *Studio* 6 (28 March 1891): 162.

"My Notebook." *Art Amateur* 24 (April 1891): 116.

"Some Dazzling Pictures." *New York Times*, 4 May 1893.

"A Group of Impressionists." *New York Sun*, 5 May 1893, p. 6.

"Some French and American Pictures." *New York Evening Post*, 8 May 1893, p. 7.

"World of Art: French and American Impressionists' Work at the American Art Galleries." *New York Mail and Express*, 10 May 1893, p. 11.

M[ariana]. G. van Rennsselaer. "Questions of Art." *New York World*, 25 June 1893, p. 9.

"French and American Impressionists." *Art Amateur* 29 (June 1893): 4.

Alfred Trumble. "Impressionism and Impressions." *Collector* 4 (15 May 1893): 213.

"An Art School in Cos Cob." *Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899): 56-57.

"Exhibitions of the Week." *Chicago Times Herald*, 30 December 1900, unpaginated clipping, Scrapbook, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

"Exhibitions Next Week." *Chicago Post*, 5 January 1901, Clippings File, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

"The Art-World: Mr. Twachtman at Durand-Ruel's." *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 5 March 1901, p. 4.

"Art News." *New York Evening Post*, 5 March 1901, p. 4.

"Around the Galleries." *New York Sun*, 6 March 1901, p. 6.

"Art Exhibitions." *New York Tribune*, 6 March 1901, p. 6.

"Art Notes." *New York Mail and Express*, 7 March 1901, p. 5.

"A Trio of Painters: Pictures by Three Americans in Three Fifth Avenue Galleries." *New York Times*, 7 March 1901, p. 8.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Twachtman's Paintings: Memorial Exhibition and Sale of Works by John H. Twachtman." *New York Times*, 22 March 1903, p. 9.

"Twachtman Pictures, $16,610." *New York Sun*, 25 March 1903, p. 5.

"Twachtman Picture Sale." *New York Times*, 25 March 1903, p. 5.

"Great Artist Dead: John H. Twachtman Passed Away at the Addison Gilbert Hospital." *Gloucester Daily Times*, 8 August 1902, p. 7.

"John H. Twachtman: Death of the Famous Landscape Painter at Gloucester, Mass." *New York Times*, 9 August 1902, p. 9.

"John H. Twachtman." *New York Tribune*, 9 August 1902, p. 8.

"Art Exhibitions: The Twachtman, Colman, and Burritt Collections." *New York Daily Tribune*, 21 March 1903, p. 9.

"Twachtman's Paintings: Memorial Exhibition and Sale of Works by John H. Twachtman. *New York Times*, 22 March 1903, p. 9.

Dewing, Thomas; Childe Hassam; Robert Reid; Edward Simmons; and J. Alden Weir. "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation." *North American Review* 176 (April 1903): 554-562.

"At the Galleries." *Art Interchange* 86 (May 1903): 116.

Katherine Metcalf Roof. "The Work of John H. Twachtman." *Brush and Pencil* 7 (July 1903): 243-246.

Alfred Henry Goodwin. "An Artist's Unspoiled Country Home." *Country Life in America* 8 (October 1905): 625-630.

"The National Note in Our Art--A Disintinctive American Quality Dominant at the Pennsylvania Academy." *Craftsman* 10 (March 1906): 753-773.

"John H. Twachtman." *Art Bulletin* 6 (5 January 1907): 1.

Charles Curran. "The Art of John H. Twachtman." *Literary Miscellany* 3 (Winter 1910): 69-78.

"Memorial Exhibition of The Works of John H. Twachtman." *Albright Academy Notes* 8 (April 1913): 65-67.

John Cournos. "John H. Twachtman." *Forum* 52 (August 1914): 245-248.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Charles De Kay. "John H. Twachtman." *Arts and Decoration* 9 (June 1918): 73-76, 112, 114.

Art Notes, Macbeth Gallery 67 (January 1919): 1-2.

Duncan Phillips. "Twachtman--An Appreciation." *International Studio* 66 (February 1919): cvi-cvii.

Eliot Clark. "John Henry Twachtman (1853-1902)." *Art in America* 7 (April 1919): 129-137.

Margery Ryerson. "John H. Twachtman's Etchings." *Art in America* 8 (February 1920): 92-96.

Forbes Watson. "John H. Twachtman: A Painter Pure and Simple." *Arts and Decoration* 12 (April 1920): 395-434.

Elliot [sic] Clark. "The Art of John Twachtman." *International Studio* 72 (January 1921): lxxvii-lxxxvi.

Carolyn C. Mase. "John H. Twachtman." *International Studio* 72 (January 1921): lxxxi-lxxv.

Jonathan Thorpe. "John H. Twachtman." *Arts* 2 (October 1921): 4-10.

"Painting: The Quiet American." *Time Magazine*, 14 October 1966, p. 90.

James Lanes. "Exhibition at Ira Spanierman." *Burlington Magazine* 110 (March 1968): 169.

Charles Eldredge. "Connecticut Impressionists: Spirit of Place." *Art in America* 62 (September-October 1974): 84-90.

James Yarnall. "John H. Twachtman's Icebound," *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 71 (January-February 1977): 2-4.

Richard J. Boyle. "John H. Twachtman: An Appreciation." *American Art & Antiques* [vol.?] (November-December 1978): 71-77.

_____. "John Henry Twachtman: Tone Poems on Canvas." *Antiques World* 3 (December 1980): 64-69.

"Leisure and Arts--The Gallery: Another 'Genius' on Parade." *Wall Street Journal*, 29 November 1989, p. A12.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Allison Eckardt Ledes. "Current and Coming: The Mature Years of John Henry Twachtman." *Antiques* 136 (November 1989): 942, 958.

Douglas McCreary Greenwood. "Yankee Impressions." *Museum and Arts, Washington* (November-December 1989): 45.

Stephen May. "Twachtman at the Wadsworth Atheneum." *Art Times* 6 (March 1990): 7-9.

_____. "Visual Poetry: The Landscapes of John Henry Twachtman." *Carnegie Magazine* 60 (January-February 1991), p. 39.

Alfred Corn. "Looking at Art--John Henry Twachtman: A Soft Roaring." *Art News* 91 (September 1992): 45-46.

Lisa N. Peters. "John H. Twachtman: A 'Modern' in Venice, 1877-1878," in *The Italian Presence in American Art, 1860-1920.* Irma B. Jaffe, ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 1992.

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

Emont, Deborah. "Etching in Late Nineteenth Century America: Sylvester Rosa Koehler and John Henry Twachtman." Master's Thesis, Oberlin College, 1978.

Secondary Sources

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Archives, Pelee Island Heritage Center, Pelee Island, Ontario, Canada.

Art Students League Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll NN5925.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Otto Bacher Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Insitution, Washington, D.C., Roll 1654.

Chappellier Gallery Papers, Robert Blum Correspondence, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll N68-101.

Arthur Wesley Dow Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Roll 1097, frames 667-710.

Correspondence of Josephine Holley. MacRae Collection. Greenwich Historical Society Archives, Greenwich, Connecticut.

Sylvester Rosa Koehler Correspondence, Archives, of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll D187.

MacRae Collection. Greenwich Historical Society Archives, Greenwich, Connecticut.

Milch Gallery Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

John Twachtman, Scrapbook, Archives, Ryerson Library, Art Institute of Chicago.

J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives, of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., rolls 70, 125.

John Ferguson Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll 71.

Theodore Robinson Diaries, Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

BOOKS AND EXHIBITION CATALOGUES *(in alphabetical order)*

Adamson, Jeremy Elwell et al. *Niagara: Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1985.

American Paintings from the Manoogian Collection. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989.

Ayres, Linda and Myers, Jane. *American Paintings, Watercolors, and Drawings from the Collection of Rita and Daniel Fraad*. Exh. cat. Fort Worth, Tex.: Amon Carter Museum 1985.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bienenstock, Jennifer A. Martin. *The Formation and Early Years of the Society of American Artists: 1877-1884*. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1983. University Microfilms, 1986.

Boyle, Richard J. *American Impressionism*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974.

Brown, Milton W. *American Art to 1900: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977.

Bryant, Lorinda Munson. *American Pictures and Their Painters*. New York: John Lane Company, 1921.

Burke, Doreen Bolger. *A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born between 1846 and 1864: American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, volume 3. New York, 1980.

Caffin, Charles H. *The Story of American Painting*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Co., 1907.

Cate, Phillip Dennis, Finlay, Nancy, and Kiehl David W. *American Art Posters of the 1890s*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.

Celebrate Cincinnati Art, 1881-1981. Kenneth R. Trapp, ed. Cincinnati Art Museum, 1982.

Cheney, Sheldon. *The Story of Modern Art*. New York: Viking Press, 1958.

Clark, Carol. *American Impressionist and Realist Paintings and Drawings from the William Marshall Fuller Collection*. Exh. cat. Fort Worth, Tex.: Amon Carter Museum, 1978.

Clark, Eliot. "American Painters of Winter Landscape." *Scribner's Magazine* 72 (December 1922): 763-768.

Corn, Wanda M. *The Color of Mood: American Tonalism, 1880-1910*. Exh. cat. San Francisco: M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum and the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1972.

Cortissoz, Royal. *American Artists*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.

Fink, Lois Marie. *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990.

Flexner, James Thomas. *Nineteenth Century American Painting*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gerdts, William H. *American Impressionism.* Exh. cat. Seattle, University of Washington, Henry Art Gallery, 1980.

_____. *American Impressionism*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1984.

_____. *Down Garden Paths: The Floral Environment in American Art.* Exh. cat. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press (for the Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, N.J.), 1983.

_____. *Masterworks of American Impressionism.* Exh. cat. Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation in cooperation with Eidolon AG.

_____. *Masterworks of American Impressionism from the Pfeil Collection.* Exh. cat. Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 1992. Catalogue of works by David B. Dearinger.

_____. *Painters of the Humble Truth: Masterpieces of American Still Life, 1801-1939.* Columbia, Miss.: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

Gerdts, William H. and Russell Burke. *American Still-Life Painting*. New York: Praeger, 1971.

Gerdts, William H., Diana Dimodica Sweet, Robert R. Preato, *Tonalism: An American Experience*. Exh. cat. (New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, Inc. of New York, 1982.

Gerdts, William H. et al. *Ten American Painters.* Exh. cat. New York, Spanierman Gallery, 1990.

Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum. Exh. cat. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979

Goley, Mary Anne. *The Hague School and its American Legacy.* Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: Federal Reserve Board, 1982.

Hall, Donald and Olds, Clifton C. *Winter.* Exh. cat. Hanover, N.H.: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College.

Hartmann, Sadakichi. *A History of American Art.* 2 vols. Boston: L.C. Page and Co., 1902.

Herbert, Robert L. *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Hiesinger, Ulrich W. *Impressionism in America: The Ten American Painters.* Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hills, Patricia. *Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs*, 1890-1910. Exh. cat. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977.

Hoopes, Donelson F. *The American Impressionists*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 1972.

Impressionistes Américains. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1982.

In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement. Exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.

Isham, Samuel. *The History of American Painting*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1943.

Jackman, Rilla Evelyn. *American Arts*. New York: Rand McNally & Company, 1928.

Janson, Anthony F. "The Cincinnati Landscape Tradition," in *Celebrate Cincinnati Art*. Cincinnati Art Museum, 1982.

Keyes, Donald D. *The Genteel Tradition: Impressionist and Realist Art from the Ira and Nancy Koger Collection in Celebration of the Centennial of Rollins College*. Winter Park, Fla.: The George D. and Harriet W. Cornell Fine Arts Center, Rollins College.

LaFollette, Suzanne. *Art in America*. New York: Harper, 1929.

Lovell, Margaretta M. *Venice: The American View, 1860-1920*. Exh. cat. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1984.

Peters, Lisa N. *American Impressionist Masterpieces*. New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, Inc., 1991.

Pierce, Patricia Jobe. *The Ten*. Concord, New Hampshire: Runford Press, 1976.

Pilgrim, Dianne H. *American Impressionist and Realist Paintings and Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz*, 19 April-3 June 1973.

The Quest for Unity: American Art between World's Fairs, 1876-1893. Exh. cat. Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983.

Sellin, David. *Americans in Brittany and Normandy, 1860-1910*. Exh. cat. Phoenix Art Museum, 1982.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Siegfried, Joan C. *Some Quietest Painters: A Trend toward Minimalism in Late Nineteenth-Century American Painting*. Saratoga Springs, N.Y.: Skidmore College, 1970.

Simmons, Edward. *From Seven to Seventy*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922.

Spencer Collection of American Art, The. Exh. cat. New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990.

Spencer, Harold; Larkin, Susan G.; and Andersen, Jeffrey W. *Connecticut and American Impressionism*. Exh. cat. Storrs, Connecticut: University of Connecticut, 1980.

Steffens, Lincoln. *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931.

Stott, Annette. *American Painters Who Worked in the Netherlands, 1880-1914* 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1986. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986.

Truettner, William H. "William T. Evans, Collector of American Paintings." *American Art Journal* 3 (Fall 1971): 50-79.

Van Dyke, John Charles. *Art for Art's Sake*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

Weber, Bruce. "Frank Duveneck and the Art Life of Cincinanti," 1865-1900," in *The Golden Age: Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum*. Exh. cat. Cincinanti: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979.

Weber, Bruce and Gerdts, William H. *In Nature's Ways: American Landscape Painting of the Late Nineteenth Century*. Exh. cat. West Palm Beach, Fla., 1987.

Weinberg, H. Barbara. *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers*. New York: Abbeville, 1991.

Weinberg, H. Barbara; Doreen Bolger; and David Park Curry. "Gloucester: A Durable Magnet for American Painters of Modern Life," in *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*. Exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994

Wilmerding, John. *American Art*. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1976.

Wylie, Elizabeth. *Explorations in Realism: 1870-1880, Frank Duveneck and His Circle from Bavaria to Venice*. Exh. cat. Framingham, Mass.: Danforth Museum of Art, 1989.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PERIODICAL AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Bolger, Doreen. "American Artists and the Japanese Print: J. Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson, and John H. Twachtman," in *American Art around 1900: Lectures in Memory of Daniel Fraad.* Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990.

Brownell, William C. "The Younger Painters of America." *Scribner's Monthly* 20 (July 1880): 321-335.

Coffin, William A. "American Illustration of To-Day: Second Paper." *Scribner's Magazine* 11 (February 1892): 198-199.

Gerdts, William H. "The Square Format and Proto-Modernism in American Painting." *Arts Magazine* 50 June 1976, pp. 70-75.

Edgerton, Giles. "Pioneers in Modern American Art: A Group of Men Whose Influence Has Greatly Aided Its Development." *Craftsman* 14 (September 1908): 597-606.

Kobbé, Gustav. "American Water Color Painters." *Mentor* 5 (15 May 1917): 1-11.

Larkin, Susan. "Impressionism's Connecticut Connection." *Eastern Review* (June 1980): 56-62.

Pilgrim, Dianne H. "The Revival of Pastels in Nineteenth Century America: The Society of Painters in Pastel." *American Art Journal* 10 (November 1978): 43-62.

"Snow Scenes in Oil Painting." *Art Amateur* 44 (March 1901): 99-100.

Weinberg, H. Barbara. "American Impressionism in a Cosmopolitan Context," *Arts Magazine* 55 (November 1980): 160-165

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Pyne, Kathleen A. *Immanence, Transcendence, and Impressionism in Late Nineteenth-Century American Painting.* 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1988. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1988.

Nelson, Carolyn Querbes. "The Society of Painters in Pastel, 1884-1890." Master's Thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1983.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON RELATED ARTISTS *(recent sources only)*

Robert Blum

Weber, Bruce. *Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903 and His Milieu*, 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1985. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1985.

William Merritt Chase

Atkinson, D. Scott and Cikovsky, Jr., Nicolai. *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock, 1891-1902*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987.

Pisano, Ronald G. *A Leading Spirit in American Art: William Merritt Chase, 1849-1916*. Exh. cat. Seattle, University of Washington, Henry Art Gallery, 1983.

_____. *William Merritt Chase*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 1979.

_____. *Summer Afternoons: Landscape Paintings of William Merritt Chase*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1993.

Roof, Katharine Metcalf. *The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

Frank Currier

White, Nelson C. *The Life and Art of J. Frank Currier*. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1936.

Frank Duveneck

Duveneck, Josephine W. *Frank Duveneck: Painter-Teacher*. San Francisco, Calif.: John Howell, 1970.

Heerman, Norbert. *Frank Duveneck*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1918.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Neuhaus, Robert. *Unsuspected Genius: The Art and Life of Frank Duveneck*. San Francisco: Bedford Press, 1987.

Quick, Michael. *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*. Exh. cat. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987.

Thompson, Jan Newstrom Thompson. *Duveneck: Lost Paintings Found*. Exh. cat. Santa Clara, Calif.: The Triton museum of Art, 1987.

Childe Hassam

Adams, Adeline. Childe Hassam. New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1938.

Burnside, Kathleen. *Childe Hassam in Connecticut*. Exh. cat. Old Lyme, Ct.: Florence Griswold Museum, 1987.

Hoopes, Donelson. *Childe Hassam*. New York: Watson-Guptill, 1979.

Ernest Lawson

Berry-Hill, Sidney and Henry. *Ernest Lawson, American Impressionist, 1873-1939*. Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, 1968.

Karpiscak, Adeline Lee. *Ernest Lawson: 1873-1939*. Exh. cat. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Museum of Art, 1979.

Elmer MacRae

Larkin, Susan G. *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House*. Exh. cat. Greenwich, Conn.: The Bruce Museum, 1990.

Willard Metcalf

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

De Veer, Elizabeth; and Boyle, Richard J. *Sunlight and Shadow: The Life and Art of Willard L. Metcalf.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1987.

Claude Monet

Joyes, Claire. *Monet at Giverny.* London: Mathews Miller Dunbar, 1975.

Monet's Years at Giverny: Beyond Impressionism. Exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.

Tucker, Paul Hayes. *Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings.* Exh. cat. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in association with Yale University Press, 1989.

Theodore Robinson

Baur, John I. H. *Theodore Robinson, 1852-1896.* Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Museum, 1946.

Johnston, Sona. *Theodore Robinson, 1852-1896.* Exh. cat. Baltimore Museum of Art, 1973.

Larkin, Susan G. "Light, Time, and Tide: Theodore Robinson at Cos Cob," *American Art Journal* 23 (1991): 74-109.

Edward Simmons

Simmons, Edward. *From Seven to Seventy: Memories of a Painter and a Yankee.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1922.

J. Alden Weir

Burke, Doreen Bolger. *J. Alden Weir, An American Impressionist.* Newark, Del.: University of Delaware, 1983.

Cummings, Hildegard, Fusscas, Helen K, and Larkin, Susan G. *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own.* Exh. cat. Storrs Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, 1991.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Young, Dorothy Weir. *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* New Haven, Conn., 1960.

•

James McNeill Whistler

Curry, David Park. *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art*. Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, New York, 1984.

Getscher, Robert Harold. *Whistler and Venice*. Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1970.

_____. *James Abbott McNeill Whistler: Pastels*. New York: George Braziller, 1991.

Staley, Allen and Reff, Theodore. *From Realism to Symbolism: Whistler and His World*. Exh. cat. New York: Wildenstein and Co., 1971.

Young, Andrew McLaren; MacDonald, Margaret; and Spencer, Robin. *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*. 2 vols. New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1980.

•

METHODOLOGICAL MODELS CONSULTED

Burns, Sarah. *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989.

Clark, Timothy J. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Herbert, Robert L. *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988.

Johns, Elizabeth. *Thomas Eakins: The Heroism of Modern Life*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Tucker, Paul Hayes. *Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings*. Exh. cat. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in association with Yale University Press, 1989.

•

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bibliography, Part Two

Sources Consulted on History and the Art of Different Regions

CINCINNATI, HISTORY

Austerlitz, Emmanuel H. *Cincinnati from 1800 to 1875. . . with Exposition Guide for 1875*. Cincinnati: Bloch & Co., 1875.

Bremer, Frederika. *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853. Volume 2: Letter 29, pp. 95-119.

Cary, Alice. *Clovernook; Or, Recollections of Our Neighborhood in the West*. New York: Redfield, 1852.

_____. *Clovernook Tales*, 2d series. New York: Redfield, 1852.

Cincinnati: The Queen City of the West--Her Principal Men and Institutions--Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Leading Citizens. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Times-Star, 1895.

"Cincinnati Music Hall, The." *Harper's Weekly* 22 (11 May 1878): 377.

Cist, Charles. *Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects*. Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Company, 1841.

_____.*Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851*. Cincinnati: William H. Moore and Company, 1851.

_____. *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1859*. Cincinnati: Applegate & Co., 1859.

"Commercial Cities and Towns of the United States: Trade and Commerce of Cincinnati in 1850-1851." *Hunt's Merchant Magazine and Commercial Review* 25 (July-December 1851): 429-444.

"Dear Julia: A Letter from Cincinnati, Written in 1870." *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society* 18 (April 1960): 105-115.

de Chambrun, Clara Longworth. *Cincinnati, The Story of The Queen City*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939.

Englehardt, George. *Cincinnati, the Queen City*. Cincinnati: George Englehardt Co., 1901.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Environs of Cincinnati." *Western Horticultural Review* 2 (June 1852): 399-400.

Feck, Luke. *Yesterday's Cincinnati*. Miami: Fla.: E.A. Seeman, 1975.

Felter, Harvey Wickes. *History of the Eclectic Medical Institute, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1845-1902*. Cincinnati: Alumnal Association of the Eclectic Medical Institute, 1902.

Ford, H. A. and Ford, K. B. *History of Cincinnati*. Cleveland: L. A. Williams and Company, 1881.

Giglierano, Geoffrey J. and Overmyer, Deborah A. *The Bicentennial Guide to Greater Cincinnati: A Portrait of Two Hundred Years*. Cincinnati Historical Society, 1988.

Glazier, Willard. *Peculiarities of American Cities*. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1885. Chapter 7, "Cincinnati," pp. 121-139.

Goebe, Charles Theodore. *Centennial History of Cincinnati* Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904.

Goss, Charles Frederic. *The Philopolist, or City Lover*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Company, 1898.

_____. *Cincinnati: The Queen City, 1788-1912*, vol. 2. Chicago & Cincinnati: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1912.

"Gotham and Porkopolis: German Gleanings of American Notions." *Colburn's New Monthly Magazine* 103 (1855): 139-153.

Green, Constance McLaughlin. *American Cities in the Growth of the Nation*. New York: Harper Colphon, 1957. Chapter 3: "The River Cities: Cincinnati . . . ," pp. 39-56.

Greve, Charles T. *Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens*, 2 vols. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1904.

Harlow, Alvin F. *The Serene Cincinnatians*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1950.

"Hill-Suburbs of Cincinnati, The." *Lipincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science* 7 (May 1884): 425-437.

Hurley, Daniel. *Cincinnati: The Queen City*. Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982.

Illustrated Cincinnati: The Queen City of the West--Its Past, Present, and Future (New York: Acme Publishing and Engraving Co., 1891.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kenny, D. J. *Illustrated Cincinnati*. Cincinnati: George E. Stevens & Co., 1875.

_____. *Cincinnati Illustrated: A Pictorial Guide to Cincinnati and the Suburbs*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1879.

Logan, Olive. "Cincinnati." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67 (July 1883): 245-265.

Martineau, Harriet. *Retrospect of Western Travel*, vol. 2. 1838, reprint New York: Greenwood Press, 1969, pp. 215-254.

Maxwell, Sidney D. *The Suburbs of Cincinnati*. Cincinnati: Stevens, 1870.

Mayer, Frank Blackwell. *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*. Edited by Bertha L. Heilbron. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1932.

Parton, James. "Cincinnati." *Atlantic Monthly* 20 (August 1867): 229-246.

Rhoda, Richard. "Urban Transport and the Expansion of Cincinnati, 1858-1920." *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 35 (Summer 1977): 130-143.

Stevens, George E. *The City of Cincinnati*. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co., 1869.

Trollope, Frances. *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1832, chapters 4-17, pp. 26-150.

Vitz, Robert C. *The Queen and the Arts: Cultural Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989.

Wagner, Richard M. and Wright, Roy J. *Cincinnati Streetcars: No. 2, The Inclines*. Cincinnati: Wagner Car Company, 1968.

Wimberg, Robert J. *Cincinnati: Over the Rhine, A Historical Guide to 19th Century Buildings and Their Residents*. Cincinnati: Ohio Book Store, 1987.

WPA Guide to Cincinnati. Cincinnati Historical Society, 1987.

ART IN CINCINNATI

Academy of Fine Arts." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 23 May 1868, supplement, p. 1.

"Academy of Fine Arts." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 13 June 1868, p.7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Academy of Fine Arts: Landscapes." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 22 November 1868, p. 8.

Allen, Robert. "Wrecking of Duveneck's Downtown Atelier Recalls the One He Had in 1873-75--Farny's Early Adventures--A Girl Model Who Posed Without Assistance." *Cincinnati Enquirer Sunday Magazine*, 8 June 1930, pp. 3, 11.

Carter, Denny. "Cincinnati as an Art Center, 1830-1865," in *Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum*. Exh. cat. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979, pp. 12-21.

Celebrate Cincinnati Art, 1881-1981. Kenneth R. Trapp, ed. Cincinnati Art Museum, 1982.

"Cincinnati Art Galleries: The Collection of R.R. Springer." *Cincinnati Gazette*, 29 May 1868, p. 1.

Cincinnati Art Museum. *The Ladies, God Bless 'Em: The Women's Art Movement in Cincinnati in the Nineteenth Century*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1976.

"Cincinnati's Art Museum: Temporary Quarters to be Opened This Year--Some of the Plans." *New York Times*, 8 October 1881, p. 5.

"City Block Produced Three Great Artists Who Won World Fame." *Cincinnati Times-Star*, 4 July 1929, p. 7.

"The Exposition: Prospects for the Coming Week--A Glance at Some of the Pictures." *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, 14 September 1874, p. 8.

"Fine Arts: Private Picture Galleries of Cincinnati Collection of Mr. Reuben Springer." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 15 November 1868, p. 8.

"Fine Arts: Zugel's Sheep Picture." *Cincinnati Times*, 12 January 1876, p. [2].

Ford, H. A. and Ford, K. B. *History of Cincinnati*. Cleveland: L. A. Williams and Company, 1881. Chapter 25: "Art," pp. 235-246.

Gerdts, William H. "Ohio," in *Art Across America: Two Centuries of Regional Painting*, vol. 2. New York: Abbeville Press, 1990, pp. 179-231.

Haswell, Ernest Bruce. "Cincinnati As An Art Center." *Art and Archaeology* 8 (September-October 1919): 245-277.

Holliday, Joseph E. "Collector's Choice of the Gilded Age." *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 28 (Winter 1970): 295-316.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Janson, Anthony F. "The Cincinnati Landscape Tradition," in Trapp, Kenneth R., ed., *Celebrate Cincinnati Art, 1881-1981*, Cincinnati Art Museum, 1982, pp. 11-29.

Mayer, Frank Blackwell. *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*. Bertha L. Heilbron, ed. St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1932.

"Mr. Frank Duveneck." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 18 December 1873, p. 4.

Nichols, George Ward. "Private Picture Collections in Cincinnati." *Galaxy* 10 (October 1870): 511-520.

"O.M.I.: Nineteenth Exhibition of the School of Design." *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 10 March 1875, p. 8.

"Ohio Mechanics' Institute." *Cincinnati Commercial*, 10 March 1875, p. 3.

"Review of Cincinnati's Part in the Field of Art, A." *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 May 1915, [].

"School of Design: Progress of Art in Cincinnati, The." *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, 17 June 1875, p. 8.

Spiess, Philip D. II, "Exhibitions and Expositions in 19th Century Cincinnati." *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 28 (Fall 1970): 171-192.

Suburran. "Art Galleries in Cincinnati," *Art Journal*. 1 (July 1868), pp. 119-120.

Vitz, Robert C. "Seventy Years of Cincinnati Art: 1790-1860." *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 25 (January 1967), 50-69.

_____.*Cincinnati Art and Artists, 1870-1920*, unpublished master's thesis, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 1967.

_____. "The Eclipse of Cincinnati's Golden Age in Art." *Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin* 27 (Winter 1969): 305-319.

_____. *The Queen and the Arts: Cultural Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1989.

Weber, Bruce. "Frank Duveneck and the Art Life of Cincinnati, 1865-1900," in *Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum*. Exh. cat. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979, pp. 23-32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

_____. *Robert Frederick Blum (1857-1903 and His Milieu*, 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1985. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1985.

"What Streets Produced Most of Cincinnati's Great Men." *Cincinnati Times-Star*, 29 July 1929, p. 14.

Whittredge, T. Worthington. *The Autobiography of Worthington Whittredge*. Ed. John I.H. Baur. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1942.

ART IN MUNICH/AMERICAN ARTISTS IN MUNICH

Allen, Fred H. *Masterpieces of Modern German Art*, 2 vols. Boston: Dana Estes and Charles E. Lauriat, 1884.

American Art Club at Munich, The." *Art Amateur* 11 (September 1884): 75-76.

Atkinson, J. Beavington. "Three Phases of Munich Art," *Portfolio* [vol.?] [(1870): 13-16.

Benjamin, S.G.W. *Contemporary Art in Europe*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877. "III.--Germany," pp. 117-143.

_____. "Present Tendencies in American Art." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 58 (March 1879): 484-485.

de Kay, Charles. "Munich as an Art Center." *Cosmopolitan* 13 (October 1892): 643-653.

Die Münchner Schule, 1850-1914. Exh. cat. Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemalde sammlungen und Austellungs Leitung, Haus der Kunst, 1979.

Evans, E.P. "Artists and Art Life in Munich." *Cosmopolitan* 9 (May 1890): [3]-14.

Neuhaus, Robert. *Bildismalerei des Leibl-Kreises, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Technik der Malerei der Zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Marburg, Germany: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1953.

Quick, Michael. *An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck's European Years*. Exh. cat. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987.

Quick, Michael and Ruhmer, Eberhard. *Munich and American Realism in the 19th Century*. Exh. cat. Sacramento, Calif: E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1978.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Uhde-Bernays, Herman. *Die Munchner Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert*. Munich: verlag F. Bruckmann, 1983.

van der Veer, L. "Art Student Life in Munich." *International Studio* 25 (March 1905): 16-29.

Weeks, Charlotte J. "Lady Art-Students in Munich." *Magazine of Art* 4 (1881): 343-347.

Weimer, Aloysius George. *The Munich Period in American Art*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1940

Wylie, Elizabeth. *Explorations in Realism: 1870-1880, Frank Duveneck and His Circle from Bavaria to Venice*. Exh. cat. Framingham, Mass.: Danforth Museum of Art, 1989.

VENICE, HISTORY

Brown, Horatio F. *In and Around Venice*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

Harrison, James Albert. "Venice from a Gondola." *Critic* (New Series) (New York) 1 (24 May 1884): 241-242.

Howells, William Dean. *Venetian Life*. London: H. Trubner & Co., 1866; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971.

Pennell, Elizabeth Robins. "Venetian Boats," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 80 (March 1890): [pages]

Perl, Henry. *Venezia*. Adapted from the German by Mrs. Arthur Bell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894.

Smith, F. Hopkinson. *Gondola Days*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1897.

"Venice: The Grand Canal." *Leisure Hour* 12 (1863): 490-494.

ART IN VENICE/AMERICANS IN VENICE:

Cartwright, Julia. "The Artist in Venice I," *Portfolio* 15 (January 1884): 18-19.

Italian Presence in American Art, 1860-1920, The, ed. Irma B. Jaffe. New York: Fordham University Press, 1992.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lovell, Margaretta Markle. *A Visitable Past: Views of Venice by American Artists, 1860-1915*, 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1980.

_____. *Venice: The American View, 1860-1920*. Exh. cat. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1984.

_____. *A Visitable Past: Views of Venice by American Artists, 1860-1915*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Stebbins, Theodore, Jr.. *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and The Italian Experience, 1760-1914*. Exh. cat. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992. Erica E. Hirshler, "'Gondola Days': American Painters in Venice," pp. 112-129 and Chapter 8: "Venetian Life," pp. 385-437.

Stober, Laura J. "The Venetian Experience: Influences and Interactions Among American Artists Visiting Venice During 1874-82." Qualifying paper for Brooklyn College, Master of Arts, City University of New York, 1976.

Venezia nell'Ottocento. Exh. cat. Venice: Ala Napolenica e Museo Correr, 1983.

"Venice as Painted by the Moderns." *Art Journal* (London) New series. (May 1883): 138-142.

NEW YORK, HISTORY

Albion, Robert Greenhaigh. *The Rise of the New York Port, 1815-1860*. New York: Scribner's, 1939.

Campbell, Helen. *Darkness and Daylight, or Lights and Shadows of New York Life*. Hartford, Conn.: A.D. Worthington, 1891.

"City in Modern Life, The." *Atlantic Monthly* 75 (1895): 214-223.

Cook, Ann and Marilyn Gittell, and Mack, Herb, eds. *City Life, 1865-1900: Views of Urban America*. New York: Praeger, 1973.

Corn, Wanda M. "The New New York." *Art in America* 61 (July-August 1973): 59-65.

"Dredging in New York Harbor," *Harper's Weekly* 26 (10 June 1882): 356, 364-365.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Farnham, Charles H. "A Day on the Docks," *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 18 (May 1879): 32-47.

"French Quarter of New York, The." *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 19 (November 1879): 1-9.

Gordon, John and Hills, L. Rust, eds. *New York New York: The City as Seen by Masters of Art and Literature*. New York: Shorecrest, 1965.

Hammack, David C. *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982.

"Harbor and Commerce of New York, First Paper, The." *Appletons' Journal* New Series 2 (June 1877): 481-490.

"Harbor and Commerce of New York, Second Paper, The." *Appletons' Journal* New Series 3 (August 1877): 97-108.

King, Moses. *King's Handbook of New York City, 1893*. 2 vols. 1893, reissued, New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972.

Kouwenhoven, John A. *Adventures of America, 1857-1900: A Pictorial Record from Harper's Weekly*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1938.

"Life on Broadway." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 41 (January 1878): 229-239.

Mayer, Grace M. *Once Upon a City*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1958.

McCabe, James D. *Lights and Shadows of New York Life; Or the Sights and Sensations of the Great City*. 1872, facsimile, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970.

_____. *New York by Gaslight*. 1882, facsimile, New York: Greenwich House, 1984.

"New York." *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 4 (April 1876): 490.

"Opening of the Oyster Season." *Harper's Weekly* 26 (16 September 1882): 584.

Ricciotti, Dominic. The Urban Scene: Images of the City in American Painting, 1890-1930. Indiana University, 1977 diss.

Rosenwaike, Ira. *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898. A History of American Life*, Vol. 10. New York: Macmillan, 1933.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Schuyler, David. *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1986.

Schuyler, Montgomery. "The Skyline of New York." *Harpers Weekly* 41 (20 March 1897): 297.

Sennett, Richard, ed. *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

Smith, Henry Nash, ed. *Popular Culture and Industrialism, 1865-1890*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

Spann, Edward K. *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.

Sterns, E.E. "Street Vendors of New York." *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* 1 (December 1870): 113-129.

Stoddard, W.O. "New York Harbor Police." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 45 (October 1872): 672-683.

Straus, Anselm L. *Images of the American City*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Trollope, Anthony. *North America*. 1863. Reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970. Chapter 13: "New York," pp. 227-235.

Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Schuyler [Mariana Griswold]. "Midsummer in New York," *Century Magazine* 62 (August 1901): 483-501.

Van Rensselaer, M[ariana] G. "Picturesque New York." *Century Magazine* 23 (December 1892): 164-175.

Ware, Louis. *Jacob A. Riis: Police Reporter, Reformer, Useful Citizen*. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1938.

Williams, Jesse Lynch. "The Water-Front of New York." *Scribner's Magazine* 24 (October 1899): 386-397.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

JERSEY CITY AND THE NEW JERSEY SHORE, HISTORY

Kobbé, Gustav. *The New Jersey Coast and Pines.* Short Hills, N.J.: Gustav Kobbé, 1889. "Lakewood," pp. 86-94.

Shaw, Douglas V. "Immigration, Politicis and The Tensions of Urban Growth: Jersey City, 1850-1880," in Joel Schwartz and Daniel Prosser, eds. *Cities of the Garden State: Essays in Urban and Suburban History of New Jersey.* Dubuque, Iowa: Hunt Publishing Company, pp. 35-51.

United States Census, 1880, vol. 18. *Social Statistics of Cities*, Part I. "Jersey City: Hudson County, New Jersey." Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886, pp. 697-704.

ART IN PARIS/THE ACADEMIE JULIAN

Beaux, Cecilia. *Background with Figures: Autobiography of Cecilia Beaux.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

Blaugrund, Annette et al. *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition.* Exh. cat. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1989.

Boime, Albert. *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Phaidon, 1971.

Dow, Arthur Wesley. Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Roll 1097, frames 667-710.

Fehrer, Catherine. "A Search for the Académie Julian." *Drawing* 4 (July-August 1982): 25-28

_____. "New Light on the Académie Julian and Its Founder (Rodolphe Julian)." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 6, 103 (May-June 1984): 207-216.

Fink, Lois Marie. *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons.* Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1990.

Harrison, Birge. "New Departure in Parisian Art." *Atlantic Monthly* 37 (December 1890): 753-764.

Kashey, Robert and Kashey, Elizabeth. *The Julian Academy: Paris, 1868-1939.* Exh. cat., essay by Catherine Fehrer. New York: Sheppard Gallery, 1989.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Milner, John. *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1988.

Sutherland, J. "An Art Student's Year in Paris: Women's Classes at Julian's School." *Art Amateur* 32 (January 1895): 52

Weinberg, H. Barbara. "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts." *American Art Journal* 13 (Autumn 1981): 66-84.

_____. *The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme.* Fort Worth, Tex.: Amon Carter Museum, 1984.

_____. "The Académie Julian," in *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers.* New York: Abbeville, 1991, pp. 221-262.

Wolff, Albert. *La Capitale de l'art.* Paris: Victor-Havard, 1886, vol. 5.

Wright, Margaret Bertha. "Art Student Life in Paris. *Art Amateur* 3 (September 1880): 70-71.

HOLLAND, HISTORY

Beyerman, J.J. *Dordrecht in oude ansichten.* Zalbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1967.

Smith, F. Hopkinson. "Between Showers in Dort." *Scribner's Magazine* 25 (May 1899): 585-597.

NORMANDY, HISTORY/ART IN NORMANDY/AMERICAN ARTISTS IN NORMANDY
(not including sources on Americans in Giverny)

"By the Sea in Normandy." *Scribner's Monthly* 22 (August 1881): 513-527.

Dearmer, Percy. *Highways and Byways in Normandy.* London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.

Humphreys, Mary Gay. "Norman Fisher-Folk." *Harper's Monthly* 69 (November 1884): 843-854.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Macquoid, Katharine S. *Through Normandy*. London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1874.

Ranger, Henry Ward. "Sketching Grounds in Holland and Normandy." *Art Amateur* 31 (July 1894): 5.

Sellin, David. *Americans in Brittany and Normandy, 1860-1910*. Exh. cat. Phoenix, Az.: Phoenix Art Museum, 1982.

Turner, Dawson. *Account of a Tour in Normandy*, 2 vols. London: John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, 1820.

ART IN HOLLAND/THE HAGUE SCHOOL/AMERICANS IN HOLLAND

"Artist Strolls in Holland, I." *Harper's Monthly* 64 (January 1883): 165-180; II, pp. 387-405; III, pp. 520-539; IV, pp. 683-705; V, pp. 327-343; VI, pp. 523-536; VII, pp. 699-714.

Champney, Elizabeth W. "Modern Dutch Painters." *Century* 56 (July 1898):395-407.

Chase, Emma Eames. "Dutch Painters at Home." *Century* 37 (March 1889): 755-765.

de Leeuw, Ronald et al. *The Hague School: Dutch Masters of the 19th Century*. Exh. cat. The Hague: Haags Gemeetemuseum, 1983.

Derby, Lillie Gill. "Contemporary Dutch Painting." *Southern Magazine* 5 (January 1895): 325-334.

Fromentin, Eugène. *The Old Masters of Belgium and Holland*. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882.

Goley, Mary Anne. *The Hague School and its American Legacy*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: Federal Reserve Board, 1982.

Hurdalek, Martha H. *The Hague School: Collecting in Canada at the Turn of the Century*. Exh. cat. Toronto, Canada: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983.

Kirkup, Mary A. "Israels and the Dutch Painters." *Midland Monthly* 9 (April 1898): 304-312.

"Notes: New Pictures in New York Galleries." *Art Journal* 5 (July 1879): 31-32.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ranger, Henry Ward. "Sketching Grounds in Holland and Normandy." *Art Amateur* 31 (July 1894): 5.

Stott, Annette. *American Painters Who Worked in the Netherlands, 1880-1914* 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1986. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986.

"Talks with Artists: Mr. H.W. Ranger on Sketching in Holland." *Art Amateur* 28 (April 1893): 132.

Ten-Doesschate Chu, Petra. "Ninteenth-Century Visitors to the Frans Hals Museum," in *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon, eds. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987, pp. 111-144.

BROOKLYN BRIDGE, HISTORY AND ART

Barnard, Charles. "The Brooklyn Bridge." *St. Nicholas Magazine* 10 (July 1883): 642, 688-700.

Barnes, A.C. *The New York and Brooklyn Bridge*. Pamphlet. Brooklyn, 1883.

Conant, W.C. "The Brooklyn Bridge." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 67 (May 1883): 79-100.

Farrington, E.F. *Concise Description of the East River Bridge, with Full Details of the Construction*. Pamphlet. New York: C.D. Wynkoop, 1881; reprint, Brooklyn: Boro Book Store, 1969.

"Great East River Bridge, The." *Scientific American* 75 (1896): 213, 218.

McCullough, David. *The Great Bridge*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.

"New East River Bridge, The." *Scientific American* 75 (12 September 1896): 1, 218.

Nevins, Deborah et al. *The Great East River Bridge, 1883-1983*. Exh. cat. New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1983.

Schuyler, Montgomery. "Brooklyn Bridge as a Monument." *Harper's Weekly* (26 May 1883); reprinted in *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture*. Ed. Lewis Mumford. New York: Grove Press, 1959.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Trachtenberg, Alan. *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

BRIDGEPORT, HISTORY:

Black Rock: A Bicentennial Picture Book: A Visual History of the Old Seaport of Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1644-1976. Bridgeport, Conn.: Black Rock Civic and Business Men's Club, 1976.

"Bridgeport Has Had Many Bridges During Its History: All Were Originally Privately Owned and Maintained as Toll Bridges and Have Been Rebuilt at Various Times, 23 June 1916, unsourced newspaper clipping, Bridgeport Public Library, Historical Collections Division.

Collier, Christopher. *The Pride of Bridgeport: Men and Machines in the Nineteenth Century.* Bridgeport, Conn.: Museum of Art, Science & Industry, 1979.

Danenberg, Elsie Nicholas. *The Story of Bridgeport.* Bridgeport, Conn.: Bridgeport Centennial, 1936.

History of Black Rock, compiled by Dr. Ivan O. Justinium for Black Rock Civic and Business Men's Club, Inc., Bridgeport, Conn. Bridgeport, Conn.: Antoniak Printing Service, 1955.

"Lower Bridge, The." *Bridgeport Daily Standard*, 10 August 1888, p. [4].

"Lower Bridge, The." *Bridgeport Daily Standard*, 10 December 1888, p. [3].

"New Bridge, The." *Bridgeport Daily Standard*, 3 August 1888, p. [3].

"New Lower Bridge: Seventy-Three Thousand Pounds of Elephants Test the New Structure, Bridgeport's Way, The." *Bridgeport Standard*, 8 December 1888, p. [3].

"Old Toll House and How the Cigar Named After It Made Its Owner a Fortune, The." *Bridgeport Herald*, 16 June 1912, clipping file, Bridgeport Public Library, Historical Collections Division.

Orcutt, Samuel. *A History of the Old Town of Stratford and the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut*, 2 vols. Fairfield, Conn.: Fairfield County Historical Society, 1886.

Palmquist, David W. *Bridgeport: A Pictorial History.* Norfolk, Va.: Donning Company, 1985.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Standard's History of Bridgeport: The Institutions of the City--Its Growth from Small Beginnings--The Contrasts of the Present with the Past, The Promise of the Future, The. Bridgeport, Conn.: The Standard Association, 1897.

NEWPORT, HISTORY:

Elliott, Maud Howe. *This Was My Newport.* Cambridge, Mass.: The Mythology Company, A Marshall Jones, 1944.

Gannon, Thomas. *Newport Mansions: The Gilded Age.* Little Compton, R.I.: Foremost Publishers, 1982.

Mason, George C. *Newport Illustrated.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.

Pairpoint, Alfred J. *Rambles in America: Past and Present.* Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1891.

Sirkis, Nancy. *Newport Pleasures and Palaces.* New York: Viking Press, 1963.

Van Renesselaer, May King. *Newport, Our Social Capital.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, Co., 1905.

SURVEYS OF ART IN NEWPORT

Artistic Heritage of Newport and the Narragansett Bay, The. Exh. cat. Newport, R.I.: William Vareika Fine Arts, 1990.

Retrospective Exhibition of the Work of Artists Identified with Newport. Exh. cat., Newport, R.I.: The Art Association of Newport, 1936.

Workman, Robert G. *The Eden of America: Rhode Island Landscapes, 1820-1920.* Exh. cat. Providence, R.I.: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1986.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT, HISTORY:

Before and After 1776: A Comprehensive Chronology of the Town of Greenwich, 1640-1976 (Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1976).

Greenwich in Pictures. Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwich Press, 1929.

Holland, Lydia and Leaf, Margaret. *Greenwich: Old and New*. Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwich Press, 1935.

Hubbard, Frederick A. *Other Days in Greenwich or Tales and Reminiscences of an Old New England Town*. New York: J.F. Tapley Company, 1913.

Junior League of Greenwich. *The Great Estates of Greenwich, Connecticut, 1880-1930*. Greenwich, Conn.: Junior League of Greenwich, 1986.

Larkin, Susan. "The Muckraking of Greenwich," *The Greenwich Review* (October 1983): 50-53.

McNamara, Catherine. Oral History Interview with Louise van Dyke Brown, 29 July and 10 August 1977. Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwich Library, 1977.

Mead, Daniel M. *A History of the Town of Greenwich, Fairfield County, Conn.* (New York: Baker & Godwin, Printers, 1857.

Mead, Spencer P. *Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich*. New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1911.

Register and Manual of the State of Connecticut. Hartford, Conn.: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1893.

Trumbull, J. Hammond. *Indian Names of Places Etc., in and on The Borders of Connecticut*. Hartford, Conn.: Trumbull Hammond, 1881.

SURVEYS OF ART IN CONNECTICUT:

Eldredge, Charles. "Connecticut Impressionists: The Spirit of Place." *Art in America* 5 (September-October 1974): 84-90.

Larkin, Susan. "Impressionism's Connecticut Connection." *Eastern Review* (June 1980): 56-62.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Spencer, Harold et al. *Connecticut and American Impressionism*. Exh. cat. Storrs, Conn.: University of Connecticut, 1980.

Young, Mahonri Sharp. "Impressionism in Connecticut." *Apollo* 112 (December 1980): 418-419.

THE AMERICAN SUBURB:

"An Architectural Tournament: Successful Designs for American Suburban Homes." *Craftsman* 27 (February 1915): 516-519, 574-576.

Atterbury, Grosvenor. "A Cottage and Garden at East Hampton, L.I.," *House and Garden* 3 (April 1903): 213-214.

Barnes, Parker Thayer. *The Suburban Garden Guide*. New York: Macmillan, 1913.

Beers, Henry Augustin. *A Suburban Pastoral and Other Tales*. New York: Holt, 1894.

Bishop, William. "Hunting an Abandoned Farm in Connecticut." *Century* 25 (April 1894): 915-924.

Blanchan, Neltje. *The American Flower Garden*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909.

Bragdon, Claude. "The Making of a Country Home: Hints on External Treatment." *Country Life in America* 2 (September 1902): 172-175.

Bowers, William L. *The Country-Life Movement in America, 1900-1920*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat.

Bryant, Sara Cone. "A Suburban Place of Four Acres." *Country Life in America* 4 (August 1903): 264-268.

Buckham, John Wright. "The Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--IV. Some Architectural Details, as Illustrated by the Doorways of Old Salem." *Country Life in America* 3 (July 1902): 85-89.

Bunner, Arnold W. "The Influence of Surroundings." *Craftsman* 27 (March 1915): 562.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clark, Francis E. "Why I Chose a Suburban Home." *Suburban Life* 4 (April 1907): 189.

"Contemporary Suburban Residence." *Architectural Record* 11 (January 1902): 69-81.

Doell, M. Christine Klim. *Gardens of the Gilded Age: Nineteenth-Century Gardens and Homegrounds of New York State*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986.

Fawcett, Waldon. "Suburban Life in America." *Cosmopolitan* (July 1903): 308-316.

Fleming, Bryant. "The Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--III. Planting the Place. *Country Life in America* 2 (June 1902): 45-49.

Gade, John A. "Successful Country Houses." *Country Life in America* 4 (October 1903): 397-405.

Githens, Alfred Morton. "The Farmhouse Reclaimed." *House and Garden* 12 (June 1910): 216-218, xviii; 13 (July 1910): 14-18.

Gowans, Alan. *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture, 1890-1930*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1986.

Handlin, David. *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915*. Boston: Little Brown, 1979.

Hayden, Dolores. *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1981.

Hill, May Brawley. "Grandmother's Garden." *Antiques* 142 (November 1992): 726-236.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Kimball, Fiske. "The American Country House." *Architectural Record* 46 (October 1919): 291-400.

McCrea, A.E. "Color Harmony and Discord." *Suburban Life* 4 (May 1907): 311-312.

McFarland, J. Horace. "My Growing Garden." *Suburban Life* 21 (August 1915): 64-66, 98.

"Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--I. Choosing the Site, and General Advice." *Country Life in America* 1 (April 1901): 200-203.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--II. The Grading of the Land. The Boundaries, The." *Country Life in America* 2 (May 1902): 7-9.

Martin, Clarence A. "The Making of a Country Home: Being A Series of Practical Papers on the Possibilities of Home-Making by Persons of Moderate Means--V. The External Aspect of the House." *Country Life in America* 2 (August 1902): 140-144.

Martin, E.S."Random Reading. Miniature Essays on Life: The Country." *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 104 (April 1902): 825-832.

"Mission of Country Life Magazines." *Suburban Life* 1 (August 1905).

Mowbray, J.P. "Going Back to the Soil." *World's Work* 1 (January 1901): 267-277.

Noregard, Julius. "The Joy of Gardens." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 104 (March 1902): 607-610.

"Plea for the Wild Garden: The Beauty and Usefulness of Our Vanishing Wild Flowers, A." *Craftsman* 27 (March 1915): 597-604.

Sangster, Margaret E. "The Suburban Resident." *Collier's* 26 (4 March 1901): 20.

Saylor, Henry H. "Personality in a Country Home." *House and Garden* 13 (September 1910): 140-144.

Smith, Frank L. *Suburban Homes.* Boston: Wood, Harmon and Co., 1890.

Stilgoe, John R. *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

Sturgis, Russell. *Homes in City and Country.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893.

"Suburban Homes." *Garden and Forest* 9: 271, 309, 312.

"Successful Houses." *House Beautiful* 1 (1897): 64-69.

Swift, Samuel. "Llewellyn Park, West Orange, Essex Co., New Jersey: The First American Suburban Community." *House and Garden* 3 (June 1903): 327-336.

Symonds, William H. "Rectangular Houses: Beautiful and Practicable." *Suburban Life* 15 (1912): 118-119.

True, John Preston. "Beatitudes of a Suburbanite." *Atlantic Monthly* 102 (October 1908): 552-555.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

van Rensselaer, Mariana G. "American Country Dwellings." *Century Magazine* 32 (May 1886): 3-20; (June 1886): 206-220; (July 1886): 421-434.

_____. *Art Out-of-Doors: Hints on Good Taste in Gardening*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893.

_____. "A Suburban Country Place." *Century Magazine* 54 (May 1897): 3-17.

Warner, Sam Bass Jr. *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process and Growth in Boston 1870-1900*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Waugh, Frank A. *Landscape Gardening*. New York: Orange Judd Company, 1899.

Weber, A.F. "Suburban Annexations." *North American Review* 166 (1898): 612-617.

"What This Magazine Stands For." *Country Life in America* 1 (November 1901): 24-25.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.

_____. *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980.

NIAGARA FALLS, HISTORY:

Adams, Edward Dean. *Niagara Power: History of the Niagara Falls Power Company*, 2 vols. New York: Niagara Falls Power Company, 1927.

Dow, Charles M. ed. *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls*, 2 vols. Albany, N.Y.: J.B. Lyon Co., 1921.

Friesen, B.F. and Day, J.C. "Hydroelectric Power and Scenic Provisions of the 1950 Niagara Treaty." *Water Resources Bulletin* 13 (December 1977): 1175-1189.

Hartt, Mary B. "The Passing of Niagara." *Outlook* 68 (4 May 1901): 21-28.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

IMAGES OF NIAGARA:

Adamson, Jeremy Elwell et al. *Niagara: Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes*. Exh. cat. Washington, D.C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1985.

YELLOWSTONE PARK, HISTORY AND ART:

Bartlett, Richard A. *Nature's Yellowstone*. Albuquerque, N. Mex.: [], 1974.

Chittenden, Hiram M. *The Yellowstone National Park*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke Company, 1895; revised and enlarged sixth edition, 1911.

Freeman, Lewis R. *Down the Yellowstone*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1922.

Haines, Aubrey L. *The Yellowstone Story*. Yellowstone National Park, 1977.

_____. *Yellowstone National Park: Its Exploration and Establishment*. Washington, D.C.: [], 1974.

Langford, Nathaniel P. "The Wonders of Yellowstone." *Scribner's Monthly* 2 (1871): 1-17; 113-128.

Mitchell, S. Weir. "Through the Yellowstone Park to Fort Custer, I." *Lippincott's* 25 (June 1880): 688-704.

_____. "Through the Yellowstone Park to Fort Custer, II, Concluding Paper." *Lippincott's* 26 (July 1880): 29-41.

Rideing, William H. "A Chapter of American Exploration." *Lippincott's* 26 (October 1880): 393-410.

Warren, F.K. *California Illustrated Including a Trip Through Yellowstone Park*. Boston: DeWolfe, 1892.

GLOUCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, HISTORY AND ART

Ambler, Edward Vassar. *Know Cape Ann: The Garden Spot of the Atlantic*. Gloucester, Mass.: North Shore Press, Inc., 1931.

Betts, Lillian W. "Gloucester: The Fishing City." *Outlook* 68 (4 May 1901): 60-69

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Connolly, James B. *Gloucestermen: Stories of the Fishing Fleet*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

_____. *The Port of Gloucester*. New York: Douleday, Doran & Company, 1940.

Coxe, R. Cleveland. "In Gloucester Harbor." *Century Magazine* 44 (August 1892): 518-522.

Garland, Joseph E. *Boston's North Shore*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1978.

_____. *Eastern Point*. Dublin, N.H.: William L. Bauhan, 1971.

_____. *The Gloucester Guide*. Gloucester, Mass.: Gloucester 350th Anniversary Celebration, Inc., 1973.

Garrett, Edmund. *Romance and Reality of the Puritan Coast*. Boston: Little Brown, 1897.

Hawes, Charles Boardman. *Gloucester: By Land and Sea*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1923.

Hawthorne, Hildegarde. *Old Seaport Towns of New England*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1916.

North, Franklin H. "Gloucester Fishers." *Century Magazine* 32 (October 1886): 815-828.

O'Gorman, James F. *This Other Gloucester: Occasional Papers on the Arts of Cape Ann, Massachusetts*. Boston: James F. O'Gorman, 1976.

Picturesque Cape Ann. Gloucester, Mass.: E.C. McIntire, 1909.

Rich, Hiram. "Around Cape Ann: Annisquam to Marblehead." *Century Magazine* 23 (November 1881): 49-57.

Weinberg, H. Barbara; Doreen Bolger; and David Park Curry. "Gloucester: A Durable Magnet for American Painters of Modern Life," in *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*. Exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994, pp. 122-133.

Wilmerding, John. *Interpretations of Place: Views of Gloucester, Massachusetts, by American Artists*. Exh. cat. Gloucester, Mass.: Gloucester's 350th Anniversary Celebration, Inc., 1973.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

AMERICAN LIFE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, SELECTED LIST

Cook, Ann and Marilyn Gittell, and Mack, Herb, eds. *City Life, 1865-1900: Views of Urban America*. New York: Praeger, 1973.

Gowans, Alan. *Rural Myth and Urban Fact in the American Heritage*. Wilmington, Del.: Weymyss Foundation, 1965.

Green, Constance. *American Cities in the Growth of the Nation*. New York: J. DeGraff, 1957

Harris, Neil, ed. *The Land of Contrasts, 1880-1901*. The American Culture Series. New York: Braziller, 1970.

Hofstadter, Richard. *Age of Reform, from Bryan to F.D.R.* New York: Knopf, 1955, p. 35.

James, Henry. *The American Scene*. Leon Edel, ed. reprint combining the 1907 London and American eds. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1968.

Jensen, Oliver., ed. *The Nineties*. New York: American Heritage, 1967.

Jones, H. Mumford. *O Strange New World: American Culture in the Formative Years. New York*: Viking Press, 1964.

Kouwenhoven, John A. *Adventures of America, 1857-1900: A Pictorial Record from Harper's Weekly*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1938.

McKelvey, Blake. *The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963.

Morgan, Howard Wayne, ed. *The Gilded Age: A Reappraisal*. Syracuse, N.Y.: [], 1963. revised 1970.

Muirhead, J.F. *The Land of Contrasts*. Boston: Lamson Wolfe & Co., 1898.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938.

Nash, Roderick. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. 1967, revised 1973. 3d ed., New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.

Popcock, Douglas Charls David and Hudson, Ray. *Images of the Urban Environment*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898. A History of American Life*, Vol. 10. New York: Macmillan, 1933.

Schmitt, Peter J. *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*. New York: Oxford, 1969.

Smith, Henry Nash, ed. *Popular Culture and Industrialism, 1865-1890*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

Tilden, Denis. *The Wild Seventies*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1941.

Trachtenberg, Alan; Neill, Peter, and Bunnell, Peter C., eds. *The City: American Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Warner, Sam Bass Jr. *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*. New York, 1972.

Weber, A.F. *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*. Columbia University Studies, 1899.

Ziff, Larzer. *The American 1890s. Life and Time of a Lost Generation*. New York: Compass-Viking, 1966.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.