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"A REGULAR RENDEZVOUS FOR IMPRESSIONISTS":

THE COS COB ART COLONY 1882-1920

by

Susan G. Larkin

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

1996

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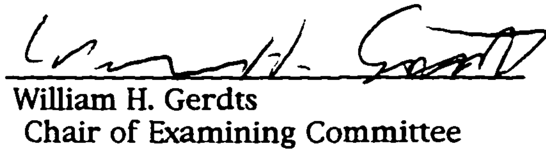
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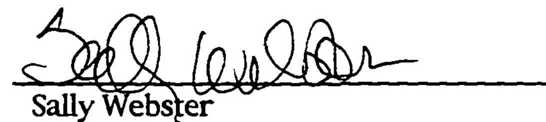
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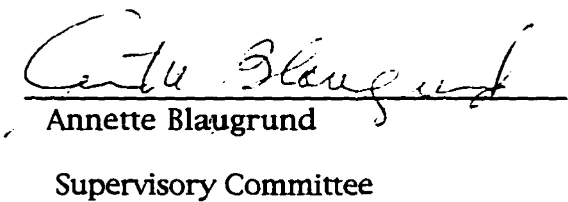
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6.9. Constant Holley MacRae and an unidentified woman on the porch of the Holley House; the Brush House is visible in the background. Photograph, ca. 1900. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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Chapter Eight

8.1. Schematic map of Twachtman's property (drawn by Anne von Stuelpnagel, 1996). Approximate locations:

1. house (front entrance indicated by arrow)
2. vegetable garden
3. poultry yard
4. barn
5. Horseneck Falls
6. Hemlock Pool
7. White Bridge

The area shown, now divided among several owners, encompasses about three and a half to four acres.

8.2. John H. Twachtman, *End of Winter*, after 1889. Oil on canvas, 22 x 30 1/8 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. Gift of William T. Evans.

8.3. John H. Twachtman, *Willow Brook*, undated. Pen and ink on paper, image size 5 x 8 1/2 in. Archives, Weir Farm (WEFA 350), Wilton, Conn.

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8.5. John H. Twachtman, *Snowbound*, ca. 1893. Oil on canvas, 22 x 30 in. Scripps College, Gift of General and Mrs. Edward Clinton Young, 1946.

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8.6. John H. Twachtman, *Summer*, undated. Oil on canvas, 30 x 53 in. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D. C.

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8.8. John H. Twachtman, *On the Terrace*, ca. 1897. Oil on canvas, 25 1/4 x 30 1/8 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of John Gellatly.

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8.11. Edouard Manet, *The Monet Family in Their Garden at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 24 x 39 1/4 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; bequest of Joan Whitney Payson.

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8.14. Thomas Anshutz, *The Way They Lived*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 24 x 17 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Morris K. Jesup Fund, 1940.

8.15. Theodore Robinson, *In the Garden*, ca. 1889. Oil on canvas, 18 x 22 in. The Westmoreland Museum of Art, Greensburg, Pa.; William A. Coulter Fund.

8.16. Horseneck Falls on Twachtman's property, ca. 1890. Photograph. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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8.17. John Twachtman, *Pink Flowers*. Oil on canvas, 13 x 16 in. Private collection.

8.18. John H. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, after 1895. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 30 1/4 in. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of the Martin B. Koon Memorial Collection.

8.19. John H. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, ca. 1900. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 25 1/8 in. Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester; Gift of Emily Sibley Watson.

8.20. John H. Twachtman, *Bridge in the Woods*, ca. 1900. Oil on canvas, 26 x 14 in. Private collection. Photograph courtesy of Kennedy Galleries, New York.

8.21. John H. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, 1889-1900. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 1/4 in. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection.

8.22. John H. Twachtman, *The Little Bridge*, ca. 1896. Oil on canvas, 25 x 25 in. University of Georgia, Georgia Museum of Art; Eva Underhill Holbrook Memorial Collection of American Art; Gift of Alfred H. Holbrook, 1945.

8.23. Claude Monet, *Bridge over a Pool of Water Lilies*, 1899. Oil on canvas, 36 1/2 x 29 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. The Havemeyer Collection).

8.24. Hsia Kuei, *Streams and Mountains, Pure and Remote* (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper, 18 1/4 x 350 in. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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8.26. Katsushika Hokusai, *Admiring the Irises at Yatsuhashi*, ca. 1834. Color woodblock print, 9 7/8 x 15 1/4 in., from the series *Remarkable Views of the*

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Bridges in All Provinces. Honolulu Academy of Arts, The James A. Michener Collection.

8.27. Utagawa Hiroshige, *Kameido Shrine in Snow*, ca. 1833. Polychrome woodblock print, 9 x 14 1/4 in. From the collection of J. Alden Weir. Museum of Art, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

8.28. Frederic Edwin Church, *Niagara*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 42 1/2 x 90 1/2 in. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

8.29. John Twachtman, *Winter Harmony*, ca. 1890-1900. Oil on canvas, 25 3/4x 32 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of the Avalon Foundation.

8.30. John Twachtman, *Hemlock Pool—Autumn*, ca. 1894. Oil on canvas, 15 1/2 x 19 1/2 in. Private collection, Philadelphia, Courtesy of Graham Gallery.

8.31. John Twachtman, *The Torrent*, late 1890s. Oil on canvas, 25 1/4 x 30 1/8 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Gift of William T. Evans.

8.32. John Twachtman, *The Waterfall*, late 1890s. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 1/8 in. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.

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Introduction

The dissertation is divided into two parts, which are quite different in methodology, emphasis, and aims. While there is some overlap, the first part is primarily documentary; the second, interpretative. Part One is a narrative history of the art colony, organized chronologically. Chapter One sets the scene for the art colony, surveying the changes in the town of Greenwich beginning with the introduction of rail service in 1848 and accelerating in the wake of the Civil War. Based on newly discovered archival evidence, it documents the art colony's roots in the late 1870s, when John Twachtman and J. Alden Weir painted together at Holly Farm on Stanwich Road. The narrative follows Edward and Josephine Holley from the farm to Cos Cob, where in 1882 they opened a boarding house that became the art colony's new gathering place.

Chapter Two examines the art colony during the period (1890-1902) when it was dominated by Twachtman. It analyzes the art colony's impact on its four major artists, Twachtman, Weir, Theodore Robinson, and Childe Hassam, arguing that Cos Cob's experimental climate made it a crucible of innovation in American art. The art colony's literary component, summer school, and relations with various groups in the larger community are also introduced here, as well as the impact of Japanism and the Colonial Revival movement.

Chapter Three maps the changes in the art colony in the twentieth century, chronicling the continuing involvement of Hassam and other long-term members and the arrival of new artists and writers. It details the art colonists' search for local patronage, culminating in the establishment of the Greenwich Society of Artists and the Bruce Museum. Elmer MacRae's role in

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the Armory Show is analyzed, and the art colony's dedication to innovation is revealed in its artists' stylistic changes in that exhibition's aftermath. Cos Cob's links to other art colonies in New York and New England is also surveyed. The chapter ends with a consideration of factors in the art colony's decline.

Part Two is an iconological analysis of the five themes favored by Cos Cob's artists: boating, the railroad bridge, architecture, the female figure, and home ground. In these five chapters, each devoted to one theme, materials as diverse as the reports of the state shellfish commissioners and instructions on poultry-raising are employed to illuminate the meaning the subjects held for the artists' contemporaries. Robinson dominates chapter four, Hassam chapter seven, and Twachtman chapter eight; the other chapters include these artists as well as others. To ensure that the art object remains the privileged focus of inquiry, the "new art history" is combined with a careful consideration of artistic structure.

The Conclusion analyzes the significance of the Cos Cob art colony in the broader context of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American culture. Appendices 1 through 5 list the colony's artists and writers, the summer students, and the Greenwich Society of Artists' members and guest exhibitors. Appendix 6 contains the transcripts of five previously unpublished letters from John Twachtman.

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Chapter One

Setting the Stage: Before 1890

On December 27, 1848, the first train steamed through Greenwich, Connecticut, crossing the Mianus River railroad bridge from the Cos Cob to the Riverside sections of town (see map, fig. 1.1). Over the next half-century, the railroad would transform the township's landscape, economy, and population. At first, however, change was slow-paced. In the two centuries following its founding as an English settlement in 1640, the town had remained a farming and fishing community that viewed New York City merely as a vast market for its dairy products, potatoes, hay, apples, and seafood. Steamboat service to Manhattan was introduced in 1815, but local people were just as likely to make the trip on the sail-powered packet boats that carried their farm produce to the city. To shop, they went east to Stamford or west to Port Chester, New York, and to learn what was going on in Greenwich, they scanned a column in the newspapers of those neighboring towns.[1]

Ten years after rail service was inaugurated, one contemporary observer, attorney Frederick A. Hubbard, recalled, visitors from New York were still so scarce that "one, or at the most, two hacks were sufficient for incoming passengers . . . . The streets in summer were deserted, and New York . . . had no idea of the natural advantages of the place."[2] Hubbard pinpointed 1860 as the turning point in the town's transformation. The date was doubly significant. First, the Civil War was imminent: "Life in all branches of trade quickened at the sound of the recruiting drum and Greenwich shared in the excitement." Second, William Marcy Tweed, the boss of New York City's corrupt political machine, spent the summer camping with his cronies on

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Round Island, just off Indian Harbor in Greenwich.[3] Enchanted with the site, Tweed's Americus Club made Indian Harbor its headquarters. The organization's opulent clubhouse, opened in 1871, was called the finest summer place in the United States.[4] Sporting gold-braided navy uniforms, Tweed's Ring enjoyed meals prepared by French chefs, sailed on the club's fleet, and relaxed in the frescoed salon. They climbed a spiral staircase to the "grand tower" for a view of the city they were cheating so energetically: "away to the Southwest, with that softening that the magic of distance lends, the busy, bustling, noisy metropolis—seen but not heard, visible but silent, as a mere city of mirage might be."[5] Though Greenwich was eventually embarrassed by the Americus Club, the astute Hubbard conceded that "we must give it the credit of advertising the town and so introducing its advantages as a summer resort to the weary metropolitan."[6]

During the 1870s, the coming and going of weary metropolitans became Greenwich season-markers as reliable as the return of the robins and the departure of the wild geese. In 1874, the town had 500 summer visitors.[7] The following year, that many arrived on just one day, the third of July.[8] They were accommodated at the new summer hotels, of which one of the grandest was the Indian Harbor, converted from the Americus Clubhouse after Tweed's 1873 downfall. In addition to the resort hotels, with their social calendars crammed with "hops," masquerades, picnics, and regattas, numerous boarding houses served long-term visitors. Housewives earned pin money by renting rooms to city folk. The potential income from summer rentals was so significant that many families moved out of their homes into rustic outbuildings in order to lease the entire house. "It is a well-known fact that the supply of small houses for rent is not equal to the demand," the local newspaper declared in 1882.[9] An elderly resident recalled later that "for a

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long time people around here rented [out] their own house and lived in some kind of little place they built in the back yard."[10]

Many summer visitors eventually became year-round residents. In a familiar sequence, they would first spend the summer in a hotel or boarding house; next, rent a house for the summer, and finally, buy a summer house and gradually extend the time they spent there. The impact on the town's population was dramatic. Between 1790 and 1840, population rose just 23 percent. In the twenty years between 1840 and 1860—the first period affected by the railroad—population jumped 66 percent. Between 1860 and 1890, it climbed another 55 percent. And during the peak years of the Cos Cob art colony, 1890 to 1920, the population of the town of Greenwich soared by 118 percent.[11]

New stores and services were established to meet the demands of a more sophisticated populace. Though local people also patronized them, the merchants depended primarily on seasonal trade; "about all the money we get comes to us in the summer," one told a city reporter.[12] The new enterprises provided the advertising base necessary to support the first newspapers regularly published in Greenwich: the *Observer*, established in 1877, followed by the *Graphic* in 1881 and the *News* in 1888, all weeklies.[13] Their advertisements targeted a seasonal audience with offers of rental boats and bicycles, ferry rides to nearby islands, catered clambakes, and other recreational amenities. The *Graphic's* "Talk of the Town" column, little more than a vehicle to publicize the newly established antique shops, tantalized urban readers with descriptions of old furniture and china, portable fragments of the New England heritage that was one of the town's attractions. The columnist shrewdly reminded local readers of the potential profit from selling their family heirlooms: "Several pieces of old furniture belonging to

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the late Epenetus Sniffen have been at the shop of Barnes & Reeves this week undergoing a process of cleaning and repairing. They have been sold, it is said, to New York parties for good prices."[14]

The town spruced up for its summer visitors, laying sidewalks and lighting streets to encourage shoppers. Even the water company was established in response to the demands of tourism. During the 1870s, two hotel proprietors argued that the hotels' need for a reliable source of pure water had to be met immediately "if we desire Greenwich to become of some importance as a 'water'ing place."[15] After the Greenwich Water Company was incorporated in 1880, the town's water supply, "affording a pressure of eighty-five pounds to the square inch," was cited among the community's advantages to potential summer residents.[16] The town library, established in 1877, offered "limited memberships" to seasonal residents. Addressing the Annual Circular to "summer residents and visitors," the first librarian acknowledged that "people who are absent from their homes and from the libraries of large cities find a lack of reading matter, one of the serious drawbacks of country life . . . . Summer residents who patronize the library will . . . increase the resources of their summer residence in the way of pleasure and recreation."[17]

Pleasure and recreation were, of course, the principal attractions of the Connecticut coastal community. The town's proximity to New York and the convenient train service put those pleasures within easy reach of city dwellers. The Indian Harbor Hotel's 1882 advertisement in the *Greenwich Graphic* emphasized its convenient location. "The most Beautiful, Comfortable and Accessible Summer Resort on the Sound," it boasted. "Twenty-eight miles from New York. Sixteen trains, time one hour, commutation 40 cents per day."[18] The easy train connection appealed to businessmen who would

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otherwise join their vacationing families only on weekends. These "Summer Widowers," as one contemporary writer called them, customarily endured heat and loneliness in the city while their wives and children enjoyed the fresh air and social diversions of a summer resort.[19] Unlike most such resorts, Greenwich was close enough to allow businessmen to rejoin their families in the country every evening.

Westchester County was even closer to New York, but was less attractive to many potential visitors because it had assumed a manicured suburban character by the mid-nineteenth century. As early as 1853, one writer declared that Westchester's "lawns and park-gates, groves and verandahs, ornamental woods and neat walls, trim edges and well-placed shrubberies, fine houses and large stables, neat gravel walks and nobody on them—are notes upon one chord, and they certainly seemed to me to make a dull tune of Westchester."[20] Greenwich, on the other hand, was slow to lose its agricultural and maritime identity. In the local papers, the market prices for apples ran beside columns reporting hotel improvements. A fox raiding a hen house and a good catch of fish were considered newsworthy. The Farmers Club picnic shared the front page with a feature on the stylish carriages meeting the afternoon trains.[21] As late as 1911, the town's "principal industry" was still farming.[22]

Even more important, Greenwich was in New England. This powerful appeal is invoked in an 1892 column in a New York paper, which defined Greenwich as "the western doorway of the State of Connecticut, being the first town across the line which divides the Land of Steady Habits from the Empire State."[23] During the Colonial Revival, which lasted from 1876 to about 1920, New England was idealized as the essentially "American" region.[24] Hartford resident Samuel Clemens's humorous novel, *A Connecticut Yankee in King*

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Arthur's Court, is evidence that Connecticut natives were considered authentically "Yankee." Contemporary local-color literature by Irving Bacheller, Sarah Orne Jewett, Celia Thaxter, and Harriet Beecher Stowe celebrated life in villages where wise, taciturn people lived in harmony with nature. Though their stories are usually set in Maine or New Hampshire, the communities they celebrate resemble Greenwich in the late nineteenth century. Like Jewett's fictional Dunnet Landing, for example, Greenwich appeared to be a "salt-aired, white-clapboarded little town."[25]

In fact, Greenwich was (and is) a very large town: forty-eight square miles, about the same size as Washington, D. C. Composed of numerous small communities, however, it retained a village character. The diversity in place names mirrored the diverse scenery. Tidal marshes, bustling harbors, winding rivers, rocky pastures, back-country farms, wooded streams: all these and more could be found within the town's limits.

As early as the 1870s, this varied landscape was attracting artists. Local residents grew accustomed to seeing painters at work along the shore or on the edges of the grainfields. In 1874, a local paper reported that "Mr. W. B. Cox, an artist from Columbia Hights [sic], Brooklyn, is at Rock Cliff Camp on Field Point. His sketch book is filled with familiar scenes."[26] Three years later, another paper reported that Charles Stanley Reinhart "has been making numerous sketches about town . . . so we may expect soon to see some of the natural beauties of Greenwich during the coming winter."[27] Painters became so numerous in the area that by 1884, the hardware store's advertisements featured artists' materials almost as prominently as farm implements.

The painters, even more than the other city folk, were invested in preserving the town's uneasy balance of old and new. The tensions resulting from this balancing act are reflected in David Johnson's *View Near Greenwich*

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(fig. 1.2), dated 1878.[28] The artist had employed a similar composition four years earlier in *Lake George Looking North from Tongue Mountain Shore* (fig. 1.3). Both paintings show figures in rowboats on placid, rock-rimmed water. They differ, however, in two subtle but significant details. First, the boaters in the Greenwich work are not tourists, as in the Lake George image, but working fishermen. Second, while the Adirondack view recedes into hazy, infinite wilderness, the viewer's gaze in the Greenwich painting is arrested by a railroad embankment and a passing train. In this juxtaposition of rowboat and locomotive, Johnson's *View Near Greenwich* encapsulates the tensions that would pervade the work of the Cos Cob art colony: those between tradition and modernity, nature and technology, boat and train.

It is not known where Johnson stayed during his visits in the 1870s and 80s, but some of his colleagues favored Holly Farm off Stanwich Road in central Greenwich (fig. 1.4). The farm was owned by Edward Payson Holley (fig. 1.5), who had assumed its management at age eighteen after the death of his father.[29] Holley recognized the influx of summer visitors to Greenwich as an unusual investment opportunity, but he lacked the skill or the wisdom to profit from it. After his marriage in 1866 to Josephine Lyon (fig. 1.6), he rapidly expanded his property from the thirty-one acres he had inherited to a total of 114 acres.[30] He may have bought up the farmland with the intention of reselling it for residential lots. More grandiose was his dream of operating a large-scale summer boarding house. In 1873-74, Holley went deeply into debt to build a three-story mansion whose twenty-six rooms included twenty bedrooms—far more than needed by the farmer, his wife, their three children, and his widowed mother.[31] Fifty-four persons could be seated at tables in two dining rooms and the kitchen. With its mansard roof, central tower, and Italianate details, the house epitomized the fashionable Second Empire style

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that was fashionable in the decade after the Civil War. The wide front porch, hung with flowering baskets and festooned with vines, offered welcome shade on hot summer days.[32] Surrounded by rolling farmland, the boarding house was only a short buggy ride from the Cos Cob train station. The Holleys advertised its attractions in a New York paper:

> Greenwich, Conn.—First-class board for select parties at a private residence; large airy rooms, wide piazzas, extensive grounds, splendid shade, no mosquitoes, no chills and fever; one hour from New-York to Coscob, all trains stop; ten minutes from depot, carriages waiting for all trains; references required. Parties can be seen to-day, at parlor No. 45 Grand Union Hotel, from 1 to 6 P.M., or address Holly Farm, Greenwich, Conn.[33]

While Edward Holley continued to grow potatoes, apples, and onions for the city market, Josephine catered to their paying guests. For a woman, running a boarding house was a socially acceptable occupation, largely because it was an extension of her traditional domestic role.[34] Within her own home, the landlady cooked, cleaned, and laundered for her boarders as she did for her family. The surrogate family of boarders was carefully selected, however. A guest could obtain a room in a genteel boarding house only if recommended by someone known to the proprietor; as the Holleys' advertisement stipulated, references were required. Conversely, a genteel person would not stay at a boarding house unless it had been recommended by a friend. The Holleys' advertisement offered "select parties" the opportunity for mutual inspection on neutral territory, the parlor of a city hotel. In addition, both proprietor and prospective guests would expect personal recommendations.[35] As a result of this intensely personal transaction, most boarding houses specialized, catering to clients linked by profession or other affinities. The guests' shared interests and the family structure of management made a good boarding house

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a home away from home. As one contented boarder told an interviewer from the *Ladies Home Journal*, "If you want real home life, you've got to board. Then you have real people sitting around you at dinner—your own kind who are there for much your sort of reason. You feel that bond."[36]

The Holleys possessed the ideal attributes to operate a genteel boarding house. Edward Holley was descended from one of the original English settlers of neighboring Stamford.[37] Josephine Lyon Holley's ancestors on both sides settled in New England in 1632. On her mother's side, she was linked to the distinguished Phillips family commemorated in Phillips Exeter Academy, and on her father's, to the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony.[38] Josephine's brother, Hartford physician Irving W. Lyon, was an avid antiquarian who pioneered in the documentation of American furniture. He is credited with proving that the majority of old oak chests and cupboards found in New England were not imported, as had been assumed, but were made in the region.[39] Her sister, Clarissa, was married to Clifford Weld, a member of the wealthy Boston family that had prospered in the China Trade.

The Holleys' Yankee ancestry enhanced the nostalgic appeal of a sojourn at their farm. One of their paying guests in the late 1870s was probably Charles Stanley Reinhart.[40] Another, more important to the emerging Cos Cob art colony, was Robert W. Weir. A respected older artist, Weir was best known, then as now, for his painting *Embarkation of the Pilgrims* (1837-43) in the United States Capitol Rotunda.[41] He retired as drawing instructor at West Point in July 1876, and moved to Hoboken, New Jersey. Thereafter, he and his wife boarded occasionally at Holly Farm, sometimes joined by their youngest son, J. Alden Weir, who returned from four years' study in Paris in October 1877.[42]

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The young Weir was one of a new generation of European-trained artists who had grown accustomed during their years abroad to banding together to paint in the countryside. This companionable practice had important professional implications: it fostered the cross-fertilization of ideas and provided mutual support for progressive artists striving to discover an original voice. Weir expressed the importance of the collaborative atmosphere in a letter to his parents from an art colony in France: "I begin to think that an artist can be bred a good workman anywhere if he has some healthy men to work with who are not influenced by the old pictures except in sentiment."[43] In a pattern that would also hold in America, the European art colonies generally formed around an inn whose landlady was sympathetic to impecunious painters. In Pont-Aven, for example, Weir had boarded at the Hôtel des Voyageurs, whose owner, Julia Guillou, was affectionately known as *la mere des artistes*.[44]

The artists continued working in small groups when they returned to the United States. The young nation seemed culturally deprived compared with Europe, where government supported the arts, public parks were ornamented with sculpture, and a thriving network of galleries and exhibition venues provided commercial outlets for artists. By contrast, the widespread American indifference to culture increased the repatriating artists' sense of insularity. As a result, they looked to one another for emotional—and sometimes practical—support. To create on these shores the supportive atmosphere they had grown accustomed to in Europe they needed a gathering place with sympathetic hosts, affordable prices, and paintable subjects. Holly Farm on Stanwich Road was one such gathering place.

According to the later reminiscences of the Holleys' daughter, Constant, Weir's friend John Henry Twachtman boarded at the farm with him in 1878

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and 1879.[45] Twachtman, whose parents were German immigrants, had studied at the Royal Academy in Munich in the mid-1870s, and had painted with groups of artists in Bavaria and Venice. He and Weir may have met in Europe; certainly, they were already good friends before the Tile Club excursion of summer 1879, which has sometimes been cited as the probable occasion of their meeting.[46] Because documentation of an art colony at Holly Farm is only now established, no paintings by Twachtman or Weir have yet been linked with that site. It was, however, a place where artists went to paint, as reflected in a letter Weir wrote to his brother in 1880: "I have been at work on a six foot canvas at Holly Farm, working like a beaver . . . . I have painted two 25 by 30 landscapes besides the 50 by 70 and a 20 by 40 flower piece which same we will call a study."[47]

While Weir was working so enthusiastically at Holly Farm, his hosts were undergoing a financial crisis. The holders of four mortgages on the property had foreclosed in 1877; after that date, the Holleys paid rent to continue living on their homestead.[48] Debts piled up; Holley settled the harnessmaker's bill with a desperate assortment of vinegar, potatoes, corn, butter, feathers, and second-hand tools. He took out chattel mortgages: in 1877 on the furnishings of the parlor, reception room, and one bedroom; in 1878 on the livestock and farm equipment, and in 1879, on the furnishings of the entire house, down to the last pillow in the smallest chamber.[49] His credit was so poor that Weir paid his 1880 board bill to the farm's new owner, who then doled back a portion to Holley.[50] Holley's financial records and personal correspondence indicate that he was, at best, irresponsible. Increasingly, the burden of supporting the family fell on his wife's shoulders. Accommodating boarders became not merely a supplement to farm revenues, but their primary source of income. Rent on Holly Farm was steep, however, and its scenery and

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recreational possibilities were somewhat limited. To attract repeat visits from painters, they needed a less expensive place that offered more varied subject matter. Early in 1882, they rented an old house on about three-quarters of an acre overlooking Cos Cob's small harbor (fig. 1.7).[51] It was smaller than the place on Stanwich Road: fourteen rooms, of which about nine were used as bedrooms. The rooms were smaller, too; few were large enough for the eight-piece "chamber suites" that furnished the best rooms at Holly Farm. The Holleys had apparently decided that scaling back was their only hope of recouping their disastrous finances. In May 1882, they were ready to welcome summer visitors.[52]

The rambling old saltbox overlooking the Lower Landing had served intermittently as a boarding house before the Holleys moved in. Like many homes in the neighborhood, its residents had occasionally included two or three boarders, bachelors who worked in the nearby shipyard or on the railroad.[53] More formally, the family who rented the property just before the Holleys had run it as a boarding house, though nothing is known of their guests.[54] At Holly Farm, however, the Holleys had developed their own clientele of artistic New Yorkers who could be expected to follow them to their new waterfront establishment. They operated the Cos Cob boarding house for two years as renters before purchasing it in 1884.

The Holley House, as it became known, was conveniently located to attract visitors from the city. (Now called the Bush-Holley House, it is the museum of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.) The New York—New Haven trains stopped about a quarter-mile from the house—just "three minutes' walk," as one advertisement stated.[55] Large porches on the first and second stories overlooked the millpond, the Lower Landing, and the Mianus River, and caught the breezes from Long Island Sound, about 400 yards away as

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the gull flies. The waterfront setting multiplied not only the artistic motifs but also the leisure opportunities for boarders. As the advertisement declared, the house was "one minute from boating, bathing and fishing."

The house itself was far more appealing to prospective artist-visitors than the new mansion on Stanwich Road. The earliest portion of the Holley House was built around 1732 for the wealthy Bush family. Rooms had been added over the ensuing century and a half as fashion and family demanded (fig. 1.8). The Holleys, their neighbors, and their paying guests appreciated the house's antiquity; indeed, it was often called simply "the Old House." According to a contemporary newspaper column, 'The shining brass knocker upon the broad front door, the diminutive window panes, the steep pitch of the rear roof and the massive chimney, all tell their story of the long ago."[56]

Inside, Josephine Holley and her daughter Constant combined family heirlooms with simple newer pieces in a manner that perfectly expressed the Colonial Revival aesthetic. One visitor described the Holleys as "charming, cultivated people [whose] good taste is apparent everywhere. The walls are hung with photographs of the old masters; the living room is furnished in mahogany and the dining table is set with old silver and quaint blue china."[57] The Holley women were adept at using home decor to define an aesthetic environment. The Old Master reproductions expressed their knowledge of European art, while the antique silver, quaint blue china, and mahogany furniture conveyed their appreciation of the American past.

The Holleys' enterprise produced an economic boomlet in sleepy Cos Cob. Neighbors happily lodged the overflow when all the boarding-house beds were filled. Guests could "room" with local families and "board," or take their meals, at the Holleys'. One undated advertisement for the Holley House offers "rooms in adjoining cottage at reduced rates." The influx of visitors prompted

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a flurry of construction as villagers added rooms for boarders. In 1888, the local paper reported that "Merritt Louden is building an addition to his house. William Studwell is also making his dwelling larger. The artist boarding with William Studwell is putting up a studio on the premises." [58]

For artists, Cos Cob offered both affordable lodgings and paintable subjects. The harbor village retained an appealing rustic quality long after other sections of Greenwich had become gentrified. As one writer observed in 1899, "Coscob is as unspoiled by the summer visitor as if it were miles back in the country instead of being forty minutes by train from New York."[59] An article published in a New York newspaper reported that painters found the "artistic possibilities" of the surroundings "infinite." From the upper porch of the Holley House, the artists

> could see the whole village; the irregular dusty 'green,' with its bordering stores and the three or four old white dwelling houses. They could look across the creek to the old mossy dock, and the dull red factory, which is always as quiet as a church. They could see the shipyard beyond it; the rusty ways and the weather-beaten oyster sloops. They could look across the mill race . . . and see the mill pond and the red lilies that grow along its edges.

The small plot on which the Holley House stood offered its own intimate charms, according to that reporter. The artists "liked the gravelly path shaded with lilac bushes that lay before the house. Better still they liked the back part of the house" with its tall red hollyhocks and "the low grape arbor leading to the garden" (fig. 1.9).[60]

On Cos Cob's two short streets, which hugged the diminutive waterfront, the artist could find an unusual variety of subjects. Within sight of the Holley House were two other residences believed to date from before the Revolutionary War. Just across Strickland Road was the tide-powered mill, built around 1763, which was operated by Edward Holley (fig. 1.10).[61] The

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small harbor and the shipyard beyond offered a variety of sailing vessels (fig. 1.11). A short stroll along the riverbank opened wide vistas to Long Island Sound. All these subjects were compressed within a small, densely built village whose compactness liberated painters from long treks with heavy equipment (fig. 1.12).

As the base for an art colony, the Holley House seems to have made a slow start. No paintings have been identified with the site for the years between 1882, when the Holleys arrived, and about 1890, when Twachtman purchased property in central Greenwich. Twachtman and Weir were establishing their mature professional and personal lives during the '80s, however, and Twachtman's movements, in particular, have been difficult to trace.[62] More important, because the early years of the art colony have never before been documented, art historians, including myself, have overlooked or discounted possible connections. With further research, paintings from the art colony's lost decade are likely to surface.

Twachtman and Weir's friendship was one of the decisive factors in the establishment of the Cos Cob art colony. Almost from the time they met, the two men relied on one another for friendship, support, and stimulation. When Weir bought property for a summer house in the Adirondacks in 1882, he urged Twachtman to buy the adjoining land. Weir's fiancée, Anna Dwight Baker, supported the plan because, she wrote, "you say he always inspires you with so much enthusiasm for art."[63] The Adirondacks scheme fell through, however. Instead, Weir and Twachtman realized their dream of living near one another in Connecticut. Weir was the first to settle in the state, acquiring a farm in Branchville in 1882. Twachtman may have lived in Greenwich with his wife, Martha, and their children as early as 1886.[64] It was not a permanent move, however; during the following summer or two, the Twachtmans rented a

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house in Branchville.[65] There, the friends experimented together on pastels and printmaking, showing the exchange of influences that would mark their work at this period.[66]

A newly discovered letter from Twachtman to Weir offers solid evidence that the Twachtmans were permanently settled in Greenwich by June 1889, if not earlier. (For transcripts of this and four other previously unpublished letters, see Appendix 6.) Headed with a drawing of a large stone house and the return address "Willow Brook," the letter recounts Twachtman's pleasure in his new home. The undated letter alludes to Weir's desire to make his country base in "the wilderness." Weir finally sold his Adirondacks property on June 4, 1889, after it had been on the market for some time.[67] It seems very likely, therefore, that Twachtman had settled on Round Hill Road as a renter by that date. He may well have been living there by 1888, as evidenced by the titles of several paintings in Twachtman and Weir's joint auction-exhibition at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in February 1889. Weir showed a painting titled *Willow Brook*, while Twachtman's *Middlebrook Farm* and *Brook in the Woods* also suggest themes he found on the property beside Horseneck Brook.[68]

Twachtman was not able to buy the place of which he was so proud until he was appointed to the faculty of the Art Students League in autumn 1889. He made that purchase on February 18, 1890, acquiring three acres with buildings on Round Hill Road for fifteen hundred dollars. The following year, he added another thirteen and a half acres.[69] With Twachtman happily settled on his brookside farm, and the Holley House well established in Cos Cob, conditions were right for the blossoming of the art colony.

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[1] "Connecticut News," *Port Chester Journal*, August 10, 1876; Hubbard Scrapbook 2, pp. 6-7; William E. Finch, Jr. Archives, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich (hereafter HSTG).

[2] "Connecticut News." Though the column is unsigned, it is known to have been written by Frederick A. Hubbard.

[3] Historians generally cite 1860 as the first year Tweed spent in Greenwich, but an 1868 newspaper article designates 1858 as the year the Americus Club selected Indian Harbor as their headquarters. See "Greenwich/The Americus Club," *New York Times*, August 11, 1868, p. 2: 4-5.

[4] Francis Gerry Fairfield, *The Clubs of New York* (New York: Henry L. Hinton, 1873), p. 206. The Americus Clubhouse was converted to the Indian Harbor Hotel after Tweed's downfall ca. 1871. Elias C. Benedict bought the property in 1893 and had the building demolished to clear the site for his home, designed by the architectural firm, Carrère and Hastings.

[5] Fairfield, p. 207.

[6] "Connecticut News." For more on Tweed's relation with Greenwich, see A. B. C. Whipple, "The Flowering of Greenwich," in Robert Atwan et al., *Greenwich: An Illustrated History* (Greenwich: HSTG and *Greenwich Time*, 1990), pp. 54-57.

[7] "Connecticut News," *Port Chester Journal*, November 12, 1874; Hubbard Scrapbook 1, HSTG.

[8] "Connecticut News," *Port Chester Journal*, July 8, 1875; Hubbard Scrapbook 1, HSTG.

[9] "Items of Local Interest," *Greenwich Graphic*, February 25, 1882, p. 3: 3.

[10] Mary Dodge Ficker, *Old Greenwich in the 1890's and 1900's* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Project, 1976), p. 11.

[11] Population growth based on U.S. Census figures summarized in *Before and After 1776: A Comprehensive Chronology of the Town of Greenwich 1640-1976* (Greenwich: Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1976), p. 161.

[12] Percy Wainwright, "Past and Present—A Contrast," *New York Home Journal*, February 27, 1884; Hubbard Scrapbook 2, p. 25; HSTG.

[13] Spencer P. Mead, *Ye Historie of Ye Town of Greenwich* (1911; reprint Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1992), pp. 356-59.

[14] "Talk of the Town," *Greenwich Graphic*, July 23, 1892, p. 3: 1-2.

[15] "Connecticut News," *Port Chester Journal*, September 24, 1874; Hubbard Scrapbook 1, HSTG.

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[16] Percy Wainwright, "Greenwich, Connecticut," *New York Home Journal*, April 14, 1886; Hubbard Scrapbook 2, p. 42, HSTG.

[17] Miss M. M. Miller, "Annual Circular of the Greenwich Library and Reading Room," 1883; Local History Department, Greenwich Library.

[18] Advertisement, *Greenwich Graphic*, June 10, 1882, p. 2: 4.

[19] Percy Vere, "Summer Widowers," *Ladies' Home Journal* 7 (June 1890), p. 4.

[20] Nathaniel P. Willis, *Hurry-Graphs, or Skeches of Scenery, Celebrities, and Society* (Auburn, New York: Alden, 1853), quoted in John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 68.

[21] "Waiting at the Station" and "Just as Merry as Ever," *Greenwich Graphic*, August 26, 1899, p. 1.

[22] Mead, p. 340.

[23] "Fair Greenwich," *New York World*, August 7, 1892; Hubbard Scrapbook 2, pp. 106-7; HSTG.

[24] For more on the Colonial Revival, see Alan Axelrod, ed., *The Colonial Revival in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1985).

[25] Sarah Orne Jewett, *Novels and Stories* (New York: Library of America, 1994), p. 377.

[26] Ezekiel Lemondale [Frederick A. Hubbard], "Connecticut News," *Port Chester Journal*, August 13, 1874; Hubbard Scrapbook 1, HSTG. The artist W. B. Cox was born in Missouri and active in Brooklyn 1865-78. He exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1874. (Clark S. Marlor, *Brooklyn Artists Index* [Brooklyn, N.Y.: Clark S. Marlor, 1993], p. 82.)

[27] "Our Neighbors," September 20, 1877, *Stamford Herald*; Hubbard Scrapbook 3, HSTG.

[28] Between 1878 and 1889, Johnson produced at least six paintings in Greenwich, three of them in the Cos Cob section. The paintings are *At Linwood, Greenwich, Conn.* (date and collection unknown), *Cos Cob, Connecticut* (date and collection unknown), *October—Cos Cob, Connecticut* (1878, Huntington Museum of Art, West Virginia), *Riverside At Cos Cob, Conn.* (1880; private collector, Washington, D.C.), *View near Greenwich, Conn.* (1878, Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company), and *View of Linwood, Conn.* (1889, collection unknown). Information from "A Working List of Paintings by David Johnson" in Gwendolyn Owens, *Nature Transcribed: The Landscapes and Still Lifes of David Johnson (1827-1908)* (exh. cat., Ithaca, N.Y.: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 1988). Linwood was the estate of

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William Marcy Tweed from 1865 until his death in 1878, when his widow sold it to Jeremiah Milbank.

29 The family name had been spelled "Holly" until Edward Payson Holley added an e, making it "Holley." Other branches of the family continued to use the original spelling, and nonrelatives often omitted the e. The farm on Stanwich Road was called Holly Farm, while the boarding house in Cos Cob was called the Holley House.

30 Deed research by Nils Kerschus for the HSTG.

31 Information on the Holly Farm house is based on a chattel mortgage dated October 1, 1879 (Greenwich Land Records, Book 48, p. 58-60). I am grateful to Nils Kerschus for discovering this document and to Susan Richardson for bringing it to my attention. It is possible that Holley enlarged and renovated an existing house rather than building a completely new one, but the latter possibility seems more likely.

32 Description of the house based on "Holly Farm & Holly House," a typescript probably by Dorothy Weir Young (Dorothy Weir Young Research Papers, Weir Farm National Historic Site); on photographs of the house, and on the chattel mortgage cited in note 32.

33 Undated newspaper clipping, HSTG.

34 For a useful overview of the nineteenth-century institution of the boarding house, see chapter four in Russell Lynes, *The Domesticated Americans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

35 The address books of novelist Josephine Bontecou Steffens, for example, are filled with the names and addresses of boarding houses, annotated with the names of the friends who had recommended them. Lincoln Steffens Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

36 Catherine Van Dyke, "Boarding Houses I Have Met," *Ladies Home Journal* 34 (January 1917), p. 12; quoted in Lynes, p. 50.

37 Mead, genealogy of the Holly family, p. 564.

38 "Mrs. Edward P. Holley," obituary, *Greenwich News and Graphic*, April 25, 1916, p. 5: 5. The information on the Phillips link is from Kate Johnson, "'The Dear Old House was at its Best: Interpretive Plan for the Holley House Installation" (1990), p. 20; HSTG.

39 Elizabeth Stillinger, *The Antiquers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 74. Many of Lyon's prize pieces are now in the Garvan Collection of the Yale University Art Gallery.

40 According to an 1877 newspaper account (see note 27), Reinhart was sketching "near the residence of Husted Hobby." Hobby had died in 1872. Two years before his death, he had sold his farm to Edward P. Holley, who already

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owned land to the north of Hobby's forty-one acres. However, it is customary in rural areas to refer to property by the name of its long-term owners, even after the place has changed hands. Hobby had owned the farm for twenty-eight years, so local people would naturally still have referred to it as "the Hobby place" in 1877. (See Greenwich land records, book 37, p. 309, March 29, 1870. Hobby's death date, March 16, 1872, was obtained from the Department of Vital Statistics, Greenwich Town Hall.)

41 For more on the artist, see William H. Gerdts, *Robert Weir: Artist and Teacher of West Point* (exh. cat., West Point, N. Y.: West Point Museum, 1976) and Jacob Edward Kent Ahrens, "Robert Walter Weir (1803-1889)," Ph. D. diss., University of Delaware, 1972.

42 Manuscript (author and date unknown) of an interview with Constant Holley MacRae and Elmer MacRae; Dorothy Weir Young Research Papers, Weir Farm National Historic Site. In *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), Dorothy Weir Young writes that Weir sometimes painted "at Holly Farm in Cos Cob" as early as the summers between 1878 and 1883 (p. 142). However, her research papers for the book, recently acquired by Weir Farm, clearly distinguish between Holly Farm on Stanwich Road and Holley House in Cos Cob. Young's blurring of that distinction unfortunately obscured the earlier history of the art colony until now.

43 J. Alden Weir to his parents from Cernay-la-Ville, August 29, 1878; quoted in Young, p. 144. The original letter is in the Weir Family Papers, Harold B. Lee Library, Archives, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter, Weir Family Papers).

44 Michael Jacobs, *The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), p. 55. Weir boarded at the Voyageurs in August and September 1874.

45 Manuscript (see note 42).

46 The basic reference on Weir is Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1983). The most recent study of Twachtman is Lisa Peters, "John Twachtman (1853-1902) and the American Scene in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Frontier within the Terrain of the Familiar," Ph. D. diss., City University of New York, 1995. Extensive bibliographies on both artists are given in these sources.

47 J. Alden Weir to John Ferguson Weir, J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, roll 71, frame 1028. Efforts to identify the paintings to which Weir refers have so far been unsuccessful.

48 The foreclosures, dated Feb. 27, March 19, Sept. 12, and Dec. 11, 1877 are in Greenwich Land Records, Book 45, pp. 187, 198, and 308. Deed research by Nils Kerschus for the HSTG.

49 Greenwich Land Records (Dec. 28, 1877, Book 45, p. 313; Oct. 1, 1878, Book 45, p. 515; Oct. 1, 1879, Book 48, pp. 58-60). Deed research by Nils Kerschus, HSTG.

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50 Letter from Thomas Cummings (New York City) to Edward Holley (Greenwich), October 8, 1880; Holley financial records, HSTG. Cummings was the executor of the estate of Retire Crocker, who acquired the farm after the foreclosures.

51 "Cos Cob and Mianus," *Greenwich Graphic*, March 4, 1882, p. 3: 4. The Holleys may have lived first in the neighboring George W. Brush house. A rent receipt from Brush dated September 17, 1881 is in the Holley financial records, HSTG.

52 "The Summer Season," *Graphic*, May 6, 1882, p. 3: 1.

53 Three ships' carpenters boarded in the house in 1850, according to the census report for that year. (Census research by Nils Kerschus for the HSTG.) Elderly Cos Cob residents recall hearing that railroad workers boarded at the house. Though the railroad never owned the house, one of its previous owners, George Jackson Smith, was a railroad clerk during part of his occupancy (ca. 1850-before 1880), and may well have found boarders among his coworkers. For information on Smith and other owners of the house before the Holleys, see Susan Tritschler, "Filling In," *Newsletter of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich*, Fall 1993, pp. 10-11.

54 Tritschler, p. 11.

55 Unidentified newspaper advertisement, HSTG.

56 Ezekiel Lemondale [Frederick A. Hubbard], "Our Summer Drives, Greenwich *Graphic*, May 19, 1894, p. 1: 4-5.

57 "An Art School at Cos Cob," *The Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899), pp. 56-57.

58 "Cos Cob Cutlets," *Greenwich Graphic*, June 16, 1888, p. 2: 2.

59 "An Art School at Cos Cob," p. 56.

60 "A Small Art Colony," *Commercial Advertiser*, July 22, 1899, p. 1: 3-4.

61 Deed research on Cos Cob Landing by Nils Kerschus for HSTG, 1994. The mill and the adjacent commercial buildings were destroyed by fire in January 1899, opening an unobstructed view of Strickland Brook and the Palmer & Duff Shipyard from the Holley House.

62 For chronologies, see Burke *Weir*, pp. 293-99, and Peters 1995, pp. 526-34.

63 Anna Dwight Baker to J. Alden Weir, August 6, 1882; Archives of American Art, J. Alden Weir Papers, roll 125, frame 10.

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64 This date is based on a letter from Twachtman to Weir. The letter is undated and the envelope is missing, but Dorothy Weir Young annotated her typescript of the letter, "Posted Sept. 12 1886." In it, Twachtman wrote: "Sorry not to be able to go to you for a visit now. We are without a cent in the house . . . . We go to Cos Cob to-morrow to board for a while and hope that our credit will be good there." (The original letter is in the Weir Family Papers, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; it is published in Peters 1995, p. 548.) Lisa Peters has disputed Young's date on the basis of Twachtman's handwriting, which is larger and looser in the undated letter than in the dated correspondence from the 1880s. However, four recently discovered ietters from Twachtman dated 1899 and 1901 establish that the size and precision of his script varied with his emotional state. On the basis of this new evidence, Young's dating must be reconsidered. (For transcripts of the newly discovered letters, see Appendix 6. For Peters's earlier comments on the date of the letter, see her essay, "Twachtman's Greenwich Paintings: Context and Chronology," in Deborah Chotner, Lisa N. Peters, and Kathleen A. Pyne, *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes* (exh. cat., Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), p. 43, note 12.

65 Twachtman rented a house in Branchville in summer 1887 according to Doreen Bolger Burke; in summer 1888, according to Eliot Clark, John Douglass Hale, and Dorothy Weir Young, and possibly in both summers, according to Lisa Peters, who summarizes these opinions in her 1989 NGA essay, p. 45, note 38.

66 For Twachtman's influence on Weir's pastels and prints during this period see Burke *Weir*, pp. 168-70 and 178-80. I also compare a few pastels by each artist in my essay, "'A Curious Aggregation': J. Alden Weir and His Circle," in Hildegard Cummings, Helen K. Fusscas, and Susan G. Larkin, *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own* (exh. cat., Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 63-64.

67 References to the Adirondacks property are in Weir's correspondence; J. Alden Weir Papers, Archives of American Art, roll 125. The sale of his property is recorded in Records, County Clerk's Office, Essex County, Elizabethtown, N.Y., vol. 101, p. 332. I am grateful to Hildegard Cummings for providing me with this reference.

68 An annotated copy of the exhibition catalogue is in the Archives, Weir Farm National Historic Site. *Willow Brook* is cat. no. 49; *Middlebrook Farm* is cat. no. 60; *Brook in the Woods* is cat. no. 64.

The 1935 obituary of Twachtman's wife, Martha Scudder Twachtman, noted that she had been living in Greenwich for forty-seven years, implying that she and her family were established there by 1888 (*Greenwich Daily News-Graphic*, December 9, 1935, p. 1: 3). Further evidence that they were residents of the town before they acquired property there is the identification of Twachtman on the deed for his home as "John Henry Twachtman of said town of Greenwich." Misleading evidence of an early date in Greenwich is Twachtman's painting *My House* at the Yale University Art Gallery. Although the accession number is 1887.1, the painting did not enter the Yale collection until 1899, when Twachtman gave it to the art school in payment for his son Alden's tuition (Peters 1995, p. 452, note 312.) The Yale University Art Gallery

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did not keep acquisition files until 1926, according to a letter to me from Mary Pat McMahon, Yale University Art Gallery, American Arts, Bursary Aide, November 28, 1994.

69 Property records, Greenwich Town Hall, Book 61, p. 165. Twachtman transferred title to the three-acre property to his wife, Martha (identified in these documents as Mattie S. Twachtman) in two transactions on March 7, 1890 (Book 61, p. 174, and Book 60, p. 236). On December 2, 1891, he bought an additional 13.4 acres from his neighbor, David S. Husted (Book 61, p. 488 and Book 63, p. 292). In two transactions on April 28, 1893, Twachtman transferred title of the second parcel of land to his wife (Book 65, p. 379, and Book 66, p. 260).

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Chapter Two

"A Regular Rendezvous for Impressionists"

1890-1902

Ensconced in the only home he would ever own, Twachtman quickly attracted a group of friends who shared his preference for working within a supportive social structure. From 1890 to 1902, Twachtman would be the central figure in the Cos Cob art colony. The colony's experimental spirit would be established by him and four of his closest friends: J. Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson, Childe Hassam, and Henry Fitch Taylor. In turn, the experience of working in Cos Cob would profoundly influence each of these artists' work. At a period when their individual styles were changing, the Cos Cob art colony was a major site for the exchange of ideas and influences, and was crucial in shaping the American version of Impressionism.

The year 1890 brought significant newcomers to Greenwich. Collectors Henry and Louisine Havemeyer were spending their first summer at their estate, Hilltop.[1] On the adjacent property, the landscape painter Leonard Ochtman was boarding in a farmhouse on Sheephill Road in Mianus (now Riverside; see map, fig. 2.1).[2] Ochtman and the Havemeyers would play important roles in the art colony in the twentieth century. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, Twachtman was the nucleus around which the Cos Cob art colony formed.

His friends came out to paint in an atmosphere of stimulation and camaraderie like that they had enjoyed in Europe. When Robert Reid exhibited *Twachtman's Valley at Sunset* at the Society of American Artists in 1895, one critic remarked, "Mr. Twachtman's country place seems to be a regular rendezvous for Impressionists. It has already been painted by several, and

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now Mr. Robert Reed [sic] adds his testimony to its attractions."[3] Weir, of course, was a frequent visitor. His Branchville farm was close enough to allow the two families to visit by carriage or the railroad. Childe Hassam's first recorded visit was in 1894, when Theodore Robinson, then spending his second summer in Greenwich, noted in his diary that Hassam was helping Twachtman lay the foundations for an addition.[4] It was probably not Hassam's first stay, or Twachtman would not have put him to work, and it was far from his last. He would return to Greenwich, especially the Cos Cob section, many times over the next two decades. Henry Fitch Taylor first visited Greenwich before 1893, sometimes boarding at the farmhouse of Captain Lewis Augustus Merritt, just across Round Hill Road from the Twachtmans.[5] Emil Carlsen, Walter Clark, Alfred Q. Collins, Birge Harrison, Hugh Bolton Jones, Edward Clark Potter, and David Walkley were among the others of Twachtman's generation who were associated with the art colony (for a listing of these and other colony artists, see Appendix 1).

One painter of that generation, Theodore Robinson, had a significance to the art colony far out of proportion to the relatively brief time he spent there. Robinson's visits to Greenwich spanned only about four years, with extended campaigns in the summers of 1893 and 1894, but that period was crucial to his work and that of his friends. A close study of his experience will serve as a window on the art colony's formative phase, illuminating the American painters' adaptation of French and Japanese styles, their search for suitable subject matter, and the crucial role the Cos Cob art colony played in the development of a new American style.

Robinson first visited the Twachtmans on his trips home from Giverny, France, where, from about 1888 to 1892, he was one of the few members of the international art colony who was befriended by the French Impressionist,

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Claude Monet.[6] Robinson admired Monet and Pissarro, whom he also saw occasionally in Giverny, and became an important source of information on the French style for American artists. Robinson usually returned to New York each winter. While abroad, he related in his letters Monet's theories and innovations. He wrote Weir an enthusiastic description of Monet's cathedral series in May 1892, devoting equal attention to the French artist's subject and style. "Never, I believe," Robinson wrote, "has architecture been painted so before . . . ."[7]

After he returned permanently to America in December 1892, Robinson remained an important conduit of information on the evolving European styles. During the winter months, he, Twachtman, Weir, Hassam, and Taylor saw one another frequently in New York, where they visited one another's studios, helped one another hang exhibitions, made the rounds of the galleries, and socialized together in the evenings. In general, however, they worked at their art most intensely during summers in the country.[8] In Greenwich, unlike New York, they discussed their work while they were creating it. Instead of theorizing in retrospect as they evaluated their finished paintings, they shared the insights newly born of a day's hard work at the easel.

One of Robinson's first productive visits to Greenwich was in January 1892. Working outdoors in the cold, he painted a snowy view of Twachtman's house (fig. 2.2). Robinson chose the same vantage point that his host used for at least three snowy views of his house (see fig. 2.3), but because Twachtman did not date his paintings, one can only speculate who was first.[9] After Taylor called *Twachtman's House* one of his best works, Robinson recorded how he had departed from his usual procedure: "It was painted quickly as I was obliged to hurry—the day being a very cold one, only worked a little while the

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2d day and an hour the first. I should work more in that way—the result is quite different from my ordinary work." The difference Robinson discovered was that his "more deliberate" ordinary work suffered from insignificant detail and the sacrifice of "the first inspiration, . . . the charm of oneness, [and] the instantaneity of effect." Working quickly on *Twachtman's House*, however, he believed he had captured "more real inspiration, impression, more of the reality—*la note juste* so difficult and so desirable."[10]

The effect Robinson achieved in Greenwich was one he had admired in Monet's work in Giverny. In his essay on Monet first published in 1892, Robinson observed, "Most painters have been struck by the charm of a sketch done from nature at a sitting, a charm coming from the oneness of effect, the instantaneousness, seldom seen in the completed landscape as understood by the studio landscape-painter."[11] In Greenwich, Robinson would integrate the lessons he learned from Monet with the influence of Twachtman and other artists. In return, the introspective artist's thoughtful approach to painting and his astute criticism were key factors in making the Cos Cob art colony a crucible for innovation.

Recognizing the value of working close to Twachtman, Robinson planned his first extended campaign in Greenwich for the summer of 1893. "Out to Greenwich with Taylor to Twachtman's—raw & cold," he jotted in his diary on April 23, 1893. "Went to Capt. Merritt's—where Taylor has boarded—I will go there for a while next month, I think, and 'try it on.'" Back in New York, Robinson set his goals for the summer ahead. Dissatisfied with his paintings in the Society of American Artists exhibition, he determined, "I must make a big effort this summer for more completeness and grasp. The *note juste* instead of the *à peu pres, chef*, a great integrity and honesty of vision and execution." "Vision" was crucial to Robinson; in the previous sentence,

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he first wrote "a great integrity and honesty of execution," then crossed out "execution" and wrote above it "vision and execution."[12] What, then, did he mean by "vision"?

Vision, for an artist who had spent much of the previous four years working near Monet, involved a truthful representation of actual sight, without the crisp contours characteristic of academic painters like Robinson's French teacher, Jean-Léon Gérôme. Paul Tucker has established, however, that Monet's "vision" went beyond a mere record of objective reality.[13] Rather, Monet deliberately chose subjects weighted with meaning and manipulated his viewpoint to strengthen not only the compositional structure but also the expression of that meaning. Robinson valued this quality in Monet's work, as we have seen in his response to the cathedral series. In his essay, he follows a description of Monet's working procedures with the caution, "Though these details may be of some interest, the spiritual side of the painter's work is vastly more important." The spiritual aspect derived from the artist's response to the subject, and Robinson believed that a key to Monet's achievement was that his work never betrayed "abatement of interest in the motive."[14] In aspiring to "honesty of vision and execution," therefore, Robinson set himself the task of careful selection of subject matter; the search for a viewpoint that would enhance that subject's meaning; employment of a style that was true to human vision, and, perhaps most difficult, the expression of genuine human emotion.

Robinson's understanding of Monet's vision is evident in his diary entry for February 23, 1893: "Good Monets have an extraordinary 'fullness' together with no lack of simplicity, breadth and restraint . . . . The only way is careful, slow, looking-hard-at-nature sort of working, a thought between each touch—for fine, involved color and the mystery nature is full of." This vision,

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if authentic, was completely individual, as implied in an anecdote related by novelist Hamlin Garland that Robinson recorded: "a young man shows [Monet] a landscape done much in his manner—too much, in fact. Monet asks—'and do you really see Nature like that.' 'Certainly, sir.' 'Impossible my dear friend, that is the way *I* see it.'"[15] Twachtman shared the conviction that an authentic vision was unique to each individual. "To be truly artistic," he advised his students, "have an original way of seeing an original subject."[16]

Robinson privileged honest vision over technical skill. He found Ochtman's paintings exhibited at the Avery Gallery in spring 1895 "very superficial—artificial, exasperatingly well done, but little connection or largeness of vision."[17] He had a similar response to Hassam's work: "After a certain astonishment at the cleverness of his painting of detail, one is struck by its superficiality, the glitter and nothing beside, 'tinsel' sort of art, a lack of something . . . . Is it Flaubert's 'l'honnetete, la premiere condition de l'esthetique'?"[18] Authenticity of vision, then, was Robinson's primary goal.

Robinson stayed at the Merritts' farmhouse in Greenwich from May 17 to July 10, 1893. It was the first summer in five years he had spent in the United States. The country regimen alleviated his chronic asthma; he felt "the strongest yet, after a wretched three months," he noted on June 15. His conflict over American versus French subject matter demanded more time to resolve. His convoluted diary entry for May 25 reflects his quandary:

> Am trying to get interested in things here, but am not enough. Tho I have seen some charming things—there are plenty of characteristic—interesting in a way, but not much charm, loveliness, except in color, and I don't know but a sunlight morning is as fine here as anywhere. But there is certainly less grace of line.

Robinson's dilemma between nationalism and cosmopolitanism was heightened by the pressure of a Swedish critic, Cecilia Waern, who urged him

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to return to France. He had found subjects for at least four canvases when she wrote to him from Paris that the surrounding countryside was beautiful "'with just that beauty that no painter that I know understands as well as you. I am quite curious to see what you are going to *see* in America.'" [19]

Waern's concern with what Robinson might "see" in America stemmed from her belief that "artists are the eyes or seers of the period in which they live, and our own vision is, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by theirs." She had stated this credo in a perceptive analysis of French Impressionism published in the *Atlantic Monthly* two months before she wrote to Robinson.[20] Though she had emphasized the optical aspect of Impressionism in elaborating her thesis, the choice of subject is crucial if an artist is to be the "seer" of his time. Robinson, a wide-ranging and perceptive reader, was almost certainly familiar with Waern's essay.

Robinson's choice of American subjects was, at first, directly influenced by Monet, who had visited his studio shortly before Robinson left Giverny in 1892. Robinson recorded the French master's response to his paintings: "He did not care for many—said I ought to have success with the '*Vue de Vernon*.' He liked the 'cows and baby.' (M. I will try cows—perhaps next summer, seriously.)"[21] In Greenwich, Robinson fulfilled his resolution to "try cows" with paintings of a yoke of oxen, a bull-calf, and grazing cattle.[22] One canvas, depicting a valley rising to a daisy-sprigged meadow, combined aspects of the two paintings Monet had praised: cows and the panoramic *Vue de Vernon* or *Valley of the Seine*.[23] This pastoral theme, Robinson's translation of the peasant motifs of his Giverny paintings, set him apart from Twachtman and the others in the art colony, who (with the exception of Matilda Browne) rarely depicted the agricultural uses of the Connecticut landscape.

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While Robinson was weighing the advice of a French painter and a Swedish critic, he was seeing Twachtman virtually every day. Robinson and Taylor walked across the road to play cards most evenings. On the fourth of July, they set off fireworks on Twachtman's terrace. Other artists also gathered at this "rendezvous of Impressionists." Robinson mentions Weir, Lyle Carr, Susan Bradley, and two unidentified women. Relaxing together in the evenings and on Sundays, these artists certainly exchanged ideas about their work while their hands were still stained with paint. Robinson undoubtedly contributed firsthand accounts of Monet's experiments, kept up to date by letters from Giverny.[24]

The Cos Cob art colony was not merely a vehicle for transmission of French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist ideas, however. Rather, the colony's role as a bridge to the new European movements was but one aspect of the climate of experimentation that distinguished its entire history. Robinson's uncompromising pursuit of an authentic vision was a factor in establishing that climate. His diary entry of February 19, 1894 reveals the almost religious devotion this minister's son brought to his art. He judged the watercolor exhibition he had just viewed

> not very inspiring It is melancholy to see most every-body settling down and doing his little game—uninteresting tiresome. "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion" and our only safety is in constant research . . . . Altogether the show is a warning. I will make a big endeavor next year to make a new departure.

This idealism was shared by Robinson's closest friends, Twachtman and Weir, of whom their student Allen Tucker wrote that their "high virtue in their attitude toward art [strongly] affected their generation."[25] Robinson's commitment to "constant research" is mirrored in Twachtman's response to a friend who remarked that he seemed to lead an ideal life. Twachtman replied,

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"You don't know what it is to spend your life trying to do something that you can't."[26]

Robinson employed one modern device that no one else in the art colony is known to have used in art-making: the camera. He described the photograph he took in Greenwich on May 26: "Oxen and cart under shade of tree—the old Capt. talking to Negro man named Theodore, who is getting out manure, and yelling back replies to the deaf old man." As he had done in France, Robinson would use the photograph as a preliminary study for a painting, in this case, most likely the one titled *Oxen* (fig. 2.4).[27] After taking the photograph, Robinson continued to work from life, but the snapshot was convenient for models like the oxen, who "got tired and lay down several times."[28]

The camera was also a practical aid for the canvas that dominated Robinson's attention in the summer of 1893, *Stepping Stones*, depicting two of Twachtman's daughters crossing the hickory-shaded brook near their home (fig. 2.5). The little girls posed for Robinson several times, but the hot weather and their childish squirminess kept those sessions brief. In type (figures in a landscape) and working method (photographs as preliminary studies), *Stepping Stones* is linked to the works of his French period, as epitomized by *The Watering Pots* (fig. 2.6).[29] Like the majority of camera-assisted works Robinson painted in Giverny, *The Watering Pots* is static. The model, obviously posing, is self-consciously aware of the viewer. *Stepping Stones*, on the other hand, is fresh, lively, and spontaneous. Robinson employed the camera differently for the two paintings: in the French work, to freeze a pose; in the American, to capture motion. In the first major figure painting of his final American period, Robinson achieved the "honesty of vision and execution" he pursued. The subject was a key to his success. Marjorie and Elsie Twachtman

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were the children of one of his best friends, and the reticent bachelor's affection suffuses the canvas.

The sight of two little girls running barefoot on a summer day, familiar from Robinson's own country childhood, seemed more precious as America's population shifted to the cities. Sarah Burns has shown how images of country children, so popular in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, reflected a nostalgic, idealized vision of nature and youth. This idealization, she writes, derived from "a romantic craving for innocent closeness to nature in an age when civilization and its ills were suffocating the earth under a crust of artifice."[30] *Stepping Stones* conveys all the freshness of such paintings without the sentimental, moralizing overtones that frequently marred the genre. Robinson's painting is also distinguished from comparable images by his treatment of little girls. As Sarah Burns reveals, it was the barefoot boy who became the focus of attention in art and literature. Winslow Homer, for example, underscored the freedom of boys playing outdoors by depicting them with bare feet. In depicting country girls, on the other hand, Homer seems always to have shown them securely shod (see fig. 2.7). Homer also contrasted girls' and boys' posture. In *Spring*, for example, the boy lounges casually on the rail fence, while the girl stands primly on the stile, feet close together and spine as rigid as the rake she carries. And while the boy relaxes in the shade, the rake indicates that the dutiful girl is tending to chores. *Stepping Stones*, in contrast, avoids the association with labor common in images of country girls. Robinson also shuns the subtle eroticism that permeates many of Homer's images of farm girls (see fig. 2.8).[31] By depicting Majorie and Elsie's loose clothing, bare feet, and absorption in play, Robinson extends to them the carefree independence his contemporaries normally reserved to boys.

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Oddly, during the nearly two months Robinson spent in Greenwich in 1893, he seems never to have taken the short drive to Cos Cob, where Twachtman and Weir were conducting outdoor painting classes. He was on the verge of going there once, when Twachtman asked him to criticize his pupils while he went to New York for the funeral of the distinguished actor and former Cos Cob resident, Edwin Booth.[32] To Robinson's relief, Twachtman changed his mind, "so I was spared that ordeal." "That ordeal"—teaching—forced Robinson to leave Greenwich on July 10 for Napanoch, New York, where he conducted a summer class near the Delaware and Hudson Canal. After the students dispersed, he stayed on to paint, with great success, the working landscape of the canal. On his return to Greenwich on October 31, Robinson found Twachtman enthralled with the Japanese prints he had recently seen at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The Japan craze had, by then, pervaded Western culture for nearly four decades and Robinson had encountered it in both France and America. The American artist John La Farge, who employed Robinson on a decorative project in 1881, was one of the first Western artists to collect Japanese prints and to integrate their aesthetic with his own work.[33] Claude Monet had long admired *ukiyo-e* prints and displayed them in his home, where Robinson was a frequent guest.[34] However, Robinson's own work seems to have been untouched by Japanism until he caught Twachtman's and Weir's fervor. The timing was right. In his struggle to reconcile European attitudes with American subjects, Robinson discovered a partial solution in the art of Japan.

In New York during the winter of 1893-94, Robinson, Twachtman, and Weir spent hours collecting, studying, and discussing Japanese prints. After one companionable evening poring over Weir's growing collection, Robinson wrote, "I imagine the best men have been influenced for the better by

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Japanese art, not only in arrangements, but in their extraordinary delicacy of tone and color."[35] Robinson purchased his first Japanese print from the Boussod-Valadon Gallery in New York on February 16, 1894. That print, and twenty-three of the thirty-one others he would purchase over the next two years, was by Isoda Koryusai (active ca. 1764-88; see fig. 2.9).[36] He reflected on his purchase the following day:

> My Japanese print points in a direction I must try & take: an aim for refinement and a kind of precision seen in the best old as well as modern work . . . . And the Japanese work ought to open one's eyes to certain things in nature, before almost invisible and a new enjoyment, their infinite variety of compositions, their extraordinary combination of the convention and the reality.

Now that his eyes were opened to fresh artistic approaches, Robinson remembered Monet's comments on "the pleasure he took in the 'pattern' often nature gives—leafages against sky, reflections, etc."—an appreciation that is distinctly Japanese.[37]

While Robinson's absorption in Japanese prints was most intense in New York City, it was in Cos Cob in the summer of 1894 that it would find its fullest expression in his work. Robinson and Taylor returned to the Merritts' farmhouse on May 16, intending to stay for most of the summer. Captain Merritt died shortly after their arrival, however, and on June 6, the artists transferred to Cos Cob, where they took rooms at the Holley House.[38] In Cos Cob, Robinson quickly devoted himself to the nautical theme that would engage him throughout his stay. (For an extended discussion of the boating theme, see chapter 4.) The boldest of his paintings from that summer—indeed, of his entire career, is *Boats at a Landing* (fig. 2.10). Here, he adapts the flattened shapes, layered space, and concern with pattern evident in Koryusai's prints to create a nearly abstract composition. The canvas is divided into horizontal bands, alternating land (or its extension, a landing)

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and water. The horizontals are underlined by the painted stripes on three of the boats, countered by the vertical masts and diagonal rigging. Staccato strokes echo the stubby verticals of the landing's piers in the smaller framework of a boat rack. The oval forms of two boats and the crescent of another soften the angular design. The dramatic stacking of space suggests that the painter viewed his subject through binoculars, a telescope, or the lens of a camera. In *Boats at a Landing,* Robinson innovatively adapted strategies from photography and Japanese prints to depict a subject that elated him. The result is his most modern picture.

Robinson was one of the five friends who shaped—and whose work was shaped by—the Cos Cob art colony. Twachtman and Weir were also influenced by the art-colony experience. While the rarity of dated paintings by Twachtman makes it difficult to trace a chronological progression, contemporary critics observed the results of the two friends' working near one another in Greenwich. When, after spending two consecutive summers together, they had a joint exhibition at Boston's Saint Botolph Club in December 1893, the critics were astonished at the similarity in their work. One wrote, "Some ten years ago, these men painted in such styles that it would have been difficult for anyone at all familiar with their productions to mistake a canvas by Twachtman for a picture by Weir, or vice versa; today they paint so much alike that one is obliged to look at the signatures on the pictures in order to distinguish them."[39] At the same time, Twachtman, especially, had adopted a more Impressionist approach—a consequence of Robinson's testimony enriched, possibly, by personal exposure to Monet's art in exhibitions in New York and Boston in 1891.[40]

The look-alike phase in Twachtman's and Weir's art was transitional, analogous to the same phenomenon in Monet's and Renoir's careers in the late

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1860s and early 1870s. Painting together at La Grenouillère in 1869, the French artists jointly developed their understanding of the principles of color, light, and shadow that underpinned Impressionism.[41] Their paintings of this period are very similar, as they would be again in 1874 when they painted together at Argenteuil—so much so, in fact, that Harrison and Cynthia White argue that early Impressionism must be considered a "joint creation."[42] After a period of collaboration, however, Monet and Renoir developed their own distinct styles, as would Twachtman and Weir some two decades later. In both cases, the combined effort at a crucial period enabled each artist to discover his individual vision.

A fourth founding member of the art colony, Childe Hassam, responded to its experimental climate by devoting much of his time there to the "minor" media. Over a span of more than twenty years, Hassam produced at least two dozen oils in Cos Cob, but that number is exceeded by the pastels, watercolors, and etchings he produced there. Hassam's intensity is indicated by his extended focus on one medium at a time: pastel in 1902, etching in 1915, and watercolor in 1916. (He did, of course, occasionally use these media in other visits to Cos Cob, but without the almost single-minded concentration of these three campaigns.) These works on paper have a freshness and spontaneity that the artist seldom achieved and even more rarely surpassed in his oils.

A fifth key figure in establishing the art colony, Henry Fitch Taylor, is more elusive than Twachtman, Robinson, and Hassam.[43] Though few of his works are known, they disclose a lifelong devotion to experimentation. His *Souvenir of Normandy* (fig. 2.11) reflects the influence of the Barbizon school in its russet tonality, humble subject matter, and freedom of handling. Taylor converted to Impressionism after visiting Giverny, where he and Robinson were among the earliest art-colonists.[44] *An Old Pasture*, a Connecticut work

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dated either 1892 or 1893 (fig. 2.12), conveys the same strong sense of place as the Norman view, but is painted in a simpler, bolder, Post-Impressionist style. Years later, Taylor would make the Madison Gallery a showplace of early modernism and, at age sixty, would completely revise his own style in response to the Armory Show. Taylor's continuing willingness to reinvent himself, so reminiscent of Camille Pissarro, enhanced the spirit of experimentation prevalent in Cos Cob.

The Cos Cob art colony would have been important solely for its influence on these five artists. Its significance was extended, however, by its summer schools. Twachtman probably initiated classes at the Holley House in 1891. The Art Students League 1890-91 register lists Cos Cob or neighboring Mianus as the summer address for three students, all Westerners.[45] Additional students may simply not have registered their summer address. Certainly by 1892, Twachtman was offering instruction in outdoor painting in Cos Cob.[46] That year and the next, he taught with Weir, whose first wife, Anna Baker Weir, had died on February 8, 1892, shortly after the birth of their third daughter. Twachtman may have invited his friend to teach in Cos Cob to help him through a period of mourning, as well as to ease his financial worries. "I shall have a sketching class this summer with Twachtman at Cos Cob and we hope to have enough pupils to keep the bills down to their normal size," Weir told his brother.[47] Weir left Cos Cob in August 1892 for Chicago, where he painted a mural for the World's Columbian Exposition, while Twachtman continued teaching on his own. Twachtman wrote to Weir on August 27, "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."[48] During the summer of 1893, Weir divided his time between

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Cos Cob and Windham, in northeast Connecticut, where his children were living with their mother's family.[49]

Among the summer students in 1892 and 1893 were Ernest Lawson and Allen Tucker (for a list of summer students, see Appendix 3). In later years, the summer students included Elmer MacRae, Alice Judson, and the Japanese artist Genjiro Yeto. The session normally ran for about three months.[50] In 1899, Twachtman raised tuition to twenty dollars; it is not known what he previously charged.[51] Photographs show him talking with students in the Palmer & Duff Shipyard (fig. 2.13) and examining one student's sketch of the Lower Landing painted from the same vantage point (fig. 2.14). These photographs and others indicate that women students outnumbered men by as much as six to one.

An article published in *The Art Interchange* in September 1899 offers insight into Twachtman's teaching methods.[52] The anonymous writer, apparently one of the summer students, contrasted Twachtman's classes in New York with those in Cos Cob: "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."[53] It was in Cos Cob that Twachtman would most effectively influence the next generation of artists. He offered his students practical guidance, advising them, for example, to use a limited palette and to work on a large scale, but he was less concerned with technique than with attitude. "See with your own eyes," he challenged his students; "Be your own self and save your self-respect." Originality was revealed in the interpretation of nature, a process that, for Twachtman, involved an elimination of details that often verged on abstraction. He taught his students to exploit atmospheric conditions to obscure minutiae. An overly complex subject, he observed, "might be charming in a snowstorm or a mist

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when you could not tell exactly what it was." He urged his pupils to alternate oils with watercolors and pastels, for these "minor media" would encourage "a suggestiveness and charm even if you fail in literal truth, and after all it is nature interpreted, not copied, that we want."[54]

Criticisms, usually given twice a week, were held under an old apple tree dubbed the "Criticismus Tree."[55] According to Allen Tucker, a summer student when Twachtman and Weir shared the teaching, "it was not this or that particular criticism that counted so much as it was the quality of the men themselves, and the nobility of their relation to art."[56] For Tucker, Twachtman's insistence on individuality was an eye-opener. The older artist, Tucker wrote, "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 ayone 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."[57] Twachtman's friends reinforced this essential lesson. When Lawson returned to Cos Cob from France in the summer of 1894 with his friend Allen Butler Talcott, Robinson criticized their French paintings as "a little too much like a lot of other men—not much delicacy of vision."[58] Students and mature artists mingled freely in Cos Cob. This congeniality benefitted both groups through the continual rejuvenation of ideas.

The artists played together as well. During summer sessions, Twachtman probably spent one or two nights a week at the Holley House, relaxing with his students at the end of their criticism days. He and Ochtman invited friends and students to Sunday dinner. Long walks or buggy rides through the countryside, and train trips to Stamford for shopping, also varied the routine.[59] In July 1892, the Greenwich paper reported that "the artists

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boarding at Mrs. Holly's [sic] gave an entertainment on Monday evening consisting of tableaux, after which there were refreshments and dancing."[60] The *Art Interchange* essayist listed additional recreations: telling stories and popping corn at one of the four large fireplaces on chilly evenings; cycling, boating, or just "dream[ing] in a hammock under the apple trees" on warm ones.[61] Music was important too. Art colonists gathered around the piano in the Holley House living room. When the Italian organ-grinder came around, Twachtman hired him for an impromptu dance on the Holley House porch.[62] Photographs show members of the art colony playing charades, fishing, and swimming (figs. 2.15 and 2.16). In other seasons, artists and former students would return for Halloween and nutting parties, skating and sleigh-riding, or simply to admire the apple blossoms in the orchard near the Holley House.[63] After Genjiro Yeto's arrival in 1897, the art colony could claim greater authenticity in its enthusiastic Japanism. In one photograph, kimono-clad women surround Yeto on a porch decorated with fans and hanging scrolls (fig. 2.17).

The summer students learned how to present their work by mounting informal exhibitions in the hayloft of the Holleys' barn (fig. 2.18). Floral arrangements, Oriental rugs, cushions, and other accessories were used to create an aesthetic environment in that workaday space. The hayloft exhibitions probably marked the close of the summer sessions. One year, at least, the summer students also exhibited their work in the city. In early December 1897, MacRae, Yeto, Mary Roberts, and Otto Heinemann hung one room at the Art Students League with the summer students' oils, pastels, and watercolors. MacRae described to Constant Holley how they had hung the show to ensure that the works, including their frames, would harmonize.[64] Their installation was undoubtedly modelled on Twachtman's, whose solo

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exhibition in 1891 had attracted attention for its novel presentation, featuring white frames on his pastels and snowscapes.[65] The "Cos Cob Exhibition" won Twachtman's praise, as MacRae told Constant: "'Johnie' when he saw [it] this morning liked [it] immensely. He seemed very much pleased." The students were also impressed. "The comments on the exhibition were very favorable," MacRae continued proudly. "Lots of the fellows in the life class congratulated me."[66] The experience MacRae gained in organizing and installing an exhibition would prove valuable in his organizational activities in the early twentieth century.

Twachtman's summer classes had some competition. Walter Nettleton offered outdoor painting classes in the Belle Haven section of Greenwich in summer 1894.[67] About a mile and a half from the Holley House, Leonard Ochtman gave instruction in landscape painting at his own studio near the Mianus River, while his students boarded in nearby farmhouses.[68] These sessions, which seem to have been fairly regular for at least two decades, offered a Tonalist alternative to the American Impressionism evolving in Twachtman's classes, though no overt rivalry is documented. A glimpse of Ochtman's methods is provided in the diary of Clark Voorhees, who studied with him in the summer of 1896, along with Denver artist Elisabeth Spalding and at least two others. Voorhees sketched outdoors in nearby sites that included an orchard, a rye field, an Italian family's vegetable garden, and the bridge at Dumpling Pond. Criticisms were held on alternate afternoons. In Ochtman's view, these open-air sessions were merely preliminaries, as he explained in his two-part essay, "A Few Suggestions to Beginners in Landscape Painting."[69] In oil studies and in pencil or charcoal sketches made outdoors, the artist should simply record "the plain facts before him."[70] The artist would later use these "notes" and his memory to compose paintings in the

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studio. While Ochtman's methods were different from Twachtman's, his goal was similar, as Ochtman defined it for his students: "we want the effect of the day, hour or moment, the mood and not a transcript of the place . . . . It is our object to create a picture of the sentiment, the emotion one feels in observing the scene."[71]

The art colony's experimental climate was heightened by its mixture of professions. In Cos Cob, the painters shared ideas not only with other painters, but also with novelists, journalists, publishers, theater people, and musicians (see Appendix 2). Though few are recognized today, many were prominent during the art-colony period. Several of them, disparagingly termed "muckrakers" by Theodore Roosevelt, were part of the turn-of-the-century reform movement. Questioning and investigation was their life's work. They brought this spirit of inquiry to the Holley House table, where social reformers dined with artistic rebels. Lincoln Steffens, the best-known of the muckrakers and a key member of the art colony for more than a decade, described the debates he and Twachtman started over dinner. They sometimes tricked their companions by gradually reversing sides, leading their unwitting partisans to argue vehemently for a position they had begun by opposing. The topics they discussed, however, reveal the group's engagement with broad social and aesthetic issues: what kind of society best nurtures art; how to define beauty; whether art-making is predominantly intellectual or emotional; what subjects are appropriate for the painter.[72]

Steffens, like Twachtman, seems to have attracted his friends to the art colony, which included many staffers from the crusading magazine *McClure's*, where Steffens worked from 1901 to 1906, and the *Commercial Advertiser*, where he was city editor from 1897 to 1901. Harry Thurston Peck, a brilliant

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professor of Latin at Columbia University, was literary editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* and editor of the influential literary monthly, *The Bookman. McClure's* highly respected fiction editor, Viola Roseboro', was a regular at the Holley House for two decades, during which she published Willa Cather's first nationally circulated stories. *McClure's* art editor, August Jaccaci, was a close friend of Robinson and Twachtman and a frequent visitor in the '90s. Other literary members of the art colony included humorists Bert Leston Taylor and Wallace Irwin; Don Carlos Seitz, business manager of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*; critic Winfield Scott Moody of the *Evening Sun*; Ernest Thompson Seton, author and illustrator of popular animal stories, and Irving Bacheller, whose nostalgic local-color fiction won the praise of critic Hamlin Garland. More would arrive in the twentieth century.

While many of the artists, writers, and editors eventually acquired their own homes in Greenwich, most were introduced to the town as boarders at the Holley House. That boarding house served as a live-in version of the European café, which Robert Hughes describes in terms that apply equally to the Old House. It was a place for "people separated from the social order . . . to meet, work, argue, and display themselves. It was a place for little groups, for specialists, where one met one's intellectual peers." The cafés were, Hughes declares, "the natural theatre of the new. In them, the intellectuals, writers, and artists could feel and behave like a class, the mandarins of change."[73] The separation from the larger community implied by both the café and the art colony constitutes bohemianism, defined by Milton Brown as "essentially an intellectual revolt against the confines of established society, resulting in the creation of an intellectual community within the framework of that society but with a different set of mores and an antagonism toward those outside the community."[74]

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Antagonism toward the larger community permeates Steffens's account of the Cos Cob art colony. "We talked art," he wrote,

> and we had a contempt for people who talked business and politics. The townspeople and fishermen were all right; they fitted into the land- and seascapes, but toward the rest of the world, toward the successful New Yorkers who were buying up Greewich and modernizing that lovely old town, we were such snobs that after cutting us and then discovering that we were cutting them, they used to try to get in with us. And they couldn't.[75]

Steffens splits the larger community into two sharply contrasted groups: the urbane newcomers and the provincial oldtimers. He describes the newcomers in terms that reflect his ambivalence. They are outsiders—"New Yorkers"—who are interested in "business and politics," and they are "buying up" property in Greenwich. The art colonists were also outsiders, however. Twachtman and Taylor were from Cincinnati, Steffens was from Sacramento, Ochtman was Dutch, Lawson Canadian, Jaccaci French, and so on. Not until its second generation could the art colony claim members who were Greenwich natives. Furthermore, the art colonists, like the other newcomers, were linked to New York by their professions, if not by their primary homes. Despite his professed contempt for "people who talked business and politics," Steffens made a career of writing about those topics. The art colony's numerous editors, publishers, and journalists were also keenly interested in business and politics. Even the humorists Bert Leston Taylor and Wallace Irwin drew their inspiration from current events.

While the "New Yorkers" were "buying up" land in Greenwich, the art colonists were also acquiring property there, though their approach was generally very different from those whom Steffens accused of "modernizing that lovely old town."[76] The art colony flourished at the same period that Greenwich was undergoing a transformation in architecture, landscape, and

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culture. The results of this gentrification process are vividly documented in *The Great Estates: Greenwich, Connecticut 1880-1930.*[77] During those decades, scores of opulent mansions were built by the wealthiest new residents of Greenwich, while hundreds of spacious houses in the up-to-date Shingle and Queen Anne styles sprang up on old pastures. The art colonists, on the other hand, usually bought existing houses and designed renovations to enhance the sense of age and harmony with nature. Lisa Peters traces the additions John Twachtman made to his modest farmhouse, each change tying the architecture more closely to its natural setting.[78] An illusion of distance from modern urban reality, in time as well as space, was fundamental to the art colony. This cherished sense of history was threatened by the proliferation of modern homes. An old house, however dilapidated, was preferable to an elaborate new one. When artist Henry C. White noticed some shanties near Twachtman's place, Twachtman explained, "Those shacks are occupied by a Negro family. I am so happy to have them here instead of the Queen Anne people."[79]

The core of the art colonists' antagonism to their fellow newcomers may be contained in Steffens's adjectives "wealthy" and "successful" and his anecdote:

> One rich woman whose husband had taken, cleared, gardened, and illuminated with electric light the side of a hill our painters used to paint, drove up to the Holly House, where most of us lived, to ask for rooms. The daughter of the house, recognizing her and her equipage, told her that 'we did not take in rich people.'[80]

The artists and writers were divided from the other newcomers by the level and unpredictability of their income and, more important, by their attitude toward material success. Hassam, for example, could have afforded to stay at a fashionable resort hotel in Greenwich, but he chose instead the shabbily genteel Holley House. Steffens, whose family inheritance shielded him from

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financial worry, affected a defiantly bohemian air. Robinson was perhaps the poorest of the art colonists. His annual income peaked at $3307 in 1893; in 1894, he earned only $1080.25, and in 1895, a total of $1817.08.[81] The bachelor artist was frugal in his housing and clothing, but he could afford to frequent concerts and plays, buy Japanese prints and contemporary sculpture, and enjoy a busy social life. His unworldly attitude toward money is reflected in a diary entry just after his first visit to Cos Cob:

> I am afraid I lose sight of my ideal in N.Y. and get to thinking too much of money success. I must get back to a singleness of aim and conviction I had a year ago, or rather go ahead in the same direction. I must not let a little success and the desire to make money interfere with my progress, as it may very well do. I am 42 tomorrow—no debts and a clear out-look and my boy, beware of Avarice![82]

Robinson had only himself to support, while Twachtman was responsible for a large family. Twachtman earned a total of $3500 in 1895: $2500 for teaching (including summer school) and $1000 from sales of his paintings.[83] Though Twachtman and Robinson are usually considered poor, both artists' 1895 income was well above the national average of $415. Farm laborers earned the least, $216; federal government employees the most, $1104. Public-school teachers and administrators were near the bottom of the scale, at an average of only $289 a year, while Methodist and Congregational ministers earned $787 on average.[84] The artists were not measuring their income against occupations like these, however, but against bankers, lawyers, and entrepreneurs whose annual income was far higher than even the best-paid federal employees.

Harrison and Cynthia White have argued convincingly that the French Impressionists' financial problems resulted not from the size of their income, but from the conflict between its unpredictability and the pressure to maintain a middle-class status.[85] The Whites maintain that, in response to

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their economic anxiety, "later generations of young artists [revived] the Bohemian strain which allowed them to live in the lower class but not of it."[86] While the Cos Cob artists did not go to the extremes of Gauguin or Van Gogh in their rejection of a middle-class lifestyle, their hostility toward the wealthy newcomers seems to have arisen from complex issues of money and class. An additional source of resentment was that the new Greenwich gentry decorated their Great Estates with European art. Twachtman bitterly told a group of students in Chicago, "'You are studying art here now, and some day some of you will become painters, and a few of you will do distinguished work, and then the American public will turn you down for second and third rate foreign painters.'"[87] Not until the second decade of the twentieth century would the art colony cultivate the patronage of their prosperous neighbors. The artists also had a very different world view from the other newcomers. Robinson shared Twachtman's "dislike of the prosaic, inartistique, the *bourgeois* 'quality.'"[88] Tucker remembered Twachtman telling his students, "The business man is always certain, the artist is never sure."[89] The art colony's questioning, experimental outlook put it at odds with the confident, often smug, optimism of the Gilded Age.

The art colony's attitude toward the Yankee oldtimers was equally complex. On one hand, the heritage the locals represented was among the town's major attractions, one it shared with other northeastern communities. According to cultural historian John Stilgoe, during the period from 1880 to 1910,

> Summer visitors and casual tourists began to study the Atlantic coast locals . . . especially in New England, for the locals appeared to represent the 'purest' survivors of original English colonial stock. As native-born Americans became increasingly wary of the immigrant groups that poured into east coast cities, the natives of the coastal realm seemed somehow a rediscovered population descended directly and

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> perfectly from the gunkholing Pilgrims who had settled the sandy region three centuries earlier.[90]

For artists and writers in search of the American past, tiny Cos Cob boasted an unusual concentration of residents whose New England roots extended to the seventeenth century, among them the Holleys, Brushes, Seymours, Marshalls, Lockwoods, Palmers, and Ferrises.[91] Some of them were well-educated professionals, but it was their unsophisticated relatives, especially the farmers and boatmen, whom the art colony celebrated in word and image. While ostensibly approving them, Steffens condescendingly reduces them to staffage: "they fitted into the land- and seascapes." Theodore Robinson betrays a similar attitude in his diary notation of August 25, 1894: "One of the natives left his house unfinished and scaffolding standing 20 years to avoid taksation [sic]—last summer a wealthy brother from Boston persuaded him to take it down." Casting the working-class locals as picturesque Others conformed to the prevailing New England ideal and validated the art colonists' superior social position. The attitude is evident in other writing by members of the art colony. The *Commercial Advertiser* ran a front-page essay on the art colony in 1899 that was probably written by Steffens or Peck. Without naming the site, the writer glorifies the nostalgic qualities of the Holley House and its waterfront village. A large portion of the essay is devoted to the artists' relations with the oldtimers:

> To the old inhabitants of the village the artists are a constant source of wonder. Whenever one of the art students takes easel and brushes and settles down quietly on the dock or by the roadside he is presently surrounded by a gaping group. The spectators are usually silent, but sometimes they whisper comments. The villagers, young and old, have an exalted idea of the market value of pictures painted by hand. They don't understand painting simply for the effort—that is, studying.

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This coy description of a "gaping group" of hayseeds who "don't understand" art and are most concerned with its "market value" assumes the superiority of reader, writer, and artist. One of the locals, the oysterman "Capt. S.," is described as the stereotypical Yankee: plainspoken, literal, and set in his ways. Captain S., who "does not approve of the impressionist school of painting," insists that a painter sketching his sloop delineate every detail. Humoring the old salt, the painter obeys, but when he packs up his equipment, the oysterman stops him. "'Hold on,' said Capt. S. 'You've forgotten something. There's her name. A boat ain't complete without a name. Put the Sarah H. on her stern. There,' said Capt. S., after a moment, 'now you've got her c'rect.'"[92]

The self-flattering juxtaposition of sophisticated artist and materialistic rustic is also reflected in critic Thomas Whipple Dunbar's recounting of an anecdote told him by Leonard Ochtman. "A neighboring farmer would come and glance over Ochtman's shoulder while he painted," Dunbar related. One morning "he was particularly impressed with the sketch the artist was making and offered a dozen eggs for it which, of course Ochtman tactfully declined. The completed picture became one of Ochtman's important canvases and won for him a gold medal."[93] Whether the locals undervalue the artwork (like the farmer who offered to trade a dozen eggs for Ochtman's sketch) or overvalue it (like the fishermen speculating on the artists' income in the *Commercial Advertiser* story), the joke is that the yokels just don't understand.

Candid reports suggest that the oldtimers returned the art colonists' suspicion, at least in the early days. John Douglass Hale, whose account was based on interviews with Alden Twachtman, described John Twachtman's relations with the locals:

> He was not friendly in a folksy sort of way . . . and, as a transplanted city man bringing with him his own circle, he did not mingle with the country people in the neighborhood . . . . His reputation with them

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> appears to have been that of a reserved, perhaps unfriendly soul, possibly even an odd fish, as witness the passing farmer who, on observing Twachtman building one of his many walls . . . remarked, with a slight touch of resentment, 'Building a wall to keep us out, Mr. Twachtman?'[94]

Even the self-glorifying Steffens confessed that it was "two or three years" before "the fisher people hereabouts" would speak to him.[95]

But the oldtimers had what the art colonists wanted: a sense of heritage, of rootedness in the place. By their own account, the artists sometimes took advantage of the locals' presumed ignorance to acquire a tangible remnant of their heritage in the form of antiques. Steffens relates that the artists made a game of what they called "real estating," going around with a realtor to inspect property for sale. "It gave you an excuse to go into houses, good old New England houses, and see antique fireplaces and furniture," he wrote; "some of the more unscrupulous people degraded the game to a free hunt for furniture and, I was sorry to observe, they found real bargains in chairs, tables, beds, etc."[96] When Leonard Ochtman failed to get a bargain price on a pair of andirons during his first summer in Greenwich, Mina Fonda (a New Hampshire native) commiserated that "these Conn. Yankees are shrewd." But when, pretending to be lost, he stopped at a farmhouse to ask an elderly woman for directions and left with an antique chair, she praised his persuasiveness and persistence.[97]

The artists were part of a population spurt that was transforming the pokey farm town, but their socioeconomic anxiety, skepticism, and desire for unspoiled landscape set them apart from the other urbane newcomers. At the same time, however, their education and cosmopolitanism meant that they had little in common with the oldtimers, some of whom were barely literate. As a

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result, during the early years of the art colony, they were doubly outsiders, alienated from both oldtimers and newcomers.

By the turn of the century, however, lines between the two factions were blurred, as the Yankee families—especially their younger members—began to emulate the more sophisticated summer people. This change, and the art colony's attitude toward both groups, is given literary form in Irving Bacheller's "Keeping Up with Lizzie."[98] The story traces the consequences of social pretension on the fictional village of Fairview, Connecticut, a thinly disguised Greenwich. Fairview's sage, attorney Socrates Potter (probably inspired by Frederick A. Hubbard) is as ambivalent about change as the art colonists. Though he is introduced as "the only 'scientific man'" in the village, with "highly modern" ideas, "he clung to the dress and manners that prevailed in his youth." Potter relates to the story's narrator what happens when Fairview's old families abandon plain living for stylish city ways. Grocer Sam Henshaw's pretty daughter, Lizzie, sets the pace that everyone except Potter struggles to maintain. Her pretensions are symbolized by the new house her father builds, one very similar to those then going up around the real Greenwich. It had "'a tower on it an' hardwood finish inside an' half an acre in the dooryard. The tower was for Lizzie. It signalized her rise in the community. It put her one flight above anybody in Fairview.'" To enable their daughters to keep up with Lizzie, the village merchants mortgage their homes to pay for "'automobiles, piano-players, foreign tours, vocal music, modern languages, an' other forms of aspiration.'" Soon, the men are obese, debt-ridden, and disdained by the wives and children they have encouraged to "aspire." New York, exemplified by the Gottriches of Fifth Avenue, represents materialism and decadence. Even worse is Europe, personified by Lizzie's fortune-hunting suitor, the bogus Russian nobleman, Alexander Rolanoff.

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Finally, in a heart-to-heart talk, Potter persuades Harvard graduate Dan Pettigrew to

> 'Be a real man. We're on the verge of a social revolution. Boys have been leavin' the farms an' goin' into the cities to be grand folks. The result is we have too many grand folks an' too few real folks. The tide has turned. Get aboard.'

When Dan, who had planned to be a lawyer, protests that farming isn't dignified, Potter retorts, "'It's more dignified to search for the secrets o' God in the soil than to grope for the secrets o' Satan in a lawsuit.'" Potter stakes Dan to a thousand-acre farm. He also talks to Lizzie, revealing that her father cannot afford her extravagance. Lizzie drops her affected British accent, goes to work in her father's grocery store, and organizes a club for young women "the purpose of which is the promotion of simple livin' and a taste for useful work." Still keeping up with Lizzie, the other young women of Fairview divert their competition from idle games of whist to baking pumpkin pies. Alexander, exposed as a scoundrel, conveniently expires, and the enlightened Dan and Lizzie are married in a ceremony ostentatious in its rural simplicity.

Bacheller wishfully reverses the course of social change. A Connecticut farm town glimpses the temptations of a more urbane lifestyle, and after a brief dalliance, rejects them to return to the old agrarian ways. "Keeping Up with Lizzie" offers an idealized resolution of the confrontation of two segments of the Greenwich population.

Even in fictional Fairview, however, the population was not neatly divided between picturesque oldtimers and wealthy newcomers. Bacheller allows a glimpse of ethnic diversity only in a disturbing reference to Dan's farm hands as "eight gangs o' human oxen from Italy."[99] In real-life Greenwich, the population was multicultural, nowhere more so than in compact Cos Cob. There, the art colonists lived in closer proximity to a mixed

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population than they did in New York, where neighborhoods were defined by class and income. In addition to descendants of colonial settlers, Cos Cob's residents included a Chinese laundryman, an Alsatian shoemaker, an Irish tavern keeper, two Irish coal merchants, and at least one African-American couple. The Holley House itself was home to a Japanese artist, Genjiro Yeto, and to live-in help, sometimes Irish, sometimes African-American.[100] A Russian Jewish family, Michael and Fannie Taylor and their sons Alex and Max, arrived in 1910 to run the village newsstand. Just across the Mianus River from the Holley House were the homes of Japanese silk importers Riochiro Arai and Toyo Murai.[101] Italians also lent an exotic accent to Cos Cob harbor; the *Art Interchange* essayist related that when the students went rowing on warm summer evenings "the Italian workingmen, skimming past us in other boats, singing their songs, make us think of Venice."[102] The Ochtmans lived near the Italian settlement at Dumpling Pond. There, Theodore Robinson observed "a lot of Italians playing at bowls in the road as in Italy."[103]

Steffens recorded the economic confrontation between the Yankee washerwoman, Mrs. Marshall, and the Chinese businessman he calls Ah Sing.[104] When Ah Sing opened a laundry on the Lower Landing, just across Strickland Road from the Holley House, the art colonists protested, "'No outsider can break into a good old new England community like Cos Cob. Mrs. Marshall does our washing, and no Chink shall get us away from her.'" Steffens explained the artists' loyalty: "Mrs. Marshall came, on both sides, from old, old families . . . . Distinguished men had borne her names, and all the old New Englanders and all the visitors who stood for justice boycotted that Chinaman." Before long, however, the Chinese laundryman's perserverance, interest in fishing, and lower prices won over the community. Steffens soon

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found "everybody having their washing done by the Chink, who was cheap, by the way."[105]

The colony's writers, including Steffens, utilized Cos Cob's cultural diversity for its picturesque or humorous possibilities. In Hassam's etching *Toby's, Cos Cob* (fig. 2.19), the Italian organ grinder serves a similar function.[106] That image is unique, however, in its depiction of an identifiably non-Yankee figure in Cos Cob. In a period when native-born Americans felt threatened by heavy immigration, the painters suppressed evidence of their historical retreat's ethnic mix. Cos Cob's blacks and immigrants are the invisible Others in paintings of the art colony. Ironically, the art colony was responsible for introducing some elements of the ethnic mixture into the pre-Revolutionary village. The Chinese laundry and Toby Burke's tavern were entrepreneurial responses to the business opportunities represented by the art colony. But while relations between the art colony and the nonYankees of Cos Cob were reportedly friendly, the Others did not "belong" there in the view of the artists.[107]

By the late 1890s, Cos Cob was well established as a year-round art colony. The colony proved its durability and its independence of Twachtman in 1898 when, apparently as a result of a dispute with the Holleys, he moved his summer classes to Norwich, Connecticut. Despite Twachtman's absence, several students chose to stay in Cos Cob, and the following year, the summer school was back at the Holley House.[108] Twachtman sometimes brought students out for shorter winter sessions as well. He wrote to Josephine Holley on January 1, 1899, to advise her that between thirty and thirty-five students would soon be arriving.[109] Twachtman's own example, and the popularity of winter landscapes, fostered open-air painting all year long. Cos Cob's

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proximity to New York made it easy for artists and students to come out for a few days' painting after a snowfall.

The younger generation of artists became more prominent at the Old House as the nineteenth century waned. Charles Ebert, Genjiro Yeto, and Carolyn Mase were year-round residents at the turn of the century. Elmer MacRae moved into the Holley House in 1899 and married Josephine and Edward Holley's daughter, Constant, the following year. Twachtman's contemporary, Henry Fitch Taylor, lived at the Holley House for long periods. Twachtman himself, who had made not only his own home but also the Holley House "a regular rendezvous for Impressionists," used the boarding house as a second home. He probably spent at least one night a week there during his summer classes. Twachtman also lived at the Holleys', surrounded by old friends and former students, while his family was in France in 1901-2.[110] One of the group, Carolyn Mase, recalled mornings of open-air painting, afternoon walks, and evenings of poetry, music, mutual criticism, and conversation about art.[111]

Twachtman retained a magisterial relationship with his former students. "'Here Ebert let me show you how to paint it,'" he said when Ebert began a view of the Holley House in May 1902. In a letter written decades later, Ebert related how Twachtman established the tonal values and highlights, and recalled his advice to ignore details, even those as attractive as "a handsome little peach tree in bloom." Twachtman worked on Ebert's canvas for two hours; the result is Twachtman's painting, *Holly House, Cos Cob, Connecticut* (fig. 2.20).[112]

Twachtman and MacRae seem to have worked together at times during the winter of 1901-02. MacRae's *Old House, South End* (fig. 2.21) is strikingly similar to Twachtman's *Old Holley House, Cos Cob* (fig. 2.22) and may have been

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painted about the same time. Both works are on square canvases, nearly the same size, and depict the south end of the house in winter. In MacRae's painting, Twachtman's influence is most evident in the sinuous lines of the trees and the modulations of color in the snow. Twachtman set his easel on the lower porch to paint *From the Holley House*, as did MacRae for his work of the same title (figs. 2.23 and 2.24). The minor differences in viewpoint suggest that the works may have been painted side by side. Twachtman and MacRae collaborated on one work, a drawing of Revolutionary War hero General Israel Putnam for the *Greenwich Graphic*.[113] Twachtman wrote to MacRae from Gloucester, Massachusetts on July 10, 1902, "Get just as much for the picture as you can and as you have really done the work tell [editor Erwin] Edwards 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 you get for yourself."[114]

Twachtman died in Gloucester on August 8, 1902. His death came at the art colony's peak activity. Years of catering to artists and writers enabled the Holleys to undertake extensive renovations to the old saltbox in 1902. They added skylights, making the attic suitable for studios if not bedrooms; enlarged the room where the art colony dined, opening up one wall with windows; and added a gable to the small, unfinished room behind the North Bedroom. While Twachtman's death was a painful loss, the Holleys had every reason to believe that the art colony would endure.

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[1] For more on Hilltop, see Junior League of Greenwich, *The Great Estates: Greenwich, Connecticut 1880-1930* (Canaan, N.H.: Phoenix Publishing, 1986). For more on the Havemeyers, see Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986) and Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen et al, *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993).

[2] For more on Leonard Ochtman and his family, see Susan Larkin, *The Ochtmans of Cos Cob* (exh. cat., Greenwich, Conn.: The Bruce Museum, 1989). In the summer of 1890, Ochtman's friend Charles Warren Eaton was painting in the Stanwich section of Greenwich.

[3] "The Society of American Artists," *Art Amateur* 32 (May 1895), p. 158.

[4] Robinson's diary (Greenwich), May 30, 1894. Robinson's diaries from March 29, 1892, to March 30, 1896, are in the collection of the Frick Art Reference Library, New York City.

[5] Taylor had already boarded at the Merritts' when he accompanied Robinson there in 1892. (Robinson's diary [NYC], April 23, 1893.)

[6] See William H. Gerdts et al, *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865-1915* ((Evanston, Ill.: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992) and William H. Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny: An Impressionist Colony* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993).

[7] Quoted in Young, p. 190.

[8] The most important exception to this statement is the prolific Hassam, who is noted for his cityscapes and for the figure studies and still lifes created in his Manhattan apartment. Robinson executed an occasional cityscape (e.g., *Union Square, New York*, 1895, New Britain Museum of American Art), but generally used the winter to work up studies made during the summer. Weir did some figurative work and still life in the city, but is better remembered for his Connecticut landscapes. Twachtman came to the city only to teach and to see friends.

[9] The three snowy views of Twachtman's house are two paintings titled *Snowbound* (figs. 2.3 and 8.5) and another titled *Last Touch of Sun* (fig. 8.4). The depth of snow in Robinson's painting, especially on the roof, does not match that in any of Twachtman's, suggesting that they were not painted at the same time.

[10] Robinson's diary (NYC), April 11, 1894. Robinson was probably assisted in capturing "more of the reality" by the photograph he took of the rear view of Twachtman's house. The photograph, now in the collection of the Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago, corresponds with Robinson's painting except for the heavier snow cover in the oil. This detail could have been adjusted by Robinson, however, or could indicate that more snow fell after he

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took the picture. I am grateful to Lisa Peters for bringing the photograph to my attention.

11 Theodore Robinson, "Claude Monet," in John C. Van Dyke, ed., *Modern French Masters* (New York: The Century Co., 1896), p. 170. This essay was first published in *The Century*, vol. 44 (September 1892).

12 Robinson's diary (NYC), May 13, 1893.

13 See Paul Hayes Tucker, *Monet at Argenteuil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) and *Monet in the '90s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

14 Robinson, "Claude Monet," p. 171.

15 Robinson's diary (NYC), April 25, 1894.

16 "An Art School at Cos Cob," p. 57.

17 Robinson's diary (NYC), April 3, 1895.

18 Robinson's diary (NYC), February 7, 1896.

19 Robinson's diary (Greenwich), June 17, 1893.

20 Cecilia Waern, "Some Notes on French Impressionism," *Atlantic Monthly* 69 (April 1892), pp. 535-41; the quotation cited is on p. 536.

21 Robinson's diary (Giverny, France), November 30, 1892.

22 Robinson records working on these paintings on May 26 and June 5, 17, and 22, 1893. With the probable exception of *Oxen*, none of the resulting paintings has been identified.

23 The three versions of *Valley of the Seine*, all dated 1892, are in the collections of the Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; the Maier Museum of Art, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.; and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. All three are reproduced in color in William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), pp. 72-3. In Greenwich, Robinson recorded painting a valley rising to a hillside pasture on June 17 and 22, 1893.

24 In his diary entry for (Cos Cob) June 30, 1894, for example, Robinson records receiving "A charming letter from T. S. Perry from Giverny, telling of Monet and others." Thomas Sargent Perry and his wife, the American painter, Lilla Cabot Perry, spent nine summers in Giverny over a span of two decades. For more on Perry, see Gerdts 1992 and Meredith Martindale, *Lilla Cabot Perry, an American Impressionist* (Washington, D. C.: National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1990).

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25 Allen Tucker, *John H. Twachtman* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1931), p. 7.

26 Allen Tucker, p. 8. This exchange occurred between Twachtman and the art editor of *Century* magazine, according to Tucker. That position was held by another member of the Cos Cob colony, August Jaccaci.

27 The painting is dated ca. 1895 in Bev Harrington, ed., and William Kloss, *The Figural Images of Theodore Robinson, American Impressionist* (exh. cat., Oshkosh, Wis.: Paine Art Center and Arboretum, 1987), p. 84. Though the dimensions are slightly larger, it is probably number 175 in John I. H. Baur's catalogue, dated "1895?" (Baur, *Theodore Robinson 1852-1896* [exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum, 1946], p. 72.) However, the evidence of Robinson's diary indicates that *Oxen*'s date should be 1893.

28 Robinson's diary (Greenwich), June 21, 1893.

29 For more on Robinson's use of photographs for *The Watering Pots* and related works, see Harrington and Kloss, pp. 27, 30, 58-59.

Robinson seems originally to have conceived *Stepping Stones* as a pure landscape. On June 3, 1893, he wrote, "This a.m. worked on 'Stepping Stones' until 10 when the sun came out." By June 11, both the light conditions and the nature of the painting had changed: "Took photos of Margery & Elsie at brook, 5 p.m., crossing on the stepping stones." On June 15, four days after taking the photographs, he began the figural painting: "Commenced a 'Stepping-Stones' with Elsie and Marjorie crossing, a charming spot, overshadowed by hickory foliage." He did not rely solely on the photographs for the figures, but also had the little girls pose for him at the brook.

30 Sarah Burns, "Barefoot Boys and Other Country Children" in *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), p. 302.

31 Helen Cooper analyzes Homer's watercolors of country girls in terms of market demand and French antecedents, particularly Millet and a generalized Arcadianism. Whether dressed in homespun or in Bo-Peep ribbons, Homer's country girls "have an equally posed look," she concludes. Helen A. Cooper, *Winslow Homer Watercolors* (exh. cat., New Haven: Yale University Pres, 1986), pp. 60-62; quote, p. 61.

32 Robinson's diary (Greenwich), June 9, 1893. Edwin Thomas Booth (1833-1893) was the older brother of Lincoln's assassin. From August 1872 to April 1876, he owned a house on Studwell Point in Cos Cob, on the present site of the Cos Cob power plant. After he sold the house, Booth frequently visited Greenwich as the guest of his friend E. C. Benedict. During a cruise on Benedict's yacht, he founded the Players Club, which became a New York base for Twachtman. Others associated with the art colony who belonged to the Players Club were Taylor, Hassam, Walter Appleton Clark, Alfred Q. Collins, Lincoln Steffens, Hugh Bolton Jones, August Jaccaci, Thomas Hastings, Joseph Howland Hunt, Irving Bacheller, Winfield Scott Moody, Harry Leon Wilson, Wallace Irwin, Gilman Hall, Raymond Brown, Charles D. Lanier, and Henry

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Wysham Lanier. (Based on membership list in John Tebbel, *A Certain Club: One Hundred Years of the Players* [New York: Hampden Booth Theatre Library, 1989]. Tebbel does not provide dates of membership.) For more on Booth, see Richard Lockridge, *Darling of Misfortune: Edwin Booth: 1833-1893* (New York: The Century Co., 1932).

33 For more American Japanism, see Henry Adams, "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of *Japonisme*," *Art Bulletin* 67 (Sept. 1985), pp. 448-485; William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America* (exh. cat., Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990) and Sally Mills, *Japanese Influences in American Art 1853-1900* (exh. cat., Williamstown, Mass.: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1981).

34 The dining room at Giverny was hung with framed prints by Hiroshige, Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806), Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849), and Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864), among others. (Claire Joyes, *Claude Monet: Life at Giverny* [New York: Vendome Press, 1985], pp. 94 and 97.)

35 Robinson's diary (NYC), November 30, 1893.

36 A follower of Harunobu, Koryusai was known for pillar prints, erotica, flower-and-bird prints, and large images of courtesans with their attendants. For more information, see Richard Lane, *Masters of the Japanese Print* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1962), pp. 168-71 and Harold P. Stern, *Master Prints of Japan* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969), pp. 144-51. According to information in his diaries, Robinson would eventually own 32 Japanese prints: 24 by Koryusai, 3 by Utamaro and 5 by Banri (active ca. 1781-1800).

37 For a more detailed discussion of Robinson's interest in Japanese prints, see my essay, "Light, Time and Tide: Theodore Robinson at Cos Cob," *American Art Journal* 23, number 2 (1991), pp. 74-108. See also Doreen Bolger, "American Artists and the Japanese Print: J. Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson, and John H. Twachtman" in Doreen Bolger and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., eds., *American Art around 1900* (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990).

38 When Mrs. Holley became exhausted on July 3, Robinson and Taylor moved to the nearby home of a Mrs. Perkins, where they boarded until July 10. After Robinson had completed teaching a summer class in New Jersey, he and Taylor worked in Cos Cob from August 22 to September 3. It is not clear from Robinson's diary where they boarded during this stay.

39 "St. Botolph's Exhibition," unidentified clipping, Archives of American Art, Mrs. Page Ely Papers, roll 70, frame 192.

40 Peters 1995, p. 356.

41 John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, fourth revised edition (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973), p. 228.

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[42] Harrison C. White and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 118. The recent exhibition, *Origins of Impressionism*, traces the web of interrelationships in the development of that style. See Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism* (exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994).

[43] Christine Oaklander of the University of Delaware is writing her dissertation on "Henry Fitch Taylor, Clara Davidge Taylor and The Madison Gallery: Their Influence on the Armory Show and Early American Modernism." For an overview of Taylor's life and work, with an emphasis on his early modernism, see William C. Agee, "Rediscovery: Henry Fitch Taylor," *Art in America* 54 (November 1966), pp. 40-43.

[44] See Gerdts 1993.

[45] The students are Nevada Lindsay of Kansas City and H. Wallace Methven of Chicago in Cos Cob and Frederic Knight of Omaha in Mianus. Art Students League Papers, Archives of American Art, reel NY 59-20, frames 347, 349, and 353. It is impossible to determine from the ASL Student Registers whether the Cos Cob summer classes were initiated earlier than 1891, because the 1888-89 register does not include summer addresses and the 1889-90 register does not survive. The 1890-91 register offers each student space for three addresses—city, home, and summer—but few supplied the latter.

[46] Young, pp. 181 and 185, notes that Weir shared the instruction with Twachtman in 1892 and 1893.

[47] J. Alden Weir to John Ferguson Weir, Archives of American Art, J. Alden Weir Papers, roll 125, frame 51.

[48] Twachtman (Greenwich) to Weir (Chicago), August 27, 1892, Archives of American Art, J. Alden Weir Papers, roll 125, frame 54.

[49] Young, p. 185. On October 29, 1893, Weir married Ella Baker, Anna's older sister. I have found no evidence that he continued teaching in Cos Cob after 1893.

[50] Robinson's diary (New York), December 17, 1895, refers to Twachtman's income from teaching four days a week in New York and "three months last summer." In 1895, Twachtman's Cos Cob classes were offered under the aegis of the Brooklyn Art Assoiation (Clark S. Marlor, *A History of the Brooklyn Art Association with an Index of Exhibitions* [New York: James F. Carr, 1970], p. 65).

[51] Louise Jones Du Bose, *Enigma: The Career of Blondelle Malone in Art and Society 1879-1951* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1963), p. 13.

[52] "An Art School at Cos Cob," *The Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899), pp. 56-57.

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[53] "An Art School at Cos Cob," p. 56.

[54] "An Art School at Cos Cob," pp. 56-57.

[55] Undated manuscript of an interview with Constant and Elmer MacRae; Dorothy Weir Young Research Papers (tub 3, Holley Farm folder), Weir Farm National Historic Site, Wilton, Conn.

[56] Allen Tucker, p. 7.

[57] Allen Tucker, pp. 7-8.

[58] Robinson's diary (Cos Cob), August 25, 1894.

[59] Robinson records all these recreations in his diary.

[60] Greenwich *Graphic*, July 16, 1892, p. 3: 4.

[61] "An Art School at Cos Cob," p. 56.

[62] Hale, p. 121.

[63] These recreations are recorded in the MacRae letters and in a newspaper article about a Halloween reunion of summer visitors. Robinson's diary also records day trips to Cos Cob for Sunday dinner.

[64] Elmer MacRae (NYC) to Constant Holley (Cos Cob), December 3, 1897; MacRae Papers, HSTG.

[65] See Peters 1995, p. 347.

[66] Elmer MacRae (New York) to Constant Holley (Cos Cob), December 3, 1897; MacRae Papers, HSTG. MacRae also refers to the exhibition in his letters of December 1 and 2.

[67] Advertisement, *Greenwich Graphic*, July 14, 1894, p. 4: 4.

[68] "An Art School at Cos Cob" refers to Ochtman's classes as if they are regular events. In 1910 and 1911, Ochtman conducted the "New York Summer School" in Mianus; his students that year included Harriet Randall Lumis. He also taught at the Byrdcliffe colony in Woodstock, New York, where he was named director of the summer school in 1905.

[69] The Voorhees diary, available on microfilm at the Archives of American Art, is in archives of the Florence Griswold Museum, Old Lyme, Conn. I am grateful to museum director Jeffrey Andersen for putting it at my disposal. Leonard Ochtman, "A Few Suggestions to Beginners in Landscape Painting," *Palette and Bench* I (July 1909), pp. 231-32 and (August 1909), pp. 243-44.

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[70] Ochtman, pp. 231-32.

[71] Ochtman, p. 243.

[72] Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (2 vols., 1931, reprint New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 437-38. The debates remained a staple at the Holley House even after Twachtman's death. Elmer MacRae reported on one in 1905, "The debate was on the trust question we represented the people and Miss Mase the trust. I never heard Uncle Harry [Henry Fitch Taylor] so humorous. Masie flashed up at first but saw it was no use." (Elmer MacRae [Cos Cob] to Constant Holley MacRae [unknown loc.], February 12, 1905; MacRae Papers, HSTG.) When one of the MacRae twins expressed a desire to attend college, fiction editor Viola Roseboro' declared, "Oh, little does she know, college would seem like nothing after conversation like this at the table." (Dorothy Weir Young Papers, Tub 3, "Holley Farm" folder, Weir Farm National Historic Site).

[73] Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), p. 60.

[74] Milton W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 7.

[75] Steffens, pp. 436-7.

[76] Steffens, p. 437.

[77] The Junior League of Greenwich, *The Great Estates: Greenwich, Connecticut 1880-1930* (Canaan, N.H.: Phoenix Publishing, 1986).

[78] Peters 1995, pp. 287-96.

[79] According to the late Nelson White, Twachtman made this comment to his father, Henry C. White, during a visit to Greenwich in 1891. (Telephone interview with Nelson White, January 1981.)

[80] Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 437.

[81] See Robinson's diary on December 31 of each year. On December 31, 1892, he noted that his income, $2852, was "more money than ever I made in one year." He exceeded that figure in 1893, but fell back in subsequent years.

[82] Robinson's diary (New York), June 2, 1894.

[83] Robinson's diary (New York), December 17, 1895.

[84] "Series D 779-793, Average Annual Earnings in All and Selected Industries and in Occupations: 1890 to 1926," in *Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1975), part one, pp. 151-2 and 168.

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[85] White and White; see especially pp. 129-40.

[86] White and White, p. 140.

[87] Quoted in Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxi.

[88] Robinson's diary (Greenwich), October 31, 1893.

[89] Allen Tucker, p. 8.

[90] John R. Stilgoe, *Alongshore* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 310.

[91] All of these families except the Seymours are listed in Mead, chapter 15, "Alphabetic List of Landowners from the First Indian Deed, 1640, to 1752." Mead's genealogies in the same volume link the early landowners with their descendants in Cos Cob in the late nineteenth century. For the Seymours' ancestry, see chapter six.

[92] "A Small Art Colony," *Commercial Advertiser*, July 22, 1899, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[93] Thomas Whipple Dunbar, "The Art of Leonard Ochtman, N.A.," *Guide*, December 1921; reprinted in *Art World Magazine*, December 30, 1924, p. 19.

[94] Hale, p. 116.

[95] Letter from Steffens to Mrs. Robert La Follette, in Ella Winter and Granville Hicks, ed., *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, vol. I (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), p. 258.

[96] Steffens, *Autobiography*, p. 440.

[97] Mina Fonda (Laconia, N.H.) to Leonard Ochtman (Mianus, Conn.), June 22 and July 21, 1890; Ochtman letters, Bruce Museum.

[98] "Keeping Up with Lizzie" was first published in *Harper's* 121 (October 1910), pp. 688-703. It is anthologized, in a slightly longer version, in Bacheller, *From Stores of Memory* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938), pp. 171-99. A novel-length version, published by Harper & Brothers in 1911, is set in Pointview rather than Fairview and has additional characters including the Smeads (a twist on the prominent Meads of Greenwich).

[99] Bacheller, "Keeping Up with Lizzie," *Harper's* version, p. 703.

[100] Two Irish women, Mary and Margaret Smith, lived at the Holley House at the time of the 1900 census; an African-American woman, Sally Hudson, lived there in 1910, possibly with her family. (Nils Kerschus, "Synopsis of the George J. Smith Family & Bush-Holley House," HSTG.)

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101 The two families settled in Riverside in 1893. Riochiro Arai was the grandfather of Mrs. Edwin O. Reischauer. See Haru Matsukata Reischauer, *Samurai and Silk* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

102 "An Art School at Cos Cob," p. 56.

103 Robinson's diary (Cos Cob), July 1, 1894.

104 Mrs. Marshall may have been Blanche V. Marshall, who was postmistress of Cos Cob (then temporarily called Bayport) from November 1891 to January 1893. Many Marshalls lived in Cos Cob. One had a store on the Lower Landing; another was captain of a sloop. An old photograph of Cos Cob shows a sign for the Chinese laundry labelled Sam Lee. Steffens wrote that the man he called Ah Sing merely set up the laundries and then left them under the management of a relative; still, the name Ah Sing was probably intended to be comical.

105 Steffens, p. 439.

106 *Toby's, Cos Cob* will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

107 Robinson calls John Kalb, "a nice old Alsatian shoe maker" (diary, June 25, 1894). Steffens uses an offensive word ("Chink") to describe the Chinese laundryman, but such language was common in his day. Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage (born 1901) and Mr. Max Taylor (born 1904), who grew up in Cos Cob as the children of Irish and Russian Jewish immigrants, respectively, remember only cordial relations with the art colony. Mrs. Delage recalls prejudice from Yankee villagers, however, and Mr. Taylor says of their attitude, "Nobody was an American. You were a square-head, a sheeny, a wop" (interview, January 1995).

108 The following students planned to spend the summer of 1898 in Cos Cob, according to Elmer MacRae's letter (NYC) to Constant Holley (Cos Cob), April 5, 1898 (MacRae papers, HSTG): Miss Heigh (MacRae was unsure of the spelling), Miss [Alice] Judson, Miss [Carolyn] Mase, Miss [Mabel] Rusch, Genjiro Yeto, and MacRae.

109 Letter from John H. Twachtman (Greenwich) to Josephine Holley (Cos Cob), January 1, 1899; HSTG.

110 Twachtman lived at the Holley House from October 9, 1901 to January 17, 1902; January 29 to February 3, February 8 to 25, and April 11 to May 30, 1902, according to notations in Constant Holley's handwriting after Twachtman's death; HSTG. He may have lived there even longer. According to a news item in the *Greenwich Graphic* in 1902, Twachtman had been in Cos Cob "for the past two years." ("Twachtman's Paintings," April 19, 1902, p. 1, col. 5.) According to his letter to John Ferguson Weir dated May 20, 1901 (see Appendix 6), the Twachtmans had put their belongings in storage and moved out of their house around the end of 1899.

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[111] Carolyn C. Mase, "John H. Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), p. lxxii.

[112] Charles Ebert (Old Lyme) to Robert McIntyre (Macbeth Gallery, NYC), March 28, 1942; courtesy Williams College Museum of Art.

[113] The drawing is reproduced in Larkin, *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House*, p. 28.

[114] John H. Twachtman (Gloucester, Mass.) to Elmer L. MacRae (Cos Cob), July 10, 1902; HSTG.

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Chapter Three

Changing Direction: 1902-1920

The art colony entered a new phase at the beginning of the twentieth century. It had lost some of the major artists of its formative years: Robinson had died in 1896 and Twachtman in 1902, and Weir was spending more time in Branchville. Summer classes were no longer the significant element they had been in the previous decade. Twachtman, who had not taught in Cos Cob since 1899, spent the last three summers of his life in Gloucester, Massachusetts.[1] MacRae advertised for pupils in 1900, but recruited only three, one of them his brother Jesse. Will Howe Foote painted in Cos Cob in 1903 and may have taught there briefly before making Old Lyme his permanent base.[2] Efforts to continue a summer school in the village proved unsucessful, however. In the twentieth century, only Leonard Ochtman regularly offered painting instruction in Cos Cob.

Despite the loss of the summer school, the art colony remained vital and strong. The Twachtmans and Ochtmans had been year-round residents for at least a decade, and in both families, allegiance to the art colony extended to the second generation. After completing his studies in France, Alden Twachtman returned to Round Hill Road and joined a New York architectural firm. The Ochtmans had moved across the Mianus River in 1896, to the house they built on sixteen acres about a mile and a half north of the Holley House. Dorothy Ochtman, eight years old at the start of the new century, would eventually study at Smith and Bryn Mawr before returning home to specialize in still-life painting. Her mother, Mina Fonda Ochtman, resumed painting with renewed energy when her three children were teenagers.

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For Childe Hassam, the art colony assumed greater importance in the twentieth century. He had been a regular visitor in the 1890s, producing at least eight oils in the area. In 1902, however, he worked at the Holley House, possibly in an unbroken stay, from spring until the day after Thanksgiving, executing at least five oils and more than twenty pastels.[3] It was a fertile period, marked by experimentation with themes and materials. The oil, *The Mill Pond, Cos Cob* (fig. 3.1), depicting repair work on the Mianus River railroad bridge, marks Hassam's first treatment of modern technological labor. He had earlier depicted the artisanal labor of traditional New England shipbuilding, as in, for example, *Rigger's Shop, Provincetown* (1900; New Britain Museum of American Art), but *The Mill Pond* announces a thematic departure that Hassam would pursue in such New York canvases as *The Hovel and the Skyscraper* (1904; Mr. and Mrs. Meyer Potamkin).[4]

The spirit of experimentation that prompted *The Mill Pond* extended to the artist's preferred medium in 1902, pastel. Hassam had used pastel before, but never more effectively nor for such a sustained period. He produced more pastels in that year than in any other.[5] He may have been inspired to take up the colored chalks by Twachtman, who was probably still at the Holley House when Hassam arrived there in the spring. Hassam's pastel technique, however, was very different from his friend's. Twachtman used the chalks sparingly, leaving large areas of empty space in an allusive style influenced by James A. MacNeill Whistler (fig. 3.2). Weir's pastel, *Boats* (fig. 3.3), possibly drawn in Greenwich, reveals Twachtman's influence in its sketchiness and use of untouched paper, though Weir's graphite underdrawing betrays a less spontaneous approach than Twachtman's.[6] Hassam, on the other hand, nearly covered the paper (fig. 3.4), employing the medium in a painterly manner similar to that of Edgar Degas and Mary Cassatt. The clear, high-keyed colors

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of Hassam's Cos Cob pastels capture the effects of dappled sunlight in a group of images that are among the artist's most appealing.

The gregarious Hassam had plenty of company in Cos Cob, even after Twachtman's death. In the early twentieth century, other art colonists who had been visiting Greenwich for years deepened their roots in the area, buying their own homes in various sections of town. Even as they dispersed from the Holley House, however, the artists and writers retained a cohesive group identity. Twachtman's obituary suggests their clubbiness:

> At Greenwich he had artist friends living near him, and of late many acquaintances have been buying houses in that section, so that he was looking forward to more social duties than ever before in the little town on the Sound where he had lived so long.[7]

Twachtman's close friend Henry Fitch Taylor was among the home-buyers; he owned a ten-acre poultry farm on Glenville Road in Greenwich from 1898 to 1904, but for long stretches during and after that period, he lived at the Holley House. There, known as "Uncle Harry," he was so much a part of the family that he was in charge of making the salad dressing.[8]

Lincoln Steffens followed the more typical pattern: he and his wife Josephine, a novelist, first boarded for several summers at the Holley House. Next, they rented a house in Cos Cob, and by 1905, they moved into their own waterfront home in Riverside. The art colony's self-image as a cohesive community is evident in Steffens's letter to his father about his real-estate transactions. "The Setons and we are getting friends of ours to buy all around us," Steffens wrote on December 29, 1901; "Mrs. Jaccacci [sic], the wife of an associate editor of McClure's, has just taken up a tract of 90 acres next to mine, and many more want to join us."[9] Between 1900 and 1907, Seton bought up seven parcels of Cos Cob farmland to create his one-hundred-acre wooded

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estate, Wyndygoul.[10] August Jaccaci had urged Theodore Robinson to settle in Cos Cob in 1894. Eight years later, he followed his own advice.[11] The Jaccacis' property adjoined Steffens's first purchase of seventy inland acres, which he sold at a profit to buy a house near the Riverside Yacht Club.

Irving Bacheller, author of "Keeping Up with Lizzie," also settled in Riverside. He first acquired property there in 1895, and seems initially to have used it as an investment while he and his wife lived in New York City and, briefly, Tarrytown. By 1905, the royalties from his best-selling novel *Eben Holden* enabled Bacheller to build a large house on his fourteen-acre property overlooking the Sound. There he continued to write the nostalgic local-color stories that were literary counterparts of the paintings of the colony's artists.[12]

The artists who had been introduced to Cos Cob as summer students were also striking roots in the area. After completing his studies in France, Ernest Lawson came home to Cos Cob, where he had lived earlier in the 1890s. Charles Ebert married one of Twachtman's summer students, Mary Roberts, in 1903. They settled on Dublin (now Doubling) Road, where they and their daughter, Betty, would live until 1919. Elmer and Constant Holley MacRae assumed much of the responsibility of running the boarding house as Josephine Holley grew older and Edward Holley extended his winter stays in Florida or Cuba. The MacRaes' twin daughters, Clarissa and Constant, born on Halloween 1904, grew up in an extended family of artists and writers (fig. 3.5).

New members, young and old, continued to join the art colony. Sculptor Edward Clark Potter bought a house on North Street in 1902 and became a key figure in the art colony's mature phase. Birge Harrison and Albert Babb Insley painted in the area early in the century. D. Putnam Brinley's decision to become an artist may have been shaped by his lifelong familiarity with the

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art colony. From his family home just across the Mianus River, Brinley often rowed over to Cos Cob to court a young writer, Kathrine Sanger, whose family rented a summer place near the Holleys. Photographs show the young Brinley painting on the Mianus shore.[13] Henry Bill Selden came to Greenwich as a fourteen-year-old when his father became pastor of the Second Congregational Church. The younger Selden studied briefly with Potter and married his daughter Hazel in 1913. Author and illustrator E. Boyd Smith lived on the Post Road in Cos Cob in the first decade of the century; local children posed for his groundbreaking picture books.[14] Harriet Randall Lumis was a student in the New York Summer School conducted by Ochtman in 1910 and 1911. Harry Lachman, who would twice be decorated by the French Government, rented the Brush House around 1909. Illustrator W. Appleton Clark married a Greenwich woman in 1902 and spent at least part of each year in the area. Printmaker Kerr Eby lived on the Lower Landing for several years before the First World War.

Writers, too, continued to congregate at the Holley House. The best known of them today, Willa Cather, probably learned of the Old House from Viola Roseboro', her colleague at *McClure's*, where Cather worked from 1906 to 1912. Another link to the art colony was Cather's Greenwich Village friend and neighbor, Clara Potter Davidge, who married Henry Fitch Taylor in 1913.[15] Cather mentions Cos Cob in her novel, *The Song of the Lark*, written in 1914-15, but her friendship with the MacRaes extended until at least the mid-twenties.[16] She inscribed a copy of her collected poems, *April Twilights*, "For Constance [sic] MacRae,/one of my 'public' when it /was small indeed. /Willa Cather/Cos Cob/April 27th/1924."[17] The MacRaes owned seven books by Cather, more than by any other single writer. This affinity is not surprising, for Cather, like the colony's painters, found universal meaning in the most

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local of themes. Red Cloud, Nebraska, and Cos Cob, Connecticut, embodied, in their works, an American tradition more cherished even as it seemed to be disappearing.

Other literary members of the art colony are less well known today. Jean Webster, author of the best-selling novel *Daddy-Long-Legs* (1912), named the romantic hero of its sequel, *Dear Enemy* (1915), after "Sandy" MacRae. Award-winning poet Ridgely Torrence wrote the first serious plays about African-Americans.[18] Playwright Clyde Fitch's drawing-room comedies, popular in London as well as New York, caught the mood of upper-class American society in the first decade of the twentieth century. Book designer Frederick Bursch based two small presses in the area: the Literary Collector Press in Greenwich from 1902-06, and the Hillacre Bookhouse in Riverside from 1908-18.[19] Publishers Charles Day Lanier and Henry Wysham Lanier, sons of the poet Sidney Lanier, became friends and patrons of the local artists.

Even as more art colonists acquired their own homes, the Holley House remained a favorite gathering place. Letters from Constant Holley MacRae to her mother document their expertise in creating a homey, artistic environment on a tight budget. Constant confided to her mother, "I tell you what there is a lot to do, but just keep their bellies full & their tongues wagging and youre all right. Every one is happy & thinks he is having a good time."[20] Keeping guests' bellies full meant cultivating a large garden and orchard; canning fruits, vegetables, and preserves; raising poultry; and obtaining the freshest local seafood to produce simple but bountiful meals. The menu for Thanksgiving dinner, 1902, included "turkey, a pair of ducks, oysters, soup, mince pie, biscuit glacé, candy &c. (only not exactly in the order I have written)," Constant related.[21] The family's heirloom china dignified their table settings. When Hassam made "a real Boston clam chowder,"

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Constant "served it out of the beauty tureen" in "the old blue soup plates."[22] An accomplished gardener and flower arranger, she kept the house filled with fragrant bouquets. She worried whether their supply of firewood would last the winter, but when a neighbor offered her a tree that had fallen in the nearby cedar lot, she transformed the chore of moving it to the Old House into a group outing. "Mr. Hassam is fine on the chop," Constant reported, "and we are all going over with apples and saws and bring the tree home. Hot stuff! I pretend it is fun and they all think it is."[23]

The Holleys' 1903 Halloween party demonstrates how the art colony used entertainment to define itself as a distinct, aesthetic community. The party doubled as a reunion of summer guests, and twenty-five assembled in addition to the Holleys, the MacRaes, and an unidentified reporter for the *Greenwich Graphic.*[24] The guest list published in the *Graphic* revealed the same creative mix that had characterized the colony's first decade. Artists included the regulars Henry Fitch Taylor and Carolyn Mase, as well as sculptor Richard Duffy, miniaturist Louise Cameron Walter, and painters Theodosia de Riemer Hawley and Anna Comly Maples. The colony's literary component was represented by Steffens, editor Gilman Hall, playwright Kate Jordan, and critics Katherine Metcalf Roof and Winfield Scott Moody. The evening's entertainment was an aestheticized version of American holiday traditions. On arrival, each guest was given a pumpkin with instructions to carve it into a likeness of another guest; the familiar jack o' lantern thus became a document of group membership. At dusk, "the great fireplaces were kindled with blazing pine knots and the rooms from garret to cellar were illuminated with the grotesque lanterns fashioned from the ingeniously carved pumpkins." The sound of a gong signalled the guests to change into their costumes. When they emerged from their dressing rooms, the *Graphic* conceded, "such was the

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unique eccentricity" of some costumes that it was impossible to guess what they represented. Among the identifiable characters were the Wild Woman of Borneo, the Beautiful Circassian Lady, a Bulgarian Princess, a Serpent Dancer, a Japanese Giantess, and a Chinese Warrior. Edward Holley, carrying a gramophone blaring Beethoven's Turkish March, led the festive parade through the Old House to the dining room. After dinner, the party played parlor games until midnight, when they descended to the oak-beamed cellar to bob for apples, tell one another's fortunes, and listen to ghost stories by the eerie light of a pan of burning salt and alcohol.

The art colony made the front page again in 1905, with a feature on Steffens prompted by his series on municipal corruption in *McClure's*.[25] The reporter's apparent surprise on learning of the art colony, by then a lively enclave more than twenty years old, reveals the group's insularity. "In our talk of literary workers who make Greenwich their home, we were surprised to find that there are quite a number of well known literary men here, a large number of them being residents of Cos Cob," the *Graphic* observed. The paper mentioned Bert Leston Taylor, then writing for the humor magazine *Puck*; Gilman Hall, managing editor of the reform journal *Everybody's*, and his staffer Ray Brown; humorist Wallace Irwin, poet Richard Le Galliene, dramatist James MacArthur, *Puck* editor Harry Leon Wilson, and illustrator Rose O'Neill, creator of the Kewpie doll, who was identified merely as Wilson's "gifted wife." The reporter added, "Cos Cob also has the reputation of being quite a haunt for artists."

The close-knit art colonists reinforced their bonds by socializing together. Mina and Leonard Ochtman's letters to their daughter, Dorothy, then a student at Smith, chronicle teas, dinners, and plays with various members of the colony. Mina wrote on June 2, 1911, "Sunday we went over to the Eberts &

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to Mr. [William B.] Tubby's to call—We have a very righteous streak on at present and are trying to even up our calling list."[26] Her letters document frequent theater-going with the actress Emily Wakeman Hartley and her husband Randolph, a drama critic, and painter Charles A. Fiske and his wife, also an actress. Many art colonists belonged to the Mystery Club, which combined socializing with cultural presentations by the members. Leonard Ochtman gave a lantern-slide lecture on painter George Inness; Hobart Jacobs lectured on Mendelssohn, with the assistance of a pianist from New York City. The artists also enjoyed Sunday-afternoon musicales at the Havemeyers' home.[27]

As the art colony strengthened its ties to Greenwich, it began to extend its allegiance from the landscape to the people. After a group of local boys painted graffiti on his gates in spring 1900, Ernest Thompson Seton visited the Cos Cob school to invite them to camp overnight in his woods. The boys returned that summer, and for many summers thereafter, as the Woodcraft Indians. The powwow that concluded each camp-out, attended by the boys' parents and neighbors, became one of the eagerly anticipated rituals of summer.[28] By 1903, fifty tribes of Woodcraft Indians modelled on the original Cos Cob group had been formed in the United States. Revised by Sir Robert Baden-Powell along military rather than Indian lines, they were the forerunners of the international Boy Scout movement.

While Seton was befriending Cos Cob's youth, Steffens was riling their parents. Playing the gadfly, according to a report in a New York paper, he went "around Greenwich telling its citizens that the town was corrupt."[29] Steffens was not the first to make this accusation—a town reform movement had been active since about 1899—but his national prominence sharpened its sting. He considered buying a newspaper in Greenwich as a platform for his

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views, but instead, joined the editorial board of the nonpartisan *Press*, established in 1910 under editor Norman Talcott. Serving with Steffens on the seven-member board were fellow art colonists Bacheller, Seton, and Hall.[30]

When Steffens declared at a lecture in New Britain, Connecticut, on December 7, 1910, that "Greenwich is as corrupt as any city in the United States," reaction was swift and furious. Talcott circulated a petition demanding that Steffens either prove his statement or retract it.[31] The *Graphic* was more conciliatory, warning in a front-page article, "It seems rather inadvisable to stir up anything of this sort, as anyone who is familiar with the methods which have been used to carry elections in the town for years must perforce believe that Mr. Steffens had foundation for his statement."[32] A public meeting was called for December 30. Assisted by the recent Harvard graduate Walter Lippmann, Steffens prepared for the event by conducting largely one-sided interviews with townsfolk. Although the meeting was held on the Friday evening between Christmas and New Year's, the Town Hall's conference room was packed. Steffens's most explosive revelation to his Yankee audience was that while they were getting $2.50 per vote, the Italians were receiving $2.75.[33] After this single local example, he rambled for two hours about corruption in communities from Maine to Oregon. The audience, who had anticipated spicier entertainment, resoundingly defeated the motion that "Greenwich is as corrupt as any city in the United States." The *New York Herald* conveyed the locals' anger in its headline, "Greenwich Turns on Mr. Steffens."[34]

While Steffens was alienating the town, however, other art-colonists were reaching out to the community in ways that undermined their former bohemian aloofness. Their new neighborliness was motivated partly, no doubt, by the realization that they were ignoring a large concentration of

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potential patrons. In its first decade, the art colony's coolness toward the town's new gentry may have had little impact on their patronage, because the newly rich collectors of the period were more likely to decorate their homes with academic European paintings or copies of Old Masters than with contemporary American pictures. Furthermore, just as Greenwich's millionaires made their fortunes in the city, the art colony had always looked to Manhattan for patronage. Its painters and sculptors were active in the National Academy of Design and the Society of American Artists. Hassam, Twachtman, and Weir established Ten American Painters in 1898.[35] Beyond New York City, the painters exhibited in the major urban centers of Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington. Collectors also paid allegiance to city institutions. Though Henry and Louisine Havemeyer were friendly with the art colonists, inviting them to parties and even holding Ochtman's mortgage, they did not collect the paintings executed near their Greenwich estate.

New York's dominance of the American art market was beginning to weaken in the early years of the twentieth century, however, as regional centers established their own art organizations. In Connecticut, the Old Lyme artists began exhibiting together in 1902, when that colony was just two years old. Their annual exhibition, the first mounted by a summer colony in the United States, spawned imitators in other artistic havens along the East Coast. The Connecticut Academy of Fine Arts, based in Hartford, was established in 1910. Greenwich artist Matilda Browne was a charter member.

During the same period, the social status of artists and writers was changing. *Vogue* magazine chronicled the "Passing of the Long-Haired Artist" in a 1912 article, declaring that

> the pose of the artist, the painter, and the writer of other days is fast vanishing. The people of today who do the best sellers have pretty houses, motors and country places, belong to the best clubs and are

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> immaculately turned out. Now the artist must have a studio à la mode, daintily furnished; he must give nice little dinners and patronize a good tailor.[36]

The first indication of a major shift in relations between the Cos Cob art colony and the Greenwich community occurred, appropriately, at the Holley House. There, Elmer MacRae organized and hung his own first one-man show, inviting the public to view his work for three weeks in October 1908. The exhibition was reported in the *New York World* and more than two hundred visitors came.[37] When MacRae hung a second exhibition the following October, the *New York Herald* carried a half-page feature with four photographs of the family and their home.[38] According to the *Herald*,

> The event of the week, both in the artist colony and among the society folk who have prolonged their summer's stay here on account of the fine weather, is the exhibit of paintings which Elmer Livingston MacRae is holding in the historic old Holly House at Cos Cob.

The *Herald* listed some of the prominent visitors, including Mr. and Mrs. I. N. Phelps Stokes, Mrs. J. Kennedy Tod, Mr. and Mrs. Julian Curtiss, and several writers and artists. The following year, Henry Tyrell of the *Evening World* called MacRae's third Holley House exhibition "A most unique, Barbizone [sic] like affair!" In a review that exceeded sixteen inches, Tyrell praised MacRae's art and recommended the "Cos Cob salon" as the perfect place to view it, within the "old-fashioned, lavender-scented loveliness of the ancient Holley manse" and surrounded by "a most romantic landscape panorama of crimsoning woods and happy autumn fields, within sight of misty blue stretches of the wide Sound and the softly-flowing Mianus."[39]

MacRae's exhibitions were modest commercial successes as well. Before his first Holley House show, the artist had sold a few works to other art colonists and received portrait commissions from others, never earning more

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than $300 a year from his art. His 1908 Holley House exhibition, by contrast, realized a respectable $601 in sales. More significantly, he had extended his patronage from the art colony to the wider community: of the seventeen visitors who purhased works at the exhibition, only four were members of the art colony. While the subsequent exhibitions seem not to have been as remunerative as the first, this expanded patronage endured after the exhibitions had been taken down. J. Kennedy Tod, one of the patrons of the 1908 show, for example, commissioned a portrait of himself the following year.[40] Tod's status in the community might have inspired others to patronize the artist.

MacRae's success no doubt alerted his colleagues to the advantages of reaching out to the community. Another factor in reshaping the colony's relations with the town was set in motion when textile merchant Robert M. Bruce bequeathed his home and $50,000 to the Town of Greenwich for "a Natural History, Historical and Art Museum for the use and benefit of the Public, in such manner and under such rules as may be prescribed by the Selectmen of the Town." Bruce's deed of trust, dated August 4, 1908, was accepted by the Town Meeting on October 16, 1909, eight months after his death. Townspeople were grateful for another component of the bequest, the one-hundred acre property that would become Bruce Park, but they were dubious about the advantages of converting the large, empty house into a museum. While the *Press* urged readers to "Support the New Museum," its editorial under that headline offered only grudging endorsement:

> Many people will say, and it is probably true, that a museum is about the last thing that the Greenwich of to-day needs, yet to quote an old saying, we "should not look a gift horse in the mouth," and the late Mr. Bruce gave Greenwich so much that was of practical and immediate value that it would be ungrateful to speculate about the practicability of this last gift.[41]

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Regardless of the initial response, however, the bequest introduced the possibility of a town museum.

While the Bruce bequest and the MacRae exhibitions were stimuli, it was ultimately a wealthy summer resident who prodded the art colony into institutionalizing. Florence Wolf Gotthold invited other Greenwich artists to her home to discuss her idea of a local artists' organization. Mina Ochtman wrote to her daughter Dorothy on May 1, 1911, "Sunday we were asked to Mrs. Gotthold's to form some plans for a summer exhibition in Greenwich. Mr. Potter was there & Mr. Ebert & Miss Brown [sic], Alden Twachtman & Mr. Selden." Leonard Ochtman elaborated a few days later, "We are forming a little art society in Greenwich and hope to give an exhibition this summer. We are trying to get the old Bruce Mansion which was left to the Town for a Museum."[42]

The founders of the Greenwich Society of Artists ratified their constitution at Potter's North Street studio on January 21, 1912.[43] Additional charter members included Henry Fitch Taylor, Mary Roberts Ebert, Carolyn Mase, George Wharton Edwards, Hobart Jacobs, and Ernest Thompson Seton. The new society met again at Potter's studio on February 11, 1912, to elect their first officers. Potter became president, Leonard Ochtman vice president, MacRae secretary, and William B. Tubby treasurer.[44] The first council included, in addition to the four officers, A. A. Anderson, Theodore Blake, Florence Gotthold, and Charles Ebert. These eight retained the Society's leadership throughout the decade, supplemented only by Alden Twachtman and George Wharton Edwards.

The new Society linked the art colony with the gentry they had previously scorned. The dapper A. A. Anderson was married to the daughter of

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Jeremiah Milbank, one of the town's wealthiest residents.[45] In 1895, Elizabeth Milbank Anderson had underwritten the construction of the Greenwich Library's first building. The numerous architects among the Society's early members reinforced the ties to the wealthy newcomers. Richard Howland Hunt and Joseph Howland Hunt, sons of America's first Paris-trained architect, Richard Morris Hunt, had recently completed their late father's designs for the Fifth Avenue facade of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[46] Thomas Hastings's and his partner John Carrère's magnificent Beaux-Arts building for the New York Public Library had opened in 1911, with lions by Potter flanking the entrance steps.[47] Theodore Blake and Alden Twachtman were also associated with Carrère and Hastings; Twachtman worked at another period for McKim, Mead and White. Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, author of the definitive six-volume study, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island,* had applied his ideals of public housing to the University Settlement House on the Lower East Side.[48]

More significant to the art colonists than these prestigious public commissions were those that involved the architects in the Great Estates. The Renaissance-Revival villa Hastings designed for his father-in-law, Commodore E. C. Benedict, was a landmark on the Indian Harbor promontory that had been the site of Tweed's Americus Club (fig. 3.6).[49] Hunt and Hunt were the architects of J. Kennedy Tod's Innis Arden on what is now Greenwich Point, as well as the backcountry Sabine Farm for publisher Henry Johnson Fisher.[50] Theodore Blake, whose family had lived in Greenwich for more than two centuries, designed handsome, comfortable mansions for Colonel Raynal C. Bolling, Albert W. Johnston, and James Rich Steers.[51] I. N. Phelps Stokes's own High-Low House incorporated a sixteenth-century English building, making it the oldest occupied house in the United States.[52] James C. Green had created

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for himself a castle so picturesque that it was used as the setting for several silent films.[53] William B. Tubby, architect of numerous city brownstones, designed the spectacular neoJacobean Dunnellen Hall.[54]

The architects lent prestige to the Greenwich Society of Artists, which the *Greenwich News* welcomed as an asset to the community:

> It is particularly appropriate and of practical interest to the town that Greenwich, which is admittedly one of the most beautiful places in the United States, should become a center of art. The names of the artists composing the new society assure that result; they are so conspicuously identified with the current history of American art, that Greenwich must become widely known in connection with their international fame. That cannot fail to attract to the town ever-increasing numbers of persons whose interests in life center in the cultivation of the beautiful, and in time something like the atmosphere of Barbizon, Giverney [sic], and of similar places abroad, should attach to the other charms which make Greenwich a naturally adorable place of residence.[55]

Associate members would, the *News* continued, "be chosen from persons interested in the development of the fine arts." It did not mention that Associates would also be the major source of financial support. Among the first of them was Louisine Havemeyer.

"The ultimate aim of the society," according to the *News*, was "the establishment in Greenwich of a museum containing a permanent, continual exhibition of works of art." To that end, the Society earmarked a fund for art acquisitions. The Bruce mansion, still empty three years after the bequest, was mentioned as a potential site for the projected museum, but the reporter added that a "building erected especially for their needs may prove better adapted to their plan."

After searching the town for a space to house their first exhibition, Potter and Ochtman decided that the Bruce mansion was their best alternative. They had the partitions removed from the one-story servants' wing and a

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skylight installed in the resulting gallery.[56] Though the Society had originally planned a summer show, all their exhibitions during their first two years were held during the autumn or winter. This schedule reflected the town's transition from a summer resort to a year-round residence for a large population of genteel New Yorkers. The art colony, too, had matured into a permanent community of resident artists.

The GSA's first annual exhibition of oil paintings and sculpture was held in "the Bruce Art Museum," as it was identified on the checklist, from September 20 to October 26, 1912. The exhibition marked the first time the museum was open to the public. The new Society had twenty-five active and forty-eight associate members. In emulation of the National Academy of Design, it had adopted a jury system to select the sixty-six paintings and fourteen sculptures exhibited. Not all the active members participated in the first exhibition, nor were all the exhibitors members. Guest exhibitors were Potter's nineteen-year-old son Nathan, Robert Emmett Owen, Charles A. Fiske, F. H. Kidder, Virginia Janus, and sculptor Karl F. Skoog. All except Skoog and Kidder eventually joined the Society (for GSA members and guest exhibitors, see Appendices 4 and 5).

The *Greenwich Press*, whose editorial board was dominated by art-colonists, devoted three articles to the exhibition. A front-page story, headlining the exhibition as a "Grand Success," claimed, inaccurately, that "No New England Town This Size Can Boast a Similar Exhibit."[57] Emphasizing the occasion's social aspect, the report called the private view, attended by more than 150 persons, "one of the most brilliant affairs of the sort ever given in town."[58] An editorial that appeared in the same issue testified to the change in the art colony's relation with the other townsfolk:

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> There are few communities where dwell more men and women of high intellectual attainments than Greenwich. The trouble has been in the past that these people have for one reason or another held more or less aloof from the life of the place. We are glad to see that they are entering into it.[59]

The *Press*'s reviewer, identified only as a local artist, applauded the exhibition as "a gleam of sunshine" in the "gloomy old" Bruce mansion, and declared that "most of the exhibitors belong to the Impressionist School."[60] The titles and descriptions of the paintings, however, reveal that the GSA's version of Impressionism was often indistinguishable from Tonalism. Landscapes veiled in snow, mist, or fog suggest the influences of Twachtman and Ochtman. The most popular subjects were local scenes, exemplified by Taylor's *The Old Mill.* The sculpture section was dominated by Potter, who showed small versions of his allegorical figures for the Brooklyn Institute, *Indian Philosophy* and *Indian Religion*; a statuette of Dante, of which one cast is now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; a relief entitled *Colonial Children*; a study of a horse, and six studies of his only ideal work, *Sleeping Faun*, of which one had been especially cast for the exhibition (fig. 3.7). Hobart Jacobs and Karl F. Skoog also exhibited figural sculpture. Pencilled notations on the checklist indicate that more sculptures, probably by Potter, were added after it was printed.

The GSA quickly followed up its successful debut with a drawing exhibition from November 30 through December 22, 1912, timed to attract Christmas shoppers.[61] About two hundred watercolors, pastels, graphite and ink drawings were hung at the Bruce Museum. Again, local subject matter predominated, but travel views by Anderson, Browne, Edwards, Joseph Howland Hunt, and others reflected the cosmopolitanism of both artists and audience. Seton exhibited several illustrations from his popular animal

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stories, and Clarence H. Rowe showed three sketches from *Outing* magazine. Potter exhibited animal drawings, which were probably studies for his sculptures. Reporting on the private view, the *Graphic* acknowledged that for many guests, it "was a surprise in that while Greenwich has its coterie of millionaires and literary men there were so many in [the] colony of artists residing in our beautiful town."[62]

The Society's second annual exhibition of oil paintings and sculpture was held at the Bruce Museum from September 15 to October 15, 1913. No checklist is extant, but the exhibition was reported in the *Greenwich Graphic* and the *Christian Science Monitor.*[63] According to the *Monitor*, a total of seventy-eight works were shown. Landscapes predominated; the *Graphic* reported that "figure-pieces . . . are notably few in this exhibition." A collection of sixteen miniatures by Louise Willis Snead was a novelty. The only sculptures mentioned were Potter's models for the Civil War memorial in Brookline, Massachusetts.

The *Graphic* cited the exhibition as evidence of national cultural maturity. "It has been said that a community's works of art determine its prosperity and culture," it observed.

> It was once the vogue to spend fabulous sums for French paintings and Italian sculptures and Flemish tapestries. Our financiers awoke to the mistake of taking such sums of money out of this country, and this ever-growing feeling has been more than met by the splendid productions of American sculptors, artists and artisans in every department of arts and crafts.

On the local level, the reporter called it "a great gain" for the community "to have in its midst the organized effort of art workers, working for the general uplift . . . ." The GSA exhibition, free and open to the public, would, the writer believed, improve local youth: "Here our young people may be trained to differentiate between the cheap commercialism of the day and masterpieces

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typically American, and often of local inspiration." The reporter prodded potential collectors: "Many of the paintings are on sale, and where could they find a fitter resting place than on the walls of our splendid Greenwich homes?"[64]

The Society's architect-members were showcased in its second exhibition of 1913, held at the Bruce Museum from October 18 to November 16 and called on the preview invitation the "First Annual Architectural Exhibition." Juried by Leonard Ochtman and architects Stokes, Hastings, Blake, Twachtman, Green, William Tubby, and Richard Hunt, the exhibition addressed the owners and would-be owners of the town's Great Estates. It included photographs and plans of completed projects; drawings and models of public buildings and country houses; designs for murals, cabinets, and gardens, as well as book covers, book plates, and illuminated books.[65] Sculpture was also included, but no record survives of the pieces exhibited. In addition to the GSA's prominent architect-members, guest exhibitors included Charles A. Platt.[66]

The Society shifted from an autumn to a summer schedule for its Third Annual Exhibition of Oil Paintings and Sculpture, held at the Bruce from June 20 through August 2, 1914. By then, the Society had grown to thirty-nine active and seventy-five associate members. Hassam and Weir were among the guest exhibitors; Weir showed *June* and Hassam sent *The Jonquils*, depicting a woman arranging flowers in three glass cylinders. Horatio Walker, called "the American Millet," sent a painting titled *Sow and Pigs*.[67] Isadore Konti exhibited five bronzes, the only sculpture shown. The three-year-old Society openly cultivated patronage. Where the 1912 checklist had advised discreetly, "For information in regard to works for sale inquire of Miss Cora Parker at the desk," the 1914 checklist stated bluntly, "These Pictures Are For Sale." GSA

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member Parker was replaced as gallery attendant by a New York dealer, hired to stimulate sales.[68]

The Bruce Museum, meanwhile, was beginning to take shape. Although the 1914 checklist still called it the "Bruce Art Museum," the institution's bias toward natural history was already emerging. In answer to a public appeal for advice and assistance, Edward Fuller Bigelow had volunteered his services in 1912 as the museum's first curator, a position he held until his retirement in 1938. (Another naturalist, Paul Griswold Howes, was hired as assistant curator in 1918.) Bigelow had had a varied career as a teacher, newspaper publisher, and commercial printer when the amateur naturalist turned his hobby into his profession. Armed with a Master's and a doctorate, both earned *in absentia* from Taylor University in Indiana, he became a popular lecturer and writer on science. As president of the Agassiz Association, an organization devoted to the study of natural history, Bigelow established a complex of laboratories, greenhouses, and a conservatory in Old Greenwich (then Sound Beach) in 1909.[69] ArcAdiA, as it was known, would be in effect the model for the Bruce Museum.

In a report to the trustees in May 1916, Bigelow elaborated his plans to fill the museum with botanical and zoological specimens. Though Robert Bruce's bequest had stipulated that his house be adapted as a museum of natural history, art, and history, the latter two categories received only passing mention. Howes later explained that "we decided that [Bruce] preferred natural history because it was first in the list in his will," even though the philanthropist had demonstrated absolutely no interest in the subject and "didn't even have a moose head . . . hanging up" in his home.[70] The historical society headed by Judge Frederick A. Hubbard would oversee the outfitting of one room.[71] The museum's advisory committee, established by

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Bigelow, was weighted toward natural history, with one representative each from the public schools, the Greenwich Society of Artists, the historical society, the Greenwich Bird Protective Society, and the Agassiz Association. Bigelow's budget also reflects his partiality: $12,850 was requested for natural history, $10,000 for art, and $1,500 for history.

Bigelow's vision for the museum emphasized the local. He told the trustees: "No attempt should be made to compete with a large museum like that of New York city [sic]. It should primarily be a Connecticut museum, and should exhibit the resources of our own State with especial reference to Greenwich." Bigelow's dream art collection, however, revealed a distressing interpretation of this local emphasis. In addition to "replicas of famous paintings and sculpture," he envisioned murals of Greenwich scenery and portraits of prominent citizens.

Meanwhile, even as the art colony was reaching out to its home community, some of its members were playing leadership roles in new movements in the larger art world. Quiet Elmer MacRae proved to be a shrewd and efficient organizer. Emboldened, perhaps, by the success of his Holley House exhibitions, he decided in August 1910 to organize a cooperative artists' group dedicated to the exhibition of pastels. The association, which he named the "Pastellists," was the only one since the demise of the Society of Painters in Pastel (1882-90) devoted solely to the medium.[72] With the support of his former teacher, the widely respected J. Alden Weir, and the aid of fellow artist Jerome Myers, MacRae compiled a carefully balanced roster of twenty-two artists ranging from respected older men like Weir, Leon Dabo, John White Alexander, and Thomas Dewing to progressive younger ones, including Ernest Lawson, George Bellows, Everett Shinn, and William Glackens. The new organization elected officers on January 4, 1911. Dabo became chairman,

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while MacRae, as secretary and treasurer, continued to shoulder the major responsibility. He organized four Pastellists' exhibitions between 1911 and 1914, all of which attracted positive reviews.[73] One critic praised MacRae's organizational abilities, calling him "an adept at beating up the bush and securing the best talents in the field."[74]

By then, MacRae was involved in a far more ambitious undertaking: the Armory Show, the international exhibition of about 1,300 paintings and sculptures that in 1913 introduced modernism to a large American public.[75] MacRae recalled years later how the idea for the show originated. "Jerome Myers and I [had] the very first talks—then right off to the Madison Gallery, Henry Fitch Taylor and Walt Kuhn talking about the same thing—and so it took life."[76] Taylor was manager of the Madison Gallery, which under his direction had emerged as a showplace for new art. Two of the four originators of the Armory Show, then, were identified with the Cos Cob art colony, while a third, Myers, had been recruited by MacRae for the Pastellists.

MacRae continued to play a major, though background, role in the Armory Show. First, he and his three co-founders selected colleagues to be charter members of the Amory Show's sponsoring organization, the Association of American Painters and Sculptors (AAPS). Of the thirteen present or represented by proxy at the first meeting on December 19, 1911, six had ties to Cos Cob: Brinley, Tucker, Lawson, Weir, Taylor, and MacRae. Borrowing MacRae's strategy with the Pastellists, the group elected Weir president, though he was not present. Gutzon Borglum was elected vice president; Kuhn, secretary, and MacRae, treasurer. When Weir learned the following day that the new association was opposed to the National Academy of Design, on whose Council he served, he resigned. Needing a new president with an established reputation, the fledgling organization wavered between

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Robert Henri, the leader of the Realists, and Arthur B. Davies, whose idiosyncratic paintings defied categorization. Working behind the scenes, MacRae, with Myers's assistance, convinced Henri's supporters that Davies's independence would make him a more appropriate leader. Then he persuaded the reluctant Davies to accept the presidency.[77] These quiet negotiations reveal MacRae's contribution to the success of the Armory Show, which opened at New York's 69th Regiment Armory on February 17, 1913. While he was not involved in the electrifying selection of European art that would change American art, MacRae's organizational skills and self-effacing hard work were fundamental to the exhibition's success.[78]

The artists who had spent part of their formative years in Cos Cob seemed predisposed to communal efforts, and several of them made important contributions to the Armory Show. Brinley, Taylor, and Tucker served on the Committee on Domestic Exhibits, which Brown has called the most significant since the European exhibits had already been chosen. Brinley was also a member of the Publicity Committee; MacRae, Taylor, and Tucker served on the Catalogue Committee, and Lawson was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Exhibits, chaired by MacRae.[79]

The Armory Show spurred all of these painters to new directions in their own art. MacRae, for example, opted for a flat, all-over stylization of natural forms (fig. 3.8), while Tucker fused traditional subject matter with an expressive surface consciously modelled on Van Gogh's (fig. 3.9). These modifications would prove insufficient compromises with the new movements they had unleashed on American art, however. Works like Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* and Kandinsky's *Garden of Love* (figs. 3.10 and 3.11) made the American pictures look tame. The Armory Show would ultimately prove a factor in the art colony's decline.

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Throughout its history, the Cos Cob art colony's self-awareness as a community apart was heightened by its relations with other art colonies. An artist who worked best in a communal atmosphere would seldom be affiliated with only one group. Twachtman, long the central figure in Cos Cob, also painted in Gloucester; Ebert worked in Gloucester and Monhegan, and Brinley was linked to Cos Cob, Woodstock, and Silvermine, as well as to the expatriate colony in Paris.[80] Birge Harrison, who occasionally painted in Cos Cob, is more closely identified with Woodstock and Byrdcliffe, where Ochtman succeeded him as director of the summer school in 1905. Herman Dudley Murphy, who with his artist-wife may have been one of "the Murphys" Steffens mentioned in Cos Cob, ran a frame shop at Byrdcliffe.[81] Poet Richard Le Galliene, earlier associated with Cos Cob, wrote a booklet promoting Woodstock in 1923.[82] Hassam, the most peripatetic of artists, visited the Isles of Shoals, Gloucester, Provincetown, Cos Cob, Old Lyme, and numerous other colonies before buying his own home in Easthampton in 1919.

Many artists, nonetheless, identified more closely with one art colony than another in a version of serial monogamy that resulted in low-key rivalry among the enclaves. Cos Cob's earliest competitor was Shinnecock, the site of William Merritt Chase's summer school from 1891 to 1902.[83] The dates, bracketing the probable beginning of Twachtman's classes at the Holley House in 1891 and his death in 1902, support the suspicion of rivalry between the two Impressionists. Scornful of Chase's teaching methods, Robinson noted in his diary on January 8, 1893, that his friend Elizabeth Chanler "spoke of painting with Chase at Shinnecock Bay—sixty odd pupils all crowded into a room—ampitheatre—and two hundred sketches criticised in 3 hours." Twachtman, whose summer classes were much smaller, competed with Chase for students,

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especially at the Art Students League, where Chase taught until 1896. The rivalry extended to their pupils. When Twachtman's summer students mounted a "Cos Cob Exhibition" at the Art Students League in December 1897, their pride was enhanced by the belief that they had outshone their Shinnecock counterparts, who mounted annual New York exhibitions.[84] MacRae reported the conversation between two of his classmates: "Louis Vaillant told Miss Andrews that he was proud of it. 'Better than the Chase Exhibition' etc. etc."[85]

Cos Cob's relation with Old Lyme was more complex. The Old Lyme artists seem justifiably to have viewed Cos Cob, along with Barbizon and Giverny, as one of the progenitors of their art colony. The artist who "discovered" Old Lyme, Clark Voorhees, belonged to the prominent Voorhis family of Greenwich, who owned an important quarry. He bicycled up the coast to Old Lyme after spending a rainy month in Cos Cob painting under Leonard Ochtman's guidance.[86] Hassam nicknamed Florence Griswold's boarding house the "Holy House" in joking contrast to its predecessor in Cos Cob.[87] Several members of the Cos Cob colony also painted in Old Lyme; among them were Hassam, who visited there between 1903 and 1906; Matilda Browne, and Allen Butler Talcott.[88] Henry Bill Selden and his wife, the former Hazel Potter, moved to nearby New London in 1915 when Selden joined the faculty of Connecticut College. The Seldens' close friends, Charles and Mary Roberts Ebert, moved to Old Lyme in 1919 after two decades in Greenwich. Old Lyme artists Bessie Potter Vonnoh, Chauncey Ryder, and Ivan Olinsky were guest exhibitors in Greenwich. Old Lyme's exhibitions, smaller and shorter in duration than the GSA's, were open only to local artists, so the exchange was not reciprocal.

Mystic, Connecticut, was not an art colony so much as a group of

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villages (including Noank and Stonington) with several artist-residents.[89] Among them was David B. Walkley, who painted in Cos Cob and nearby Portchester, New York, before settling year-round in West Mystic. Mystic's leading artist, Charles H. Davis, exhibited with the Greenwich Society of Artists in 1919 and became one of the first painters represented in the Bruce Museum's permanent collection. Edward H. Potthast exhibited with the GSA in 1919 and the Mystic Art Association in 1920.[90]

Cos Cob's only link to the nearby Silvermine art colony seems to be D. Putnam Brinley, Silvermine's leading painter. In 1909, Brinley and his wife rented a summer house in that woodsy area straddling the border of Norwalk and New Canaan, Connecticut. He was invited to join "The Knockers," a group of artists who met in sculptor Solon Borglum's studio for mutual criticisms beginning in 1907. Though The Knockers are said to have mounted annual exhibitions, no records survive. After Borglum's death in 1922, the group incorporated as the Silvermine Guild of Artists. Brinley, who settled in Silvermine after that first summer, maintained his ties to Cos Cob. He and MacRae shared a two-person exhibition at the Shamrock and Thistle restaurant in New Canaan in July 1909. Another old friend from the Holley House, Henry Fitch Taylor, mounted Brinley's first solo exhibition at the Madison Gallery in March 1910.[91] Critics who saw these early exhibitions noted Brinley's debt to Hassam. This influence, evident in *A May Morning* (fig. 3.12), probably resulted from Brinley's first-hand observation of the older artist during Hassam's many visits to Cos Cob.

The Westport art colony, which like Silvermine takes 1907 as its starting date, was somewhat more closely linked to Cos Cob.[92] Cartoonist Oscar F. Howard and his wife, sculptor Lila Wheelock Howard, boarded at the Holley House in the 'teens, sometimes with painter Florence Lucius, before buying a

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home in Westport in November 1918.[93] Kerr Eby, who probably met the Howards in Cos Cob, settled near them after the First World War. Rose O'Neill bought a house in Westport in 1922, which she heated with a specially designed steam boiler cast in the shape of a gigantic Kewpie doll.[94] Sculptor James Earle Fraser, also a Westport resident, participated in the GSA's 1919 exhibition.

In the Lawrence Park section of Bronxville, New York, the casual self-selection of artists' boarding houses like the Holleys' was converted into a real-estate marketing tool.[95] Businessman William Van Duzer Lawrence handpicked the residents of his development on eighty-six hilly acres near the Bronxville train station. He attracted carefully selected artists and writers by offering them reduced rents, then promoted the art colony as a cultural asset to potential home buyers. Robert Reid and Walter Clark, friends of Twachtman who had painted in Greenwich in the 1890s, were Lawrence Park residents, as was sculptor Phimister Proctor, who exhibited with the GSA in 1919.

The 'teens were a period of continued innovation for the Cos Cob art colony. Hassam worked there every year from 1911 to 1917. At least nine oils resulted from those campaigns, including Hassam's self-portrait of 1914, painted inside the Holley House (fig. 3.13). As in the past, the setting liberated Hassam to experiment with the "minor" media, especially etching in 1915 and watercolor in 1916. According to one account, Hassam first attempted drypoint during a visit to Cos Cob between 1911 and 1914. One Holley House boarder, Lars de Lagerberg, recalled that when another, a Mr. Hewitt, decided to make some dry points one summer afternoon, Hassam decided to try it as well, "saying it was a medium he had never used."[96] Oddly, De Lagerberg did not

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mention Kerr Eby, who is credited with guiding Hassam's mastery of etching.

Eby rented an apartment-studio in one of the old warehouses on the Lower Landing from about 1912 to 1917.[97] His choice of housing reflects both a new concern with privacy, since he took only his meals at the boarding house, and the art colony's persistent flaunting of convention. The only other apartment in the warehouses had long been occupied by African-Americans, and villagers were astonished at Eby's decision to live in the same building.[98] Eby was a skilled printmaker by 1913, when at age twenty-four, he executed *Morning Mist* (fig. 3.14). A lacy network of foliage, possibly the drooping branches of the elm in front of the Holley House, frames a hazy view of water and a sailboat. The print's framing and layered space suggest the influence of Japan, where Eby was born. Even more delicate is *Railroad Bridge* (fig. 3.15), executed in Cos Cob, probably also in 1913. These evanescent images demonstrate the young printmaker's absolute technical control and fresh approach to the medium.

Eby's studio became a laboratory for Hassam's first serious experiments with etching in the summer of 1915. There, the fifty-six-year-old painter produced nearly thirty etchings in and around the Holley House. Although the catalogues of Hassam's prints insist that his Cos Cob etchings were "from nature," preliminary drawings exist for many of them. Apparently, Hassam adopted Eby's practice of working from sketches.[99] Their close collaboration is reflected in the similarities between Hassam's *The Old House, Cos Cob*, a view of the Holley House dated 1915, and Eby's *Brush House* of the following year (figs. 3.16 and 3.17). Though their prints bear different dates, the two may have executed their preliminary drawings at the same time.[100] The compositions are virtually identical: a two-story house viewed obliquely, so that the front and one side are visible, is softened by a tree to the right and

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shrubbery to the left. Hassam's major concern is the kaleidoscopic play of light, ranging from the dappled sunlight on the side of the house to the rich shadows under the porch. He seems to have worked quickly all over the plate, using short, varied strokes to suggest sunlit leaves, a stone wall, the glass panes around the front door. Eby's work is far more deliberate. While Hassam indicates the roof with scribbled cross-hatching, Eby delineates nearly every shingle. While Hassam depicts the clapboard siding with unadorned horizontals, Eby painstakingly details the rough grain of the weathered boards.

Hassam succeeded, as has no other printmaker before or after him, in translating to a black-and-white medium the Impressionist sparkle of his high-keyed oils. His achievement in rendering the effects of light is brilliantly demonstrated in *The Steps* (fig. 3.18). An unseen elm tree casts a quivering shadow over the front steps of the Holley House, patterning Constant MacRae's white dress with an all-over design. The shadows vary in intensity: dark on the upper steps and on Mrs. MacRae's bodice, softer on her skirt and the lower steps. Light and dark are interwoven in a bit of latticework, the twiggy stems of a lilac bush, and the crevices of the old stone wall.

Eby not only offered Hassam technical guidance and the use of his press, he also helped him market his prints. The grandson of the print dealer, Frederick Keppel, Eby took Hassam to the gallery late in the summer of 1915. Carl Zigrosser, then working at Keppel's, was impressed, and Keppel Gallery mounted the first exhibition of Hassam's etchings that November.[101]

In his 1916 visit to Cos Cob, Hassam shifted his focus from etching to watercolor, producing a group of images that, according to Hassam scholar Kathleen Burnside, "should be ranked among the most engaging work he

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produced in this medium." Hassam exhibited nine watercolors as "The Cos Cob Set" at New York's Montross Gallery in January 1917. Any one of them, for example, *Dock at Noon* (fig. 3.19), supports Burnside's judgment that "Hassam's work in watercolor was often more inventive and experimental than was his oil painting of the same period."[102]

While the 'teens were a time of great vitality in the art colony, the period also witnessed fundamental changes. Edward Holley died in 1913; Josephine in 1916. World War I had a major impact on the art colony. Eby enlisted in June 1917 and was sent to the French front as a camouflage artist. There, he began the powerful etchings that established his reputation as a chronicler of the disasters of war.[103] Ebert also served in the Artists Camouflage Corps. Turned down for active duty because of his height (six feet six and a half inches), Brinley travelled behind the French lines, painting morale-boosting murals in the soldiers' recreation halls.[104] Bacheller served as a war correspondent in France in 1917, while back at home, Hassam expressed his patriotism in a series of flag paintings. After the war, Alden Twachtman and A. A. Anderson proudly carried the title of Colonel for the rest of their lives.

The Greenwich Society of Artists suspended exhibitions during the war but rebounded strongly in 1919 with an outstanding show, held at the Bruce Museum from May 18 to October 18.[105] The exhibition checklist reveals some changes in the organization. Since 1914, the number of active members had dropped from thirty-nine to thirty-two, but associate membership had swelled from seventy-five to ninety-one. The Society was more closely identified with the Bruce Museum than before the war. Leonard Ochtman, who had succeeded Potter as president in 1916, was listed on the checklist as the museum's art

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advisor. Readers were alerted that the exhibition offered "ar. excellent opportunity to purchase works of art for their own homes or for presentation to the Bruce Museum as a nucleus for the permanent collection which the Society is now hoping to form."

The major innovation of the 1919 exhibition was the large number of guest exhibitors. They included a few former members of the art colony—Childe Hassam, Robert Reid, and Emil Carlsen—but most claimed no local ties apart from friendship. Figurative painting was strongly represented with examples by Frederick Frieseke, Charles Courtney Curran, and Richard Miller, as well as Old Lyme's Ivan Olinsky. Charles H. Davis of Mystic sent a landscape, and contrasting approaches to marine painting were demonstrated in works by Edward Potthast, Frederick Waugh, and Paul Dougherty. Irving Couse, known for his images of Native American life, exhibited *Indian Camp on the Columbia.*

Sculpture, too, made a strong showing. Potter had invited some of his most prominent colleagues, including his longtime collaborator, Daniel Chester French; Herbert Adams, president of the National Academy of Design; animaliers Phimister Proctor and Anna Vaughan Hyatt; Bessie Potter Vonnoh of the Old Lyme art colony; James Earle Fraser of Westport; and Gutzon Borglum, then involved in his first attempt to carve colossal statues out of a mountainside. Several sculptures in the GSA exhibition were well suited to the gardens of a Great Estate: Frederick MacMonnies's famous *Diana*, a sundial by Harriet Frishmuth, and a fountain by Janet Scudder.[106]

Also new to a GSA annual was an Arts and Crafts section, headed by MacRae.[107] Since the Armory Show, he had turned increasingly from oil painting to crafting objects for the home. One of his chairs (fig. 3.20) conforms to the Arts and Crafts ideal with its flat decoration, exposed structure,

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and hand-made construction. The works he selected for the GSA's 1919 exhibition included furniture, tapestries, luster ware, embroidery, and jewelry. MacRae himself showed two carved wooden screens and six carved panels, decorated with such themes as peacocks, fruit, and poppies.

The GSA sustained the strength of the 1919 show with its Fourth Annual Exhibition, held at the Bruce Museum from May 22 to October 10, 1920.[108] Carlsen, Frieseke, Miller, Curran, and Dougherty returned as guest exhibitors, joined by Realists Robert Henri and Jerome Myers. Charles Hawthorne of the Provincetown art colony, Chauncey Ryder of Old Lyme, and Helen Turner of Cragsmoor were new guest exhibitors. Fewer sculptures were shown than in 1919, probably because Potter was not involved in the selection, but quality remained high. Guest exhibitors Borglum, Vonnoh, and Scudder returned for a second year, joined by Chester Beach, Arthur Putnam, and Robert Aitken.[109] Local sculptors Nathan Potter (now a GSA member) and Emilio Strazza participated for the second time. The Arts and Crafts section was also smaller. Mary E. Robinson, a new member of the Society, showed a group of photographs, which the *Greenwich Press* called "very artistic."[110] Although Alfred Stieglitz had exhibited photographs in his 291 Gallery since 1905, it was still unusual for them to be included in a mixed exhibition.

The 1920 Annual marked the exhibition of the Bruce Museum's first art acquisitions, all purchased from the Society's previous show: Emil Carlsen's *Peonies*, Charles H. Davis's *The Old Pasture*, Matilda Browne's *August Morning*, Elmer MacRae's *Still Life—Dark Blue Soup Tureen*, James Gale Tyler's *Sunset*, George Wharton Edwards's *River Road*, Florence Gotthold's *Summer Flowers*, and Leonard Ochtman's *October Morning*. The total cost of the eight oils was about four thousand dollars.[111] This modest, belated flurry of patronage was not soon repeated, however. The museum the art colonists had helped

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establish had proved indifferent to their art.

Beyond the Bruce Museum, the art colony's attempt to cultivate local patronage through the Greenwich Society of Artists seems to have achieved only modest success. One form of patronage, associate membership in the art society, was highly successful, more than doubling from 48 in 1912 to 108 in 1920. The Associates included both wealthy newcomers, among them the Havemeyers, Rockefellers, and Wertheims, and such well-established natives as the Meads and the Closes. The Associates financed the Society's exhibitions through their dues, but the lack of financial records makes it difficult to determine whether they also purchased the paintings and sculptures exhibited. The GSA's "Loan Exhibition," held at the Bruce Museum in November 1919, suggests that they did not. One Associate, Mrs. Elon Huntington Hooker, loaned French paintings, including works by Daubigny, Corot, and Gérôme. Another, Mrs. Charles D. Lanier, sent oils by Gari Melchers and J. Francis Murphy. A third, Greenwich Academy headmistress Caroline Ruutz-Rees, loaned portraits by Maurice Sterne and John C. Johansen. The active members also overlooked local artists. William B. Tubby, for example, loaned oils by Sanford Gifford and Dennis Miller Bunker, but none by artists working in the area. The exhibition included few paintings by the colony's members, and none by its major artists, Twachtman, Hassam, Robinson, and Weir. Furthermore, none of the works from that show found a permanent home in the Bruce Museum.

The checklists for the GSA's annuals are unrevealing about patronage because the painters usually exhibited oils they hoped to sell, rather than borrowing their pictures from collectors. The sculptors, on the other hand, sought to attract new commissions by exhibiting works loaned by local collectors. Edward Clark Potter exhibited two sculptures of horses

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commissioned by his friend Charles Day Lanier, while Nathan Potter showed portrait busts, including one of John Twachtman's daughter Violet. Both Potters won public commissions from the community: Edward Clark Potter for the Bolling Memorial (1919-22), Nathan Potter for the World War I service medal.[112]

Sadly, the GSA exhibitions of 1919 and 1920 reflect the art colony's decline. The most distinguished artists were the guest exhibitors, not the members. Leonard Ochtman was past his prime. MacRae had virtually stopped painting, devoting himself instead to woodcarving. The other GSA members included many accomplished artists, but they could not claim the same high level of achievement as the earlier art colonists.

The art colony's demise resulted from changes both local and national. By the end of the First World War, Greenwich had lost the rural character that had attracted its artist-visitors. As early as 1906, in a report on the annual Farmers' Picnic, one observer had asked,

> How much longer will there be any farmers living in Greenwich to hold a picnic? There are really very few of what may be considered the genuine farmers living in the town now—those who gain their living from the soil. And it will only be a few years at the furthest, at the rate the farms are being sold and changed into private parks and gentlemen's estates, when there will be none in the town and farming in Greenwich will be a legend of the past. That is to be expected, but nevertheless it is to be regretted.[113]

The trains that had made the art colony possible were still heavily used by commuters (by 1911, the Greenwich paper boasted that no other town had as many), but for pleasure trips were being replaced by automobiles. With automobiles came more noise and dust, a faster pace, and a demand for wider paved roads. The shift from trains to automobiles, moreover, reflected the increased value placed on privacy. Instead of sharing public railroad cars

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with strangers, motorists traveled in their own private capsules. At their destination, they sought accommodations that sustained this privacy, not the communal, family-style boarding houses that had been so well suited to the age of trains.

The new emphasis on privacy also rendered the notion of an art colony irrelevant. Instead of congregating at rustic sites to paint and relax together, artists turned inward. Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986) exemplifies the shift. She visited Cos Cob in the early twenties, not to fraternize with other artists and writers, but as the house guest of the wealthy Mrs. Maurice Wertheim, who had purchased Seton's Wyndygoul. While there, O'Keeffe painted a close-up view of a skunk cabbage (fig. 3.21). Her image of a common swamp plant can be seen as the extreme realization of the familiar subject matter favored by the Cos Cob artists. Paintings like Twachtman's *Waterfall* (fig. 3.22) invite the viewer to share the space with the artist. O'Keeffe, on the other hand, closes out any gaze but her own. Two decades had witnessed the thematic shift from Twachtman's intimate landscapes to one malodorous weed.

The art colony's changed status was epitomized by an event in 1920. Reviving the strategy that had brought him his earliest recognition, MacRae mounted his own solo exhibition in a domestic setting. This time, however, the setting was not the Holley House, as it had been for his three exhibitions a decade earlier, but The Columns, the home of architect Joseph Howland Hunt on East Putnam Avenue. The stately, colonnaded Greek Revival mansion exuded a dignity never associated with the old saltbox on Strickland Road, which had deteriorated even from the shabby gentility of its prime. As boarders stopped coming and their income shrivelled, the MacRaes were unable to maintain the Old House. With MacRae's exhibition at The Columns, the art colony had symbolically moved into the Great Estates, but as a poor

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relation. In the process, it had lost the bohemian vitality that had made it a crucible of innovation in American art.

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[1] See *Twachtman in Gloucester: His Last Years, 1900-1902* (exh. cat., New York: Ira Spanierman Gallery, 1987).

[2] According to Lawrence Campbell of the Art Students League (letter to the author, October 18, 1994), "Between 1898 and 1906 there were two [Art Students League] summer schools, in 1903 (in Cos Cob and Old Lyme under Du Mond and Will Howe Foote) and in 1904, also in Old Lyme and Cos Cob with the same instructors." Foote's painting, *Cos Cob Shipyard*, dated 1903, is the only evidence that either artist visited Cos Cob in those years.

[3] The date of the Hassams' departure is given in a letter from Constant Holley MacRae (Cos Cob) to Josephine Holley (Rock, Mass.), December 2, 1902; HSTG.

[4] For a discussion of *The Mill Pond, Cos Cob* in the context of other images of the railroad, see chapter five.

[5] Kathleen Burnside, *Childe Hassam 1859-1935* (exh. cat., East Hampton, N.Y.: Guild Hall Museum, 1981), p. 22.

[6] See Doreen Bolger et al, *American Pastels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), pp. 66-69 for information on Weir's *Boats*.

[7] "John H. Twachtman," New York *Times*, August 9, 1902, p. 9, col. 5.

[8] Constant Holley MacRae to Elmer MacRae, March 17, 1904, reported that "Uncle Harry" had made a superb rarebit as well as his excellent salad dressing.

[9] Ella Winter and Granville Hicks, eds., *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), p. 154. The Setons were old friends of the Steffens family. Seton's wife, the writer and feminist Grace Gallatin Seton, had been a playmate of Steffens's sisters when they were growing up together in Sacramento.

[10] See The Junior League of Greenwich, *The Great Estates: Greenwich, Connecticut 1880-1930* (Canaan, N.H.: Phoenix Publishing, 1986), pp. 128-33.

[11] For records of Jaccaci's real-estate transactions, see Greenwich Town Hall land records, book 92, p. 16 and Book 123, p. 20. The larger parcel of the Jaccacis' land, 83.45 acres, was bounded on the north by Cognewaugh Road and on the south by Cat Road Road just beyond its intersection with Bible Street (map 182, Greenwich Town Hall). Jaccaci sold that parcel in 1909, retaining a parcel of 9.25 acres with a house off Bible Street (map 183).

[12] For a biographical sketch of Bacheller, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, supplement 4, pp. 38-39. For a description and photographs of his home, Thrushwood, see E. Bell, "Home of a Connecticut Author," *Country Life in America* 20 (July 1, 1911), pp. 43-45.

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[13] Elizabeth M. Loder, *D. Putnam Brinley, Impressionist and Mural Painter* (Published for the New Canaan, Conn. Historical Society and the Silvermine Guild of Artists by University Microfilms International, 1979), p. 1. Mrs. Loder generously gave copies of three Brinley family photographs to the HSTG.

[14] Harry M. Lounsbury and Katherine L. S. Lowell, *The Strickland Road Area* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Project, 1978), p. 44. Katherine Seymour Lowell (born 1895) grew up in the Captain Waring House on Strickland Road. She recalled that she and her brother posed for Smith's *The Story of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith* (1906) and other books, which she did not name. For Smith's contribution to children's books, see Barbara Bader, *American Picturebooks from Noah's Ark to the Beast Within* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 13-22, notes p. 573.

[15] Cather's friendship with Clara Davidge is mentioned in James Woodress, *Willa Cather: A Literary Life* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), pp. 210 and 258.

[16] In *The Song of the Lark*, one character, Landry, "was born, and spent the first fifteen years of his life, on a rocky Connecticut farm not far from Cos Cob . . . . The farmhouse, dilapidated and damp, stood in a hollow beside a marshy pond." (Willa Cather, *The Song of the Lark* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943], p. 536.) Katherine Seymour Lowell recalled "Willa Cather in her cape, passing the house, extending a courteous 'good morning.'" (Lowell and Lounsbury, p. 81.) J. Alden Weir's daughter also named Cather as a regular visitor to the Holley House (Young, p. 142).

[17] Cather also inscribed to Constant MacRae a book she had edited: *The Best Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett*, 2 vols., selected and arranged with a preface by Willa Cather (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925). The book is inscribed, "For Constant MacRae/with all good wishes/for the New Year. /Willa Cather / December 24 /1925." The MacRaes' books are in the collection of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

[18] "Ridgely Torrence, Poet and Editor, 75," *New York Times*, Dec. 26, 1950, p. 23.

[19] See Thomas A. Larremore, "An Exhibition of The Imprints of Frederick C. Bursch Sponsored by the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich," 1949; HSTG. Bursch published Randolph Hartley's *The Quest of Heart's Desire* and short pieces by Lincoln Steffens.

[20] Constant Holley MacRae (Cos Cob) to Josephine Holley (Rock, Mass.), November 24, 1902; HSTG.

[21] Constant Holley MacRae (Cos Cob) to Josephine Holley (Rock, Mass.), December 2, 1902; HSTG.

[22] Constant Holley MacRae (Cos Cob) to Josephine Holley (Rock, Mass.), October 28, 1902; HSTG.

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[23] Constant Holley MacRae (Cos Cob) to Josephine Holley (Rock, Mass.), October 28, 1902; HSTG.

[24] "A Jolly Time at Cos Cob," *Greenwich Graphic*, November 7, 1903, p. 1: 2.

[25] "The Great Writer on Graft," *Greenwich Graphic*, August 26, 1905, p. 1: 1-3. The *McClure's* series was published in book form in 1904 as *The Shame of the Cities.*

[26] Mina Fonda Ochtman (Cos Cob) to Dorothy Ochtman (Northampton, Mass.), June 2, 1911; Bruce Museum.

[27] Mina Fonda Ochtman (Cos Cob) to Dorothy Ochtman (Northampton), January 17 and March 5, 1912; October 26, November 13 and 21, 1911; Bruce Museum.

[28] See Leonard S. Clark, *Seton's Indians* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Interview, 1976) and "Saunterings about Town, *Greenwich Graphic*, July 14, 1906; Hubbard Scrapbook 4, p. 54; HSTG.

[29] "A Village of Rots and Spots," *New York Sun*, December 31, 1910.

[30] The other three members were George Barr Baker, Richard Lloyd Jones, and Julian Street. (Mead, p. 358.)

[31] "Lincoln Steffens on Corrupt Cities," *New Britain Daily Herald*, December 8, 1910, p. 8; "Greenwich Citizens Are Very Indignant," *New Britain Daily Herald*, December 13, 1910.

[32] "There Are Many People Would Like to Hear Steffens," *Greenwich Graphic*, December 17, 1910, p. 1, col. 6.

[33] Steffens, p. 596.

[34] *New York Herald*, December 30, 1910. Other accounts of the meeting are in the *Greenwich Press* ("Steffens Fails to Prove," January 6, 1911), the *New York American* ("Steffens Is Voted Down," December 31, 1910), and the *New York Sun* ("A Village of Rots and Spots," December 31, 1910). Steffens's triumphant version is given in *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, pp. 595-97. A more detailed account of Steffens's confrontation with the town is given in my essay, "The Muckraking of Greenwich," *The Greenwich Review* 36 (October 1983), pp. 50-53, 70.

[35] The definitive study of this group is William H. Gerdts et al, *Ten American Painters* (exh. cat., New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990).

[36] "Passing of the Long-Haired Artist," *Vogue* 39 (May 15, 1912), p. 29.

[37] "New Yorkers to Attend Art Exhibit at Cos Cob," *New York World*, October 9, 1908; MacRae Papers, HSTG.

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[38] "Society Views Works of Art Hung in Old Dutch Colonial Mansion," *New York Herald*, October 13, 1909; unpaged clipping, HSTG.

[39] Henry Tyrell, "Mr. Macrae's [sic] Art During Past Year Shown at Cos Cob," *New York Evening World*, October 8, 1910; unpaged clipping, HSTG.

[40] Information on MacRae's patronage is based on the artist's "Record of pictures sent to exhibitions, to stores, frames, sale of pictures, etc."; Archives, HSTG.

[41] "Support the New Museum," editorial, *Greenwich Press*, January 6, 1912; Bruce Museum archives.

[42] Leonard Ochtman (Cos Cob) to Dorothy Ochtman (Northampton, Mass.), May 7, 1911; Bruce Museum. The 1913 *American Art Annual* confirms that the Greenwich Society of Artists was organized on April 30, 1911.

[43] The organization, which changed its name to the Greenwich Art Society in 1958, is still active. The Society's catalogues and memorabilia, preserved by Dorothy Ochtman and, more recently, Sue Dunlap, are in the Archives of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. Some additional material is in the Bruce Museum archives.

[44] Florence Gotthold was elected secretary according to a newspaper account that also credited her with initiating the idea of the organization ("Artists Organize," *Greenwich News*, February 16, 1912; GSA Papers, HSTG). By the time of the first exhibition, however, MacRae was listed as secretary on the checklist and on the preview invitation.

[45] For more on the Milbanks, see *The Great Estates*, pp. 58-64.

[46] See Morrison H. Heckscher, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Architectural History," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 53 (Summer 1995), pp. 30-38.

[47] See my essay, "From Scapegoats to Mascots: The New York Public Library Lions" in Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster, eds., *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), pp. 189-98.

[48] Stokes, mistakenly identified as a Port Chester resident, joined the Society in January 1913 ("Society of Artists Elects New Members," unidentified Greenwich paper, January 24, 1913; GSA Papers, HSTG).

[49] See *The Great Estates*, pp. 6-9.

[50] For Innis Arden, see *The Great Estates*, pp. 22-25; for Sabine Farm, see pp. 170-73.

[51] See *The Great Estates*, pp. 122-27, 118-21, and 186-89.

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52 See *The Great Estates*, pp. 110-13. Working with landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Stokes developed a plan for a residential development on his 177-acre property, which he called Khakum Wood (1925).

53 See *The Great Estates*, pp. 72-75.

54 See *The Great Estates*, pp. 146-49. Dunnellen Hall is now the home of Leona Helmsley. For Tubby's buildings in New York City, see Elliot Willensky and Norval White, *AIA Guide to New York City* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988). Tubby was also the architect of the Greenwich Library's 1928 building.

55 "Artists Organize."

56 "Permanent Gallery Collection Greenwich Artists Hope," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 18, 1913; , GSA Papers, HSTG.

57 "Artists' Exhibition Proves Grand Success," *Greenwich Press*, October 4, 1912; GSA Papers, HSTG.

58 See also "Greenwich Artists Have Very Fine Exhibition," *Greenwich Graphic*, October 4, 1912; GSA Papers, HSTG.

59 "The Artists' Exhibit," *Greenwich Press*, October 4, 1912, p. 8; GSA Papers, HSTG.

60 "Art Exhibit at Bruce Museum/Reviewed For the Press By a Local Artist," *Greenwich Press*, October 4, 1912, p. 4; GSA Papers, HSTG.

61 "Greenwich Artists Exhibition At the Bruce Art Museum," *Greenwich Graphic*, December 6, 1912; GSA Papers, HSTG. Though this source refers to a catalogue, none is extant for this exhibition. The newspaper report includes lists of GSA members and works included in the exhibition.

62 "Greenwich Artists Exhibition At the Bruce Art Museum."

63 "Artist's [sic] Exhibit at Bruce Art Gallery," *Greenwich Graphic*, September 19, 1913, p. 1: 6 and p. 4: 2; and "Permanent Gallery Collection Greenwich Artists Hope," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 18, 1913; both, GSA Papers, HSTG. The 1914 American Art Annual also reports this exhibition.

64 "Artist's Exhibit."

65 The jury is listed in "Artists Exhibit at Bruce House," *Greenwich Graphic*, September 12, 1913; GSA Papers, HSTG. The most complete account of the exhibition is "Exhibit of Designs by Architects," *Greenwich Graphic*, November 7, 1913, p. 1: 4.

66 Years later, Platt designed the Soldiers Memorial Monument at the

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Greenwich Post Office Plaza to honor local people who had served in World War I. The obelisk was dedicated on November 11, 1927. Another guest exhibitor, D. Everett Waid, donated the land for the Perrot Library in Old Greenwich and designed the building *gratis*. The library was erected in 1930.

[67] For more information on Walker, see Doreen Bolger Burke, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. III (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 332-35.

[68] According to the *Greenwich News*, "All the paintings except a very few are for sale and those who desire to buy will be furnished with the price by Perk Van Lith, who is well known to all who attend gallery exhibits in New York, and who will be in charge of the present exhibit at all times." ("Art Exhibit," *Greenwich News*, June 19, 1914; GSA Papers, HSTG.)

[69] Biographical information on Bigelow is from his entry in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, pp. 104-6; archives, Bruce Museum.

[70] Paul Griswold Howes, *The Bruce Museum: The First Fifty Years* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Project, 1978), pp. 1-2.

[71] That organization had no connection with the present Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, which was founded in 1931.

[72] For a fuller discussion of the Pastellists, see Doreen Bolger et al, *American Pastels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), pp. 20-21, and my essay in the exhibition catalogue, *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House* (Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich and the Bruce Museum, 1990), pp. 35-37. See also the following note.

[73] The first two Pastellists' exhibitions were held at the Folsom Galleries on Fifth Avenue in January and December 1911. The third, not designated on the checklist as a Pastellists exhibition, was mounted at the Powell Art Gallery on Sixth Avenue from February 19 to March 9, 1912. A final exhibition, listed in the *American Art Annual* as the Pastellists' fourth, was held at the National Arts Club from February 5 to about March 7, 1914 (Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual* 11 [New York: American Federation of Arts, 1914], p. 255). The checklists for all four exhibitions are in the Archives of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. In my MacRae exhibition catalogue (1990), I disputed Doreen Bolger's statement that the 1912 and 1914 exhibitions were projects of the Pastellists. Further research proves me wrong. The designation of the 1914 exhibition as the Pastellists' fourth implies that the 1912 show at the Powell Art Gallery was the third. The dates given for the 1914 exhibition vary: on the checklist, they are given as February 5 to March 7; in *American Art News* (vol. 12, January 31, 1914, p. 6) as February 5 to 30; and in the *American Art Annual* as February 4 to 21.

[74] Clipping without headline, *New York Sun*, February 25, 1912; HSTG.

[75] The indispensable authority on this subject is Milton Brown, *The Story of*

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the Armory Show (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988). Brown's primary materials were Walt Kuhn's secretarial records and MacRae's financial records. The MacRae Papers, discovered after the artist's death in the barn of the Holley House, were sold to the late Joseph H. Hirshhorn by the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich to help raise money to restore the house. They can be consulted at the Archives of American Art. An additional small body of Armory Show materials can be examined by appointment at the Archives, HSTG.

76 Letter from Elmer MacRae to Bernard Karpel, librarian, Museum of Modern Art, November 29, 1951; HSTG.

77 Brown, p. 59.

78 According to Brown, p. 82, "it was Kuhn, MacRae, Pach, and Gregg who handled most of the day-to-day activity" of organizing the Armory Show.
At least one of the AAPS's board meetings was held at the Holley House, that on July 17, 1912, attended by Taylor, Borglum, Kuhn, Davies, Myers, John Mowbray-Clarke, and MacRae (guest book, archives, HSTG).

79 Brown, p. 83. Walt Kuhn, Arthur B. Davies, and Walter Pach had chosen the European exhibits.

80 For Gloucester see William H. Gerdts, "John Twachtman and the Artistic Colony in Gloucester at the Turn of the Century" in *Twachtman in Gloucester* (chapter 3, note 1). For Monhegan, see Sarah L. Fasoldt, "Monhegan: One Hundred Years of Island Painting," *Down East* 31 (August 1984), pp. 78-88, 120, 122. The best published history of the Silvermine art colony is in Elizabeth M. Loder's *D. Putnam Brinley Impressionist and Mural Painter* (1979), p. 13 ff. Brinley's papers are on microfilm at the Archives of American Art. They cover the Silvermine Guild (est. 1922) but include no information on the Knockers' exhibitions (1907-22). The Silvermine Guild is in the process of organizing its archives. Unfortunately, they do not seem to have any material on the Knockers.

81 Steffens, p. 436. For more on "the Murphys," see Appendix 1.

82 Richard Le Galliene, *Woodstock* (Woodstock, N. Y.: Woodstock Art Association, 1923). Better sources on this colony are Karal Ann Marling, *Woodstock: An American Art Colony 1902-1977* (exh. cat., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College Art Gallery, 1977) and *Woodstock's Art Heritage: The Permanent Collection of the Woodstock Artists Association* (Woodstock, N. Y.: Overlook Press, 1987).

83 For Chase's own work on Long Island, see D. Scott Atkinson and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *William Merritt Chase: Summers at Shinnecock 1891-1902* (exh. cat., Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987). For Chase's summer school, see William H. Gerdts, "The Teaching of Painting Out-of-Doors in America in the Late Nineteenth Century," *In Nature's* Ways (exh. cat., West Palm Beach: Norton Gallery of Art), p. 33.

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[84] For more on those exhibitions, see Ronald G. Pisano, "The Shinnecock Summer School of Art, 1891-1902" in *The Students of William Merritt Chase* (exh. cat., Huntington, N.Y.: Heckscher Museum and Southampton, N.Y.: Parrish Art Museum, 1973), p. 7.

[85] Elmer MacRae (New York) to Constant Holley (Cos Cob), December 3, 1897; MacRae Papers, HSTG. MacRae also refers to the exhibition in his letters of December 1 and 2.

[86] Barbara J. MacAdam, *Clark G. Voorhees 1871-1933* (exh. cat., Old Lyme: Florence Griswold Museum, 1981). Voorhees first visited Old Lyme in 1896, but the colony did not form until Henry Ward Ranger recruited friends to spent the summer of 1900 with him there. The best account of the Old Lyme art colony is Jeffrey W. Andersen's essay, "The Art Colony at Old Lyme," in *Connecticut and American Impressionism*, pp. 114-41.

[87] Related by Nelson C. White to Jeffrey W. Andersen and quoted in Andersen, "The Art Colony at Old Lyme," in *Connecticut and American Impressionism,* p. 125.

[88] For an overview of Hassam's work in Cos Cob, Old Lyme, and Branchville, see Kathleen Burnside, *Childe Hassam in Connecticut* (exh. cat., Florence Griswold Museum and Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, 1987). For Browne's and Talcott's work in Lyme, see Jeffrey W. Andersen and Barbara J. MacAdam, *Old Lyme: The American Barbizon* (exh. cat., Florence Griswold Museum, 1982).

[89] "The Mystic Art Colony," *The American Magazine of Art* 21 (August 1930), pp. 458-59. See also *A Time to Remember: Art and Artists of the Mystic, Connecticut Area 1700-1950* (Mystic Art Association, 1976).

[90] I am grateful to Gabrielle Robinson of the Mystic Art Association for providing me with the 1920 exhibition checklist.

[91] Loder, pp. 14-15.

[92] See Dorothy Tarrant and John Tarrant, *A Community of Artists: Westport-Weston 1900-1985* (Westport, Conn.: Westport-Weston Arts Council, 1985).

[93] Letter from Lars de Lagerberg to Richard Howland, March 16, 1959; HSTG. Florence Lucius later married sculptor Jo Davidson.

[94] Shelley Armitage, *Kewpies and Beyond: The World of Rose O'Neill* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), p. 45.

[95] See Barbara Ball Buff, *The Artists of Bronxville 1890-1930* (exh. cat., Yonkers, N. Y.: Hudson River Museum, 1989) and Loretta Hoagland, *Lawrence Park: Bronxville's Turn-of-the-Century Art Colony* (Bronxville, N. Y.: Lawrence Park Hilltop Association, 1992).

[96] Letter from Lars de Lagerberg (Wading River, Long Island) to Richard H.

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Howland (National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.), March 16, 1959; HSTG. "Mr. Hewitt" was probably the architect and etcher, Edward S Hewitt.

97 These dates are supported by the dates assigned Eby's Cos Cob images in the New York Public Library's collection of his prints. Bernadette Passi Giardina's catalogue raisonné of Eby's prints will soon be published. I am grateful to her for information on dates, edition sizes, and variations.

98 Telephone interview with Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage, February 4, 1994.

99 The two basic references for Hassam's etchings are Royal Cortissoz, *Catalogue of the Etchings and Dry-Points of Childe Hassam, N. A.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925) and *Handbook of the Complete Set of Etchings & Drypoints of Childe Hassam, N. A.* (New York: Leonard Clayton Gallery, 1933). The Clayton catalogue, compiled by Paula Eliasoph, is an expansion of Cortissoz's. Both writers relied heavily on Hassam's own account. A useful survey of Hassam's prints, including lithographs (a medium he did not use in Cos Cob) is Doreen Bolger Burke and David W. Kiehl, *Childe Hassam as Printmaker* (exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977). Bernadette Giardini kindly informed me of Eby's working methods, which he explains in his article, "Etching—Part II: Technique," *Print* 2 (Summer 1941), pp. 41-51. Eby transferred his preliminary sketch to the copper plate. The exact correspondence between Hassam's drawing for *The Steps* and the finished print indicate that he also used some method of transfer.

100 Hassam's etching is closely related to his pastel *The Old Holly House* (1902, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). It is even more similar to a photograph of the Holley House that appeared in Frederick A. Hubbard's *Other Days in Greenwich* (New York: J. F. Tapley Co., 1913), p. 314. When Hassam's image is reversed, as it would have been while he worked on the etching plate, it is almost identical to the photograph.

101 Carl Zigrosser, *A World of Art and Museums* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1975), p. 19. I am grateful to Reba Williams for providing me with this reference. See also *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Etchings and Dry Points by Childe Hassam* (exh. cat., New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., November 1915).

102 Kathleen Burnside, *Childe Hassam in Connecticut* (exh. cat., Greenwich and Old Lyme: HSTG and Florence Griswold Museum, 1987), pp. 18-19. Kathleen Burnside is writing her doctoral dissertation on Hassam's watercolors.

103 In France, Eby made drawings that he converted to etchings after the war. For more on this aspect of his career, see R. J. Wickenden, *The Etchings of Kerr Eby* (New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1926).

104 Loder, p. 31 ff.

105 Though it was the Society's first since the Third Annual in 1914, the 1919 exhibition was, surprisingly, not designated the Fourth Annual.

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106 "The Art Exhibit," *Greenwich News and Graphic*, September 12, 1919; GSA Papers, HSTG.

107 A valuable reference on the Arts and Crafts movement is Wendy Kaplan et al, *"The Art that is Life": The Arts & Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920* (exh. cat., Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987). The authors expertly relate the Arts and Crafts Movement to the Colonial Revival, Japanism, the Aesthetic Movement, and other strands in the fine and decorative arts.

108 No dates are printed on the exhibition checklist. The closing date is written on the copy in the HSTG Archives. The beginning date is implied in two newspaper reports: "Current Art Notes," *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1920, and "Summer Art Shows in Nearby Resorts," *New York Sun*, June 20, 1920; both, GSA Papers, HSTG.

109 Borglum and Beach are not listed in the exhibition checklist, which notes, "Other pieces of sculpture, received too late to be included in the catalog, are labelled." The information on the sculpture is from "Sculpture and Arts and Crafts at Bruce Museum," *Greenwich Press*, June 17, 1920; GSA Papers, HSTG.

110 "Paintings in Greenwich Art Exhibition," *Greenwich Press*, May 27, 1920; GSA Papers, HSTG. It was not the first time photographs had been shown at the GSA. In 1919, Strazza had shown, in addition to three bronzes, a photograph listed as *Homeward Bound*. This was probably not a photograph as art, however, but a photograph of art. In 1920, A. J. Norris exhibited photographs as well as ornamental plaster work; the former were probably documents of completed architectural decorations. Mary Robinson, on the other hand, exhibited photographs as independent works of art.

111 "Art Exhibition at Greenwich," *New York Times*, June 20, 1920; GSA Papers, HSTG. A reference to "the eight pictures of the permanent collection" is in "Paintings in Greenwich Art Exhibition." The price of the paintings is given in "Pictures for Bruce," *Greenwich News & Graphic*, October 17, 1919; GSA Papers, HSTG.

112 For more on Edward Clark Potter's Bolling Memorial, see my essay, "A Tale of Two Sculptures," *Greenwich* 47 (March 1994), pp. 50-60.

113 "Saunterings about Town," *Greenwich Graphic*, August 25, 1906; Hubbard Scrapbooks, vol. 4, p. 57; HSTG.

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Chapter Four

Of Time and Tide:

Theodore Robinson and the Nautical Landscape

> The shore is somewhat deeply indented with bays and small harbors . . . . The traveler has frequent glimpses of the sound, and catches the occasional gleam of sails through a vista of forest trees.
> (*Hand Book . . . of the N. Y. & N. H. Railroad*, 1871.)[1]

As the train from New York approached Cos Cob, artists and writers on their way to the Holley House enjoyed a preview of the scenery that had attracted them there. Oyster sloops dredged the beds around the islands off the Greenwich shore. Fishermen hauled lobster traps into catboats or dories, pausing, perhaps, to wave to a schooner ferrying produce from Greenwich farms to the city. Farther out on the Sound, a cluster of white sails might mark the progress of a regatta. Once they arrived in Cos Cob, the art colonists lived in a village where boats were more numerous than buggies. Little wonder, then, that sailing craft became one of their major themes.

The Cos Cob artists were not strictly speaking marine painters, with the partial exception of James Gale Tyler. Tyler, a long-time Greenwich resident and member of the Greenwich Society of Artists, specialized in highly detailed portraits of specific vessels (fig. 4.1). He modified his style under the influence of Impressionism, but those paintings were never as successful as his earlier, meticulously detailed works.

At the opposite extreme from Tyler's precise ship portraits was John

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Twachtman's *Sailing in the Mist* (fig. 4.2). The iconic quality of this image is evident in its format, composition, and brushwork. The square canvas is divided vertically in half by the mast of a catboat, which moves on a diagonal into the distance. Sea and sky merge into one hazy, mysterious beyond. Twachtman's treatment of the sailing theme is fundamentally different from that of the great American realists Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins. Homer's *Breezing Up* (1876, National Gallery of Art) and Eakins's *Starting Out after Rail* (ca. 1874, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) are celebrations of modern leisure, imbued with the exuberant optimism of the Centennial period.[2] *Sailing in the Mist*, on the other hand, is symbolic, recalling such works as Thomas Cole's *Voyage of Life*, Caspar David Friedrich's *Wanderer above the Mists*, and Arnold Böcklin's *Island of the Dead* (figs. 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5). Life as a metaphorical voyage, the soul as a solitary wanderer, and mist as the visual equivalent of mystery: these concepts link Twachtman to the Romantics. The powerful mysticism of *Sailing in the Mist* derived from its personal meaning to the artist. Decades later, an elderly friend of the family told me that Twachtman called the work *Elsie Sailing*, and painted it after his eight-year-old daughter, Elsie, died of scarlet fever in January 1895.[3] The artist expressed his grief in this image of a lone figure sailing into the impenetrable fog. The horizonless void may also reflect his conflicted beliefs about mortality and the afterlife.

Intending neither to celebrate the glories of sail nor to use the boat as a spiritual symbol, the other Cos Cob artists did not depict isolated vessels at sea

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as Tyler and Twachtman had done. Instead, Theodore Robinson, Childe Hassam, and their colleagues depicted boats in relation to the built and natural environment. In these nautical landscapes, as I call them, they recorded the dynamics of change and their own ambivalent attitudes toward it.

More than any other colony artist, Robinson devoted himself to the nautical theme. In the summer of 1894, he spent seven weeks in Cos Cob, producing about twelve paintings—ranked among his finest—all of which include sailboats.[4] For Robinson, who agonized over the thematic alternatives represented by America and France, the subject had profoundly nationalist resonance, as revealed in careful study of the economic, social, and cultural context of the water traffic that so fascinated him in Cos Cob.

Robinson recorded his first impressions of his new sketching ground on June 7: "Walked around by the R. R. bridge to Mianus and back. Some fine things—little white boats near the Sound." He was so pleased with the surroundings that while he was in New York the following day, he suggested to Archie Chanler, a prosperous friend who speculated in real estate, that he buy a house in Cos Cob for the two of them. Chanler agreed, Robinson noted jubilantly in his diary, "and I am to look for one. He said he would leave it to me in his will!" Buoyed with this promise, Robinson hurried back to Cos Cob to make his first sketch of the season, "a boat with shore beyond, sunlight, 5 to 6 p.m."[5]

From that first sketch, Robinson devoted himself to the nautical theme. The Vermont-born, Wisconsin-bred artist had spent little time near the shore,

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and his new-found fascination with the delicate geometry of masts and rigging, with the play of light on water, is evident in the works he produced in Cos Cob. Two small oil sketches show him experimenting with his new subject (figs. 4.6 and 4.7). A nearly-square format, cool tonalities and a high horizon lend a quiet intimacy to *Sloop Cove*, while the horizontals of *Sloop and Dinghy* convey a spaciousness belying the picture's small size.

Almost as quickly as he had discovered his subject, Robinson found his favorite vantage point: the Mianus River railroad bridge. Sometimes he stood under the bridge, sometimes on the pedestrian walkway that paralleled the tracks and offered a bird's-eye view of the mill pond, the Mianus River and Long Island Sound. He described the view in his diary entry of June 9: "Pretty view of Coscob from the RR bridge—low tide—the river making a serpentine wind, a schooner, and the boat-yards etc. behind. Charming, misty sunlight." In choosing the vantage point of the bridge, Robinson positioned himself between two eras. He looked across the river at the Riverside Yacht Club, which exemplified leisure boating and the future of the town of Greenwich. He looked back at the Palmer & Duff Shipyard, the focus of the working boating that represented the community's fast-disappearing past. The bridge where he placed his easel served the agent of change, the railroad.

The first train crossed the newly completed Mianus River bridge in 1848. Within a half-century, the railroad would transform Greenwich from a farming and fishing community to a suburb of New York. No place in the town's forty-eight square miles reflected this transformation more

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dramatically than the spot Robinson had chosen. Organized recreational boating, like that at the Riverside Yacht Club, was the province of New Yorkers for whom the railroad made the coastal community readily accessible. As a New York newspaper observed in 1894, "Greenwich is a famous yachting resort, and there is nothing pleasanter than being able to come to town in the morning, knowing that at night it will be possible to board one's yacht within one hour from the office."[6] But while the railroad facilitated yachting, it threatened commercial water traffic. First, the trains captured much of the freight-hauling business from the old packet boats. A farmer who wanted to ship a perishable product like milk to city markets would find the daily train service preferable to the boats, which sailed no more than three times a week, not at all in stormy weather. Before long, that same farmer would realize that the convenient rail link to New York made his land more valuable as residential building lots than as fields and pasture.

The transformation was gradual, however, and when Robinson discovered his new nautical theme in the summer of 1894, past and future were in delicate equilibrium. Organized recreational boating was new to the Greenwich area, and on the rise. Occupational boating was as old as the town itself, and on the decline. The scales would soon tilt, elevating recreational boating and plummeting occupational boating, but while Robinson painted at the railroad bridge, the two elements were precariously balanced. Robinson reflected this fragile equipoise by devoting virtually equal time to the twin facets of Cos Cob's nautical life. It is only by scrutinizing his subjects that the

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tensions of change are revealed.

Leisure boating is most fully represented by *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club* (fig. 4.8), which shows the turreted clubhouse at the left and about twenty sloops and catboats in the middle ground and distance.[7] The club was established in 1888; its first clubhouse opened the following year. Just the autumn before Robinson painted this view, the clubhouse was expanded with the addition of a "spar loft," whose circular tower was a landmark up and down the Mianus River and along Long Island Sound (fig. 4.9).[8] The yacht club's rapid growth attests to the changing local population. From 40 members with 10 boats in 1889, the club had swelled to 196 members with 67 boats in 1894.[9] Most of the members were New Yorkers who lived in Greenwich only during the summer; among them was art collector H. O. Havemeyer.

Membership in the Riverside Yacht Club was beyond the means of most artists. In 1894, when Robinson's total income was $1080,[10] the club's initiation fee was $25 and annual dues were $15. The club's expense and predominantly out-of-town membership might have made it an object of disdain by the Cos Cob art colony but for two factors: the widespread availability of leisure boating and the artists' ties to certain club members.

Boating had long been a casual recreation for the town's oldtimers. The first yacht race on Long Island Sound was a contest between two packet boats, the *Stella* out of Cos Cob and the *Abeel* out of Huntington, Long Island.[11] Oystermen, too, sometimes raced on weekends, and farmers borrowed workboats for Sunday picnics. Summer visitors enthusiastically joined in the

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sport, renting boats at one of the docks around town.[12] Many of the hotels provided boats for their guests, and even sponsored interhotel regattas before the yacht clubs were established.[13] Artists and writers were equally keen to get out on the water. Leonard Ochtman settled near the Mianus River partly for the opportunity of boating. Twachtman kept a dory for his children on the brook near their home. Robinson and Hassam enjoyed sailing and rowing in Cos Cob. Even the summer students could go boating. In an article published in 1899, one of them enthused, "there is plenty of amusement, with bicycles for land and boats on the water."[14]

Since the community offered plentiful, inexpensive opportunities for boating, the Riverside Yacht Club was not seen as monopolizing access to this popular sport. The ties between several club members and the art colony further ensured that it would not be subject to the colonists' reverse snobbery. The strongest link was Edward L. Holley, whose sister, Constant, performed in the tableaux that were a feature of the club's entertainment.[15] Another tie was Dr. E. H. Brinley of Riverside, whose son, D. Putnam Brinley, would study under Twachtman at the Art Students League. (The younger Brinley painted a nocturnal view of the club, *Midsummer Moonlight* [private collection], in 1910.) Lincoln Steffens, who protested so vehemently the "successful New Yorkers" invading the art colony's territory, not only joined the yacht club but bought a house nearby. Evidence of the club's cosmopolitanism that would have appealed to the artists was the admission of two new members in 1894: Rioichiro Arai and Toyo Murai, prosperous Japanese silk merchants who had

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built impressive shingle-style houses near the club the previous year. The Japanese families, who lived just across the railroad bridge from Cos Cob, may already have been friends of the art colonists.[16]

The Riverside Yacht Club was a popular landmark. Ernest Lawson may have been the first of the Cos Cob artists to choose it as a subject. His *Yacht Club—Night, Greenwich* probably dates from 1892 or 1893, when he was a member of Twachtman and Weir's summer class (fig. 4.10). For all of the artists, the stylish clubhouse was a popular destination for an evening row or a Sunday drive. Robinson noted exuberantly in his diary on July 1, 1894, "A wonderful morning—misty and bright sunlight. We drove to the Riverside Yacht Club. Yachts with sails up, brilliant, beautiful."

Robinson's delight in the subject is evident in his painting, *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club* (see fig. 4.8). "Am getting well and strong and work with interest—especially from the R.R. Bridge, late afternoon," he recorded on June 19. "The club-house and little yachts at anchor, low tide, patches of sea grass. It is particularly brilliant at about 5 p.m." He was, for the most part, faithful to the material facts, including even the boulder to the left of the clubhouse where children basked after a swim. The wood shingles of the remodelled clubhouse are so new that they have not yet weathered to a silvery gray; they glow, fresh and golden, in the late-afternoon sun. The red-brick building to the right is rendered more generally than the clubhouse, balancing it without distracting from it. In Robinson's hands, the structure appears to be a fine residence or another yacht club when, in fact, it was a factory that had stood

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empty for twenty-four years. It had housed the Continental Mower & Reaper Company from 1865-67 and a cottonseed oil plant from 1867-70, when the business failed and the building was abandoned.[17] To Robinson's contemporaries, the derelict factory symbolized the community's gentrification. An article published in 1891 recalled that New Yorker George I. Tyson had bought the thirty-odd acres surrounding the industrial building, built his own handsome summer residence, had a road laid, sold off lots for homes, and established the Riverside Yacht Club. As a result, the reporter exulted, "today that portion of Riverside that twenty years ago was designed for factory purposes is one of the most attractive residence portions of this town."[18] Robinson endows the abandoned factory with a spurious vitality by depicting smoke emerging from its chimney. Moreover, he associates the industrial building with the yacht club by making the smoke mimic the burgee flying from the club's new tower.

Robinson emphasized some elements of his composition and altered others to create a strong design. The masts that play across the canvas like notes on a sheet of music are exaggerated in height. On the three nearest boats, a break in the brushstroke or a dab of white paint suggests that Robinson first depicted the masts accurately, later heightened them. Had he left them at their original height, they would have stopped just short of the horizon. Extending them, he linked water, earth, and sky. The central mast and its faint reflection in the moist river bottom nearly bisects the canvas—a bold strategy undoubtedly inspired by Japanese prints. A landscape by

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Hiroshige in Weir's collection (fig. 4.11) employs a tree just as Robinson used the central mast in *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club.*

The tide of Robinson's title is a natural metaphor of change, which he exploited by creating at least four variants of the image. The river bottom in the foreground of *The Anchorage* (fig. 4.12) is so saturated with water that blue puddles reflect the sky. The river has receded farther in *Low Tide* (fig. 4.13), leaving the marsh grass flattened, though the sand is still wet enough to reflect the masts of the nearest boats. Robinson experimented with the same scene at high tide in the small sketch *Yacht Club Basin* (fig. 4.14). Apparently preferring the dynamism of flux, he did not develop this version into a larger work.

Robinson never recorded using a camera in Cos Cob, probably because he reserved it for figural works. However, he employed a photographic effect in *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club*, indicating motion by blurring forms (see fig. 4.8). The pentimento surrounding the sail on the right suggests that he originally intended to show it in profile. Instead, he depicted it obliquely. The reduced area of white prevents the sail from upsetting the sensitively balanced design, while the ghostly halo creates a blur that suggests a tacking boat.

The convincing rendition of transient effects—the moving boat, ebbing tide, slanting sun, shimmering reflections—connect Robinson's *Low Tide* to the paintings of Claude Monet, whose exploration of the nautical theme twenty years earlier may have predisposed Robinson to embrace the subject.[19]

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Ironically, Robinson became artistically closest to Monet when he left France. In their emphasis on the figure, most of his Giverny paintings betray his fidelity to his academic training. In Cos Cob, however, he minimized or eliminated the figure to explore fleeting effects of light. Just as Monet had recorded the shifting sunlight on the facade of Rouen cathedral in a series Robinson greatly admired, the American artist produced several variants of this scene of leisure boating. Monet had stood in the middle of a highway bridge for one view of the boat basin at Argenteuil (fig. 4.15); Robinson attained the same high viewpoint by setting his easel on the Mianus River railroad bridge.

Like Monet, Robinson usually showed boats without people. One that does include a prominent figure, *The Anchorage, Cos Cob* (fig. 4.16), is strikingly similar to twin paintings by Monet and Renoir, painted side by side in 1874 (figs. 4.17 and 4.18). Like the older painters, Robinson depicts a fully-rigged sailboat at the end of a small wooden dock that projects diagonally into the composition. He places his pier higher than his predecessors, thus raising the horizon and incorporating the reflection of the entire sail. While Monet and Renoir conceal the juncture of dock and land with a clump of grass, Robinson zigzags abruptly, filling the lower-left corner with a quickly-brushed section of planking. This device seems directly borrowed from a Hiroshige landscape in Weir's collection (see fig. 4.11), though such cropping was common in Japanese art. Robinson's painting is full of departures. The *facture* is far looser than customary for him, the freedom of handling

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expressing his exhilaration in the subject. Large, visible brushstrokes describe one sail filling with wind, another fluttering limply at dock. The comma-like stroke that depicts a distant boat resembles the conventional Japanese representation of a sail.

Robinson's new boldness is even more evident in a third painting of Cos Cob's pleasure craft, *Boats at a Landing* (see fig. 2.10), which dramatically reveals his adaptation of strategies derived from Japanese prints. (For an extended analysis of this painting, see Chapter 2.) It is difficult to pinpoint this picture's setting. No surviving landform visible from the railroad bridge matches the central band. Robinson may have moved to a different location to depict one of the private docks that punctuated the Mianus shore, or combined observation with memory, as he did for another painting of that pivotal summer.[20]

Pleasure craft like the boats at a landing represented only half of Cos Cob's nautical landscape. Standing at what he called "my bridge," Robinson turned from the yachts across the river to look back at the workaday craft around the Palmer & Duff Shipyard (see fig. 1.11). Just as he had painted several variants of *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club*, he also painted at least four views of the shipyard, shifting from one canvas to another as tides and light changed (fig. 4.19).[21] Working simultaneously on several canvases could be complicated, as he recorded on August 27: "Worked at the R. R. Bridge on two canvases—the wind very troublesome. The Shipyard—foreground of sea-grass, fine in color. It is difficult to get thro one of these canvases owing to the

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changing tides." But stimulated by Monet's example and cheered by the banter he overheard in the shipyard, Robinson persisted in the series approach.

Monet's influence did not extend to Robinson's new theme. While the French artist sometimes included commercial vessels in the background of his scenes of modern leisure, they are his primary subject in only one painting, *Men Unloading Coal* (1875, private collection, Paris). Robinson treated a similar subject in *Coal Schooner Unloading* (fig. 4.20), but he had probably never seen Monet's painting.[22] Instead, the theme of occupational boating was a natural extension of Robinson's predilection for scenes of rural life. His depictions of Cos Cob's workboats resonate with the canvases of another artist he admired, John Constable. In Constable's *Boat Building* of 1814 (fig. 4.21), the construction of a river barge is the focal point of a rural, waterfront village—just as Palmer & Duff's had long been the center of activity in Cos Cob. Robinson's pictures of workboats along the Mianus celebrate the same harmony of man working in nature as Constable's views of life along the Stour.[23]

A shipyard was established on the spit of land opposite the Holley House sometime before the Revolutionary War. Its cluster of buildings included a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, a sail loft, a paint shop, and a long shed under which a crew of carpenters hammered and planed to fashion new sailboats. John Duff bought the shipyard in December 1848, taking possession, he remembered later, the same day the first train ran over the nearby Mianus River bridge. Under the proprietorship of Duff and his partner, Denom

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Palmer, the shipyard became renowned on both shores of Long Island Sound for the fine packet boats built there.[24] (Ironically, the name of one of them, the *Locomotive*, celebrated the trains that eventually put it out of business.) By the 1880s, the yard no longer built boats but kept forty or fifty workmen busy repairing them. According to one account, "there might have been seen as many as twelve Sound packets lying just off the shore waiting their turn to be pulled on the ways for repair."[25] The type of vessels that came into the yard changed rapidly in the decade before Robinson arrived in Cos Cob. An article in 1882 reported that the work crew was unusually busy outfitting "coasters," or packet boats.[26] Just six years later, a column headlined "How the Business Has Changed" quoted Denom Palmer,

> "We have plenty of business, but it is curious to look back and see how it has changed. . . . We used to fit out many coasting vessels years ago, while comparatively few come here now. . . . That shows that the carrying trade has gone into other channels; probably railroads and steamboats. We are very busy though now our work is quite different. It is chiefly pleasure yachts and small steamboats that come into the yard now."[27]

That was in 1888, just six years before Robinson arrived in Cos Cob. It was also the year the Riverside Yacht Club was established, to be followed by two more clubs the following year.[28] At first, the changes did not hurt Cos Cob's rustic shipyard, because, as Palmer told the reporter, "yachtsmen are not sparing in the expense they put on their vessels." In time, however, the fine craftsmanship demanded by the yachtsmen exceeded the skills of carpenters accustomed to overhauling packet boats and oyster sloops. New boatyards with up-to-date machinery were established to meet the changing needs.[29]

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When Robinson was painting at the railroad bridge, Palmer & Duff's was in decline. The owners were in their seventies, their advanced age an intimation of the impending mortality of Cos Cob's traditional nautical life.[30] Local people already considered the place picturesque, which is usually a symptom of economic stagnation. In a description of Cos Cob published in 1894, a Greenwich journalist equated "the click of the carpenters' hammer in the ship-yard" with "the song of the robins" as cheerful wake-up sounds for the Holleys' boarders. "It's a great place to loiter in—Palmer & Duff's ship yard," the writer continued; "the 'ways' are ways of pleasantness, and all the paths are peace."[31]

The decline of Palmer & Duff reflected Greenwich's social and economic metamorphosis at the turn of the century. Several factors suggest that Robinson was aware of this transformation as he stood painting at the railroad bridge. In his diary notation for July 6, he carefully records the name of a vessel he sees: "A.m. under the bridge, a grey day ship-yard—it is fine as the tide begins to rise, showing patches of water and reflections of the James K. Polk." The *Polk*, which may be the large two-masted boat in *The Ship Yard, Cos Cob* (see fig. 4.19), symbolized a passing era to Robinson and his contemporaries. In 1894, when Robinson showed it on the ways, it was the only market boat still sailing between central Greenwich and New York City. Its sole surviving competitor, the *George and Edgar*, had abandoned the trade that year.[32] When the *Polk* made its own final run in 1897, a local newspaper eulogized it as "the last of the boats engaged in carrying produce to New York.

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Forty years ago there was business enough for four or five boats, but today there is not enough for one."[33]

Packet boats like the *James K. Polk* had been running between Greenwich and New York City for two centuries by the time Robinson arrived. In the mid-nineteenth century, they had sailed from three harbors: Cos Cob, Mianus (about one mile upriver from Cos Cob), and Rocky Neck in central Greenwich. They carried foot passengers, horses, and carriages, but their principal cargo was farm produce. Robinson was familiar with this type of vessel from his landlord in back-country Greenwich, Captain Lewis Augustus Merritt. "The old captain," as Robinson affectionately called him, was a member of the family that had dominated Rocky Neck's packet fleet for at least two generations. He and his brother Caleb had followed their father, Daniel, into the business. Among them, the Merritts had skippered at least five boats. In the summer of 1894, however, Lewis Merritt, Robinson's eighty-two-year-old landlord, had just died and Caleb, retired to his farm, was seventy-two.[34] Robinson had recorded amusing anecdotes about the old captain, empathized with his asthma, and depicted him with his oxen in one painting (see fig. 2.4). Always conscious of his own physical frailty, Robinson may have identified with Merritt and the fast-fading remnants of Cos Cob's nautical past.

The most visible such remnant was the Palmer & Duff Shipyard. At first glance, *The Ship Yard, Cos Cob* seems remarkably similar to *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club* (see figs. 4.19 and 4.8). Both paintings depict sailboats and buildings beyond a foreground of water and marsh grass. The gleaming white

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yachts in *Low Tide* are ship-shape, ready for a sail, however, while the dark work boats are hauled up for repairs. Their crippled condition is emphasized by the grass that separates them from the water. The buildings in the two paintings are also different: the clubhouse is new and stylish, while the boat sheds are as functional as barns.

Robinson's devotion to Cos Cob's nautical past is further revealed in *The E. M. J. Betty* (fig. 4.22). Not only did he title his painting after the vessel, but he made the lettering of its name unrealistically prominent. Just as the *James K. Polk* was the last market boat from Rocky Neck, the *E. M. J. Betty* was the last from Cos Cob. The *Betty* had made its final trip in 1890.[35] To portray it, Robinson moved his easel into the shipyard, setting it so close to the schooner that it looms over us and dwarfs the figures bent over the adjacent dinghy. Like Constable eighty years earlier, Robinson celebrates a small-scale artisanal trade integrated with life in a rural village. Like the English painter, he grants center stage to a traditional wooden boat (see fig. 4.21). But the canal barge in Constable's painting has not yet been launched, while the schooner in Robinson's is old, battered, half-stripped of its tarry shell.

In the years after Robinson's departure in 1894, the shipyard's decline was suggested even more emphatically by other colony artists. In 1906, the little-known printmaker Henry Winslow framed a view of the shipyard in the rough timbers of a wharf (fig. 4.23). Though it is a summer scene, the yard is completely deserted. In other images, the stillness of winter shrouds the ramshackle buildings. Twachtman set his easel on the boarding-house porch

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to depict the shipyard ghostly and silent in *Bridge in Winter* (fig. 4.24). Ernest Lawson chose the same subject and viewpoint for *River Scene in Winter* (fig. 4.25). In *Railroad Bridge, Winter* (fig. 4.26), dated 1907, Elmer MacRae juxtaposed the shipyard's barn-red sheds and a horse-drawn sleigh with a distant locomotive. The shipyard had shut down that year, and MacRae's picture contrasts the preindustrial landscape that attracted artists to Cos Cob with the trains that took them there—and destroyed what they had come to enjoy.

The shipyard and the packet boats were not the only elements of Cos Cob's nautical landscape that betokened a passing era. Oyster sloops like the one depicted by Childe Hassam in 1902 were also relics of the past (fig. 4.27). The oyster industry in Greenwich peaked in the 1880s, with more than twenty owners of oyster grounds and about one hundred workers. It began to decline about 1890.[36] Starfish, piracy, and water pollution have been blamed, but a study of the charts of the oyster grounds suggests that the determining factor was the near-feudal nature of the Greenwich industry. In contrast with the large, quadrilateral plots off other shoreline towns, the Greenwich charts disclose a crazy-quilt of oddly shaped beds, many of them very small. One owner's plots might be scattered over a wide area, separated by other jealously—and sometimes violently—guarded beds. This layout prevented efficient harvesting of the cultivated beds by steamboats. From the time Connecticut's oyster cultivators began converting from sail to steam, Greenwich lagged far behind other coastal communities, claiming only five of

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the ninety-four oyster steamers registered in the state in 1900. Greenwich oystermen continued to work their cultivated beds from sailboats or even dories. In addition, some people scraped out a living by dredging the natural beds, open to any state resident, from small, unmechanized craft.[37] While these traditional boats made the Greenwich shoreline more picturesque, they were a symptom of the local oyster industry's malaise. MacRae showed a steamboat undergoing repairs at Palmer & Duff's (fig. 4.28), but his colleagues ignored the relatively few modern boats.

Hassam painted *Oyster Sloop* (see fig. 4.27) from the upper porch of the Holley House. The empty sailboat is moored beside the shipyard, overgrown with weeds. A man in a yellow oilskin poles a dinghy toward the Sound. He looks up at the artist, perhaps to exchange greetings, as he disappears from the picture.

In depicting the declining commercial boating of Cos Cob, the artists consciously chose an American subject. Their paintings link them to a cultural attitude reflected in the local-color literature of the second half of the nineteenth century. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Pearl of Orr's Island* (1862), Celia Thaxter's *Among the Isles of Shoals* (1873), and Sarah Orne Jewett's stories of New England coastal life all have an elegiac tone, as if preserving folkways threatened with extinction. All of them depict the Yankee waterman as a hero. In Jewett's story, "A Bit of Shore Life" (1879) for example, the narrator "had a hearty liking for the good-natured fishermen, who were lazy and busy by turns, who waited for the wind to change, and waited for the tide to turn, and

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waited for the fish to bite, and were always ready to gossip about the weather, and the fish, and the wonderful events that had befallen them and their friends."[38] According to this description, which is typical of the genre, the fishermen are independent; they work according to natural rhythms, not an artificial timetable, and their work is hard but not demeaning. In their freedom, dignity, and independence, they embody qualities accepted as essentially American.

The literary waterman is usually an old salt, his antiquity an emblem of tradition and imminent demise. One of the central characters in *The Pearl of Orr's Island* is "an old man, with the peculiarly hard but expressive physiognomy which characterizes the seafaring population of the New England shores. [He has] a clear blue eye, evidently practised in habits of keen observation, white hair, bronzed, weather-beaten cheeks, and a face deeply lined with the furrows of shrewd thought and anxious care."[39]

The heroicizing of the Yankee sailor extended to the Greenwich press, which published a front-page account of a day on an oyster dredger in 1903.[40] The description of the captain identifies him with nature: "His eyes have caught the color of the water on a bright day, and his nature has partaken of the expansiveness of the limitless deep on which he spends his life." He possesses arcane, highly specialized knowledge that can mean life or death:

> If there is a storm coming (and he always knows whether there is or not) he knows where there is a safe harbor. . . . A sailboat miles off across the water, which to an inexperienced eye is merely a gray spot against the sky, tells him many things. He knows in some mysterious way 'by the cut of her jib' whether she is coming or going, whether empty or freighted with shells.

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This attitude toward the Yankee boatman is reflected in writing by and about the art colony. An article by one of the art colonists published in 1899 describes an elderly Cos Cob oysterman "who is called 'the sage' because he knows so much."[41] Another published the following year describes "the old sea-dogs" who hang around the shipyard watching the artists and freely offering their candid criticism: "the sort of criticsm that makes one blink a bit—just as a shower of sea spray might. . . ."[42] Lincoln Steffens, who was an enthusiastic but inept sailor, recounts running aground with a friend and sitting perplexed for an hour. When the rising tide freed them and they came ashore, Steffens relates, "an oysterman who had seen our distress said quietly to us, 'When you get stuck in the mud that-a way all you got to do is raise your centerboard a minute or so.'"[43] The oysterman in Steffens's account conforms to the literary stereotype: he knows a lot but says little, and when he does speak, his English is quaintly substandard.

These qualities are amplified in a children's book written and illustrated by art-colonist E. Boyd Smith. In *The Seashore Book* (1912), the retired sailor Captain Ben Hawes introduces the New York siblings Betty and Bob to the lore of the coast. "Bluff and hearty, and with no end of sea yarns. . . , he was more interesting to the children than the most fascinating book."[44] The setting, a town called Quohaug, boasts a major shipyard and a history of whaling and trade with China. Essentially, however, Cos Cob is a microcosm of the larger ports that inspired the fictional Quohaug. In fact, Captain Hawes uses small-

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scale maritime operations to introduce the city children to larger ones. Before their visit to the large shipyard, he takes them to a small one, similar to Palmer & Duff's, where he explains the rudiments of boatbuilding (fig. 4.29). There, Bob is so impressed by the carpenters constructing a fishing boat that he resolves to build one himself some day.

In the pastel illustrations of the picture book, class distinctions are vividly apparent. Captain Hawes's age and New England lineage mute the social discrepancy between him and his young charges, but a gaping chasm divides the well-bred city children and the local boy, Patsey Quinn. Patsey's Irish name signals that he is the social inferior of the unmistakably WASP Betty and Bob; even his shaggy yellow dog appears scruffy next to their sleek black-and-white terrier (fig. 4. 30). Patsey's lower status is visualized in his clothing: always barefoot, he wears a collarless red shirt and sloppily rolled-up trousers supported by a single suspender. Bob, on the other hand, is always well-dressed and almost always well-shod, even on the beach. His knee socks and knickerbockers are securely in place, and his immaculate white shirt is finished with a neat bow tie.

Though the Irish boy, whom Captain Hawes calls "a little water-rat," is the city children's social inferior, he far excels them in his knowledge of coastal life. He "knew just where the best clams and mussels were to be found, and where the crabs lived, and how to catch them. . . . Patsey taught his new friends how to fish, though they never got to be as good fishermen as he was." He also taught them the rudiments of swimming, but while "being in the water

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to him was much the same as being out of it," they learned only "to keep their heads above water."[45]

The social distinctions that underlie *The Seashore Book*—the differences between country- and cityfolk, Yankees and New Yorkers, immigrants and natives—are the same that pervaded the art colonists' relations with the Cos Cob locals. Even the locals' expertise is subtly undermined, as in the scene where the children and Captain Hawes watch the launching of a ship (fig. 4.31):

> With all sails set she was a beautiful sight; a gentle land breeze filled her sails, and slowly and gracefully she drew away, headed for the open sea . . . . Captain Hawes, with a sigh, told the children that probably that was the last square-rigged ship they were likely to see leaving this port, as the old-style ship was now almost a thing of the past.

This festive event reveals the specialized knowledge of shipbuilders and sailors to be passé. Emphasizing the obsolence of the sailing ship are the two white-bearded old men who observe its launch.

Back in Manhattan, the up-to-date Betty and Bob see the Hudson-Fulton Review:

> This was the latest development of sea power, great, massive steel vessels, with no sails, driven by steam. They were grandly impressive, but just wait till you hear Bob and Betty tell of Quohaug, and then you will know what ships with sails mean.[46]

What ships with sails mean, in both *The Seashore Book* and paintings by the art-colonists, is the past. Picturesque, graceful, rich in tradition, they nonetheless represent a passing era. Betty and Bob, like the art colonists, are

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moderns. At home in the city, they see the newest ships, heralds of a future to which they, but not the shoreline locals, belong.

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[1] *Hand Book and Business Directory of the N. Y. & N. H. Railroad* (Newburgh, N. Y.: Carter & Sutherland Publishing Co., 1871), p. 17.

[2] *Breezing Up* is reproduced in *Winslow Homer* by Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. and Franklin Kelly (exh. cat., Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), p. 144. *Starting Out after Rail* is reproduced in *Thomas Eakins: His Life and Art* by William Innes Homer (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992), p. 62. Cikovsky and Kelly argue that Homer revised an earlier version of this composition to incorporate symbolic referents to the nation's mood at the Centennial. Nonetheless, the painting is essentially a realist celebration of contemporary life.

[3] Mrs. Mary Filley, interview with the author, February 29, 1980. According to Mrs. Filley, who was a close friend of the Alden Twachtmans, Elsie was buried at first on the family property on Round Hill Road. At his father's request, Alden Twachtman later moved her remains to the family plot in Putnam Cemetery, Greenwich.

[4] Robinson was in Cos Cob from June 6 to July 10 and from August 22 to September 3, 1894. For a somewhat different version of my analysis of his boating pictures, see my essay, "Light, Time, and Tide: Theodore Robinson at Cos Cob," *American Art Journal* 23, number 2 (1991), pp. 74-108.

[5] Robinson's diary (Cos Cob), June 8, 1894.

[6] The *New York Mail and Express*, quoted in "Of Course," *Greenwich Graphic*, July 14, 1894, p. 1, col. 1.

[7] Catboats, whose single sail was set nearly at the prow of the broad-beamed hull, were themselves embodiments of change. Long used as dependable workboats, catboats were adopted by yacht clubs for their stability, roominess, and ease of handling. Some boats were recycled from occupational to recreational use. (Information courtesy of Edward Baker, Assistant Supervisor of Interpretation, Mystic Seaport Museum; Connecticut Humanities Council conference, November 5, 1994.) For more on catboats, see John Stilgoe, *Alongshore* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 145-54.

[8] Anthony Anable, *The History of the Riverside Yacht Club 1888-1972* (Riverside Yacht Club, 1974), pp. 8-9. Anable describes the spar loft as "an adjacent structure." However, comparison of photographs of the original 1889 clubhouse and those taken after the 1893 additions reveal that the main building was also substantially enlarged—most noticeably the verandahs and tower that are so prominent in Robinson's painting. The clubhouse Robinson depicted was demolished in 1928; the existing structure was built partly on the old foundations. (Anable, pp. 43-6.)

[9] The 1889 information is taken from "In Their Pretty Club House," *Greenwich Graphic*, June 29, 1889, p. 3, col. 3. The information for 1894 is derived from *Riverside Yacht Club, 1894*, a booklet published by the club that year listing officers, members, craft, constitution, and regulations. All further

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information on members is taken from that booklet, which is in the archives of the Riverside Yacht Club. I am grateful to club member Nancy Standard for her generous assistance in researching the archives.

[10] Robinson's diary (NYC), December 31, 1894.

[11] "The Cos Cob of the Past/Passing of a Shipyard," *Greenwich Graphic*, January 30, 1909, p. 1, cols. 1-3. This account does not give the year of the 300-mile race for a purse of $1,000. The *Stella* won.

[12] An advertisement in the *Greenwich Graphic*, June 17, 1882 (p. 3, col. 4) announces boats for rent by the hour, day, or week at Steamboat Dock in central Greenwich. Rowboats could be rented at the Lower Landing, according to Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage, who grew up there (letter to Susan Tritschler, then director of the HSTG, January 20, 1991).

[13] See for example "Yacht Race at Sound Beach," *Greenwich Graphic*, August 15, 1885, p. 5, col. 3.

[14] "An Art School at Cos Cob," *Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899), pp. 56-7.

[15] "Very Pretty Pictures," unidentified newspaper clipping (before 1900), Riverside Yacht Club archives. In both the clipping and the club's 1894 roster, Holley is spelled without an e, a common error. Some branches of the family, in fact, adopted that spelling.

[16] Though there is no documentation, it seems highly probable that the Japanophile art colonists met the Arais and Murais soon after they settled across the river from the Holley House. The houses built by the two Japanese families still stand on Glen Avon Road, a few doors from the house Steffens bought in 1905. In later years, Rioichiro Arai's daughter-in-law, Mitsu (Mrs. Yoneo Arai), was a close friend of Constant Holley MacRae. Rioichiro Arai was the grandfather of Mrs. Edwin O. Reischauer. See Haru Matsukata Reischauer, *Samurai and Silk* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

[17] Spencer P. Mead, *Ye Historie of ye Town of Greenwich* (1911; reprint Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1992), p. 344. The building was demolished by 1900 according to area maps.

[18] "The Riverside Yacht Club," *New York Journal*, September 16, 1891; Hubbard Scrapbook 2, p. 95, HSTG.

[19] For stimulating discussions of Monet's boating pictures, see Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 229-46, and Paul Hayes Tucker, *Monet at Argenteuil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), chapter 4.

[20] In his diary entry for June 30, 1894, while he was still in Cos Cob, Robinson recorded painting "a memory thing of the point at night—yachts, lights, etc." It is also possible that he painted *Boats at a Landing* after he left Cos Cob, as he did another night view of the yacht club for a watercolor exhibition

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(November 19, 1894). Robinson began at least two Port Ben canal scenes in his New York studio, using photographs he had taken as preliminary sketches (March 25, 1895 and Jan. 17, 1896).

21 Robinson's diary records his work on shipyard pictures on July 5 and 6 and August 25, 27, 28, and 30. According to these notations, he sometimes stood on the bridge, sometimes under it. The diary entries suggest that he painted at least two views of the shipyard as seen from under the bridge (one sunny, the other hazy) and at least one view of it from above, standing on the bridge. Baur listed three shipyard paintings with similar titles but different provenances and exhibition histories: *Ship Yard at Cos Cob* (18 x 22 inches; given by Robinson to Hamlin Garland in 1896; unlocated);*The Ship Yard* (fig. 4.19) and *Ship Yard—Cos Cob* (unlocated; no dimensions given in Baur catalogue).

22 Monet's *Men Unloading Coal* was in private collections from 1875. It was included in the fourth Impressionist exhibition (Paris, April 10 to May 11, 1879), but Robinson was probably in Italy at that time. See Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné* (Lausanne, Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1974), vol. 1, cat. no. 364. For Robinson's whereabouts in 1879, see John I. H. Baur, *Theodore Robinson* (exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum, 1946, reprinted in *Three Nineteenth Century American Painters* [New York: Arno Press, 1969]), p. 16.

23 Constable's *Boat Building* entered the collection of the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert) in 1857, but there is no record that Robinson ever visited London. He admired Constable, however (see diary entries for February 7 and October 28, 1893 and January 21, 1894), and shared his interest in agrarian labor. The issue of work in Constable's paintings is treated in John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), and Christiana Payne, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England 1780-1890* (exh. cat., New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1993).

24 "The Cos Cob of the Past."

25 "The Cos Cob of the Past."

26 "Coasters on the Ways," *Greenwich Graphic*, June 17, 1882, p. 3, col. 1.

27 "How the Business Has Changed," *Greenwich Graphic*, April 28, 1888, p. 2, col. 2.

28 The Indian Harbor Yacht Club and the Mianus Yacht Club were both established in 1889. (The Mianus Yacht Club no longer exists.) The Greenwich Casino Association, now the Belle Haven Club, also established in 1889, did not offer yachting until 1910.

29 One of the new boatyards, Joseph E. Montell's in Greenwich, was owned by a

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member of the Indian Harbor Yacht Club. Montell's built catboats not only for Indian Harbor but also for the Riverside Yacht Club. "Busy at Montell's Ship Yard," *Greenwich News*, April 20, 1906, p. 1, col. 2. See also "Busy at Yacht Yards," *Greenwich News*, December 25, 1908, p. 8, col. 4.

30 The shipyard was shut down in 1907 because of the owners' ages (Denom Palmer was 88 and John Duff was 83), according to Mead, p. 346. The 1909 article on the shipyard in the *Greenwich Graphic* ("The Cos Cob of the Past") refers to the recent sale of the property, but it was not revived as a shipyard.

31 "Our Summer Drives," *Greenwich Graphic*, May 19, 1894, p. 1, cols. 4-5.

32 Mead, p. 333.

33 "Talk of the Town," *Greenwich Graphic*, October 16, 1897, p. 5, col. 1. The *Polk* was apparently brought out of retirement for service between Mianus and New York. A receipt dated 1899 for packet service on the schooner is in the financial papers of Edward P. Holley (Archives, HSTG).

34 Lewis Merritt's age at his death, his full name, and his parentage were verified by the Greenwich Department of Vital Statistics (by telephone, November 14, 1990). The information on the Merritts' boats is based on Mead, pp. 333-4 and the obituary for Captain Caleb W. Merritt, *Greenwich Graphic*, March 4, 1899, p. 1, col. 2.

35 Mead, p. 333. Mead lists the vessel as the *E. M. J. Beatty*, but records at Mystic Seaport confirm that it was registered as the *E. M. J. Betty*.

36 Mead, pp. 355-6.

37 *Third Report of the Shell Fish Commissioners of the State of Connecticut*, 1884. The commissioners' annual reports are available at Pequot Library, Southport, Conn. See also "Oyster Business Once Flourished Here," *Greenwich Time*, June 29, 1953, p. 12, col. 1, and Clarence Chard, *Oystering* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Project, 1976).

38 Sarah Orne Jewett, "A Bit of Shore Life" in *Best Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett*, edited by Charles G. Waugh, Martin J. Greenberg and Josephine Donovan (Augusta, Maine: Lance Tapley, Publisher, 1988), p. 35.

39 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Pearl of Orr's Island* (Boston, 1884), p. 1. The book was so popular that by 1884 it was in its twenty-fourth edition. Theodore Robinson, a wide-ranging and avid reader, almost certainly knew of it. He enjoyed the depiction of New England village life in Stowe's *Oldtown Folks* (1869), according to his diary entry of October 25, 1895.

40 "With the Oyster Dredgers," *Greenwich Graphic*, August 22, 1903, p. 1, cols. 4-6.

41 "A Small Art Colony," New York *Commercial Advertiser*, July 22, 1899, p. 1,

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cols. 3 and 4. At this time, Steffens was the paper's city editor and Harry Thurston Peck its literary editor.

42 Elizabeth Young, "Midsummer Days at Cos Cob," *Harper's Bazaar* 33 (July 14, 1900), p. 660.

43 Steffens, *Autobiography*, vol. 2, p. 441.

44 E. Boyd Smith, *The Seashore Book* (1912; reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), p. 8.

45 Smith, *The Seashore Book*, pp. 16, 19, 27, and 23.

46 Smith, *The Seashore Book*, p. 55.

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Chapter Five

Spanning Two Eras: The Mianus River Railroad Bridge

On his first full day in Cos Cob, in June 1894, Theodore Robinson strolled along the Mianus River to survey the area's potential subjects. Like the local residents, he used the railroad bridge as a shortcut to Riverside, then followed the east bank of the river to the Upper Landing, in the section of Greenwich then called Mianus. Along the way, he admired the sailboats that would quickly become the dominant theme of his summer's work. He noted in his diary a variant of that subject that especially appealed to him: the anchored boats "with the R.R. bridge in the distance."[1]

The view that Robinson so enjoyed also appears in contemporary photographs of the railroad bridge (see fig. 5.1). Photographers did not merely capture the craft that happened to be passing when they clicked the shutter; rather, they chose viewpoints that emphasized the traditional water traffic. In figure 5.1, for example, the dory "Mystery" provides foreground interest, the rowboat moving toward us introduces motion, and the mast of the graceful white sloop serves as a vertical accent in the predominantly horizontal composition. In the photograph, as in paintings, drawings, and etchings by Robinson and other art colonists, the bridge is the backdrop to Cos Cob's nautical landscape.

To our eyes, it seems odd that the artists did not literally cover their tracks. They could easily have omitted the railroad bridge, as Twachtman advised one of his summer students to do. "'The bridge to be sure was there, but it is ugly,'" Twachtman criticized the student's sketch of a boat with the

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bridge in the distance. He recommended that the student make the bridge "'less prominent, perhaps even not see it, for the interesting thing is the boat.'"[2] To many of Twachtman's colleagues, however, the interesting thing was the boat in combination with the bridge. With this combination, the Cos Cob artists explored the theme Leo Marx calls "the machine in the garden" or, more literally, "the railroad-in-the-landscape."[3] Marx holds that artists were stimulated not so much by the railroad per se as by its presence in the countryside. They were fascinated by

> the evocative juxtaposition of the mechanical artifact with the shapes, lines, colors, and textures of the natural setting, whether wild or rural. What captivated them was the coming together of the locomotive's smooth, metallic efficiency, compact with purpose, and the organic forms of the landscape; it was a set of contrasts between the dark smoking engine and the soft colors—blues, greens, browns, and whites—of the sky, fields, and woods; between the sharp-edged lines of the machine and the irregular (flowing, rounded, or jagged) lines of the clouds, mountains, rivers, trees, and flocks.[4]

While Cos Cob boasted no mountains or flocks, its nautical landscape offered a striking contrast to the railroad's most visible feature, the Mianus River bridge. Artists exploited this contrast in their paintings, drawings, and etchings.

In deciding to include the bridge in their images, the artists chose a motif with a distinguished pedigree. Bridges of masonry or wood had long been important elements in European painting, as in Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 5.2). In paintings like Claude's, a bridge provided an architectural backdrop for figures and landscape; introduced a sense of directional motion, and provided another stage on which to unfold meaning.

The first important oil to depict a railroad bridge is British artist J. M. W. Turner's *Rain, Steam and Speed—The Great Western Railway* (fig. 5.3),

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depicting a train crossing the new Maidenhead span during a violent storm.[5] In Turner's painting, as in later ones, the bridge is an emblem of the entire railway system. Erupting from the fogbound distance and plunging toward the viewer, it conveys the unprecedented speed of the railroad. Turner contrasts the bridge both with nature—the tempest is the untamed equivalent of the train's harnessed energy—and with earlier modes of transport. The frail, diminutive rowboat bobbing at the lower left accentuates the technological grandeur of the rail system.

In American art, high and low, railway bridges were celebrated as the most impressive elements of the expanding transportation network. Photographs, stereographs, and lithographs brought images of these engineering marvels into thousands of modest homes. A Currier & Ives print, *The Rail Road Suspension Bridge Near Niagara Falls* (fig. 5.4) bore witness, in the many parlors in which it hung, to the American ability to tame even such awesome natural forces as Niagara Falls. The bridge frames a distant view of the cataract, the visual device suggesting the dominance of nature by engineer John Augustus Roebling's elegant structure. Extending from side to side across the picture plane, the rigid span contrasts with the broad curves of the turbulent river. The rapids are no obstacle to the horses and wagons crossing on the bridge's lower level, nor to the locomotive that speeds aross its upper deck.

A mid-century portrait celebrates a designer of railway bridges as a new American hero (fig. 5.5). Samuel Bell Waugh portrayed Isaac Ridgeway Trimble against the backdrop of one of his greatest achievements, the bridge at Havre de Grace, Maryland. The magisterial Trimble rests the butt of a buggy whip on his blueprint for the bridge. A horse's head is framed in the whip's curve, which forms a vertical echo of the broad steel arch of the handsome

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bridge in the background. Trimble's bridge, the artist implies, provides society with vastly superior horsepower.

Railway bridges were more often juxtaposed with water-borne than horse-drawn transport. In *Delaware Water Gap* (fig. 5.6), George Inness depicted a raft drifting downstream from a railroad bridge. The most primitive form of water travel, the raft represents the old ways in contrast to the new opportunities introduced by the train. Inness muted the suggestion that the railroad has rendered such traditional technology obsolete, for, as Leo Marx has brilliantly argued, American artists and writers felt compelled to reconcile the railroad with the pastoral ideal.[6] The rectilinear form of the bridge rhymes with the distant range of hills, while its honeyed hue links it both to the old-fashioned raft and to the golden wheatfield in the foreground. For farmers like those harvesting the grain, the railroad promised the prosperity that radiates from this image.

In paintings of the French Impressionists, railroad bridges are the key not to agrarian enterprise but to suburban recreation.[7] In Monet's *Railroad Bridge at Argenteuil* (fig. 5.7), a sailboat is about to glide under a bridge over which a locomotive wafts cumulus clouds of smoke. The connection is clear: the train enabled Parisians like Monet to enjoy the leisure represented by the sailboat. "Together," Robert Herbert writes, "the boat and the railroad stand for the modern suburb which has relinquished its agricultural role to the pressures of industry and of urban leisure."[8]

In Greenwich, as in Argenteuil, boat and bridge were frequently paired in images by the resident artists. The American artists, however, did not connect the railroad with leisure as decisively as their French predecessors had done. Working decades after Monet, the Cos Cob artists were experiencing the enormous social and economic changes engendered by the railroad. As a

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result, their images of the bridge convey a complex layer of meanings, some of them contradictory.

On the most basic level, the bridge served as a compositional framework. A drawing from Robinson's sketchbook, inscribed *Mianus 10 a.m. High tide* (fig. 5.8), reveals the artist organizing his image around the long horizontal of the bridge. The cushiony plants to the left, the triangular vertical rigging to the right, the crescent of the dory, the diagonals of the current, the jagged edges of the land mass: all are positioned in relation to the bridge.

Even in this tiny drawing, however, a significant difference emerges between Robinson's treatment of the railroad and that of his friend Monet. Unlike Monet, Robinson never included the bridge in views of pleasure boating, although the railroad and leisure were as closely linked in Connecticut as in the Ile-de-France. As a photograph of a Cos Cob swimming party reveals, the bridge was the inescapable backdrop of the art colonists' recreation (see fig. 2.16). In Robinson's work, however, the bridge is linked not with the leisure activities it spawned but with the traditional economy it destroyed. The two oils in which he depicted the bridge focus on battered working sailboats. In their formal structure, the paintings reveal the artist's response to the tension between the railroad and commercial boating.

The Mianus River bridge was, as we have seen in chapter four, Robinson's favorite vantage point. His view from the bridge encompassed both the new (the yacht club) and the old (the shipyard). He did not exploit this contrast in the paintings he executed from the bridge, however. In those, he maintained the physical segregation of the two aspects of the nautical landscape, confining them to their opposite banks of the river. Only when he came down from the bridge and saw it against the workboats did he compress old and new, past and future, into the same image.

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Robinson jotted in his diary on June 12, 1894, "Worked this a.m. three hours—a schooner unloading coal—made a rather coarse study." The coarse quality the artist acknowledged in *Coal Schooner Unloading* (see fig. 4.20) is the perfect technical expression of the scruffy subject matter. Robinson intuitively uses the compositional structure to communicate his response to the boat-bridge opposition. He underscores the ruler-straight horizontal of the bridge with the shorter, thicker line of the schooner's boom. Bridge and boom form a doubled right angle with the schooner's two sturdy masts and the slender mast of the catboat moored alongside. Their reflection in the water extends this horizontal-vertical grid from top to bottom of the canvas. Playing against it are the diagonals of the schooner's rigging, the angled forms of the warehouse, and the latticework of the distant bridge. In Robinson's careful design, the heavy schooner is pinned in place by the deceptively delicate-looking span.

The railroad bridge also appears in the background of *The E. M. J. Betty* (see fig. 4.22). Working among the carpenters, sailmakers, and laborers in the Palmer & Duff Shipyard, the artist depicted a retired packet boat undergoing repair. The bridge stretches across the canvas, bearing down on the battered workboat and confining it to a restricted space. The *Betty*'s mast, like that of the coal schooner, is severely truncated. Robinson always depicted the masts of pleasure craft at full height, or even exaggerated their height (see fig. 4.8). Only in his two paintings that include the railroad bridge did he crop the mast of a sailboat. The cropping undoubtedly owes something to the Japanese prints Robinson studied so avidly, but it also expresses the unbearable economic pressure the railroad exerted on commercial water traffic.

The Mianus River railroad bridge had been a source of friction to local boatmen from the beginning. Originally, the New York & New Haven's tracks

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were to have been laid about two miles inland, in a course that would have avoided the numerous curves and expensive drawbridges demanded by a coastal route. Greenwich farmers adamantly opposed that plan, protesting any division of their fields. Reluctant at first to abandon the cost-efficient inland route, NY&NH executives were finally persuaded by the argument that to compete effectively with the market boats, they should be as near the shore as possible.[9]

Hostility over the drawbridge plagued the early years of the New Haven's operation. The 1853 town meeting authorized the Selectmen to prevent the NY&NH from encroaching further on the riverbank at either end of the bridge. The following year, townsfolk voted to sue the railroad to minimize the bridge's obstruction to navigation.[10] Time diminished the litigious antagonism, but the drawbridge remained an irritant to working boatmen. (Pleasure craft moored at the Riverside Yacht Club were on the Sound side of the bridge, so yachtsmen were not inconvenienced by it.) Skippers who had once sailed unimpeded from Long Island Sound to the Lower Landing now had to wait while the bridge-tender opened the span.

For their part, train crews and passengers resented the delays caused by the boats. Ironically, each side felt superior to the other. The railroad betrayed its condescension in an 1871 guidebook. Of "the swiftly gliding traveler by rail," the writer observed that "sometimes his pathway is crossed by a sloop or schooner toiling through a draw-bridge, and the traveler is often amused and vexed at the nonchalance of these slow-moving craft in arresting a 'lightning train' in its course."[11] On the other hand, a woman who grew up in Cos Cob during the art-colony years recalls that the working people who sailed and fished liked the idea that they could stop the trains. While they relished their momentary power, however, they admired the railroad. "We

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thought it was terribly important—it was bringing prosperity and all that," she reports.[12]

The ambivalence toward the railroad that Cos Cob native remembers is reflected in Childe Hassam's 1896 oil, *Fishing* (fig. 5.9). Here, the speed of a train is contrasted with the stasis of the community through which it races. In the foreground, two boys with fishing poles sit on the stone embankment of the Lower Landing, while farther along the harborside, several men dangle lines into the water. Engaged in an occupation notorious for long periods of inactivity, the motionless fishermen accentuate the train's speed, which was so astonishing to Hassam's contemporaries. "In the 1890s, the railroads virtually invented the notion of speed," writes historian George H. Douglas. "In May 1893, when Engine 999 pulled the Empire State Express at a speed of 112.5 miles an hour near Batavia, New York, it could honestly be advertised that no propelled vehicle had ever traveled so fast in the history of the world." Famous express trains were celebrated on postage stamps and bank notes and even inspired the title of a play that premiered in New York in 1892: *A Mile a Minute*.[13]

The juxtaposition between speedy train and sleepy community determines the formal structure of *Fishing*. Though horizontals are generally associated with calm and diagonals with dynamism, those effects are reversed here. A diagonal row of empty dories leads the eye gently back into space, maintaining the traditional illusion of the picture as a window on the world. Recession is halted by the bridge snapped across the canvas. The horizontal slash of the bridge plays a dual role: it conveys the railroad's urgent speed and it flattens space. This proto-modernist effect is furthered by the high horizon line, established by the bridge, as well as the loose brushwork.

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Decades after Hassam, Edward Hopper employed a similar horizontal emphasis for the railroad tracks in such paintings as *New York, New Haven, and Hartford* (fig. 5.10). "Hopper used the tracks both to set off buildings and to lead the eye on beyond the confines of the picture," Gail Levin observes. "Railroad tracks seem to suggest for Hopper the continuity, mobility, and rootlessness of modern life as they merely pass by small towns and rural areas all but forgotten by the forces of progress."[14] While Hopper's painting conveys a sense of loss, that emotion is mitigated in Hassam's *Fishing* by the awe small-town Americans felt for the brave new world represented by passing trains. Hassam's young fishermen typify generations of rural youth in whom a locomotive's whistle stirred dreams of urban adventure. In Willa Cather's story, "The Best Years," three youngsters lie awake in their farmhouse attic, waiting to hear the westbound passenger train approach across the plains. The trains, Cather wrote, "seemed to mean power, conquest, triumph . . . . They set children's hearts beating . . . . They were the awakeners of many a dream."[15]

At about the same time that Hassam was structuring *Fishing* around the Cos Cob railroad bridge, his friend J. Alden Weir made another such span near Windham, Connecticut, the subject of *The Red Bridge* (fig. 5.11). In both paintings, the modern structure establishes a modernist design. Like Hassam, Weir places the bridge high on the canvas. The placement, probably inspired in both cases by Japanese prints, calls attention to the picture as a flat surface.[16] Like Hassam, Weir was ambivalent about the bridge's intrusion into a beloved landscape. Dorothy Weir Young related that her father had been "dismayed" on a visit to Windham to discover that an old covered bridge had been replaced by a graceless iron one. "He missed the old landmark and

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regretted the necessary march of progress," she said, until its vivid red-orange undercoating inspired a highly abstract painting.[17]

In remote Windham, Weir contrasted the red bridge with nature. In Cos Cob, on the other hand, the artists juxtaposed their bridge with the built environment of a maritime village. That opposition is announced in the title of Hassam's pastel, *Cos Cob, The Bridge and Dock* (fig. 5.12), produced six years after *Fishing*. The brighter colors of the pastel and the lower placement of the bridge dispel the subtle melancholy of the earlier work. In its pairing of a train with a picturesque site along its route, the pastel resembles the images that adorned railway timetables, posters, menus, and other ephemera in Europe as well as America (see fig. 5. 13). Hassam's drawing, like the promotional illustrations, suggests that the train can take you to this holiday destination. The figures in his pastel are not working, even at the slow-paced task of fishing, but pausing in a stroll along the Landing. Though the sloop docked beside a warehouse is a commercial vessel, the emphasis is on the area's leisure potential for viewers who might arrive on a train like the one in the background. The old workboats of Cos Cob had become, by 1902, picturesque relics to intrigue tourists.

The railroad's triumph over commercial boating is captured in Elmer MacRae's *Schooner in the Ice* (fig. 5.14). In the background, two steaming locomotives, one pulling a long train of freight cars, approach one another on the bridge. The foreground is dominated by a sailboat whose black color identifies it as a working vessel, probably one used to haul freight. While the trains speed past, demonstrating the railroad's unstoppable efficiency, the boat is immobilized by floating packs of ice.

By the time MacRae painted his elegy to a passing era, the railroad had not only captured the freight business from the boats, it was also carrying

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thousands of passengers a day between New York and New Haven. The increased traffic necessitated a massive turn-of-the-century construction project. Between 1896 and 1918, eight movable bridges along the Connecticut shore were replaced or upgraded; among them was the one spanning the Mianus River.[18] Work on the Cos Cob bridge dragged on for several years.[19] Lincoln Steffens related in his autobiography that the Holley House regulars were "disgusted" with the noise and smoke of construction. Ever the gadfly, Steffens, by his account,

> defended the railroad on the theory that activity also was a theme for painters; not a dead village only, but a busy harbor was worth painting, and I prophesied that in a month or two all the painters would be painting that bridge-building, with the girders a-swinging and the smoke a-blowing in the wind. I had to go west that summer, and when I got back one forenoon in the fall I passed all the Cos Cob school with their easels set and painting the noisy, dirty bridge improvement . . . . Twachtman alone spoke to me, and all he said was, "Ah, go to hell."[20]

No painting of the bridge construction by Twachtman survives, but the work is recorded in Hassam's *Mill Pond, Cos Cob* (fig. 3.1). Hassam, who had never before depicted industrial labor, candidly described the messiness of the construction. The bridge is sheathed in rough scaffolding; floating logs litter the water. The smoke blowing from the two locomotives crossing the bridge is as black as the coal that fires their engines. But just as Weir had discovered unexpected beauty in a new iron bridge, the construction work jolted Hassam to approach an ordinary subject with fresh insight. Instead of the horizontal usual for landscapes, he chose a vertical format, which crops the bridge and one locomotive but accommodates the tall ladder braced on a scow. Working with a speed and urgency suited to the modern theme, he brushed a tapestry of thin strokes on the canvas, leaving the buff primer to suggest the glint of sunlight on the river. The painting's focal point is the ladder. Our eyes climb

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it, from its dark reflection in the water, through the cheerfully paint-spattered construction shacks, the darker forms of the bridge scaffolding and the locomotive's grimy smoke to the bright blue sky. The form of the ladder on its base mimics that of a sailboat. In another work of the same summer, *Cos Cob, The Bridge and Dock* (see fig. 5.12), Hassam employed the rigging of a sloop much as he used the ladder in *The Mill Pond.*

Hassam's painting is a remarkable image of change in progress. Its sparkling colors and lively facture imbue it with a sunny optimism, insinuating that the artist wholeheartedly embraced the changes he depicted. Only the title betrays his ambivalence. One can imagine him informing studio visitors puzzled by this scene of smoky, messy construction, "that's *The Mill Pond, Cos Cob.*" The mill pond in question had lost its original function three years earlier, when the pre-Revolutionary grist mill burned to the ground. Hassam's ironic title conveys regret that the old place has been reduced to this.

While Hassam masked his attitude toward change in irony, MacRae adopted an elegaic tone in *Railroad Bridge, Winter* (see fig. 4.26). Using a naïve, heavily outlined style that suggests folk art (though it probably derived from European Post-Impressionism), MacRae harks back to an earlier era. The shipyard to the left, the Lower Landing to the right, and a horse-drawn sleigh in the foreground all evoke the past. Except for the railroad bridge, there is nothing in the painting that was not, or could not have been, in place a century before.

In 1907, when MacRae set his easel on the porch of the Holley House to paint this nostalgic view, he must have feared that even these few relics of Cos Cob's past would soon be destroyed. The railroad was increasingly encroaching on the village. A power plant had recently been built near the Cos Cob end of the Mianus River railroad bridge, about a quarter-mile from the

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Holley House. It was the first in the country to supply electric power to a main-line railway.[21] Even before the powerhouse was completed, one writer observed,

> The smoke at Cos Cob from the single tall chimney where the new power house is being built, is black and filthy. It hangs like a pall over Cedar Cliff; settles down over the beautiful residences along the opposite shore, at Riverside and at times finds its way as far north as the Post Road. The wonder is what will happen when four or five stacks are belching forth their nastiness in the consumption of thirteen hundred tons of coal every twenty-four hours.[22]

Once completed, the power plant fulfilled any resident's worst nightmares. A woman who grew up one mile away recalls a relentless shower of coarse soot that blackened curtains, walls, and furniture.[23] The pollution must have been far worse at the Holley House, and no doubt discouraged boarders.

The New Haven had taken pains to disguise the plant's industrial nature. A rejected plan in the railroad's corporate records features a flat-roofed design typical of early-twentieth-century factories. Instead, a design in the Spanish Mission Style was chosen in a curiously misguided attempt to harmonize the plant with its pre-Revolutionary New England neighborhood. The company also landscaped the site to blend with its setting.[24] Arched windows, a red tile roof, and a few rhododendrons could not disguise the building's industrial nature, however. In a pastel also dated 1907, MacRae distanced the powerhouse by viewing it—and the railroad bridge—through the rigging of a schooner (fig. 5.15).

The new power plant represented only a fraction of the New Haven's expansionist ambitions that year. The company had bought up waterfront property in Cos Cob with the intention of siting a major terminal there. The community uneasily faced the prospect of "a great terminal station . . . with acres of freight yards and a half mile of water front where freight trains from

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Jersey City may land and where trains are to be made up for points . . . both east and west."[25] Fearing that such a terminal would make the Greenwich shoreline an industrial area, townspeople successfully fought to have it sited in Stamford.

The New Haven also proposed to build a branch line north to Danbury, running through Greenwich. The dispute over the layout pitted two art colonists against one another. One route would have bisected Ernest Thompson Seton's Wyndygoul; the other would have crossed the property of the town's largest landholder, the wife of artist A. A. Anderson. At a town meeting on the issue, Seton argued eloquently that to divide his estate would destroy its potential as an educational tool for local youth. He urged that the tracks be laid instead on Mrs. Anderson's land. In the face of community opposition, however, the New Haven abandoned its plans for the Danbury line. While the reason was unclear, "Mrs. Anderson did not hesitate to say that her personal appeal to Mr. [J. P.] Morgan had done it."[26]

Despite the successful resolution of these two controversies, the experience altered the community's and the artists' attitude toward the railroad. In images like *Fishing* and *Cos Cob, The Bridge and Dock* (figs. 5.9 and 5.12), Hassam had paired the old warehouses of the Lower Landing with the modern bridge. In his 1915 etching, *Cos Cob Dock* (fig. 5.16), on the other hand, he hid the bridge behind the buildings. The imperilled old warehouses dominate the image. Only the bridge's superstructure is visible in the distance beyond their sagging roofs.

One of the warehouses in Hassam's etching was home at the time to his colleague, Kerr Eby. In the early 'teens, the young printmaker was documenting the built landscape of Cos Cob in generally straightforward images characterized by crisp line (see fig. 3.17). One of his prints deviated

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dramatically from that traditional style and subject: *Railroad Bridge* (fig. 3.15). Not since Theodore Robinson sketched the bridge in 1894 (fig. 5.17) had any artist made it the sole subject of a work. Robinson loaded his tiny drawing with visual information, describing the masonry piers, the control house to the right of the movable section, and the then-modern latticework of the girders.[27] In the twenty years between Robinson's drawing and Eby's print, the bridge had become far more visually complex. A recent photograph (fig. 5.18) shows the span much as the printmaker knew it, in its messy profusion of pattern, line, and texture. Eby obliterated the detail, melding control house, piers, and span into a unifying charcoal tonality, while the overhead lines form gossamer arcs between supports as elegant as topiary frames. No passing trains disturb the stillness or threaten the sense of arrested time. The artist employed aerial perspective, making the objects closest to the viewer the darkest, the most distant ones the palest. This technique imbues the catboat and dory moored along a strip of marsh grass with greater physical presence than the bridge, whose solid industrial bulk fades into dreamlike evanescence.

In mood and technique, Eby's print is indebted to Whistler's nocturnes, (see fig. 5.19) especially those depicting industrial Battersea when, as the artist explained, "the evening mist clothes the riverside with poetry . . . ."[28] Eby's tonalist print is also akin to such photographs as Edward Steichen's *Flatiron* (fig. 5.20), which the etcher may have seen reproduced in *Camera Work* in 1906. Like Steichen and Whistler, Eby extracted poetry from a familiar subject by veiling it in a romantic haze.

Eby was also indebted to his elders in the art colony. By employing the Impressionist device of an atmospheric veil, Eby renders his modern subject more acceptable. Though the railroad bridge is his ostensible theme, his image of it is less celebratory than such earlier ones as Hassam's *Fishing* (see

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fig. 5.9). Within a few years after Eby etched his view of the railroad bridge, American Precisionists and Social Realists would glorify such subject matter in bold, hard-edged images. One such artist, Louis Lozowick, came to Cos Cob in 1929 (see fig. 5.21). The art colony had dispersed by then, but Lozowick was not seeking congenial companions or nostalgic subjects. Avoiding even the softening glimpses of nature that a view of the bridge would have involved, he stayed close to the tracks to create an image of the overhead cables that conveyed electric current from the nearby power station to the locomotives. Lozowick used abstraction to heighten the subject's industrial energy, Eby to disguise it.

The drastic difference between the two printmakers' approach, and the varying response of the Cos Cob painters to the railroad, can perhaps best be explained in Lozowick's words. In the catalogue to the 1927 Machine Age Exposition, he wrote:

> Every epoch conditions the artist's attitude and the manner of his expression very subtly and in devious ways. He observes and absorbs environmental facts, social currents, philosophic speculation and then chooses the elements for his work. . . and focuses attention on such aspects of the environment as will reveal his own esthetic vision as well as the essential character of the environment which conditioned it.[29]

The art colonists' environment had conditioned them to view the railroad in conflicted ways. They regarded it, as did the majority of Americans, as evidence of national expansiveness. They enjoyed the opportunity it offered to journey to picturesque backwaters. At the same time, however, they deplored many of the changes the railroad engendered in places like Cos Cob. Sympathetic to the economic hardships exerted on the working boatmen, disgusted by the encroaching industrialization, even personally embroiled in battles with the New Haven, they fluctuated between optimism and regret. In

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works by Robinson, Hassam, MacRae, and Eby, the Mianus River bridge conveys a shifting gamut of emotions. As they sketched it into the background of their nautical landscapes, they must have wondered whether the bridge spanned two eras or divided them.

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[1] Robinson's diary (Cos Cob), June 7, 1894.

[2] "An Art School at Cos Cob," *Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899), p. 57.

[3] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) and Leo Marx, "The Railroad-in-the-Landscape: An Iconological Reading of a Theme in American Art," in Susan Danly and Leo Marx, eds., *The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

[4] Leo Marx, "The Railroad-in-the-Landscape", p. 183.

[5] For a detailed discussion of this painting, see John Gage, *Turner: Rain, Steam and Speed* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972).

[6] Marx, *The Machine in the Garden.*

[7] For a provocative discussion of the role of the railroad (and railroad bridges) in French Impressionism, see Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 195-98 and 219-29.

[8] Herbert, p. 226.

[9] "Looking Backward," *Greenwich Graphic*, February 9, 1907; Hubbard Scrapbook 4, pp. 71-2; HSTG.

[10] Minutes of the town meetings held on October 3, 1853 and October 2, 1854, *Records 1848-1873*, Book 1, volume 2, pp. 19 and 24; Town Hall, Greenwich, Conn. Hostility between railroad and boating interests was a problem throughout the history of bridging the navigable rivers, according to Eric De Lony, author of *Landmark American Bridges* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993). According to Mr. De Lony (telephone interview, September 5, 1995), litigation surrounded every new bridge.

[11] *Hand Book and Business Directory of the N. Y. & N. H. Railroad* (Newburgh, N. Y.: Carter & Sutherland Publishing Co., 1871), p. 17; Turner Railroad Collection, Connecticut Historical Society.

[12] Telephone interview with Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage, September 16, 1994. Mrs. Delage (born in 1901) grew up in Cos Cob, where her father operated a tavern frequented by the art colonists.

[13] George H. Douglas, *All Aboard! The Railroad in American Life* (New York: Paragon House, 1992), p. 341.

[14] Gail Levin, *Edward Hopper: The Art and the Artist* (exh. cat., New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1981), p. 47.

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15 Willa Cather, "The Best Years," collected in *The Old Beauty and Others* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), pp. 109-10.

16 Doreen Bolger identifies two Japanese prints from Weir's collection that may have inspired elements of *The Red Bridge.* See Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1983), pp. 211-12.

17 Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc., 1971), p. 187. Weir's ambivalence about the bridge is discussed in H. Barbara Weinberg, Doreen Bolger and David Park Curry, *American Impressinism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915* (exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), p. 83. A formal analysis of the painting is offered by Helen Fusscas in Hildegard Cummings, Helen K. Fusscas and Susan G. Larkin, *J. Alden Weir: A Place of His Own* (exh. cat., Storrs, Conn.: William Benton Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 37-39.

18 "Movable Railroad Bridges on the Northeast Corridor," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, 1986.

19 Steffens's account of Twachtman's painting the bridge in the fall is evidence that work was underway by the autumn of 1901. (Twachtman died in Gloucester, Mass., in August 1902.) Hassam's *Mill Pond, Cos Cob,* showing bridge construction, is dated 1902. The bridge is dated 1904 in the National Register nomination form cited in note 17 and in "Mianus River Railroad Bridge," National Register of Historic Places Evaluation/Return Sheet, 1987. The local press did not report completion of the new bridge until 1906 ("Saunterings About Town," unidentified Greenwich newspaper, June 9, 1906; Hubbard Scrapbooks, vol. 4, p. 47, HSTG.)

20 Steffens, *Autobiography,* vol. 2, p. 438.

21 Matthew Roth, *Connecticut: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites* (Washington, D. C.: Society for Industrial Archeology, 1981), p. 21.

22 "Saunterings about Town," *Greenwich Graphic,* July 14, 1906; Hubbard Scrapbook 4, p. 54; HSTG.

23 Gertrude Riska, *Chief of the Power Plant* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Project, 1992), p. 6.

24 *Historic American Engineering Record* (HAER) no. CT-142A, pp. 34-5.

25 "Saunterings about Town," *Greenwich Graphic*, November 17, 1906, Hubbard Scrapbooks vol. 4, pp. 61-62; HSTG.

26 Frederick A. Hubbard, "The Judge's Corner," unidentified Greenwich paper; Hubbard Scrapbook 8, HSTG.

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[27] The Whipple Truss system of diagonal lattice-like webs, introduced in 1847, provided greater strength, thus enabling the construction of longer spans. For more on Squire Whipple and other bridge designers, see Henry Petroski, *Engineers of Dreams: Great Bridge Builders and the Spanning of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).

[28] Whistler's *Ten o'Clock* lecture, 1888; quoted in Robert H. Getscher and Allen Staley, *The Stamp of Whistler* (exh. cat., Oberlin, Ohio: Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1977), p. 94.

[29] Louis Lozowick, "The Americanization of Art," originally published in the catalogue for the Machine Age Exposition (1927); reprinted in Janet Flint, *The Prints of Louis Lozowick: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1982), p. 18.

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Chapter Six

Continuity and Community: The Theme of Architecture

"The Cos Cob Clapboard School," Hassam's nickname for the art colony, gently mocked the group's penchant for the theme of architecture.[1] The ironic title underscored the artists' difference from two earlier "schools." Unlike the Hudson River School, they did not celebrate nature's grandeur; unlike the Barbizon School, they did not even celebrate nature in its humbler guise. In the works of the Cos Cob Clapboard School, nature is simply the setting for the modest buildings clustered along the two narrow streets of the old village. From the 1890s to the First World War, they depicted the mostly unremarkable buildings near the Holley House in oils, pastels, watercolors, and etchings. In the process, they immortalized a pattern of human settlement they recognized as endangered. A sense of native continuity was an essential component of this admired social pattern. While the architects of the Great Estates designed mansions redolent of the European past, the art colonists discovered a genuine, indigenous tradition in the vernacular structures still in use. As they depicted these buildings, often showing how they related to one another, the artists created a composite portrait of a rural, maritime village. Each individual building conveyed only part of the artists' meaning. The full significance of the architectural theme emerges in study of the clusters of images that constitute the Cos Cob Clapboard School's multivalent portrait of a place.

Hassam, more than any of his fellow art-colonists, favored the theme of architecture. The grandson of a builder-architect, he had been intrigued with

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the subject from his boyhood.[2] As a high-school dropout, Hassam had gone to work at a Boston wood-engraver's where he sketched buildings for business papers and letterheads. He recalled later that "I drew the whole town of Marblehead, Massachusetts, as the heading for the local newspaper, *The Marblehead Messenger.*"[3] In Greenwich, Hassam continued to favor the architecture theme. While Leonard Ochtman found inspiration in the area's rolling farmland and John Twachtman chronicled the seasonal changes around his wooded brook, the gregarious Hassam worked where people congregated: near the assorted buildings of Cos Cob.

Hassam's best-known architectural images would become his iconic views of classic New England churches. In Provincetown, Gloucester, Newport, Old Lyme, and Portsmouth, he turned again and again to the subject. In his views of Greenwich buildings, however, churches are conspicuously absent. The reason had to do partly with the town's prosperity and rapid growth, which meant that as congregations outgrew their original meetinghouses they could afford to build new ones. The four churches closest to the Holley House were all erected in the second half of the nineteenth century.[4] Moreover, to ensure against the fires that had destroyed several older churches in the vicinity, all of them were built of stone. The masonry construction, however handsome, did not read as authentically Yankee. Older, white frame churches stood in backcountry Greenwich, but as we shall see, Hassam seldom strayed far from the Holley House.

Hassam's first known painting of a Greenwich building is *Sunlight on an Old House, Putnam Cottage*, dated 1897 (fig. 6.1). Known during the colonial period as Knapp's Tavern, this building was linked with a legendary episode of the Revolutionary War. According to local tradition, the tavern had been the local headquarters of General Israel Putnam.[5] Warned of the advance of

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British troops intent on his capture, the sixty-year-old soldier leapt on his horse and galloped down a nearby hill so steep the Redcoats were afraid to follow him. At the foot of the precipice, the crusty Yankee turned in his saddle and shouted "damn ye" at the enemy firing at him from above.[6] Putnam's exploit was celebrated in New England folklore, especially in Greenwich, where Main Street was renamed Putnam Avenue in 1879 to celebrate the centennial of his famous ride. By that time, the landmark hill had long been called "Put's Hill."

The painting of Putnam Cottage seems simply to reflect Hassam's antiquarianism, but that is only part of the story. In 1897, when Hassam painted this picture, the Putnam story was at the heart of an emotional controversy. Beginning that June, the papers carried news stories, editorials, and letters opposing a proposed private road whose construction would eliminate public access to Put's Hill. Townsfolk crowded meetings on the issue, defending their right to continued access to the landmark. The dispute renewed interest in the historic event. Merchants reported increased sales of the local souvenir spoon, decorated with a picture of Putnam's ride.[7] The Greenwich chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was established in response to the threatened privatization of the landmark. As the Putnam Hill Chapter, the group dedicated itself to preserving public access to the site and marking it with a suitable monument.[8] With this deceptively placid painting, then, Hassam entered a heated political debate about public heritage versus private property rights.

The controversy was still red-hot in 1899, when Hassam painted his second view of Putnam Cottage, titled *Indian Summer in Colonial Days* (fig. 6.2). For this painting, as for his first on the theme, Hassam avoided the building's main facade. In the 1897 oil, he had focused on a stone annex; in 1899, he

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showed the back of the house. Both viewpoints enabled him to ignore the wide porch and shuttered double windows that made the front of the house look Victorian (fig. 6.3). By carefully choosing his viewpoints—even focusing on a newer addition—Hassam emphasized the building's age. The eighteenth-century costumes in *Indian Summer* reflect a similar strategy. The historic house was still privately owned in 1899, but Hassam claimed it as part of the common heritage by costuming the figures in Revolutionary dress.[9]

Putnam Cottage, located about one mile from Cos Cob, was the only Greenwich building Hassam depicted that claimed any connection to a significant historic event. The architectural motifs for which the Cos Cob Clapboard School became best known were located in the immediate vicinity of the Holley House. Though several large, handsome houses had been built along Strickland Road between 1820 and 1870, the artists ignored those nineteenth-century structures in favor of others, however modest, that had the aura of antiquity. The boarding house itself was a popular motif. Though recent research puts construction of the oldest part of the house no earlier than 1732,[10] the artists believed it was much older. "Holly house built in 1664 they say," Theodore Robinson noted appreciatively in his diary.[11] A summer student described the house as "over two hundred years old," while the *Graphic*, calling it "probably the oldest building in town," dated it to about 1650.[12] That account was typical in its reverence, declaring that the house "gives you a sort of thrill to go through it, and you don't feel like speaking above a whisper, you're so impressed by its age." The Holley House was venerated not for any specific historical significance, however, but as a sign of continuity. This quality is reflected in the *Graphic*'s description: "The big cedar shingles and siding, nearly 250 years old, are . . . grooved by the rains and snow; they are . . . faded by the sun; they are moss grown and worm eaten,

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but they stay; they are staunch and true, and the big, iron hand wrought nails, rusty and old, still hold them in place."[13]

An impression of steadfast endurance permeates Twachtman's *Old Holley House* (see fig. 2.22). Twachtman honors the past in a boldly modern composition. He chooses a viewpoint that emphasizes the structure's age by revealing its saltbox construction, then reduces the traditional architecture to a set of cubes, rectangles, and triangles. The building's solid geometry extends nearly from edge to edge of the canvas, whose square format reinforces the sense of equilibrium. Earth, house, and sky are unified in a subtle range of blue-violets. The slender sapling is a metaphor of youth in contrast with the aged building, whose arboreal emblem might be the evergreen that cushions its strong horizontals. Snow suggests the winter of life, the end of a cycle. For Twachtman, the old house inspires introspection on time and change.

Hassam, on the other hand, stressed the social aspect of the house in a sunny watercolor (fig. 6.4). Although no figures are included, the human presence is unmistakable in this image, which supports antiquarian Wallace Nutting's statement, "An old back door has more of humanity in it than any other part of the homestead."[14] Nutting maintained that "the back doors of old houses are more interesting than the front doors," because the churns, baskets, herbs, vines, and trees usually found there lend a simple utilitarian charm to the family entrance. Hassam affectionately documents the copper porch roof, trellised grapevine, and domestic clutter around the kitchen door of the Holley House. In his hands, the back view conveys a sense of familiarity and hominess. It is the painter's way of stating his intimacy with the household, even of claiming the house as his home.

The front view, however, was the building's public face. In *Holley Farm* (see fig. 3.4), the full-frontal view enabled Hassam to set the house in the

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plantings of which Josephine and Constant Holley were so proud. Lilacs, traditional companions to old farmhouses, billow atop the low stone wall, while a graceful elm shades the north side. The combination of old house and elm tree was a potent metaphor of the American past, according to cultural historian Michael Kammen.[15] A contemporary of Hassam praised the elm as a tree "of the people," distinctly American, long-lived, sturdy, refined, and "classic"—qualities highly valued during the Colonial Revival. New England was especially famous for its elms, "which, loved and cared for, arch over the long village streets that give character to the homes of the descendants of the Puritan fathers."[16] The general affection for the American elm was intensified at the time of Hassam's painting by the threat of the elm-leaf beetle, almost invariably described as an "imported" pest. In Connecticut, "the ravages of these insects have caused widespread regret . . . over the destrucion of hundreds of noble elm trees," the *Scientific American* reported.[17] The same summer that Hassam sketched the elm beside the Holley House, the Greenwich newspaper advised readers to spray the trees, warning that two complete defoliations would kill them. [18]

The Holleys' prized elm is prominent in an oil by Elmer MacRae depicting two women (probably his wife and mother-in-law) sewing on the second-story porch of the boarding house (fig. 6.5). The lilacs, here in full bloom, brush the porch railing; a vine climbing along the roofline further ties the house to its natural setting. MacRae documents the harmony between the house and nature. He also reveals its social context by including two neighboring buildings: the roof and chimneys of the Brush House, framed by the end of the porch, and, beyond the lilacs, the rustic shed that served as the hamlet's newsstand. The porch itself is a transitional zone, extending the home into the life of the community and the world of nature. As they sew in

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the May sunshine, the women can smell the lilacs, hear the birds, and greet their neighbors passing on the street below.

The double verandahs of the Holley House were relatively recent additions, dating only to the 1850s or '60s. Porches were added to many old houses during that period, and soon became such valued amenities that they were accorded the same nostalgic veneration as the original structures. "These old porches are like the prefaces to old books in which the author spreads a broad invitation and calls you 'gentle reader,'" one writer declared, adding that "to the far-away country home, the porch is a gracious neutral ground between the exclusiveness of the home and the impertinence of the world."[19] The enthusiasm for porches waned around the turn of the century, however, as periodicals like *Country Life in America* promoted a new suburban ideal glorifying privacy. The essayist who detailed the flaws of old farmhouses might have been describing the Holley House:

> Most of them stand behind old elm trees, close to the roadside, with a straight path to the road in front . . . . It is strange how the past generation seems to have found its amusement in watching passing neighbors from the "piazza" it generally strung along the house front . . . .[20]

The interaction with passersby so offensive to that writer was part of the porch's appeal to the art colonists. With a careless disregard for privacy, they used the double verandah of the Holley House for both work and recreation. Twachtman even staged an impromptu dance there once, when he hired an itinerant organ grinder to celebrate the sale of a painting.[21] Hassam depicted a woman reading in *A Couch on the Porch* (fig. 6.6), serenely unconcerned that neighbors might see her.

The artists exploited the porch's extension into the community by using it as a place from which to paint. Twachtman probably stood on the lower

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porch to paint *Country House in Winter* (fig. 6.7), a winter view of the Brush House (fig. 6.8). A contemporary photograph suggests his viewpoint (fig. 6.9). Standing on opposite sides of Strickland Road, the Brush House and the Holley House were likened to "ancient sisters" in an 1894 article.[22] A front-page feature on the house in 1907 was vague about its age—the headline speculated that it "Must be Two Hundred Years Old at Least" and called it a link with the "Sterling Days" of the American Revolution.[23] The house's resident during the art-colony period, Joseph E. B. Brush, was a living link to the past. The eccentric, perhaps mildly retarded bachelor had retired from work on the packet boats owned by his family. Old Joe Brush, as he was called, was therefore a link to the area's traditional shipping as well as a descendant of one of the oldest families in town. Living in the house in which he was born (and would die), he embodied the rootedness the artists so admired.[24]

Twachtman subtly situates the Brush House within the context of a rural village. The tumbledown stone wall and leafless bushes in the foreground were actually on the Holleys' property; beyond them lies the rutted road that ran between the "ancient sisters." Another house is visible behind the Brushs'. A second winter view of the Brush House (fig. 6.10) is less successful than *Country House in Winter* primarily because the dwelling seems so isolated. Robbed of its context, it loses its human appeal. Twachtman's concern with the architecture's setting is also apparent in *October* (fig. 6.11). The graceful elm at the left and the diagonal row of verdant shrubs stood on the Holleys' side of Strickland Road, just beyond the porch where Twachtman set his easel. He shows the relation of the Brush House to the millpond, shelters the old house behind a neat picket fence, and shades it with a pair of trees perfectly matched in size and form. *October* celebrates an ideal of life in a country village.

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The reality was not so pristine as Twachtman suggests. Haphazardly maintained by Joe Brush, the house was shabby at best. The trees were not the same size or species; an elm stood near the millpond, an oak or maple near the porch steps. The fence was not picketed, but merely chicken wire stretched over a rudimentary wooden frame. Like Twachtman, Hassam disguised the rundown condition of the Brush House: it appears no worse in his 1916 watercolor (fig. 6.12) than in his 1902 pastel (fig. 6.13). In the interval, however, it had deteriorated so badly that every time it rained, an artist-boarder dashed for pots and pans to catch the leaks.[25] (The derelict house was demolished in the 1920s.) Steadily falling into ruin, the Brush House reminded Twachtman and Hassam of the erosion of a way of life they cherished. To hold back change, they muted the signs of decay. A younger colleague, the printmaker Kerr Eby, seemed to view the building's decline in a somewhat different light (fig. 3.17). Eby candidly depicted its shabby condition, portraying it as an American ruin. The romantic attitude manifested in his etching also permeates a contemporary description of deserted houses: "Few of us are so dull of soul that our pulses are not quickened and our imaginations stirred as we pass, at a country four-corners, a deserted house . . . . There it stands, in its sombre and often disreputable coat of weather-stained shingles, mournful reminder of a fragrant time that is now no more . . . ."[26] For Eby, a generation younger than Twachtman and Hassam, the Brush House was a picturesque relic of a way of life he had experienced only briefly.

Far tidier than the Brush house was the Captain James Waring House, just two doors away on Strickland Road (fig. 6.14). It wasn't really a *Colonial Cottage*, as Hassam titled his oil. Though its owners believed the house was built in 1749, a more accurate date for its construction is about 1820.[27] Hassam would probably have painted it anyway; personal associations, as well as

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antiquity, influenced his thematic choices. The owners of the house, Frank and Kate Seymour, were popular with the art colony. Their children hung over the artists' shoulders while they worked, and sometimes posed for them.[28] The Seymours shared the painters' keen interest in the American past. An amateur photographer, Frank Seymour was documenting the built environment of Cos Cob at the same time as the artists.[29] He and his wife took great pride in their home, furnishing it with antiques and showing off to visitors its oak beams and hand-wrought nails. On summer evenings, strolling artists and writers would pause at the gate to greet the Seymours, seated on their small front porch. Additional chairs would be brought out, the Seymours' daughter recalls, "and pretty soon we had a congregation, and the next thing we knew everybody was singing."[30] Hassam conveys this hospitality by focusing on the portico and the open gate.

Houses, however hospitable, were not the only type of building the artists chose to depict. As a working village, Cos Cob encompassed several architectural types—not just houses, as in a suburb, but also a mill, barns, warehouses, a shipyard, a livery stable, a tavern, and various other commercial and functional buildings. Several of these types were represented on the Lower Landing, the narrow strip of land between Cos Cob harbor and Strickland Road (see figs. 1.10 and 1.12). Like the houses the artists depicted, the buildings on the Landing were old. The oldest, the tide-powered grist mill, was built in 1763. The adjacent warehouse also dated to the eighteenth century, while the next two were built in the early nineteenth century.[31] Additional sheds of indeterminate age extended along the embankment. The functional commercial row, one of the artists' favorite architectural subjects, was a microcosm of a New England fishing village. Its handful of harborside structures conveyed the same whiff of salt air and Yankee lore as larger ports

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like Gloucester. In addition, the Lower Landing may have had subliminal European overtones. A photograph of a French town by Edouard Baldus (fig. 6.15) recalls the Landing in the way the rickety buildings cling to the riverbank and to one another. While the artists considered Cos Cob authentically American, they may also have viewed it as a homegrown version of the picturesque villages they had admired in Europe. This resonance would have validated their thematic choice, reassuring them that America too was worth painting.

Twachtman is shown criticizing a student's sketch of the Landing in a photograph taken before the fire in January 1899 that destroyed the mill and the two warehouses closest to it (see fig. 2.14).[32] He chose the same vantage point, the Palmer & Duff Shipyard, for his own painting, *Cos Cob* (fig. 6.16). Here, the artist, who had once criticized a student's sketch of a building for excessive detail, eliminates architectural minutiae. With a swipe of his brush, he melds the ramshackle sheds that clung to the back of the warehouses. He unifies the structures in a buttery yellow far different from their actual mustard-painted and weathered-gray siding, then doubles them in an iridescent reflection tinged with rosey pinks that have no counterpart in the buildings themselves.

Twachtman takes liberties with the facts in order to emphasize the sense of community. In *Cos Cob*, he reveals how the architectural components of this densely-built neighborhood relate to one another. He shows the Holley House looming over the low sheds (see fig. 1.12) and tightens the connection by cloaking the roof and chimney of the boarding house in the same creamy tone as the commercial buildings. While this uniform coloration was factually inaccurate, it expresses the cohesion of a close-knit community. The expanse of shimmering water that claims more than half the composition manifests the

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hamlet's maritime character, while the rowboat moored midway between the observer and the Landing is the perfect painterly metaphor for change. A fisherman's dinghy appropriated for visitors' recreation, it is rendered in two licks of a loaded brush.

Twachtman stood on the millpond bridge to paint a second view of the Landing, *The Old Mill at Cos Cob* (fig. 6.17). Defying the expectations raised by his title, he uses the eighteenth-century architecture as the basis for a composition that anticipates twentieth-century modernism. Twachtman seems to be following his own dictum that "Architecture is beautiful in a picture only when you forget it is architecture."[33] The abstract design challenges the viewer to identify the subject. (One small, dark form given surprising emphasis near the center of the composition represents a privy suspended over the harbor. Twachtman may have included it as a visual joke to share with his colleagues as they compared canvases on the boarding-house porch.) The painter's rendering of a traditional subject in an avant-garde manner fuses past and present in a seamless continuity.

Hassam may have stood just to Twachtman's left on the millpond bridge to paint *The Smelt Fishers, Cos Cob* (fig. 6.18). Hassam's vantage point eliminates the mill, which stood out of the picture to the right, but encompasses a building not visible in Twachtman's *Cos Cob*, a warehouse that had been partially converted to residential use. *The Smelt Fishers* is a carefully edited view of working-class labor. Accented by a woman with a red shawl over her head, the figures are peasant staffage who evoke a preindustrial age when people worked close to home. To enhance the rustic appeal of the simple buildings and humble folk, the artist embellishes the right edge of his canvas with the leafy branch of a nonexistent tree. The agitated brushwork in the roof of the most distant warehouse betrays his

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decision to disguise a feature he had originally included: a skylight.

The skylight is clearly visible in Hassam's 1907 view of the Landing, *The Fishermen, Cos Cob* (fig. 6.19). When that warehouse was no longer needed for storing farm produce awaiting shipment to the city, the upstairs was divided into two apartments and a skylight was cut in the north side of the roof to attract artist-tenants. Hassam reveals the skylight in the 1907 oil, but adds cosmetic touches to make the Landing conform more closely to his ideal of a country village. Standing on the site of the burned mill, he transforms the scruffy vacant lot into a cottage garden. A clump of pink, white, and red hollyhocks blooms in the right foreground; to their left, a solitary stalk of crimson blossoms partially conceals a discarded crate. Hollyhocks flourished across the road at the Holleys', but it is unlikely that Josephine or Constant would have sown them on the weedy mill site. Wildflowers like Queen Anne's lace are more likely to have bloomed there in midsummer. Few flowers exerted the nostalgic appeal of hollyhocks, however. Garden writers of Hassam's day invariably listed them as essential components of the "old-fashioned" garden.[34] In Hassam's painting, hollyhocks, Yankee fishermen, and weathered vernacular buildings convey a quintessentially American quality, which is explicitly stated in the flag flying above the distant houses.

Hassam moved across the narrow inlet to the Palmer & Duff Shipyard to paint the watercolor *Casa Eby, Cos Cob* (fig. 6.20). The whimsical title salutes Kerr Eby as an occupant of the warehouse that dominates the image. Eby himself acknowledges the Landing as his domicile by including a line of laundry in his etching, *Cos Cob Harbour* (fig. 6.21).[35] Eby describes a modest but not impoverished community where people live close to one another and to nature. Hassam celebrates the same ideal in *Casa Eby*. Rather than isolating the title building, he reveals its proximity to three others. A smaller

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warehouse hugs the waterfront at the left edge; behind it is the red-brick livery stable that stood across Strickland Road. The shuttered building beside the livery stable housed Toby Burke's tavern on the ground floor and his family upstairs (see fig. 2.19). To the right of Casa Eby is the building that still stands on the south side of the Holley House. In 1916, a general store and post office occupied the street level; the postmaster and his family lived over the store.[36]

Hassam's image encompasses a mixture of housing types, a jumble of commercial and residential buildings, and an example of what preservationists would later call adaptive use (the warehouse converted to apartments). This mixture ran counter to the new suburban ideal, which advocated the segregation of separate, single-family residences on their own spacious lots as far as possible from any sign of commerce.[37] Three of the businesses that operated in buildings represented in Hassam's watercolor—the tavern, a laundry, and the livery stable—would have been particularly disturbing to the upper-middle-class newcomers who were building homes elsewhere in Greenwich. All three were potentially noisy, the stable was certainly smelly, and the laundry and tavern were operated by recent immigrants. Further enriching the human mix, Casa Eby was home not only to the young printmaker, but also to at least one African-American couple.[38] At that time, such ethnic diversity within a small area would have been highly unlikely in the purely residential districts of towns like Greenwich. Instead, tiny Cos Cob resembled New York City in its ethnic diversity, population density, varied housing types, and residential-commercial mix.

During the same decades that he was documenting Cos Cob's built environment, Hassam became known as the foremost chronicler of modern life in the city.[39] A comparison of a Cos Cob and a New York image, both

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executed in 1902, will reveal how he adapted similar strategies to sharply different locales. The title of *Broadway and 42nd Street* (fig. 6.22) summarized, in an address, the city's vitality and glamour. This crossroads was, according to Richard Le Galliene, the "storm center of New York's hedonistic activities" especially at night, when it became "the glowing, incandescent heart of the city."[40] Hassam conveys the élan of the entertainment district on a winter evening. The falling snow veils the handsome tall buildings and carpets the sidewalk where elegantly dressed pedestrians stroll. Their clothing and the horse-drawn cabs create a velvety black cushion for the jewel-like glitter of the shop windows and the passing trolleys. In the early evening, Hassam later told an interviewer, "when just a few flickering lights are seen here and there. . . the city is a magical evocation of blended strength and mystery."[41]

To capture this fashionable scene, Hassam probably propped his canvas on the seat of a cab. "I paint from a cab window," he told an interviewer, "when I want to be on a level with the people in the street and wish to get comparatively near views of them, as you would see them as if walking in the street."[42] His method thrusts us into the action, recreating the forced proximity with strangers that is typical of city life. Several pedestrians stride directly toward the viewer, who has no easy access to the street. The crowded canvas suggests the "madding whirl and roar of tangled vehicles and men" that a contemporary complained were typical of this area, particularly when "darkness falls, and the theatres open to receive or pour forth their multitudes. . . ."[43]

For *November, Cos Cob* (fig. 6.23), Hassam also chose a slightly elevated viewpoint, setting his easel at the south end of the lower porch of the Holley House. While the city observer is suspended uneasily above the pavement, space opens out to the country viewer, who is invited to step out onto the

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ground just under her feet, descend the steps in the lower left corner, and join one of the three small clusters of figures in the background. The zigzag trajectory of this implied motion slows the viewer's gaze and suggests the leisurely pace of rural life.

Architectural elements project into both compositions. *Broadway at Forty-second* Street is bracketed by tall buildings that extend beyond the upper edge of the canvas, looming over the pedestrians and vehicles. No tree or vine softens the hard surfaces. Unlike the handsome new skyscrapers lining Broadway, the Connecticut buildings are old, unfashionable, and built to a human scale. The porch of the post office next door to the Holley House edges the right side of the pastel. The low structure does not constrict the viewer, however, but offers an additional resting place for the eye and a frame-within-the-frame for a vignette of country life. The built environment blends comfortably with its natural setting. A large tree in the foreground anchors the composition and extends to each edge, embracing a harmonious balance of humans, architecture, and nature.

In *November, Cos Cob,* and in many other images, Hassam paid homage to one of the oldest forms of human settlement: the village. Hassam and his colleagues in the Cos Cob Clapboard School were in tune with the thinking of contemporary reformer Liberty Hyde Bailey. Citing the havoc wreaked by incompetent cityfolk intent on going back to the farm, Bailey wrote in 1911, "It seems to me that what is really needed is a back-to-the-village movement." He urged the establishment of small commercial and manufacturing enterprises in villages, so that people could live close to their work. Their desire for a "nature-connection" would be met by cultivating their own small gardens. Through the widespread adoption of the village model, Bailey declared, "the social condition of both cities and country ought to be

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improved."[44]

In Cos Cob, the art colonists lived the ideal that Bailey preached. Like the fishermen they so often included in their architectural images, the artists worked close to their home base, the Holley House. Like the fishermen, they found a "nature-connection" not just in after-work pastimes, but in the work itself. The village seems the perfect theme for artists who chose to work in an art colony: both are tightly knit social networks offering mutual support and easy interaction between public and private. The buildings the Cos Cob Clapboard School depicted offered a human-connection: to the past, through their age and history, and to the present, through the casual, daily interactions of a compact, mixed community.

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[1] Adeline Adams, *Childe Hassam* (New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1938), p. 93.

[2] Fourth interview with De Witt McClellan Lockman, February 3, 1927, Lockman Papers, Archives of American Art, roll 503, frame 412.

[3] Quoted in Adams, p. 15.

[4] Christ Episcopal Church was completed in 1857, Second Congregational in 1860, Diamond Hill Methodist in 1868, and First Presbyterian in 1887. I am grateful to HSTG archivist Susan Richardson and Town Historian William E. Finch, Jr. for helping me research the town's ecclesiastical buildings.

[5] There were rival claims to this distinction. Mead argues that Putnam's headquarters was the house of Captain John Hobby, on the Boston Post Road near the present Sherwood Place (pp. 163 and 167). For the history of the ownership of Putnam Cottage, see Mead, pp. 176-77.

[6] Mead provides an account of this episode based on Putnam's own report and the eyewitness oral narratives handed down in his family (Mead, pp. 160-68). Putnam's cool defiance is celebrated in another episode. At the Battle of Bunker Hill, he is said to have issued the famous order, "Don't one of you shoot until you see the whites of their eyes."

[7] "Was It Drawn by Old Put?," *Greenwich Graphic*, September 25, 1897, p. 1: 3-4.

[8] The monument was finally dedicated on June 16, 1900 ("Put's Hill Has a Monument," *Greenwich Graphic*, June 23, 1900, p. 1: 1-6). It was unveiled by the 21-year-old artist, D. Putnam Brinley, a lineal descendant of the general.

[9] Putnam Cottage was purchased on behalf of the Greenwich chapter of the D.A.R. in 1902. Some years later, it was opened to the public as a museum.

[10] Deed research by Nils Kerschus for the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, November 1994.

[11] Robinson's diary (Cos Cob), June 7, 1894.

[12] "An Art School at Cos Cob," *The Art Interchange* 43 (September 1899), pp. 56-57; "The Oldest House in Town," *Greenwich Graphic*, January 29, 1898, p. 1: 1-3.

[13] "The Oldest House in Town."

[14] Wallace Nutting, *Connecticut Beautiful* (Garden City, N. Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1923), p. 72.

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[15] Michael Kammen, *Meadows of Memory* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), p. 155.

[16] J. H. McFarland, "The Elm and the Tulip: Two Unique American Trees," *Outlook* 75 (October 3, 1903), pp. 277-86.

[17] "How to Kill Elm Beetles," *Scientific American* 74 (May 16, 1896), p. 310. The *Scientific American* publicized the threat of the elm-leaf beetle as early as 1884. The federal government issued periodic bulletins on the pests beginning by 1885 (see C. V. Riley, *The imported elm leaf-beetle*, U. S. Entomology Division Bulletin 6 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1885.)

[18] "The Elm Leaf Beetle," *Greenwich Graphic*, August 9, 1902, p. 1:4.

[19] J. P. Mowbray [Andrew C. Wheeler], *A Journey to Nature* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901), pp. 130-31. The essays in this book had been published some time earlier in the *New York Evening Post*.

[20] Alfred Morton Githens, "The Farmhouse Reclaimed I," *House and Garden* 17 (June 1910), p. 217; quoted in Peters 1995, pp. 303-4. Githens, a partner in the architectural firm of Haight and Githens, was one of the exhibitors in the GSA's 1913 architectural exhibition.

[21] John Douglass Hale, *The Life and Creative Development of John H. Twachtman*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1957; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1957), p. 121.

[22] Ezekiel Lemondale (Frederick Hubbard), "Our Summer Drives," *Greenwich Graphic*, May 19, 1894, p. 1: 4-5.

[23] "Cos Cob As It Was," *Greenwich Graphic*, December 14, 1907, p. 1:1-3. The Brush House was built sometime between 1751 and 1784, according to deed research by Nils Kerschus for the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, November 1994.

[24] Information about Joseph E. B. Brush is from his obituary (*Greenwich News*, September 4, 1914, p. 8: 1) and from two persons who knew him: Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage and Mr. William E. Finch, Jr. According to Mrs. Delage and Mr. Finch, Brush was called "Old Joe." His obituary softens the title to "Uncle Joe."

[25] Rebecca Bennett Talcott, "Artist's Career Begun at Cos Cob," *Our Town*, December 4, 1915. That article erroneously reports that the Brush House was abandoned in 1909 when artist Harry Lachman spent the summer there. According to Joseph Brush's obituary, he died in the house where he was born and had lived his entire life.

[26] Mary Caroline Crawford, *Little Pilgrimages Among Old New England Inns* (1907; reprint Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1970), p. vii.

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[27] Deed research by Nils Kerschus for the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, October 1990. For more historical background on the house (not entirely accurate), see Allan F. Kitchel, Jr., "Historic Houses of Greenwich [part] VI: The Captain Waring House," *Greenwich Press*, March 11, 1937; Kitchel scrapbooks, HSTG.

[28] For information on the Seymours, see Harry M. Lounsbury and Katherine L. S. Lowell, *The Strickland Road Area* (Greenwich Library, Oral History Project, 1978). According to this account, Hassam did a painting of the house that includes one of the Seymours' daughters. Illustrator and journalist Whitman Bailey wrote that Twachtman also depicted the house in a painting exhibited at the National Academy of Design. (Whitman Bailey, "Artist's View of Old Captain Waring House at Cos Cob," unidentified clipping with illustration dated 1928; Archives, HSTG.) In her oral history, Katherine Seymour Lowell recalls that she and her brother posed for E. Boyd Smith and that their sister appears in a painting by Hassam of the Seymours' home.

[29] A collection of Seymour's glass-plate negatives is in the collection of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. Photographs made from two of them are used as illustrations in this dissertation (see figs. 1.11 and 6.9).

[30] Lounsbury and Lowell, p. 59.

[31] Nils Kerschus, "Cos Cob Landing," deed research for the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, November 1994 and January 1995.

[32] "Old Tide Mill at Cos Cob," *Greenwich Graphic*, February 18, 1899, p. 1: 1.

[33] "An Art School at Cos Cob," p. 56.

[34] May Brawley Hill records numerous references to hollyhocks in her admirable book, *Grandmother's Garden: The Old-Fashioned American Garden 1865-1915* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995). See also William H. Gerdts, *Down Garden Paths: The Floral Environment in American Art* (Cranbury, N. J.: Associated University Presses, 1983).

[35] Eby depicts the skylight in the roof of his apartment in this etching, but not in the closely related drypoint, *Warehouses, Cos Cob* (1916, New York Public Library).

[36] Previously, as Hassam well knew, the Alsatian shoemaker John Kalb had operated his shop on the premises for some forty years. The postmaster in 1916, Charles W. Munsinger, was his son-in-law. (Nils Kerschus, "Justus Luke Bush Storehouse," deed research for the HSTG.)

[37] For a provocative analysis of the suburban ideal applied to Twachtman's home and paintings, see Lisa Peters, "John Twachtman (1853-1902) and the American Scene in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Frontier within the Terrain of the Familiar" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1995), pp. 296-314 and 405-26.

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[38] According to Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage, one of the upstairs apartments was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Les Carpenter during the period that Eby also rented space there, while the street-level space (at one time occupied by a Chinese laundry) was home to Mary and Andy Ford. The Fords and the Carpenters were African-American. Telephone interview with Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage, September 16, 1994.

[39] For more on Hassam's paintings of New York City, see Ilene Susan Fort, *Childe Hassam's New York* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1993); William H. Gerdts, *Impressionist New York* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994)), and Weinberg, Bolger and Curry, *American Impressionism and Realism*, pp. 173-88.

[40] Richard Le Galliene, "The Philosopher Walks Up-Town," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 123 (July 1911), pp. 237-38; quoted in Gerdts, *Impressionist New York*, p. 62.

[41] "New York, the Beauty City," *The Sun*, February 23, 1913, section 4, p. 16; reprinted in Ulrich W. Hiesinger, *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994), p. 181.

[42] A. E. Ives, "Mr. Childe Hassam on Painting Street Scenes," *Art Amateur* 27 (October 1892), p. 116.

[43] "Broadway by Night," *Harper's Weekly*, January 20, 1894, p. 54.

[44] Liberty Hyde Bailey, *The Country Life Movement in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 26-7. The back-to-the-village movement that Liberty Hyde Bailey anticipated did not materialize during his lifetime. However, many of the characteristics of the traditional village are inherent in the city neighborhoods celebrated by Jane Jacobs (*The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961). And today, enlightened developers are adopting the village model to planned comunities throughout the United States. For a brief summary of this trend, see Jerry Adler, "The New Burb is a Village," *Newsweek*, vol. 124-5 (December 26, 1994, January 2, 1995), p. 109.

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Chapter Seven

Reflections in a Goldfish Bowl: Childe Hassam and the Female Figure

Art lovers in the early twentieth century became accustomed to the term "Cos Cob." Seeing the odd, two-part place name appended to a title in an exhibition checklist, they anticipated landscapes, with figures mere accents lending a sense of scale to sailboat or cottage. So strong was the art colony's association with landscape that Theodore Robinson, whose career was largely devoted to the female figure, abandoned the theme during his seven weeks in Cos Cob. When the art colonists did turn to figurative work, it was generally to portray their relatives. John Twachtman presented his wife as a secular madonna, holding their infant son to a mirror (fig. 7.1). Charles Ebert depicted his wife and daughter sheltered under an arching tree (fig. 7.2). Mina Ochtman painted her daughter Dorothy reading in the glow of a glass-shaded lamp (fig. 7.3). Elmer MacRae occasionally received portrait commissions, but far more frequently he depicted his wife and daughters. For most of the art colonists, the female figure was a minor theme. Childe Hassam was the exception. Only he regularly paid models to pose for him in Cos Cob.

The female figure had been one of Hassam's major subjects from the beginning of his career, but it became his vehicle for a more allusive art from about 1900 to 1919. Hassam scholar Kathleen Burnside attributes this shift to the influence of the Symbolist painters whose work Hassam saw in Europe in 1897 and 1898.[1] His new approach was shared by the painters of the Boston School, particularly Joseph DeCamp, Edmund Tarbell, and Frank W. Benson, as well as the New York-based Robert Reid.[2] During the same period, a younger group of artists associated with the American art colony in Giverny also

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specialized in the female figure.[3] Like Hassam and the others of the older generation, they often depicted beautiful, idle women indoors, usually positioned near a window.

Hassam's New York Windows, as they are called, have been recognized as a coherent group since the first two decades of the twentieth century. During the same period, however, Hassam was creating a parallel series in Cos Cob. There, between 1902 and 1917, he produced at least twenty-three images of women (eleven oils and twelve etchings). Country cousins of the New York Windows, these images have been erroneously lumped with the city group, if not overlooked entirely. But just as Hassam alternated Manhattan cityscapes with Cos Cob villagescapes, he also shifted between images of women in urban and rural interiors. Like two sides of a coin, Hassam's images of women in New York and in Cos Cob reveal his views of city and country and illuminate his attitudes about nature, modernity, gender, and class.

Hassam himself seems to have viewed the city and the country paintings as complementary. He sometimes juxtaposed them in exhibitions and publications. In 1912, he sent two works to the Corcoran Gallery's Fourth Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Oil Paintings: *Bowl of Goldfish*, painted in Cos Cob, and *The New York Window* (figs. 7.4 and 7.5). In pairing these works at one of the most prestigious exhibitions in the country, Hassam invited critical comparison of them, but because they were displayed in different rooms no contemporary critic accepted his challenge.[4] Had they been hung side by side, their strong formal similarities would probably not have escaped notice. Both depict a young woman positioned in front of windows that establish a geometric grid for the composition while offering a view of the outdoors. Both use the window format to play off the tension between interior and exterior. Each includes a prominent still-life element,

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and in each, the woman's individuality is muted in a turn of the head, a blurring of the features.

These similarities make the differences between the two images more noticeable, like variations on a musical theme. The crucial distinction is in the treatment of space. In *The New York Window,* the sheer curtains and tightly closed windows completely separate the woman from the city outside. Absorbed in reverie, she turns inward mentally as well as physically. Even her posture, slumped in the chair, contrasts with the vigorous verticals of the skyscrapers glimpsed through the curtains. This emphatically divided space suggests additional oppositions: between private and public, feminine and masculine, tradition and modernity.

While interior and exterior are opposed in the New York painting, they are continuous and interpenetrating in the Cos Cob scene. The windows are wide open, the casements thrust outward. The model turns her head to look out the window, contemplating nature. No curtains screen her view of a flower-bordered lawn rising to a neighboring building.[5] Her patterned kimono echoes the flowers blooming below the window, while her posture repeats that of the slender sapling that grows within her reach. Space flows freely from indoors to out, and the woman belongs to both worlds.

The easy access to the outdoors offers the Connecticut model the uplifting influence of nature. Morality and a love of the natural world were intertwined in turn-of-the-century thought, as reflected in a poem published in 1906:

> All the woods of April show
> Wisdom we should heed and know.
> Seed and root and fibre fine
> Have a message half divine.[6]

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In the same vein, clergyman Francis E. Clark wrote in 1907 that "a noble grove of pines is more apt to remind me of their Maker than a sky-scraper."[7] In the city, a woman risked corruption by the world outside her window; in the country, she would be improved by it.

The still-life elements—a stiff pyramid of fruit in the Manhattan work, a bowl of goldfish in Cos Cob—are both decoration and symbol. In *The New York Window*, the red and yellow fruit commands attention as the only bright accent in the predominantly blue-toned canvas. Set beside the model, it is a classic emblem of female sensuality and fruitfulness. In John Singleton Copley's *Mrs. Isaac Smith* (fig. 7.6), the sitter, who was pregnant at the time, holds a bunch of grapes.[8] Mrs. Smith's window view of a river flowing through a lush valley further identifies her with nature. In Hassam's *New York Window*, on the other hand, the fruit is the only natural element. It is a nature substitute in this urban interior.

The Cos Cob still life, the goldfish bowl, is more complex. On the simplest level, it enables Hassam to demonstrate his Impressionist virtuosity in rendering light. Furthermore, it exemplifies the Japanism that was so pronounced in the Cos Cob art colony. The goldfish is a familiar motif in Japanese and Chinese art. In *ukiyo-e* prints, it is often associated with beautiful women, as in the image of a courtesan holding a flask barely large enough for her pets (fig. 7.7). Japanese connoisseurs would have recognized the goldfish as a symbol of fertility and sexual harmony. Hassam, however, probably did not know of this or any of the other meanings attached to the goldfish in Asian culture.[9] Instead, the fish simply demonstrated a fashionable interest in Japan.

Like the fruit in the New York painting, the goldfish bowl links the woman to the world of nature. The fish swirling through the water are not

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nature substitutes, like the apples and grapes, but living nature itself. The bowl in which they swim is a lens, magnifying the natural world and bringing it indoors. In Robert Reid's painting of the same year (fig. 7.8), a bowl of goldfish mesmerizes the women, fixing their attention on the claustrophobic interior. Hassam, on the other hand, uses the goldfish bowl to unite indoors and out, home and nature.

While the goldfish represent nature, it is nature contained and domesticated. During the nineteenth century, people kept these popular pets in one of two ways, according to historian Katherine C. Grier. Either they duplicated a complete ecosystem in an aquarium stocked with plants and other creatures or they isolated the fish in a glass globe. The latter course, Professor Grier observes, transforms the fish from an animal into a decorative object.[10] Divorced from its habitat, it exists solely as an amusing spectacle for its owners.

As the object of the unremitting gaze, the goldfish bowl had become slang for a lack of privacy by 1904, when a character in a short story complained, "I might have been a goldfish in a glass bowl for all the privacy I got."[11] Hassam may have intended the motif partly as a witty allusion to the communal life of the boarding house. More profoundly, the goldfish in their bowl are a metaphor for the beautiful woman in the aesthetic home. One writer's description of the pleasure of watching goldfish reveals the gender bias of this activity. Thomas M. Earl wrote in 1896,

> Since home-life must constitute for many the greater part of their earthly existence, it is natural and proper that all reasonable efforts be made to embellish the home with objects of interest and pleasure. Among the many ornaments from which one may choose for this purpose, what can give rise to more real enjoyment than the aquarium! How many hours can be passed in delightfully contemplating the actions of its finny inhabitants, busying themselves in the regulation of their household affairs . . . .[12]

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Earl feminizes the goldish, "busying themselves in the regulation of their household affairs" like industrious housewives. The "many" for whom home-life constituted "the greater part of their earthly existence" included, in his account, the young, the old, the ill, and the women who nurtured them all. Watching goldfish was a pastime for women; watching women watch goldfish was a theme for artists.

Employing a bowl of goldfish as the central image of a stained-glass window, Louis Comfort Tiffany set up a playful dialogue between spectators and spectacle (fig. 7.9). A goldfish bowl suspended in a blossoming cherry tree attracts a flock of parakeets, which peer into the bowl to inspect the fish. The appeal of this decorative work stems from the incongruous juxtaposition of the captive fish, who are the objects of the gaze, and the proverbially free birds, who are its subjects. In Hassam's *Bowl of Goldfish*, the decorative, confined fish are analogous to the woman, whose only role is ornamental. Because she lives in the country, she enjoys easy access to the natural realm beyond her window. Still, the domestic sphere contains her as surely as the glass globe does the swimming fish.

In *The Dutch Door*, an etching executed at the Holley House (fig. 7.10), Hassam uses a motif comparable to the goldfish bowl: a bird cage. Print specialist Carl Zigrosser praised the etching as an image of feminine absorption in nature. "What poetic charm there is in the conception of *The Dutch Door*," he wrote, "the girl standing at the door and drinking in with her fresh young nature the radiant summer that is jubilantly singing and caroling out of doors."[13] The singing and caroling emerge from a caged bird, however. The bird was kept for aural pleasure, the goldfish for visual. Bird cage, fish bowl, domestic chamber: each contains a living ornament.

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An aesthetic of containment (to borrow Barbara Melosh's phrase[14]) is inherent not only in the goldfish bowl but also in the window format. The effect depends largely on the relative positions of the woman and the artist/observer. Leaning into our space, as in a painting by Murillo (fig. 7.11), she appears flirtatious, if not wanton.[15] Caspar David Friedrich conveyed a completely different mood by standing behind his model as she gazed out the window (fig. 7.12). Yearning toward the bright world beyond the shadowy room where she is sequestered, she conveys a Romantic melancholy.[16] In *Morning Glories* (fig. 7.13), Winslow Homer stood outdoors to depict a woman sitting in profile on the sill of an open window. Locked into the plane of the window, she is compressed within its opening like a sculpture in a classical pediment. Doubly framed, she is as decorative as the flowers whose name Homer punningly extends to her. In *Bowl of Goldfish* (see fig. 7.4), Hassam's strategy is subtler than Homer's, more genteel than Murillo's, more buoyant than Friedrich's. Positioned within the model's space, the observer sees the woman as the principal ornament of a refined interior.

Just as Hassam had paired a Cos Cob and a New York window in the 1912 Corcoran exhibition, he juxtaposed another such pair in the 1922 monograph on his work.[17] There, *The Goldfish Window* of 1916 (fig. 7.14), a reworking of *Bowl of Goldfish*, appears opposite *The New York Winter Window* of 1918-19 (fig. 7.15).[18] Hassam, who was known for his unusual involvement in his exhibition catalogues,[19] almost certainly participated in the layout of this book. Again, we are invited to compare a city-country pair. Formally, the paintings are almost mirror images of one another. Each depicts a woman standing in profile before a polished table, on which she rests the fingers of one hand, while holding her other, bent, arm close to her torso. Each room contains a chair or two and a still life centered on the table. Windows reveal a

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view outdoors. In the New York painting, the skyscrapers glimpsed through sheer curtains seem as flat as a theatrical backdrop. Hassam's revisions of *Bowl of Goldfish*, on the other hand, intensify the flow between interior and exterior. The gable's shadow on the lawn is darker and more defined, echoing the vector of the open casements. The small book the model held in the earlier version has been replaced by a blossom, which she holds to her breast in a gesture signifying her emotional bond with nature. The goldfish bowl has been given even greater weight as the vortex of the painting. It is slightly larger in proportion to the model and the fish have been rearranged in a more dynamic *yin-yang* pattern. Refracted in the water, a patch of grass seems to rest on the tabletop. The model's hair, which was actually light brown, glints with orangey highlights that link her to her metaphor, the goldfish.[20] Hassam's exuberantly free brushwork further compels our attention to this central image.

Tasteful opulence is suggested in the New York painting by the silver compote of fruit and the lustrous tea service on a handsome sideboard. The bowl of bulbs sprouting on the windowsill may represent not nature, but the city. In describing *Tanagra*, another New York Window of about the same date, Hassam explained that the flowering bulbs were intended to symbolize the growth "of a great city."[21] In the New York images, then, even living natural elements may represent the modern metropolis.

Hassam's attitudes about the differences between city and country life is also revealed in the furniture. Apart from antiquity, the furnishings in the two interiors have little in common. The New York table is highly polished and elegant; the Cos Cob one, which is still in the Bush-Holley House, is a simple country piece with the wide overhang typical of Connecticut tables. The chair in the city dining room appears to be a William and Mary piece, a

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prized example of Pilgrim Century furniture. Its counterparts in Cos Cob are two rush-seated, slat-back chairs, a type so common in New England that antiquarian Luke Vincent Lockwood (a Greenwich native) observed that "there was hardly a household that did not own one or more."[22] Such a rustic chair would have been out of place in Hassam's worldly dining room. In Cos Cob, however, it evoked an American past that was simple, unsophisticated, and rural.[23]

The flow between indoors and out, home and nature, that Hassam celebrated in the two goldfish paintings pervades *Listening to the Orchard Oriole* (fig. 7.16), dated 1902. The model stands on the upper porch of the Holley House, enjoying the extensive panorama that prompted many artists to set their easels there. The appeal of that elevated prospect—and the contrast between city and country—is revealed in a letter John Twachtman wrote to Josephine Holley from New York: "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 air-shaft . . . . "[24] In Hassam's painting, no barriers obstruct the spectator's view; her body overlaps and unites the space of the house and the space of the world beyond.

This freedom of the gaze is denied her city counterparts. In *Spring Morning* (fig. 7.17), the artist permits his model minimal viewing space, as cameramen call the area before a person's eyes, and further restricts her vista with the window's small size. Even so, she seems almost to recoil from the sight of the city. As if to anchor herself to the sheltering interior, she touches the polished table, on which blossoms float in a shallow glass bowl. She is hemmed in by domestic objects, pinned between the nature substitutes of floral still life and Japanesque screen.

Another New York painting that shows a woman as spectator is explicit

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about the gendered identity of interior and exterior spaces. In *The Flag Outside Her Window, April 1918* (fig. 7.18), the female spectator peers furtively between the curtains. The alternative title, *Boys Marching By*, identifies the exterior world as the masculine sphere. As the United States entered combat in World War I, viewers understood that the woman was watching a parade of soldiers. The boys marching by are off "to make the world safe for democracy." The woman, on the other hand, can only glimpse the world from afar.

Unlike her urban counterpart, Hassam's Cos Cob model meets the outdoors halfway. Standing on the porch, she enjoys not only the sight of nature, but also its sound—she listens, the title tells us, to an orchard oriole.[25] Birdwatchers cherished the orchard oriole for its joyful song. One of Hassam's contemporaries wrote nostalgically, "The old house with its cluster of farm buildings, the rows of gnarled . . . apple trees, . . . the warm sunshine of early summer and the song of the Orchard Oriole—all are ever closely intermingled in my memory."[26] The reminiscence of a person who has left the country, this passage reflects the appreciation of nature ascribed to educated city dwellers. Agrarian reformer Liberty Hyde Bailey declared that it was morally imperative to teach farmers "to hoe potatoes and to hear the birds sing at the same time."[27] Communing with nature, as the model does in this painting, was the prerogative of the city dweller on vacation in the country. In his treatment of the pictorial space, uniting the spheres of home and nature, Hassam encodes the arcadian ideal of a cosmopolitan man of the city.

That ideal froze the countryside in the preindustrial past and Hassam edited his images to eliminate intrusions of modern life. A photograph of the Cos Cob mill (see fig. 1.10) reveals that a utility pole stood just beyond the small building in the background of *Listening to the Orchard Oriole*. Hassam did not

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always avoid evidence of industrialization, even in Cos Cob. The same year he painted *Listening to the Orchard Oriole*, he also painted *The Mill Pond, Cos Cob* (see fig. 3.1), depicting construction work on the Mianus River railroad bridge. In his painting of a woman in a country home, however, he suppressed evidence of modernity to create a timeless, preindustrial landscape.[28]

The kimono that appears in *Oriole* is another device for denying change. The same flowered white kimono appears in at least six Cos Cob images from 1902 to 1916.[29] It enabled Hassam to avoid the time-specificity of Western fashion, thus enhancing his ideal of the country as timeless and unchanging.

In the enthusiasm for Japanese culture that gripped Europe and America in the second half of the nineteenth century, many artists depicted women in a kimono. Claude Monet portrayed his wife in an elaborate embroidered robe (fig. 7.19) and James McNeill Whistler presented a wealthy collector's daughter as "the princess of the land of porcelain" (fig. 7.20). Monet heightened the artificiality of his image by having his brunette wife wear a blonde wig, while Whistler ameliorated it by giving his model the S-curve posture familiar from *ukiyo-e* prints. Neither artist had yet internalized the Japanese aesthetic that would eventually inform their work. The kimono paintings are costume pieces.

At the Holley House, art colonists occasionally dressed up in kimono. Constant Holley MacRae, who staged "tea ceremonies" for local organizations, was photographed in an authentic-looking padded kimono. In another snapshot, Japanese artist Genjiro Yeto is surrounded by kimono-clad American women, probably fellow students in Twachtman's summer school (see fig. 2.17). Like the paintings by Monet and Whistler, this carefully staged scene is replete with Oriental paraphernalia. Paper lanterns and parasols, folding

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fans, hanging scrolls, a musical instrument, porcelains: all identify the women as sophisticated initiates in the cult of Japanism.

Besides manifesting a refined aesthetic taste, the kimono conveyed a discreet eroticism to Hassam's contemporaries. There were three reasons for this association. First, the garment originated from a country whose attitudes towards women's status and sexuality were quite different from those of Westerners. Fictional and journalistic accounts of the geisha, in particular, fostered the notion that Japanese women were both sexually sophisticated and utterly subservient to men.[30] Second, *ukiyo-e* prints depicted professional beauties in alluring dishabille (see fig. 7.7). Relatively few showed the garment as worn by "proper" Japanese women.[31] Third, though the tubular shape of the authentic kimono restricts movement, the garment was assimilated into American wardrobes as the "kimona," a loose-fitting dressing gown.[32] The Sears, Roebuck catalogue offered ready-made "Long Kimonas or Negligees [sic]," describing them as "very handy house garments."[33] The popular fashion magazine *The Delineator* announced in 1902, "The kimono has firmly established its popularity as a wrapper or lounging robe."[34] Hassam's colleagues in the Ten, William Merritt Chase and Robert Reid, frankly exploited the kimono's eroticism (figs. 7.21 and 7.22). Chase's model crosses her legs, revealing slender ankles above shiny pumps and a flash of frilly petticoat. With her non-Japanese posture and underpinnings, this assertive young woman exemplifies the kimono-wearer's heady mixture of exoticism and eroticism. Reid's model, whose kimono loosely covers her undergarments, poses in her boudoir, which was considered the appropriate setting for this intimate apparel.[35] Hassam is more discreet than Reid or Chase, allowing the mere presence of the kimono to lend a sexual overtone to *Listening to the Orchard Oriole*. In the two goldfish paintings (see figs. 7.4 and 7.14), the

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discarded clothing draped on a chair subtly underscores the sense of intimacy.

The degree of sensuality in Hassam's images of women varied with his models. The woman who exposed her breast in *The Flag Outside Her Window* (see fig. 7.18) was undoubtedly a professional model. In Cos Cob, Hassam hired a local girl, Helen Burke, to pose for the two goldfish paintings, *The Dutch Door*, and several other images.[36] Her youth and the tight social network of the village imposed a strict propriety on the artist-model relationship from the moment the modelling session was scheduled. When Hassam wanted her to pose, he did not approach Helen himself; rather, Constant Holley MacRae would speak to her mother.

Helen may have modelled for *Clarissa's Window* (fig. 7.23), painted in the Holley House in 1913. Clarissa MacRae, one of the twin daughters of Constant and Elmer MacRae, was only nine years old in 1913, while Helen was fourteen, which appears to be about the age of the model. (It is also possible that the painting is a homage to Clarissa Davidge, who married Hassam's friend Henry Fitch Taylor in March 1913.) Hassam set *Clarissa's Window* in a provocative context in the 1914 exhibition of the Ten, showing it with three nudes: *The Model Disrobing*, *The Golden Window*, and *The Gorge—Appledore*. Three critics commented on the formal similarities between *Clarissa's Window* and *The Golden Window*, painted in the artist's Manhattan studio, the *Evening Post* calling them "variations played by the artist on favorite themes."[37] *The Model Disrobing* is probably the oil of that title now in the collection of Scripps College (fig. 7.24).[38] Although the Scripps canvas is dated 1918, it fits one critic's description of the painting exhibited four years earlier: "Beautiful flowers in a picture on the wall, beautiful draperies on a sofa, and a little disproportioned invertebrate figure with its back toward us . . . ."[39] *Clarissa's Window* and *The Model Disrobing* are quite similar in composition. In both,

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the model stands with her back to the viewer and her head turned to the left against a rectangular form: an open window in Cos Cob, a floral still life in New York. The city model ignores even that souvenir of nature, however. Like the painting on the wall before her, she represents nature-as-spectacle for the pleasure of others. "Clarissa," on the other hand, gazes at the light-dappled garden. Her youth, diffidence, fully-clothed state, and personal relation with nature distinguish her from the older, nude models in the other three paintings with which Hassam showed *Clarissa's Window* in 1914.

Hassam painted the female nude in the open air at the Isles of Shoals, Old Lyme, and East Hampton, but never in Cos Cob. He did, however, make pencil drawings of nudes there in the summer of 1915, transforming his sketches into two etchings: *The Three Little Girls* (fig. 7.25) in 1916 and *Three Little Girls of Cos Cob* in 1922. According to Royal Cortissoz, who catalogued Hassam's prints with the artist's cooperation, the subject is the "young daughters of Cos Cob artists who were always allowed to run around nude on the various picnics of their parents and friends."[40] The three persons represented might logically include the MacRae twins, Betty Ebert, and Anya Seton, all ten to eleven years old in summer 1915—too old, by most standards, to go naked in public. The "little girls" in the etching are not ten-year-olds, however, but nubile young women. The pose of the central figure is one Francis Frascina has identified as the "Vénus Anadyomène," after Ingres's painting of that title.[41] As a means of displaying the breasts, it appears in such diverse images as Bouguereau's *Birth of Venus* (fig. 7.26) and Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*. In adapting this pose, Hassam further eroticized his image of his friends' daughters. Possibly because he anticipated an adverse reaction from their parents, he reserved these etchings as relatively private works, printing only eight impressions of the first version, probably fewer of the second.[42]

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Of the more ambitious Cos Cob images of women, the most intimate is *Morning Light* (fig. 7.27), depicting Maud Doane Hassam in the north bedroom of the Holley House. With his wife as his model, Hassam was liberated from the social constraints that governed his relationship with Helen Burke—he was free to portray her in a situation more openly charged with eroticism. As Anne Higonnet establishes in her study of Berthe Morisot, only a woman's husband was properly permitted to see her at her toilette, for it was felt that "a woman's exposure to a male gaze at that moment designates her as his actual or potential sexual possession."[43] In Manet's *Nana* (fig. 7.28), the model flaunted her sexual availability by appearing partially dressed before the top-hatted male visitor as well as the implicitly male observer. The courtesan collaborated in the image, however, candidly meeting the viewer's gaze. Hassam's more genteel painting is more insidiously voyeuristic. His viewpoint is that of a husband who shares with the stranger the casual intimacy of a shared bedroom. His wife's peignoir slips from her shoulder, and the atmosphere of the boudoir perfumes the image.

The model's identity sets *Morning Light* apart from the Cos Cob series in other ways as well. Interior and exterior spaces do not flow easily from one to the other. Instead, Hassam creates a setting as enclosed as those in his New York Windows. This intensely private space shelters an intimate activity, declares his unique sexual claim to his model, and implicitly represents her as a sophisticated woman of the city. The square canvas is divided into quarters, with the horizontal division established by the top of the dressing table and the bottom of the window. The lower half of the composition is dominated by the graceful Windsor chair that was the Holleys' finest heirloom.[44] An unmistakable emblem of tradition, it supports and shields the woman and ties together the four quadrants of the composition. The picture's vertical split

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runs along the edge of the window, straight down through the hand-held mirror. The window—the smallest in the Cos Cob series—reveals not a landscape, but merely a windowbox of geraniums. The artifice implied in these dislocated plants is heightened by the facture; Hassam's parallel horizontal brushstrokes flatten the window rectangle into a scrap of patterned fabric. Mrs. Hassam is separated even from this glimpse of cultivated nature, however. Her body is firmly confined to the interior space, her view filtered through a bamboo blind.

On either side of the composition's vertical division, the twinned rectangles of looking glass and window represent varieties of seeing. Like the artist, the model is engaged in the creation of an image. We do not see her whole, but piece her together from mirrored fragments.[45] Standing behind her, we see her "real" back and her right profile. Gazing over her shoulder into the large mirror, we view her left profile and, in the reflection of her reflection in the hand mirror, the right half of her face. Further complicating the game of mirrors is the small looking glass atop a chest of drawers on the opposite wall of the room. Reflected in the large mirror, this glass might have revealed the artist painting the woman painting herself. Hassam obscures the ultimate reflection, however, sealing off the potential intrusion of the masculine, outside world in a scribble of illegible brushstrokes, just as he had blocked the window with the transparent barricade of the bamboo blind.

The left half of the canvas, the woman's half, is uniquely sophisticated for a Cos Cob work. The gleaming silver and glass objects on the dressing table would not be out of place in the fashionable New York interiors; in fact, they probably belonged to Mrs. Hassam. More important, her elegant gesture sets her apart from the simple stance of the Cos Cob models. She is obviously

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urbane, even if the setting is not urban. The patrician elegance that Hassam accorded his wife in *Morning Light* marks her as a sophisticated lady of the upper class, which in fact she was. Like her husband, Maud Doane Hassam came from a prosperous family long-established in Massachusetts. Both took great pride in their ancestry.[46] In portraying his wife as an American aristocrat, the artist made the claim for himself as well. *Morning Light* encodes the social reality of both Hassams.

Helen Burke, on the other hand, was a screen for Hassam's projections about gender, class, and tradition. This masquing is nowhere more evident than in the painting entitled *In the Old House* (fig. 7.29), for which Helen posed in the Holley House dining room. The antiquarian Wallace Nutting had photographed models in eighteenth-century costume before the same fireplace in 1904 (fig. 7.30). A shrewd businessman, Nutting recognized the popular appeal of a woman in a traditional interior as "a visual reminder of the good taste of the past . . . full of sentiment and historical suggestion."[47]

In summer 1914, when Hassam was occupied with *In the Old House*, the symbolism of the ancestral hearth had special poignance.[48] Europe was at war, and Americans were debating whether to send troops to the aid of their allies. Immigration that year swelled to a near-record high. This influx must have troubled Hassam, who lamented that his hometown had been taken over by "mongrels."[49] Professionally, he watched artistic leadership pass to the modernist Europeans introduced by the Armory Show. Even the definition of womanhood was undergoing dramatic transformation, as the athletic Gibson Girl, the career-oriented New Woman, and the short-skirted flapper successively challenged conventions of female dress and deportment.[50] In this turbulent climate, the image of a demure lady at the hearth of an old house offered comforting reassurance of the continuity of traditional values.

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Hassam's punning title declares his intention that the image be regarded as a cultural icon. The Holley House was commonly called the Old House, but most of Hassam's audience would have assumed that the phrase signified the paradigmatic American home.

Hassam seems originally to have planned to use his wife as the model for *In the Old House.* A small oil sketch (undated, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh B. Vanderbilt) shows an older woman resembling Mrs. Hassam at the mantelpiece, a wedding ring gleaming on her left hand. Instead, he hired Helen Burke. For Helen, the task meant posing in a double sense. Unlike Mrs. Hassam, she was not born to such a genteel setting, but lived over the tavern owned by her Irish-immigrant parents. The role Hassam assigned her denied her ancestry, her class, and her personality. According to her sister, Helen was a gregarious girl much in demand at parties to play the latest popular songs. Even as a teenager, she demonstrated unusual self-assertiveness by changing her middle name from the old-fashioned "Sarah" to the romantic "Eugenie." Soon after she graduated from high school, she established her own business (a secretarial service).[51] None of her vibrant confidence sparkles in Hassam's painting, where every line of her posture conveys "feminine" diffidence.

Ironically, *In the Old House* was used to suggest Hassam's own distinguished ancestry in a nativist appreciation of the artist published in 1923.[52] Over a large reproduction of the painting, Frederic Newlin Price began his essay by contrasting Hassam's family with those of two colleagues whose working-class fathers were immigrants: "Phoenix-like, they rise out of the human fire—Twachtman's father, a Cincinnati policeman, Murphy's, a Chicago night-watchman . . . . The parentage of Childe Hassam is very different—from erudite Boston, from Stephen Hassam, clock maker and portrait

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painter . . . ."[53] To Price's readers, the image of Helen at the Holley House hearth serves as an ancestor portrait for Hassam. The daughter of a bartender lent visual weight to the critic's class-conscious glorification of the artist's genealogy.

In his painting of Helen at the Holley House hearth, Hassam combines the homespun quality of the Nutting photographs with the aestheticism of Whistler's *Symphony in White No. 2* (fig. 7.31). For Whistler, the fireplace serves as a geometric support for the composition and a display shelf for carefully selected objects. For Hassam, it serves both those functions and more. Unlike Whistler, Hassam reveals the interior of the fireplace, whose large size is evidence of its age and importance for cooking and heating.[54] In giving such prominence to the fireplace, Hassam evokes the age-old equation between hearth and home. Helen's simple white dress links her to the classical white mantelpiece. She faces the fireplace, obscuring her individuality and concentrating her attention, and ours, on the home's focus, the hearth.

The still-life elements support the impression of an aesthetic home. The small luster vase is the same color and form as Helen's hair; like it, she is an *objet d'art.* Many of the same objects are found in both Hassam's oil and Nutting's photograph: the pink lusterware tea set, the small round vase of nasturtiums, and the brass andirons (minus their steeple finials in the oil). In the decade between the photograph and the painting, however, the needlework sampler has lost its privileged position over the mantelpiece to a group of Japanesque flower studies by Elmer MacRae, and some of the old china has been replaced by a large aubergine vase, most likely by art-potter Leon Volkmar.[55] While the watercolors and the vase were new, they were handmade by persons of taste close to the family, in keeping with the

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principles of the Arts and Crafts Movement. By grouping them with the heirlooms around the mantelpiece, the Holleys expressed—and Hassam documented—continuity in tradition.[56]

Like most Colonial Revival images, *In the Old House* celebrates an upper-middle-class ideal of American tradition. Hassam, like other artists and photographers, manipulated reality to express his ideals. Knowing the identity of his Cos Cob model, we are able to measure the gap between real and ideal. *In the Old House*, which seems to represent the privileged proprietor at the hearth of her ancestral manse, actually depicts an Irish-American teenager in a boarding house that was neither her home nor the artist's. While Hassam's art glorifies the rootedness of the Yankee gentility, the creation of that art—his own seasonal wanderings, his reliance on a first-generation American model—involved the social transitions so troubling to conservatives of his day.

Helen Burke and Maud Hassam were not the artist's only models in Cos Cob. He depicted Constant Holley MacRae in the etching *The Steps*; her mother Josephine Holley in the small oil panel, *Mrs. Holley of Cos Cob*, and her daughter Clarissa in the painting of that title.[57] He also portrayed some of the women artists of the art colony, but in a manner dramatically different from his images of himself and Kerr Eby. In his self-portrait of 1914 (see fig. 3.13), Hassam represents himself in the act of painting. Dressed in a smock, he holds a fistful of brushes in his right hand, another in his left. *The Etcher* shows Hassam in Eby's studio, wearing a smock and holding an etching plate. Eby appears in the same setting in *The Illustrator*, drawing at a table littered with artists' materials.[58] Women artists, by contrast, are shown either idle or engaged in amateur activity. The etching *Painting Fans* depicts two of them painting fans for a fair.[59] Another etching of 1915, *The Breakfast Room* (fig.

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7.32), portrays painter Caroline Mase. Unlike her male colleagues, she is not engaged in professional activity—or, for that matter, any activity at all. Accomplished women novelists and playwrights also frequented Cos Cob, but Hassam depicted only one woman in the act of writing: Mrs. Hassam absorbed in social correspondence at *The Writing Desk* (fig. 7.33)

Critic Eliot Clark said of Hassam, "He is essentially a man of the city and sees the country by relation to it."[60] A comparison of Hassam's images of women created in New York and Cos Cob in the first two decades of this century reveals concepts of city and country that are not so much opposite as complementary. Hassam's city is the locus of modernity, change, and sophistication; the country, for him, represents tradition, nature, and simplicity. Both views were euphemistic, requiring that reality be carefully manipulated to sustain a nostalgic, genteel record of early-twentieth-century American life. Both views encode attitudes toward gender, class, and Americanness that were more deeply entrenched the more they were threatened. Only through understanding his transformations of rural and urban reality are we able to share the view from Hassam's windows.

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[1] Kathleen Burnside, "Childe Hassam," *Ten American Painters* (exh. cat., New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1990), pp. 104-6.

[2] For more on the Boston School, see Bernice Kramer Leader, "The Boston Lady as a Work of Art: Paintings by the Boston School at the Turn of the Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1980). For a wide-ranging examinination of the theme of the female figure, with extensive bibliographic references to socio-cultural materials, see *American Impressionism and Realism*, pp. 247-309; notes pp. 336-44.

[3] For more on these artists, see William H. Gerdts, *Monet's Giverny: An Impressionist Colony* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993) and Bruce Weber, *The Giverny Luminists: Frieseke, Miller and Their Circle* (exh. cat., New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, Inc., 1995).

[4] According to the exhibition checklist, *Bowl of Goldfish* (number 136) was hung in Gallery G, *The New York Window* (number 165) in Gallery H. I am grateful to Corcoran archivist Marisa Keller and curatorial intern Paul Manoguerra for this information.

[5] The neighboring building is the barn that doubled as studio for the art colony. The window before which the model stands, since blocked off, was in the Lintry Room behind the North Bedroom of the Holley House. Hassam often stayed in the North Bedroom and used the Lintry Room to store his materials.

[6] Benjamin F. Leggett, *Out-Door Poems*, p. 31; quoted in John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) p. 190.

[7] Francis E. Clark, "Why I Chose a Suburban Home," *Suburban Life* 4 (April 1907); quoted in Stilgoe, p. 192.

[8] Carrie Rebora provides an insightful reading of this portrait in *John Singleton Copley in America* (exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 253-58.

[9] The symbolism of the goldfish is discussed in Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence in Western Art Since 1858* (New York: Park Lane/Crow, 1985), p. 121, and in C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), pp. 185-86. The Japanese adopted both the motif and much of its symbolism from China.

[10] Telephone interview with Katherine C. Grier, February 14, 1995. Professor Grier, an historian at the University of Utah, is writing a book on changing American attitudes toward animals from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

[11] Saki (Hector Hugh Munro), "The Innocence of Reginald," originally published 1904; collected in *The Short Stories of Saki* (New York: Modern Library, 1958), p. 41.

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[12] Thomas M. Earl, *Pets of the Household* (Columbus, Ohio: A. W. Livingston's Sons, 1896), p. 125.

[13] Carl Zigrosser, *Childe Hassam* (exh. cat., New York: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1916), p. 16.

[14] Barbara Melosh, *Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theater* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), pp. 208-9.

[15] For information on this painting, see Johnathan Brown and Richard Mann, *Spanish Paintings of the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries* (exh. cat., Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), pp. 105-9. According to this source, the women in Murillo's painting were assumed to be prostitutes.

[16] For a seminal discussion of the window theme in early-nineteenth-century European painting, see Lorenz Eitner, "The Open Window and the Storm-Tossed Boat: An Essay in the Iconography of Romanticism," *Art Bulletin*, December 1955, pp. 284-87.

[17] Nathaniel Pousette-Dart, *Childe Hassam* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1922), unnumbered pages.

[18] In the interval between the two goldfish paintings, Hassam probably saw the motif in two works by Henri Matisse. The French artist's *Goldfish and Sculpture* (1911, Museum of Modern Art) was exhibited at the Armory Show of 1913, where it was reproduced in postcard format. It was also reproduced in the *New York Times* (Clara T. MacChesney, "A Talk with Matisse," *New York Times*, March 9, 1913, sec. VII, p. 12: 1-7). In 1915, another Matisse *Goldfish* was included in his exhibition at Montross and reproduced in the *Times* ("Matisse at the Montross Galleries," *New York Times*, January 24, 1915, sec. V, p. 11: 2-3). Hassam's use of the theme shows no relation to that of Matisse, however.

[19] Adeline Adams, *Childe Hassam* (New York: American Academy of Arts and Letters, 1938), pp. 87-8.

[20] Information on the hair color of Hassam's model, Helen Burke, is from her sister, Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage (telephone interviews, February and September 1994).

[21] Letter from Hassam to John W. Beatty, director of fine arts at the Carnegie Institute, March 8, 1920; quoted in Gail Stavitsky, "Childe Hassam and the Carnegie Institute: A Correspondence," *Archives of American Art Journal*, vol. 22, number 3 (1982), p. 6.

[22] Luke Vincent Lockwood, *Colonial Furniture in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), vol. 2, p. 16.

[23] Andrew Jackson Downing had advised a half-century earlier that "a

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country-house (even when the same wealth and style are supposed) should always be furnished with more chasteness and simplicity than a town-house; because, it is in the country, if anywhere, that we should find essential ease and convenience always preferred to that love of effect and desire to dazzle" he ascribed to the city. "The great desideratum in the furniture of country-houses is, that it should be essentially *country-like*—which, we think, is attained only when it unites taste, comfort and durability in the greatest degree." (A.J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* [1850; reprint New York: Da Capo Press, 1968], pp. 409-10.)

24 Letter from John H. Twachtman to Josephine Holley, postmarked New York City, January 17, 1902. Archives, HSTG.

25 For viewers who saw *Listening to the Orchard Oriole* in the 1905 exhibition of the Ten, the title may have resonated with the words to the most popular song of that year, "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree." The song begins, "The oriole with joy was sweetly singing," and continues to describe a springtime romance. The chorus compares the woman's voice to the oriole's song. "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree," by composer Egbert Van Alstyne and lyricist Harry H. Williams, was published by Shapiro, Remick & Co. in 1905. It is reprinted in Robert A. Fremont, ed., *Favorite Songs of the Nineties* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), pp. 161-65. The month of original publication is not known. The 1905 exhibition of the Ten ran from March 25 to April 13.

26 Witmer Stone, "The Orchard Oriole," *Bird Lore* 12 (January 1910), pp. 44, 47.

27 Liberty Hyde Bailey, *The Holy Earth* (1943; first edition 1915), p. 37; quoted in Peter Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) p. xxi. Bailey was the editor of *Country Life in America* , the journal that best represented the city dweller's ideal of the country.

28 The notion of a rural residence as a stable base in a rapidly changing world was widely shared in the early twentieth century. Liberty Hyde Bailey wrote, "City properties may come and go, rented houses may be removed, stocks and bonds may rise and fall, but the land still remains . . . ." (Bailey, *The Country-Life Movement in the United States* [New York: MacMillan, 1911], p. 15.)

29 They are *Listening to the Orchard Oriole* (1902), *Bowl of Goldfish* (1912), *Clarissa's Window* (1913), *The White Kimono* (1915), *The White Mantel* (1915), and *The Goldfish Window* (1916). The two 1915 works are etchings, the others are oils.

30 For more on this issue, see Nancy A. Corwin, "The Kimono Mind: *Japonisme* in American Culture" in The Kimono Inspiration: Art and Art-to-Wear in America, edited by Rebecca A. T. Stevens and Yoshiko Iwamoto Wada (exh. cat., Washington, D. C.: The Textile Museum, 1996), pp. 23-73.

31 For a fascinating study of the kimono, including the subtleties differentiating wearers by gender, age, and class, see Liza Crihfield Dalby, *Kimono: Fashioning Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

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[32] "Kimona" is an Americanization of the word *kimono* according to European feminine form. Though men also wore kimonos, this hybrid word emphasized its identification with femininity.

[33] Page from 1905 Sears, Roebuck catalogue, reprinted in Joseph J. Schroeder, Jr., ed., *The Wonderful World of Ladies' Fashion 1850-1920* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1971), p. 192.

[34] *The Delineator* 60 (November 1902), caption for illustration of kimono patterns, p. 738.

[35] In an article that appeared in *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1905, a newlywed recounts cooking her first breakfast for her husband. She comes downstairs in a kimono and slippers to put the kettle on, then goes back to dress in a gingham gown before continuing her preparations. The kimono was essentially confined to the bedroom. (Anna Browning Doughten, "Nancy's First Housekeeping," *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1905; reprinted without further specifics in Schroeder, *The Wonderful World of Ladies' Fashion*, p. 201.)

[36] For information about Helen Burke, I am indebted to her younger sister, Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage (telephone interviews, February 4, 1994 and early September 1994). The other images for which Helen Burke posed are *In the Old House* (fig. 7.27), an oil titled *Helen Burke* (ca. 1915; location unknown), an etching by the same title (1917), and the etchings *The White Kimono* and *The White Mantel* (both 1915). It is possible that she is also the model in *Clarissa's Window* (fig. 7.23) and *Couch on the Porch* (fig. 6.8).

[37] "Art Notes," *New York Evening Post*, March 21, 1914, p. 9: 4. The similarities between the paintings were also noticed by the *New York Times* (see note 37) and *American Art News* (vol. 12, March 21, 1914, p. 3). The present location of *The Golden Window* is unknown.

[38] I am grateful to Kathleen Burnside for sharing her information on this painting. Ms. Burnside comments that Hassam sometimes reworked his paintings during this period, and that the 1918 date on the canvas may have been converted from 1913.

[39] "Art Notes: The Ten's Annual Exhibition at Montross Galleries," *New York Times*, March 18, 1914, p. 10.

[40] Royal Cortissoz, *Catalogue of the Etchings and Dry-Points of Childe Hassam, N.A.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), entry for *The Three Little Girls* (catalogue number 63).

[41] Francis Frascina, "Realism and Ideology: An Introduction to Semiotics and Cubism" in Charles Harrison, Francis Frascina, and Gill Perry, *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 112. I am grateful to Elizabeth Boone for this reference.

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[42] Cortissoz, catalogue entries for *The Three Little Girls* (C 63) and *Three Little Girls of Cos Cob* (C 203). Cortissoz supplies no information on edition size for number 203. No further information is offered in *Handbook of the Complete Set of Etchings and Drypoints of Childe Hassam, N.A.* (New York: Leonard Clayton Gallery, 1933), nor in the papers of Paula Eliasoph, who compiled the Clayton catalogue (Archives of American Art, reel 34). Surprisingly, Hassam did include *The Three Little Girls* in the 1916 exhibition of his etchings and drypoints at the Keppel Gallery, even identifying the subject as "The young daughters of Cos Cob artists" (Zigrosser, p. 51).

[43] Anne Higonnet, *Berthe Morisot's Images of Women* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 161.

[44] The chair, which remains in the Bush-Holley House to this day, is a continuous-arm bowback Windsor with thirteen spindles, made in New York around 1790. I am indebted to Barbara Freeman and William E. Finch, Jr., for this information.

[45] For another discussion of American Impressionist images of women looking in mirrors, see Bram Dijkstra, "The High Cost of Parasols: Images of Women in Impressionist Art" in Patricia Trenton and William H. Gerdts, *California Light 1900-1930* (exh. cat., Laguna Beach, Cal.: Laguna Art Museum, 1990), pp. 44-6.

[46] See Adams, p. 25

[47] Wallace Nutting, *Wallace Nutting's Biography* (Framingham, Mass.: Old America Company, 1936), pp. 75-6. Nutting's photographs of the Holley House interior were among the first of his popular "Colonial pictures" (*Biography*, p. 284). Two of them are now in the collection of the HSTG, but they were not in the house when the Society bought it from Constant Holley MacRae. For a study of the theme of the old-fashioned interior, see Celia Betsky, "Inside the Past: The Interior and the Colonial Revival in American Art and Literature, 1860-1914" in Alan Axelrod, ed., *The Colonial Revival in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1985), pp. 241-77.

[48] Hassam's *Self Portrait* (fig. 3.13) is dated June 7, 1914, three weeks before the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The nasturtiums in *In the Old House* indicate that he was also at the Holley House in mid- or late summer, after the outbreak of war.

[49] Immigration in 1914 totalled 1,218,480, the highest in any year since 1820 except for 1907. (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1970*, Part 1 [White Plains, N. Y.: Kraus International Publications, 1989], p. 105.) Hassam made this comment in a letter to an unidentified correspondent (Hassam Papers, Archives of American Art, roll NAA1, frames 740 and 749).

[50] Two writers of the Cos Cob art colony reacted conservatively to the changing status of women. Winfield Scott Moody contrasted the old and new female types in "Daisy Miller and the Gibson Girl," *Ladies Home Journal* 21

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(September 1904), p. 17. Harry Thurston Peck challenged the feminists' view of women's status in "For Maids and Mothers: The Woman of To-day and of Tomorrow," *Cosmopolitan* 27 (June 1899), pp. 149-62.

51 Telephone interview with Mrs. Mabel Burke Delage, February 4, 1994.

52 F. Newlin Price, "Childe Hassam—Puritan," *International Studio* 77 (April 1923), pp. 3-7.

53 Price, p. 3.

54 The hearth in this room dates to about 1732, when the Bush-Holley House was built. The Federal-style mantel was added about one hundred years later. Many of the objects in Hassam's painting remain in the house to this day. I am grateful to Barbara Freeman of the Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich for this information.

55 Volkmar was a close friend of Elmer and Constant MacRae, who used his glazed pots for her flower arrangments. The vase in Hassam's painting is no longer in the Bush-Holley House, but an important collection of Volkmar pots remains there.

56 Hassam also combines American tradition and cosmopolitan aestheticism in *The White Kimono* (etching, 1915). Here, Helen stands at the mantelpiece in a kimono rather than in the gauzy white dress of the painting.

57 *The Steps* (etching[C 52], 1915) is in several public collections including the Boston Public Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Mrs. Holley of Cos Cob* (undated) is in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh B. Vanderbilt. *Clarissa* (1912) is in the collection of the HSTG.

58 The descriptions are taken from the Cortissoz/Clayton catalogue of Hassam's etchings; no source has been found for *The Etcher* (1915, C 27) or *The Illustrator* (1915, C 31).

59 Cortissoz, cat. no. 37; no source known.

60 Eliot Clark, "Childe Hassam," *Art in America* 8 (June 1920), p. 173.

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Chapter Eight

On Home Ground:

John Twachtman and the Familiar Landscape

> Familiar [Latin, familia, family]: Of or pertaining to one's family or household . . . . intimately associated, intimate . . . . known from constant association; pertaining to every-day knowledge, well-known.[1]

"Don't you think that we have a beautiful place?" John Twachtman asked J. Alden Weir in a letter written soon after Twachtman had moved into a modest farmhouse in central Greenwich.[2] From the time he settled on the property, no later than the autumn of 1889, Twachtman made it his dominant theme. He eventually acquired seventeen acres, but found virtually all his motifs on only about four of them.[3] His painting ground lay between Round Hill Road and Horseneck Brook and between the waterfall and the end of his front lawn (fig. 8.1). Except for the environs of the Holley House three and a half miles away, Twachtman did not look for subjects elsewhere in Greenwich. Unlike the Ochtmans, for example, he did not ask shoreline residents for permission to paint on their property along Long Island Sound. The landscapes Twachtman painted on Round Hill Road literally belonged to him. They were doubly familiar: many include his house and family, and all reflect the intimate knowledge born of close observation and complete empathy.

In Greenwich, for the first time in his life, Twachtman settled permanently in a home of his choosing. His prior movements can be read as a search for a place of his own where he could live in harmony with nature. He had grown up in the German section of Cincinnati, a city then known for

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slaughterhouses and breweries.[4] Living with his parents or, in his youth, above his uncle's tavern, he had limited opportunities to enjoy the natural world. From the time he left Cincinnati for Munich in August 1875 until he finally settled in Greenwich about fourteen years later, he changed his place of residence at least a dozen times.[5] Many of these moves were dictated by his desire to paint in the countryside during the summer. In 1880, for example, he roamed the Massachusetts coast seeking paintable scenery and artistic companionship. Five years later, while studying at the Académie Julian in Paris, he rented a chateau in rural Normandy where his wife and two small children could enjoy the garden while he painted in the open air. The most successful result of that summer, *Arques-la-Bataille* (1885, Metropolitan Museum of Art), exemplifies the intense focus on a modest corner of nature that would characterize his Greenwich paintings. Back in the United States, Twachtman continued a semi-nomadic existence. With a third child on the way, he could scarcely refuse his father-in-law's offer in autumn 1886 to settle the young family on a farm in the Midwest. The city-bred artist detested farming, however.[6] Within two years he gave it up and moved his family East.

Twachtman's compulsion to come East, a reversal of the nation's Westward expansion, was prompted by several factors. First, the American art world was centered in New York. Though art academies and museums had sprung up across the country after the Civil War, the opportunities to sell one's work, establish a national reputation, and earn a living through teaching were still concentrated in Manhattan. Second, Twachtman's closest friends lived in the New York area, and he craved their support and stimulus. Third, the Northeast—specifically, New England—represented the enduring American tradition that was so comforting to artists and patrons during a period of rapid change. New England was envisaged, according to historian

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John Brinckerhoff Jackson, "as an open landscape of farms and meadows and tree-embowered villages, fresh and green and beautiful. It was accorded a quality . . . that distinguished it from other regions: a smallness of scale, a neatness and simplicity, a rich diversity of scenery that elsewhere in the United States were lacking." Whether or not these qualities derived from the region's being "the most truly American part of the country," as Yankees believed, New England exerted a powerful pull on the national imagination.[7] Twachtman's move to Connecticut was not an uprooting but rather a spiritual homecoming.

Twachtman tasted the pleasures of a country home when he and his family rented a place near J. Alden Weir's in Branchville the late 1880s.[8] Weir enjoyed his home ground on several levels. Relishing his role as gentleman farmer, he participated in haying and harvest. He roamed the woods with his dogs and gun, and happily spent hours fly-fishing in the streams. His home was a haven for friends and family and, most relevant to this discussion, the subject of his art. Recognizing the rewards of knowing one's subject intimately, Weir would later urge Robinson to find a place of his own and "get acquainted with it—grow up with it."[9] The conviction that an artist should find his subject matter in the setting he knew best was widely shared in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In reaction to their predecessors, who had travelled widely to paint views of awesome and remote subjects, the artists of the 1890s generally favored intimate landscapes. As Edward Simmons wrote in a eulogy of Twachtman, "No man expresses well in any art what he does not know to the bottom. It is as necessary for him who wishes to paint landscape to live surrounded by what he loves, as for him who would paint an elephant to go and find the animal."[10]

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Despite the cultural preference for the familiar and his own enjoyment of his Branchville farm, Weir did not at first endorse his friend's choice of home ground. When Twachtman wrote to Weir of his joy in his new home, Weir was still hoping to build a summer house in the Adirondacks. Twachtman understood that Weir was attracted to more sublime scenery than could be found in rural Connecticut. "Of course your ideal is a different one from mine and you and Mrs. Weir would seek the wilderness," he wrote. "But I like this place exceedingly—its very homliness [sic] has a charm for me . . . . and what is beautiful to paint should be an artists delight always. You see how I'm defending our place which did not impress you favorably. But you will come oftener and learn to love it as I do."[11]

As discussed in Chapter One, the newly discovered letter is evidence that Twachtman was established on Round Hill Road earlier than previously believed. More important, it reveals Twachtman's deliberate embrace of the modest and low-key for his home and subject matter. An account of how he found his place shows him pursuing a quality markedly different from the wilderness Weir preferred: "One day . . . Twachtman was following up a stream in Fairfield County, Conn. The way in which that Greenwich brook bent and curved and deepened into pools, and dashed itself to foam in miniature vociferous falls, could not fail to charm any painter. And at the point where it spread itself with an added vivacity he walked away from it over the hill to the house that owned it to investigate the possibility of a transfer."[12]

Hiking along Horseneck Brook, Twachtman did not so much discover his home ground as recognize it. "This is it!" he exclaimed with the joy of recognition on seeing it for the first time.[13] He chose a landscape that matched his ideal, which in turn conformed to an ancient paradigm: a house tucked into the shelter of a hillside, near flowing water and a fertile valley.

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The Roman poet Horace had described that ideal in words Twachtman might have echoed: "This was one of my prayers: a little space of land, with a garden, near the house a spring of living water, and a small wood besides. Heaven has filled it, better and richer than my hopes. It is good. I ask no more now . . . but this: make it for ever my own."[14]

Twachtman made the land forever his own not just through the exchange of money but by landscaping in a double sense: gardening and painting. When he acquired the property, it was farmland. The neighborhood in which it was located, Hang Root, was a settlement of five African-American families living on small plots and working as stonemasons and farm hands.[15] Hang Root was surrounded by large farms devoted mainly to dairy cattle. A contemporary descriptions captures the area's bucolic tone: "As the twilight deepens the cows come strolling along the road from their pastures to be milked near the dark unpainted barns."[16] Apple orchards dotted the hillsides, including Twachtman's front yard, but most of the land was exposed to the sky. With few trees to block the view, Long Island Sound was the distant backdrop to the rolling fields.[17] In *End of Winter* (fig. 8.2), Twachtman faithfully portrayed the surrounding landscape as open farmland, with few trees even along Horseneck Brook. But he was not interested in depicting farm life, as Weir did in Branchville and Robinson did in Greenwich (see fig. 2.4). Twachtman had seen in the plow-rutted acres what he would make of them. "Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock," writes Simon Schama.[18] During the dozen or more years that Twachtman lived at Hang Root, he steadily increased the sense of enclosure by planting trees and building stone walls. He expended enormous effort to make the place seem more "natural," gradually matching the real landscape more closely to his imagined garden. As revealed

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in his letter to Weir, he had originally planned to build an imposing stone house on the top of the hill overlooking the brook (fig. 8.3). There, the architecture would have dominated, if not overwhelmed, the site. Instead, Twachtman extended the existing farmhouse into the shelter of the hillside, achieving harmony between the built and the natural environment.

The setting offered surprising variety within a small area (see fig. 8.1). Just a few yards off Round Hill Road, the brook tumbled down a rocky ravine, forming a series of small cascades as it splashed over the boulders in its path. At the foot of the falls, and for most of its course through Twachtman's property, the brook was (and is) shallow and narrow, rippling over mossy pebbles and between lichened outcroppings of quartz and granite. In one stretch, however, it expands to form a placid pool about twenty feet wide and four feet deep; Twachtman called this the Hemlock Pool. The winding course of the stream, and the rise and fall of its banks, prevent the viewer from seeing it all at once. Instead, the landscape unfolds as a series of pictures. The uneven ground complemented Twachtman's practice of depicting the same subject in a subtly varied series. To paint the back of his house, for example, he could set his easel at the entrance level; move to a position on the path about three feet higher, or obtain a bird's-eye view by climbing to the next terrace. The topographical variety and multiple vantage points made the place seem much larger than it was.

Twachtman's pictures of his home ground fall into two basic categories: domestic images immediately recognizable as such, and "wild" ones that might theoretically have been painted in anyone's woodland. While they seem to be opposites, the two types are reconciled in the concept of the garden, defined by architect Charles Moore as a place "where the streams and trees and flowers of the fields, and the rocks of the mountains, have been collected, or

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remembered, and ordered into an extension of ourselves onto the face of the earth . . . . Nature's places, no matter how beautiful and moving we may find them to be, are not yet gardens; they become gardens only when shaped by our actions and engaged with our dreams."[19] Twachtman's images of his home ground, both domestic and wild, record how he shaped the land, making it an extension of himself on the earth. The two types of landscape enabled him to experience in his gardening and express in his painting different relationships with nature. Lisa Peters posits that there was "a general progression in Twachtman's garden toward a greater formal control" and suggests that "over the course of the years, it seems likely that he cultivated his garden, cutting back overgrown plantings to carve the clear paths" shown in some of his domestic images.[20] In fact, when Twachtman acquired the property it was nearly treeless. Far from taming the wilderness, Twachtman was planting trees and shrubs to soften the bald fields. Both the domestic and the "natural" areas of the garden were his creation.

Twachtman's domestic images reveal various relationships with the place: as domicile, status symbol, food source, recreational site, object of beauty, and focus of contemplation. *Last Touch of Sun* (fig. 8.4) conveys the sense of security the simple farmhouse represented to the artist. The composition is bracketed by Round Hill Road, curving into the distance at the left, and a birdhouse set atop a tall pole at the right. A cozy retreat from the busy world implied by the road, the house nestles into its setting, its white walls and snow-covered roof merging with the snowy landscape. The row of cornshocks at the left is an emblem of the earth's bounty, while the saplings in the foreground, neatly planted in parallel rows, reveal that the owner's intentions are not agricultural but aesthetic. The birdhouse, a miniature version of the human habitation, represents the mediation between nature

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and culture that would be characteristic of Twachtman's landscaping (both literal and painterly). Setting a birdhouse near his home enabled Twachtman to observe its occupants day to day, becoming as familiar with them as with the trees he had planted nearby. The birdhouse is both a playful twist on the theme of home as haven and evidence of Twachtman's desire fully to know every aspect of his home ground.

In combination with the birdhouse, the snowy setting heightens the sense of security that radiates from *Last Touch of Sun*. Though the scene is bathed in sunlight, the day is cold. Recalling the time he had painted a similar view of Twachtman's house (see fig. 2.2), Theodore Robinson wrote, "It was painted quickly as I was obliged to hurry—the day being a very cold one. . . ."[21] To the painter working at his easel in the open air, and to the viewer of the completed canvas, the house promises warmth and shelter—as the birdhouse does to its feathered occupants. Years later, the French painter Maurice Vlaminck described the primitive appeal of a country house in bad weather: "The well-being I feel, seated in front of my fire, while bad weather rages out-of-doors, is entirely animal."[22] Vlaminck compared his contentment to "a rat in its hole, a rabbit in its burrow, cows in the stable"; he might have added to the list, a bird in its nest box.

In naming a variant of *Last Touch of Sun* (see fig. 2.3), Twachtman evoked powerful literary associations.[23] The title *Snowbound* would inevitably have recalled to the artist's contemporaries the famous narrative poem by John Greenleaf Whittier. Published to immediate acclaim in 1866, *Snow-Bound: A Winter Idyl* ran through numerous editions throughout the rest of the century, becoming "a familiar household commodity and Whittier's passport to fame."[24] Whittier tapped the popular nostalgia for farm life in his

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reminiscence of a blizzard that confined an extended family to their cozy fireside:

> Shut in from all the world without,
> We sat the clean-winged hearth about,
> Content to let the north-wind roar
> In baffled rage at pane and door . . . .
> What matter how the north-wind raved?
> Blow high, blow low, not all its snow
> Could quench our hearth-fire's ruddy glow.[25]

Twachtman's title links this view of his home to Whittier's evocation of traditional family life in the country.

In another painting titled *Snowbound*, Twachtman uses snow to reduce the view to its essentials (fig. 8.5). To paint the Scripps *Snowbound*, Twachtman set his easel on the edge of Round Hill Road across from his home. The snow-covered road, rushing past the house on a strong diagonal, dominates the foreground. Beside it, a stone wall swings from center left to lower right. Its compelling calligraphic line is the pivot of the painting. Formally, the wall establishes the structure of the composition, creating a satisfying abstract design. Iconographically, it locates the image in New England. While stone was used for fencing in other parts of the United States, it was particularly associated with the Northeast. According to an 1871 Department of Agriculture report, Connecticut had 20,505 miles of stone wall, Rhode Island 14,030 and Massachusetts 32,960.[26] Built by farmers clearing their fields before planting, and repaired and extended over the generations, many of these mortarless walls were disappearing by the 1890s. As Greenwich farms were divided for housing sites, many of the old walls tumbled into ruin in second-growth forest. On the remaining farms, other walls were being torn down to accommodate the new agricultural machinery, which demanded larger fields. Meanwhile, a different type of wall was marking the boundaries

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of the new suburban plots. Set in mortar by skilled Italian stonemasons, the precise new walls were built of quarried stone transported to the site. Unlike the rustic farm fences, they retained the same rigid form indefinitely. The fashionable new style was not for Twachtman. He so admired the indigenous dry-stone masonry that he constructed new walls in the old manner to define the spaces in his garden.[27] In the *Country Life* article on Twachtman's home published in 1905, photographs show his handiwork in garden stairs, retaining walls, and edgings for perennial borders. One caption calls attention to the way "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."[28] In the Scripps *Snowbound*, a traditional Connecticut stone wall encloses home ground from the public road.

Summer (fig. 8.6) also shows segments of dry-stone walling. Whether relics of the land's agricultural past or replicas built by Twachtman, they lie on the land as naturally as the rock outcroppings in the foreground. Painted after Twachtman had enlarged the house, *Summer* records his progress in integrating it with the landscape. The picture's format, unusual for the artist, is a long horizontal that splits into two near-squares along the columnar central tree. The left half includes a neighbor's pasture, edged by a cowpath meandering along Round Hill Road; the right half shows Twachtman's place. The house is shaded by large trees front and back, with smaller ones providing privacy along the road. The enlarged house hugs the hillside, its roofline a continuation of the land's contours, its dormered windows like eyes on the earth. The painting offers a broader vista and greater expanse of sky than is usual in Twachtman's Greenwich paintings. In *Summer*, he deviated from his usual format in order to relate his house to earth, trees, and sky.

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Twachtman's house situated him not only in nature but also in society. The additions he made to the structure transformed the no-frills farmhouse into an attractive suburban residence. The eminent architect Stanford White is thought to have designed the new front portico, added after 1895.[29] Twachtman used the colonnaded entrance to stake a social claim in *The Portico* (fig. 8.7). The artist's wife and children are dwarfed by the building, which is aggrandized to the proportions of a temple—or of the Great Estates then going up in the area. Even the pair of formally pruned standards appears larger than Mrs. Twachtman. The potted plants reinforce the Italianate classicism of the architecture, lending European grandeur to what was actually a modest house.

Views of the rear facade are more intimate. *On the Terrace* (fig. 8.8) depicts Mrs. Twachtman with three of her children in the garden behind the house.[30] By concealing the horizon, the artist immerses the viewer in his private world. Though the figures are pushed to the right third of the composition, their central importance is underscored by the wedge-shaped pedestal of white terrace. Garbed in pure white, the family is obliquely enshrined by the sheltering gable and the Gothic-arched trellis crowned with yellow blossoms. A golden light glows within the house, as from a sanctuary. Twachtman exaggerated the scale of the white phlox in the center foreground and the pink one just behind it, making them secular counterparts of the Madonna's lily. Radiant golden highlights—on his daughters' hair, the roof of his house, the plants in his garden—glorify this tender image of home as shelter and shrine.

The almost religious atmosphere of *On the Terrace* also permeates *Barnyard* (fig. 8.9), a view of a woman and child feeding chickens and

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pigeons.[31] In the late nineteenth century, many newcomers to the country took up poultry-keeping. The Greenwich newspaper reported in 1888,

> Almost everybody likes hens. They like to eat them and their eggs, but they also like to have them around, not only as a source of convenience and profit, but to fuss over, to look at, and make pets of. Almost everyone who has a place and grounds large enough for them, keeps a few hens. City people who come out into the country want them; hens, a cow and a horse they consider necessities of country life.[32]

That attitude was widespread among the new suburbanites. Asked in a 1911 survey why they had moved from Chicago to its outskirts, several homeowners replied that "they couldn't be happy without chickens, and had to move to the country to keep them."[33] One woman wrote in 1902, "The commuter's wife should have a hen rampant as her coat of arms, and adopt it as her patron saint."[34]

The differences between the suburban and rural styles of poultry-keeping are revealed in a comparison of Twachtman's *Barnyard* and fellow art-colonist David B. Walkley's *Feeding the Chickens* (fig. 8.10). Most of Twachtman's hens are Rhode Island Reds, which were popular for both their plentiful brown eggs and plump flesh, but a few Black Minorcas provide visual contrast. The rooster to the child's left appears to be a Buff Japanese, a breed prized for its showy plumage. The white doves fluttering through the air and the fantail pigeons strutting on the ground were also ornamental. Though they were occasionally used for meat, the birds were valued primarily for their beauty and the soothing murmur of their soft cooing.[35] In Walkley's painting, on the other hand, all of the fowl are the same breed, selected for practical considerations far removed from the aesthetic appeal of Twachtman's ornamental varieties. They range free, scratching for insects all over the working farm, while Twachtman's are penned to prevent them from

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harming the ornamental plantings. Twachtman's hen house is neatly whitewashed; Walkley's barn is sided with unpainted boards. Twachtman's suburban image is distinguished from Walkley's rural one largely by its concern with ornament.

The theme of a poultry yard conveyed strong family associations at the turn of the century. Women and children commonly handled many of the chores associated with poultry-keeping, which was considered a character-building activity. Andrew Jackson Downing called it "an almost necessary part of the means of developing the moral and industrial energies of a country household"—so much so that "he who will educate a boy in the country without a 'chicken' is already a semi-barbarian."[36] Besides, children generally liked chickens. When the city-bred Betty and Bob visit their uncle's farm in E. Boyd Smith's *Farm Book*, "the most exciting treat . . . was visiting the chicken yard."[37] Keeping pigeons promised similar educational and recreational benefits. One writer maintained that a boy caring for a flock of the birds would be "elevated" by the experience, and added that "the care and breeding of pigeons is also an excellent method of cultivating the faculty of close observation and careful attention to minute details, and is thus to be commended to anyone, young or old."[38] Doves are especially appropriate in a family image: they mate for life, sharing the incubation and feeding of their young, and the fabled "billing and cooing" of their courtship behavior has made paired doves a symbol of romantic love.

The family associations of poultry are evident in two paintings Edouard Manet and Pierre Renoir painted side by side in Monet's garden in Argenteuil in 1874 (figs. 8.11 and 8.12). In both, Camille Monet and her son Jean, dressed in their finest, recline under a tree. Claude Monet appears in the background of Manet's oil, tending flowers whose crimson hue links the cockscomb and

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the woman's fan. Manet wittily reiterates the family grouping—father, mother, child—in the left-to-right sequence of rooster, hen, and chick. Monet does not appear in Renoir's canvas, but the rooster watchfully eyeing the woman and boy is a father surrogate.

Several Cos Cob artists depicted children feeding poultry. In addition to Walkely, J. Alden Weir sketched a woman and child tending the chickens at his Branchville farm and Elmer MacRae portrayed one of his daughters feeding ducks behind the Holley House.[39] Twachtman's painting differs from his colleagues' in the treatment of mother and child. In Walkley's oil, the two share the task of feeding the chickens. In Twachtman's, the mother stays in the background, allowing the child to experience its emerging autonomy. The little girl, scarcely taller than the roosters, learns to assume responsibility for living creatures; she nurtures the poultry as her mother nurtures her. This scenario is not realistic, as anyone who has fed a flock of hungry chickens can attest—a child so small would almost certainly have endured a few painful pecks. Twachtman's aim is not to document a routine chore, however, but to use the theme of the poultry yard to celebrate the family.

A sense of sacredness pervades *Barnyard*. The mother, whose dress links her coloristically to the earth, is framed in the trellised gate like a saint in a cathedral niche. The dove hovering over her head inevitably suggests the Holy Spirit to anyone familiar with European art, as was Twachtman. Light, the symbol of grace in religious paintings, touches the woman, the hen house, and the wings of the doves, with the strongest beam spotlighting the child, like the Infant in Nativity scenes. The shed and poultry recall the stable and animals traditionally associated with Christ's birth. Twachtman's use of religious paintings is not overt, like that of his contemporary George de Forest

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Brush. Instead, perhaps unconsciously, he drew on a body of conventions in European art to give a rustic image of family life an aura of benediction.

Barnyard was familial in execution as well as subject. When it was exhibited in Chicago in 1901, Twachtman told a reporter that of his works in the exhibition, the one painted "on my farm at Greenwich, Connecticut . . . by my son, J. Alden Twachtman, and myself—the one representing a little child feeding chickens—is an especial favorite of mine."[40] *Barnyard*, then, represents Twachtman's home ground in several ways: it was painted on his property; it depicts his wife and one of their children; it glorifies the family, and it was executed in collaboration with his son.

Like *Barnyard, The Cabbage Patch* (fig. 8.13) depicts an area that enabled Twachtman to supplement his income by growing his own food.[41] Garden-writers of Twachtman's day were divided in their attitude toward vegetable plots. Peter Henderson devoted a chapter to the subject in his popular book, *Gardening for Pleasure.*[42] Frank J. Scott, on the other hand, advised owners of small properties not to devote space to a kitchen garden that could be allocated to ornamental plantings. "Grass, and trees, and flowers, give daily returns in food for our eyes, seven months of the year," he observed, "yet many good housewives and masters spend more in growing radishes, lettuce, peas, beans, and even such cheap things as cabbages and potatoes, than it would cost to buy just as good articles . . . ."[43]

The American Impressionists shared Scott's preference for ornamental gardens. During the 1870s and 80s, American painters had occasionally depicted vegetable plots. Thomas Anshutz, for example, painted an African-American woman hoeing cabbages beside a modest cabin (fig. 8.14). This interest in kitchen gardens was widely shared by European painters working in the tradition of Jean François Millet.[44] By the 1890s, however, following

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the lead of the French Impressionists, progressive American artists concentrated on flower gardens. Theodore Robinson was one of the few exceptions. *In the Garden* (fig. 8.15), painted in Giverny around 1889, depicts a pretty peasant woman tending pole beans in a walled enclosure.[45] But Robinson's image, like that by Anshutz, was tinged with a foreignness that made the humble subject matter more appealing. The black Southerners in Anshutz's painting and the French peasant in Robinson's were Others, like the exotic Moorish women depicted by the Orientalists. Framed in gold and hung in stylish parlors, these images represented, as Anshutz's title stated, *The Way They Lived.* Twachtman's *Cabbage Patch*, on the other hand, was as familiar as Saturday's supper.

Though Twachtman's painting depicts a variety of plants, his title names the humblest of them, the round heads of cabbage in the foreground. A dietary staple of the poor, cabbages were "cheap things" scorned by Scott. Henderson, who provided detailed horticultural instructions for other plants, dismissed cabbages as "so easily raised" that he need devote few sentences to their culture. American slang reflects this prejudice against the proletarian vegetable. The *Dictionary of American Regional English* defines "cabbage patch" as "a place or thing of little importance," quoting a novel published in 1862 to support this definition.[46] At the same time, the very commonness of cabbage suggested homespun, unpretentious simplicity—a connotation exploited today in the popular Cabbage Patch Dolls. In calling his painting *The Cabbage Patch*, then, Twachtman simultaneously conveyed the self-deprecating humor of a proud gardener ("Oh, that's just my cabbage patch") and the comforting, homey associations of the phrase. He may also have intended a witty allusion to his immigrant ancestry. In the nineteenth century, the German section of some cities was called "Cabbage Town" and

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Germans were derisively nicknamed "cabbage-eaters."[47] By extension, *The Cabbage Patch* might be the garden of a German-American.[48]

While cabbage was a year-round staple for the common man, asparagus, whose ferns seem to line the fence in Twachtman's painting, was a spring delicacy appreciated on the tables of the wealthy. To cultivate asparagus implies a long-term commitment to the place where it is planted. The vast majority of vegetables are annuals, yielding a crop and dying the same season they are planted. Asparagus, by contrast, is a long-lived perennial demanding painstaking soil preparation before planting and three years' wait before a plentiful harvest. Thereafter, it will continue to yield for decades. Henderson advised new landowners to plant asparagus even before building their house.[49] Asparagus is usually planted on the garden's perimeter, as in Twachtman's painting, where it is out of the way of the cultivation and harvest of short-lived vegetables. Despite its modest title, Twachtman's "cabbage patch" is not the plot of a cottager eking out his sustenance on rented land; rather, the asparagus signals that this is the garden of a discriminating homeowner.

The lush, midsummer abundance of *The Cabbage Patch* communicates a sense of well-being. Like the equally utilitarian space depicted in *Barnyard*, the vegetable garden combines the practical and the ornamental. The airy blue blossoms hovering over the cabbages appear to be flax, a wildflower that blooms in summer along Connecticut roadsides. Rather than weeding it out, Twachtman has allowed it to flourish between his neat rows. The tiger lilies brightening the edge of the plot are common escapes from farmhouse gardens that naturalized widely in southern New England. Twachtman may simply have permitted them to grow with his vegetables. The urns in the background

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announce that even the most utilitarian spaces on his home ground are designed—and painted—with an eye for beauty.

Twachtman also ornamented the "natural" areas of his property, notably the edges of Horseneck Brook. When he acquired the place, it had been farmed to the edges of the stream. A turn-of-the-century photograph of Horseneck Falls shows only three or four tall trees and no understory of shrubs (fig. 8.16). "Left to run unprotected and bare to the sun," the *Country Life* essayist observed, the brook "might as well be a piece of irrigation"[50]—as indeed it was for farmers all along its length. But Twachtman devised "mysteries and quaint nooks" for the brookside. He planted willows (a tree with Asian associations) on either bank and cultivated flowers in some areas. He even dammed the stream to create a swimming pool and a boating pond for his children. In short, Twachtman's gardening activities encompassed not just the vegetable patch and ornamental borders near the house, but extended to the "wild" area along the brook.

His approach was different in the two areas, however. Near the house, he revealed the evidence of his work. *Pink Flowers* (fig. 8.17), for example, frankly depicts the flower bed's plank edging, the squared-off patch of lawn, and the packed dirt of the ruler-straight paths. This is gardening-in-progress: three pots of lush semidouble peonies await planting to complete the neat row already begun. The house in the background further identifies this as a humanized, cultivated landscape. By contrast, Twachtman disguised his intervention along Horseneck Brook. There, he worked in the tradition of the English landscape park. Earlier in the nineteenth century, in Paris's Bois de Boulogne, Baron Haussmann had replaced straight roads and formal parterres with winding promenades and ferny dells. In New York, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux had employed up to 2,000 laborers to transform a

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nondescript 750-acre rectangle into the rolling, wooded Central Park. Like Haussmann and Olmsted, Twachtman used his skill to bring out the beauty of the site. However, the ostensibly wild areas around his brook and waterfall were as artful as the straight-edged perennial borders closer to the house.

A white footbridge was a transition between the domestic and the "natural" areas. Two basic bridge designs appear in Twachtman's paintings: one with an arched roof and span in paintings in Minneapolis, Rochester, and a private collection (figs. 8.18, 8.19, and 8.20); the other with a pitched roof and a flat, zigzag span in paintings in Chicago and Georgia (figs. 8.21 and 8.22).[51] It is not known whether Twachtman had two bridges at the same time or whether one design replaced the other. He did not date his bridge paintings, and gave them such interchangeable titles that exhibition history offers no clues to their sequence. On the basis of stylistic evidence, Lisa Peters believes that the Rochester painting is later than those in Chicago and Minneapolis, but she does not mention the difference in the designs of the bridge, or speculate which structure was first.[52]

Twachtman is unlikely to have built a bridge before spring 1892. An 1890 map shows the brook as the property line in the southwestern corner where the bridge was probably eventually located.[53] Until he owned land on the opposite bank, Twachtman would have been unlikely to build a decorative bridge across the brook. He acquired that land as part of an additional 13.4 acres in December 1891. The next available map with property lines reveals that his purchase gave him a comfortable domain on both banks of the stream.[54]

Whichever bridge came first, or whether they existed at the same time, both designs reveal Twachtman's gardening aesthetic. Contrary to popular assumption, his inspiration was probably not Monet's famous bridge over his

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waterlily pond (fig. 8.23). Though a Japanese gardener had visited Giverny as early as June 1891, Monet's "Japanese bridge" was not in place until October 1893—nearly a year after Robinson had left Giverny.[55] Monet first depicted it in 1895, but neither the three canvases dated that year nor the series of 1899 and 1900 were exhibited in the United States or reproduced anywhere during Twachtman's lifetime.[56] Twachtman, on the other hand, may have depicted his little white footbridge as early as 1896—years before Henry and Louisine Havemeyer brought two of Monet's bridge paintings back to New York.[57] Furthermore, his bridges bear only a general resemblance to Monet's. Still, Twachtman and his friends realized with dismay that people would assume he had been imitating the French master.[58]

Instead, Twachtman, like Monet, found his inspiration in Asian culture. Bridges are a common motif in Chinese paintings, Japanese woodblock prints, and the decorative arts of both countries. Twachtman's aesthetic in using the bridge to ornament his garden resembles that of Japanese gardeners, as described by Edward S. Morse in *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (1886).[59] According to Morse, Japanese landscapers balanced the ephemeral beauties of blossoms and foliage with "enduring points of interest in the way of little ponds and bridges . . . ."[60] In a passage that recalls Twachtman's place, he explained that for the Japanese gardener,

> a little pond or sheet of water of irregular outline is an indispensable feature. If a brook can be turned to run through the garden, one of the great charms is attained; and a diminutive water-fall gives all that can be desired. With the aid of fragments of rock and rounded boulders, the picturesque features of a brook can be brought out; little rustic bridges of stone and wood span it, and even the smallest pond will have a bridge of some kind thrown across.[61]

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Like his Asian counterparts, Twachtman contrasted the man-made forms of architecture with the softer forms of the surrounding vegetation. In the Chicago painting (see fig. 8.21), for example, we view the bridge through a delicate veil of newly-budded willow saplings—a compositional device borrowed from Japanese prints.[62] The slender supports of the bridge echo the whip-like branches of the young trees. The juxtaposition of nature and culture is most pronounced near the center of the canvas, in the side-by-side placement of the upright post of the bridge and the trunk of the largest tree, which swells and curves organically in contrast to the post's rigid vertical. To their right, the oblique slant of a sapling is woven into the pattern of the diagonal lattice. Behind the bridge, an aureole of pale foliage blends the white-painted architecture with the verdant plants.

Besides drawing inspiration from the overall aesthetic of Asian gardens, Twachtman seems to have borrowed from them specific design ideas. His two bridge designs incorporate three features commonly seen in Chinese and Japanese prototypes: a central pavilion and either a serpentine or an arched span. Bridge-pavilions appear in such Chinese landscape paintings as the Sung dynasty handscroll shown in figure 8.24. Such structures had been fashionable in Europe since British architect Sir William Chambers illustrated one in his 1757 treatise, *Designs of Chinese Buildings.*[63] Whether inspired by eighteenth-century *chinoiserie* or nineteenth-century *japonisme*, the bridge-pavilion evoked the East in gardens from London to Greenwich.

Bridges with a serpentine span, like that in Twachtman's Chicago and Georgia paintings (see figs. 8.21 and 8.22), were also identified with Chinese gardens. As one observer has remarked, Chinese designers seemed intent on finding the longest distance between two points. The visitor to famous sites like West Lake in Hangchou "was supposed to twist and turn until he forgot the

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normal constraints of time and space."[64] The Japanese adopted this style, along with many other elements of Chinese gardens, but simplified it to achieve a more naturalistic effect. At its simplest, as illustrated by Morse, the Japanese zigzag bridge consists of two flat rectangular slabs, offset laterally rather than placed end to end (fig. 8.25). A more elaborate version is the famous "Eight-plank Bridge" celebrated in paintings, decorative arts, and woodblock prints, including Hokusai's *Admiring the Irises at Yatsuhashi* (fig. 8.26).[65]

Arched bridges, like that shown in the Minneapolis and Rochester paintings (see figs. 8.18 and 8.19), appear in Asian art even more frequently than zigzag ones. Twachtman and his contemporaries would have seen them, for example, on the Blue Willow china so widely used in their day. Arched bridges also appear in numerous *ukiyo-e* prints, including at least one from the collection of Twachtman's close friend and fellow Japanophile, J. Alden Weir (fig. 8.27). In Hiroshige's *Kameido Shrine in Snow*, two arched footbridges activate the flat landscape with an unexpected rhythm, much as Twachtman's arched bridge created a focal point on a relatively featureless stretch of Horseneck Brook.

Twachtman's adaptation of Asian forms for the designs of his bridges expresses a congruence with the meaning of those forms. The roof, the arch, and the zigzag add nothing to the bridge's function. Instead, these embellishments reveal the structure's dual role in Twachtman's garden. It is both an ornament, something to be looked at, and a vantage point, a place from which to look. The bridge's value as ornament is evident in Twachtman's paintings, where its delicate architecture enlivens the natural beauty of the shimmering water and lacy foliage. Its role as a vantage point is inherent in its design. Both the arch and the zigzag slow the pedestrian's pace; one could

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cross the brook more quickly on a flat, straight span. Furthermore, a zigzag insistently reorients the walker's motion and gaze. The Eight-plank Bridge (see fig. 8.26), for example, encouraged aesthetes to meander among the massed irises, savoring the individual beauty of each cluster in turn. Twachtman's diminutive footbridge accommodated only one turn, but that was sufficient to direct the gaze upstream and down. The arched span achieved a similar effect by providing an elevated prospect, enticing the pedestrian to pause midway across the brook and admire the natural beauty on all sides. The roof on both versions of the bridge invited one to linger in its shade, which must surely have been welcome given the dearth of mature trees in the area. The roof also enabled the painter to work in the open air protected from snowfall or summer's blazing sun.

The bridge focused attention on the brook, the element that had first attracted Twachtman to the property. The brook's visual appeal was enhanced by the rich symbolism associated with water. Flowing water is an age-old metaphor for the passage of time. Marcus Aurelius described time as "a violent torrent" relentlessly sweeping humans away, wave after wave.[66] Thoreau put it more playfully: "Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in."[67] In Thomas Cole's *Voyage of Life* series (see fig. 4.3), a river—sometimes calm, sometimes turbulent—represents the inexorable passage of time. J. Alden Weir explicitly linked this universal symbolism to the stream that ran through Twachtman's property. Responding to a poem on the brook by his nine-year-old godson, Alden Twachtman, Weir wrote to the boy, "There is another, a greater stream which this little one will teach you much about—the stream of life . . . ."[68]

While flowing water is universally linked to contemplation, the preferred form of that water varies with time and place. The meditations of an earlier generation of Americans were inspired by famous waterfalls. They

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travelled to Kaaterskill Falls and Niagara to experience awe at nature's power and, later, relived their sublime experience in the paintings of the Hudson River School. Artists manipulated their viewpoints to excite the desirable frisson of emotion. For his famous *Niagara* (fig. 8.28), Frederic Edwin Church adopted an unusually wide format to suggest the falls' great expanse; exceeded the field of actual vision to include both sides of the cataract; and eliminated the foreground, suspending the viewer over the churning rapids.[69] The elevated vantage point commanding a vast panorama exemplifies what Albert Boime has called the magisterial gaze, "the perspective of the American on the heights searching for new worlds to conquer."[70]

Americans' relation with the landscape changed in the decades between Church's *Niagara* and Twachtman's paintings of Horseneck Falls. In the widely read *Nature for Its Own Sake* (1898), John C. Van Dyke celebrated the beauties of a mountain brook while dismissing Niagara as "merely a great horror of nature."[71] The influential critic Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer maintained that no one loved nature better than the landscape painter, and no one had less need of "what is called scenery." The painter, she continued, did not prefer "the cañon of the Yellowstone to the banks of the little river near at hand. When he is brought face to face with scenic grandeurs he appreciates them more keenly than anyone else, but he gladly comes back to his quiet plains, his placid pools, his little forest-glades."[72] Twachtman's home ground provided him with subjects perfectly suited to this new taste for the modest and familiar. His serial approach, formats, and vantage points heightened his subjects' inherent intimacy.

One of Twachtman's best-known series depicts the calm stretch of the brook that he called the Hemlock Pool. For all of the Hemlock Pool pictures, including *Winter Harmony* (fig. 8.29), he selected a vantage point close to the

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subject and provided the viewer with easy entry to the scene by incorporating the patch of land that was under his feet. The artist varied this composition in several canvases, depicting the site in different times and seasons. In *Hemlock Pool—Autumn* (fig. 8.30), for example, the setting is almost unrecognizable in its guise of fall foliage, but the transformation could be no less complete when Twachtman explored the subtle variations in snowy views of the subject.

Twachtman also selected a nearby vantage point for his paintings of Horseneck Falls (fig. 8.31). In *The Torrent*, the high horizon line concentrates the focus on the waterfall and intensifies the sense of intimacy. The artist pulled even closer for *The Waterfall* (fig. 8.32), eliminating the horizon line and adopting a square format that conveys the satisfying sense of a world complete within its frame. Eliot Clark summarized the differences between the two viewpoints: "the forms are enlarged and simplified, the angle of vision is reduced, a single aspect is pictured and the action of the water is given . . . ."[73] In addition, the viewer's footing on the stream bank has been eliminated. The effect is not the terrifying awareness of human frailty conveyed by the same device in Church's *Niagara*, but a calming absorption in nature. In Church's great painting, nature diminishes humans; the viewer feels weak and insignificant confronted with nature's power. Twachtman's *Waterfall*, on the other hand, enlarges humans by bonding the viewer with the world of nature. Instead of the magisterial gaze exemplified in Church's *Niagara*, Twachtman's *Waterfall* embodies what I would call the contemplative gaze. Facing the subject head-on like one's own reflection in a mirror, the viewer is absorbed in rapt attention to this mesmerizing focal point. The process is akin to meditation; the effect is to eliminate all barriers between subject and viewer.

Twachtman's images of his home ground are the most intensely personal works by any of the Cos Cob artists. He drew on a myriad of cultural

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and aesthetic sources, ranging from Yankee stonemasonry to Asian garden design to European religious paintings, to express his emotional response to the landscape he had shaped for himself and his family. "There is a feeling of home in his pictures, of a country well-beloved," Eliot Clark wrote.[74] More than that, Twachtman's most powerful images seem to have grown out of a profound contemplative absorption of the artist in the subject. In them, as Clark observed, "The painter has, as it were, become a part of the thing painted."

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[1] *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[2] John Twachtman to J. Alden Weir, undated letter; J. Alden Weir Papers (WEFA 350), Weir Farm, Wilton, Conn. A transcript of the letter is provided in Appendix 6.

[3] For a summary of Twachtman's real-estate transactions, see note 5 in chapter 2.

[4] For Twachtman's youth, see Hale, pp. 6-11.

[5] See Peters 1995, Chronology, p. 526 ff.

[6] Hale, pp. 62-3.

[7] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *American Space: The Centennial Years, 1865-1876* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 101; quoted in Weinberg et al, p. 66.

[8] See chapter 1, note 60.

[9] Robinson's diary (New York City), April 11, 1895.

[10] Edward Simmons in T. W. Dewing et al, "John H. Twachtman: An Estimation," *North American Review* 176 (April 1903), p. 561.

[11] John Twachtman to J. Alden Weir, undated letter; J. Alden Weir Papers (WEFA 350). For a transcript of the letter, see Appendix 6.

[12] Alfred Henry Goodwin, "An Artist's Unspoiled Country Home," *Country Life in America* 8 (October 1905), p. 625.

[13] J. Alden Twachtman, the artist's son, related this incident to Hale (Hale, p. 70).

[14] Quoted in Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), p. 102.

[15] 1880 census report, courtesy of Susan Richardson, archivist, HSTG. None of the black families owned more than one acre.

[16] Ezekiel Lemondale [Frederick Hubbard], "Our Summer Drives," *Greenwich Graphic*, July 7, 1894, p. 1. Theodore Robinson alludes to the dairy cattle and apple orchards in his diary entries for May 17, June 5, June 17, June 22, and July 6, 1893. At the time, he was boarding across the road from Twachtman's at the home of Captain Lewis Augustus Merritt.

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[17] Hale notes that according to Alden Twachtman, in 1889, "the land was free of trees and bushes" and no foliage blocked the view of Horseneck Falls (p. 70, note 4). "Our Summer Drives" describes the constant view of the Sound on a drive out Round Hill Road past the present location of the Merritt Parkway.

[18] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), p. 61.

[19] Charles W. Moore, William J. Mitchell, and William Turnbull, Jr., *The Poetics of Gardens* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1988), from Preface, unnumbered page.

[20] Lisa Peters, "Twachtman's Greenwich Garden" in Peters et al, *In the Sunlight: The Floral and Figurative Art of J. H. Twachtman* (exh. cat., New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1989), pp. 16 and 15.

[21] Robinson's diary (Greenwich), April 11, 1894.

[22] Maurice Vlaminck, *Poliment* (1931), p. 52; quoted in Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. by Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 91.

[23] According to Lisa Peters, Twachtman exhibited *Last Touch of Sun* and a painting titled *Snowbound* in his joint exhibition with J. Alden Weir at the American Art Galleries, New York, in May 1893. She believes that the *Snowbound* included in that exhibition was either the Montclair oil (fig. 2.3) or the one belonging to Scripps College (fig. 8.5). (Peters NGA, p. 29.)

[24] Lewis Leary, *John Greenleaf Whittier* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1961), p. 70.

[25] John Greenleaf Whittier, "Snow-Bound: A Winter Idyl," in F. O. Matthiessen, ed., *The Oxford Book of American Verse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 166-7.

[26] Susan Allport, *Sermons in Stone: The Stone Walls of New England and New York* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 17.

[27] Hale, p. 76. Alden Twachtman told Hale that his father enjoyed masonry work.

[28] Goodwin, p. 629.

[29] For the basic sequence of additions and renovations, see Peters 1995, pp. 291-3. See also Peters *Sunlight*, p. 80.

[30] Martha Scudder Twachtman gave birth to seven children. Two died before their father: Eric Christian in 1891 and Elsie in 1895.

[31] In a letter to Judith Lefebvre, curator of the Hartford Steam Boiler Collection, dealer Susan Powell states that the woman is Mrs. Twachtman and

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the child is the couple's youngest daughter, Violet (born on May 23, 1895). She does not identify her source for this information. (Letter from Susan Powell to Judith Lefebvre, January 29, 1992; courtesy of Judith Lefebvre.)

32 "Greenwich Chicken Fanciers," *Greenwich Graphic*, March 10, 1888, p. 3, col. 6.

33 Fred Haxton, "Why They Left the City," *Suburban Life* 12 (April 1911), p. 266.

34 Mabel Wright, *The Garden of a Commuter's Wife* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 87; quoted in Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor*, p. 283

35 I am grateful to poultry-fancier David R. A. Wierdsma of Greenwich for helping me to identify the species. According to Mr. Wierdsma, the Buff Japanese were normally bantams; those in the painting appear to be as large as the Rhode Island Reds, but Twachtman may have taken artistic license.

36 A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), p. 237.

37 E. Boyd Smith, *The Farm Book* (1910; reprint Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), pp. 16-19.

38 F. H. Valentine, "Pigeons as Pets." *Country Life* 12 (September 1907), p. 553.

39 Weir's pastel, *Feeding the Chickens, Branchville* (early 1890s, private collection) is reproduced in Doreen Bolger Burke, *J. Alden Weir: An American Impressionist* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1983), plate 18. MacRae's *Feeding the Ducks* (1912, HSTG) is reproduced in Susan G. Larkin, *On Home Ground: Elmer Livingston MacRae at the Holley House* (exh. cat., Greenwich: The Bruce Museum, 1990), plate 9. Images by the Cos Cob artists of poultry without humans include Hassam's pastel *Chicken Yard Back of the Holley House* (1902, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and two works by J. Alden Weir: *Midday* (1891, private collection) and one described by Theodore Robinson in his diary entry of December 17, 1895.

40 *Chicago American*, January 7, 1901; quoted in Peters 1995, pp. 378-79. Peters adds that "it is not possible to discern what Alden might have contributed."

41 The two paintings contradict the statement in the 1905 *Country Life* essay that Twachtman's was "one of the few blessed country places where nothing is done of a useful rural sort. There are no swarms of poultry to defile the morning air. No attempt is made to supply the table out of the back yard." (Goodwin, p. 630.)

42 Peter Henderson, *Gardening for Pleasure* (New York: O. Judd Company, 1886).

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[43] Frank J. Scott, *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds of Small Extent* (New York: Appleton & Company, 1870), p. 23.

[44] In the 1870s and 80s, the theme of peasants in a cabbage, turnip, or potato patch was common with the Hague School and also with the British Impressionists who were inspired by Jules Bastien-Lepage. For more information, see Ronald de Leeuw et al, eds., *The Hague School: Dutch Masters of the 19th Century* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983) and Kenneth McConkey, *British Impressionism* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989).

[45] In France, but probably not in Giverny, Robinson also painted *Cabbage Patch* (1885, location unknown) and *The Cabbage Patch* (ca. 1887, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Horowitz). The latter oil is reproduced in Sona Johnston, *Theodore Robinson, 1852-1896* (exh. cat., Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art), p. 10.

[46] Frederic G. Cassidy, ed. *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), vol. I, p. 498.

[47] Cassidy, p. 498.

[48] Extending the German associations of the "cabbage patch," Twachtman was sometimes assisted in the garden by a German helper, according to a notation in Robinson's diary for May 19, 1894: "Twachtman busy engaged in gardening with his German. . . ."

[49] Henderson, p. 178.

[50] Goodwin, p. 629.

[51] An additional view of a bridge over Horseneck Brook may appear in *Summer Afternoon* (ca. 1900; private collection), reproduced in Peters 1989, p. 83. In this painting, the structure appears with an arched span and no roof. A bridge also appears in *Brook in Fall* (oil on canvas, 15 x 10 in.), which was reproduced in an advertisement for R. R. R. Associates in the January 1977 *Antiques* (p. 86). Lisa Peters has not been able to locate the work. The section of the bridge depicted in the painting appears to have a flat span; no canopy or roof is visible. The structure's railing appears to extend several feet beyond the edge of the bridge. From the small black-and-white reproduction, it is impossible to determine whether the painting belongs to the series depicting bridges over Horseneck Brook.

[52] Peters NGA, p. 40, and Peters 1995, pp. 387-89. The latter source includes valuable exhibition history for the bridge paintings. About the differences in design of the bridges, Peters writes only, "Indeed, his [Twachtman's] images of the bridge are so different that the bridge seems to change form from one work to another." (Peters 1995, p. 388.)

[53] *Road and Property Map Showing the Towns of Greenwich and Stamford, Conn. . . .* (New York: Miller Robbins, Jr., & Co., 1890); Archives, HSTG. The current owner of Twachtman's house, Emily Nelson, remembers a footbridge

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resembling those in the paintings when she moved there about twenty-five years ago. That bridge's approximate location is indicated in fig. 8.1.

54 *Atlas of the Rural Country District North of New York City*. . . (Brooklyn: E. Belcher Hyde, 1908). The map is in the Archives of the HSTG. This map does not accurately conform to the actual property lines. Most significantly, the Twachtman property does not encompass the falls, which were just off Round Hill Road. However, several plots continguous to Twachtman's, unlabelled on this map, most likely belonged to him as well.

55 John House, *Monet: Nature Into Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 13 and 31.

56 Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné* (Lausanne and Paris: La Bibliotheque des Arts, 1979), catalogue numbers 1392, 1419, 1419 bis, 1509-20, 1628-33. Monet painted additional views of his bridge after 1902.

57 Peters 1995, p. 387 notes that Twachtman first exhibited a painting titled *The White Bridge* at the National Academy of Design in 1897. However, he had exhibited a painting (or paintings) titled *The Bridge* in the Carnegie Institute annual of 1896 and the Pennsylvania Academy's annual of December 1896 to January 1897.

The Havemeyers purchased two very similar views of the bridge from Durand-Ruel's Paris gallery in spring 1901. After a year, they returned one painting and kept the other, now in the Havemeyer Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 8.23). (Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986], p. 143.)

58 Childe Hassam in interview with DeWitt Lockman, DeWitt McClellan Lockman Papers, AAA, roll 503, frames 392-3.

59 This influential book ran to at least eight printings by 1895, according to Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963), p. 67.

60 Edward S. Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886), p. 274.

61 Morse, p. 275. Another source of information on Japanese gardens was British architect Josiah Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, published in 1893 with a supplement containing forty photographs of famous gardens in Japan. According to *The Nation*, Conder's work was "the most complete and just account of Japanese gardening which has yet apeared." ("Landscape Gardening in Japan," *The Nation* 58 [June 14, 1894], p. 456.)

62 See for example Utagawa Hiroshige's *Kameido Tenjin Keidai* (1856; Metropolitan Museum of Art), which depicts the arched bridge at the Kameido shrine viewed through trailing vines of wisteria.

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[63] Eleanor von Erdberg, *Chinese Influence on European Garden Structures* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 126. The drawing that started this fashion is plate 7 in William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese buildings, furniture, dresses, machines and utensils . . .* (London: published for the author, 1757).

[64] Edwin T. Morris, *The Gardens of China: History, Art, and Meanings* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), p. 88. Zigzag bridges are also discussed in Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art & Architecture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), p. 10. See also Osvald Sirén, *Gardens of China* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1949).

[65] The "Eight-plank Bridge" also appears in Ogata Korin's famous screen painting, *Yatsuhashi* (Metropolitan Museum of Art). The landmark was so easily recognized by Japanese connoisseurs that two sections of the bridge, embossed with irises, were enough to identify it as the inspiration for a small incense box, also at the Metropolitan.

[66] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, translated by A. S. L Farguharson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 31; quoted in Charles W. Moore, *Water and Architecture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994), p. 16.

[67] Henry David Thoreau, "Where I Lived, and What I Lived For" (1854) in Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 142.

[68] J. Alden Weir to Alden Twachtman, January 3, 1892; reprinted in Young, pp. 176-77.

[69] Franklin Kelly et al, *Frederic Edwin Church* (exh. cat., Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1989), p. 51.

[70] Albert Boime, *The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny and American Landscape Painting c. 1830-1865* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p. 21.

[71] John C. Van Dyke, *Nature for Its Own Sake* (New York: Scribner's, 1898), p. 170; quoted by Chotner in Chotner, Peters and Pyne, *John Twachtman: Connecticut Landscapes*, p. 78.

[72] Mariana G. Van Rensselaer, *Art Out-of-Doors: Hints on Good Taste in Gardening* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), p. 311.

[73] Eliot Clark, "John Henry Twachtman (1853-1902)," *Art in America* 7 (April 1, 1919), p. 132. Clark suggests that the close-up views were later than those exemplified in this study by *The Torrent*. However, the difficulty of dating Twachtman's works precludes accepting this simple sequence.

[74] Eliot Clark, "The Art of John Twachtman," *International Studio* 72 (January 1921), pp. LXXVII-LXXXVI.

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Conclusion

The Significance of the Cos Cob Art Colony

Greenwich, Connecticut, a place steeped in tradition, proved a crucible of artistic innovation in the decades spanning the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. During that period, the town was undergoing a dramatic transition from an agricultural and maritime community to an upper-middle-class suburb of New York. The sense of change that permeated life in turn-of-the-century Greenwich overflowed to the process of art-making there. The art colony that flourished in the Cos Cob section of town became a testing-ground for new styles, new media, and new themes.

Several factors fostered this avant-garde spirit. First, by congregating in a cohesive group, the artists gained mutual support for pushing the limits of academic styles. Like the French Impressionists decades earlier, their investigations were essentially collaborative. Painting in the same vicinity during the day and discussing their work in the evening, Twachtman, Robinson, Weir, and Hassam played a major role in shaping the distinctly American version of Impressionism. Cos Cob in the 1890s was as important to them as Argenteuil in the '70s had been to Monet, Manet, and Renoir.

Second, by gathering at a boarding house, an institution based on a self-selected surrogate family, the artists combined the emotional comforts of home with the freedom of a semi-public space. Larger and more diverse groups could meet regularly at the Holley House than in the confines of a private residence, while the social structure of the boarding house fostered a familial tolerance for individual differences. The boarding-house base enabled the art

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colony to accommodate changing membership and needs over a longer period than if the artists had relied on the hospitality of one or more members.

Third, by attracting a mix of professions, ages, genders, nationalities, and social backgrounds, the art colony encouraged a critical approach to conventional wisdom. The painters shared common themes with some of the writers. Novelists Willa Cather and Irving Bacheller, for example, were employing American subjects in a way analogous to Robinson and Hassam. Cather's lyrical descriptions of the prairies and Bacheller's verbal sketches of the St. Lawrence Valley honored specific landscapes as unmistakably American as the rocky cascades and ramshackle shipyard depicted by the Cos Cob artists. Writers and painters alike tapped a growing national self-confidence and respect for home-grown tradition, coupled with a poignant awareness of change. Nonfiction writers, especially the investigative journalist Lincoln Steffens, raised the intellectual temperature of the art colony with their incessant challenging of received ideas. Professionals like illustrator Rose O'Neill, playwright Kate Jordan, and editor Viola Roseboro' were exemplars of the "New Woman." If not always ceded equal status with the art colony's male members, they were indisputable evidence of a major social shift. The Japanese artist Genjiro Yeto enriched the group with an outsider's view of American life. In their diversity and dynamism, the quiet rebels of the Holley House formed a bohemian enclave within the larger community.

Fourth, and ultimately most important, the Cos Cob art colony was shaped by compelling personalities. The individual who, more than any other, set the group's experimental tone was John Twachtman. Steffens remarked of him, "I'm not so interested in his pictures, I'm interested in his temperament."[1] Twachtman's temperament—by turns introspective and gregarious, restless and deeply rooted—was a major factor in preventing the

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Cos Cob art colony from becoming a backwater of nostalgic complacency. Ironically, his lack of commercial success contributed to his artistic independence, freeing him from the temptation of producing salable pictures according to a market-proven formula. His art, his conversation, and his teaching fueled the creative fires of his friends and students in Cos Cob.

Other artists also contributed valuable personal qualities to the art-colony milieu. Theodore Robinson's friendship with Monet coupled with his remarkably perceptive criticisms of his own work and others' made him a key figure in the translation of French Impressionism into an American idiom. J. Alden Weir's kindly supportiveness and his sensitive observations about predecessors from Rembrandt to Hokusai enhanced the warmth and historical reach of the Holley House regulars. During his stays in Cos Cob, Childe Hassam, the most financially successful of the four major art colonists, went beyond the superficialities of the "'tinsel' sort of art" his friend Robinson had decried in his work.[2] On visits extending over more than two decades, Hassam never stopped trying new things. One of his last sojourns in Cos Cob, that in 1915, bore results as significant as any of his earlier ones, marking his first extended foray into printmaking at the age of fifty-six.

The art colony's boldly independent spirit prompted those who had come to Cos Cob as students to continue the experimentations of their elders, rather than simply perpetuate the strategies they had learned from them. Unlike their counterparts in other Impressionist outposts, Cos Cob's second generation made the shift to a new Post-Impressionist idiom. Accustomed to collaborative endeavors during their formative years, they organized independent exhibition groups ranging from the Greenwich Society of Artists to the Association of American Painters and Sculptors. These associations advanced the variety and richness of art in the United States.

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The Cos Cob artists were not merely observers of social change but also participants in it. In fact, by propagating the appeal of Greenwich, they hastened the farm town's suburbanization. Their paintings encode a deeply felt and often conflicted response to change. They were attracted to Cos Cob largely because of its antiquity, and they frequently selected subjects (old houses, old boats) that reflect their reverence for the past. But these relatively young artists were men and women of their time, and they also manifested exhilaration with the new. Robinson, for example, painted not only the battered packet boats in the shipyard, but also the gleaming white pleasure craft moored near the stylish Riverside Yacht Club. His yachting pictures are celebrations of modern leisure as whole-hearted as any the young Monet painted in the Ile-de-France. Hassam accentuated the unprecedented speed of the railroad by juxtaposing the streaking horizontal of the Mianus River bridge with the slowly receding diagonal of Cos Cob's diminutive harbor. In compositions borrowed from contemporary travel posters, he embraced both old and new: the old appears as a holiday destination, the new as the means of getting there.

The iconographical significance of the Cos Cob pictures emerges less from individual works than from clusters of images. To consider Robinson's yacht club paintings while ignoring those of the shipyard, for example, would be to miss half the point of his carefully balanced study of Cos Cob's nautical landscape. Hassam's images of women at the Holley House demand comparison with the contemporaneous works he was producing in New York. And the pure landscapes for which Twachtman is best known acquire greater complexity when considered as one aspect of the garden, a concept that also encompasses such domestic, figural images as his paintings of his wife and children on the terrace or in the poultry yard.

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The paintings of the Cos Cob Impressionists are more popular today than they were in the artists' lifetimes, largely because they seem to offer temporary respite from the turbulent 1990s. An exhibition with "Impressionism" in the title is guaranteed to attract crowds who anticipate (and therefore usually find) an escape into a golden era when life was simpler, the pace was slower, and nature and children were unspoiled. But a thoughtful study of the Cos Cob artists' themes reveals instead a profound resonance with our own times. The two *fin-de-siecles* have much in common: technological change of breathtaking speed and far-reaching implications; widespread anxiety about immigration and its challenge to the status quo; the creation of enormous new fortunes; and a widening gap between rich and poor. To recognize the dynamic ambiguity of the work of the Cos Cob artists is to discover a more rewarding complexity than any fanciful escape to a past that never was. Writing of Impressionism's enduring appeal, Robert Herbert observed, "The only history that we feel deeply is the kind that is useful to us."[3] A truer understanding of the Cos Cob Impressionists enables us not to construct the past we wish had been, but to experience anew the tensions and ambivalence that marked their times and ours.

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[1] Undated typescript (probably by Dorothy Weir Young) of notes on the Cos Cob art colony. Dorothy Weir Young Research Papers, Weir Farm National Historic Site.

[2] Robinson's diary (New York), February 7, 1896.

[3] Herbert, p. 306.

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Appendix 1:

Artists of the Cos Cob Art Colony

E = etcher, printmaker
I = illustrator
P = painter
S = sculptor
T = teacher
GSA = Greenwich Society of Artists

Adams, John Wolcott [I]

Worcester, Mass., 1874—June 3, 1925, New York City.

Illustrated two books by Irving Bacheller. Set designer.

In Cos Cob periodically ca. 1912.

Anderson, A[braham]. A[rchibald]. [P]

Peapack, N. J., August 11, 1846—April 27, 1940, New York City.

Married Elizabeth Milbank of Greenwich in 1877; in Greenwich for at least part of most years thereafter. Charter member GSA; member of first council.

Brinley, D. Putnam [P]

Newport, R. I., March 8, 1879—July 31, 1963, Norwalk, Conn.

Riverside resident 1879-ca. 1900.

Browne, Matilda (Mrs. Frederick N. Van Wyck) [P, S]

Newark, N. J., May 8, 1869—November 3, 1947, Greenwich, Conn.

Greenwich resident ca. 1895-1947 except for a period around the 1920s.

GSA charter member and regular exhibitor from 1912.

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Carlsen, Emil [P]

Copenhagen, Denmark, October 19, 1853—January 2, 1932, New York City.

In Greenwich periodically from the 1890s. Exhibited with GSA 1919, 1920, 1924, 1925.

Carr, Lyle [P, I]

Chicago, Ill., 1857—February 17, 1912, New York City.

In Greenwich June 1893.

Clark, Eliot Candee [P]

New York City, March 27, 1883—May 19, 1980, Charlottesville, Va.

Probably in Greenwich with his father, Walter Clark, in 1893; possibly later as summer student.

Clark, Walter [P]

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 9, 1848—March 12, 1917, Bronxville, N. Y.

In Greenwich periodically from 1890; dated paintings in 1893.

Clark, W[alter]. Appleton [I]

Worcester, Mass., June 24, 1876—December 27, 1906, New York City.

Married Annie Hoyt of Greenwich in 1902; in Greenwich frequently thereafter. Apparently no relation to Walter Clark.

Collins, Alfred Q. [P]

Portland, Maine, December 21, 1855—July 19, 1903, Cambridge, Mass.

At Holley Farm before 1882; in Greenwich and Cos Cob periodically thereafter.

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Davidson, Florence: **see Lucius, Florence**

Duffy, Richard H. [S]

New York City, January 22, 1881—August 20, 1953, Brentwood, N.Y.

In Cos Cob summer and Halloween 1903.

Eaton, Charles Warren [P]

Albany, N.Y., February 22, 1857—September 10, 1937, Glen Ridge, N.J.

In Stanwich section of Greenwich summer 1890.

Ebert, Charles H. [P]

Milwaukee, Wis., July 21, 1873—October 2, 1959, Preston, Conn.

Married Mary Roberts 1903. Cos Cob resident (probably Holley House) ca. 1900-02; Greenwich resident 1903-19. GSA charter member; first council. Exhibited with GSA 1912-14, 1928-31.

Ebert, Mary Roberts [P]

Titusville, Pa., February 8, 1873—October 18, 1956, probably Old Lyme, Conn.

In Cos Cob frequently ca. 1897-1902; Greenwich resident 1903-19. GSA charter member.

Eby, (Harold) Kerr [E, I]

Tokyo, Japan, October 19, 1889—November 18, 1946, Norwalk, Conn.

Cos Cob resident ca. 1912-17.

Edwards, George Wharton [P, I]

Fairhaven, Conn., March 14, 1869—January 18, 1950, Greenwich, Conn.

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Greenwich resident most of his life, apart from study abroad and frequent travel. GSA charter member; secretary 1919-26.

Fiske, Charles A. [P]

Alfred, Maine, January 12, 1837—May 13, 1915, Greenwich, Conn.

Greenwich resident ca. 1872-1915. GSA member from 1913.

Fitch, Walter A. [P]

Milwaukee, Wis., October 27, 1861—June 6, 1910, Greenport, N. Y.

In Cos Cob most summers from 1900; year-round ca. 1906-09.

Foote, Will Howe [P, T]

Grand Rapids, Mich., June 29, 1874—January 27, 1965, Sarasota, Fla.

In Cos Cob summer 1903.

Gotthold, Florence Wolf [P, craftworker]

Uhrichsville, Ohio, October 3, 1858—August 17, 1930, Wilton, Conn.

In Cos Cob summers 1903-29. GSA charter member; on council 1912-23.

Harrison, (Lovell) Birge [P, T]

Philadelphia, Pa., October 28, 1854—May 12, 1929, Woodstock, N. Y.

In Cos Cob periodically ca. 1909-12 or longer.

Hassam, (Frederick) Childe [P, E, I]

Dorchester, Mass., October 17, 1859—August 27, 1935, Easthampton, N. Y.

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Possibly at Holly Farm (Stanwich Road) before 1882; at Twachtman's house by 1894; in Greenwich and/or Cos Cob 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1907, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916; possibly 1917. Exhibited with GSA 1914, 1919, 1922.

Hawley, Theodosia de Riemer [P, T]

Detroit, Mich., ca. 1870—September 20, 1937, New York City.

In Cos Cob summer and Halloween 1903.

Haynes, Caroline Coventry [P]

New York City, ca. 1858—September 6, 1951, New York City.

In Cos Cob 1894 and 1895.

Hewitt, Edward S. [architect, P, E]

1877—June 2, 1962, Salisbury, Conn.

In Cos Cob sometime between 1911 and 1914.

Howard, Lila Wheelock [S]

Passaic Park, N. J., 1890—August 6, 1986, probably Westport, Conn.

Married to Oscar F. Howard. In Cos Cob sometime between 1911 and 1914.

Howard, Oscar F. [I, cartoonist]

Syracuse, N. Y., 1888—January 7, 1942, Norwalk, Conn.

In Cos Cob sometime between 1911 and 1914.

Insley, Albert Babb [P]

Orange, N. J., April 1, 1842—October 21, 1937, probably Nanuet, N. Y.

In Cos Cob 1905.

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Jaccaci, August Florian [P, art editor]

Fontainebleau, France, January 28, 1856—July 22, 1930, Chateau Neuf-de-Grasse, France. U. S. resident ca. early 1880s until ca. second decade of the twentieth century. In Cos Cob by 1901; from 1902 until after 1909 owned house and property on Bible Street.

Jacobs, Hobart B. [P, S, T]

New Berlin, N. Y., 1851—August 8, 1935, Greenwich, Conn.

Greenwich resident 1894 (or earlier) to 1935. GSA charter member.

Johnson, David [P]

New York, N. Y., May 10, 1827—January 30, 1908, Walden, N. Y.

Dated pictures in Greenwich and/or Cos Cob in 1878, 1880, and 1889.

Jones, (Hugh) Bolton [P]

Baltimore, Md., October 20, 1848—September 24, 1927, New York City.

In Cos Cob periodically by 1899.

Lachman, Harry [P, I, film director]

La Salle, Ill., June 29, 1886—March 19, 1975, Beverly Hills, Calif.

In Cos Cob summer 1909; lived in the Brush House.

Lawson, Ernest [P]

Halifax, Nova Scotia, March 22, 1873—December 18, 1939, Miami Beach, Fla.

In Cos Cob summer 1892; year-round in 1893, 1894, 1898; ca. 1900, 1913.

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Lucius, Florence [P, S]

Baltimore County, Md., August 30, 1888—August 3, 1962, Paris, France.

In Cos Cob sometime between 1911 and 1914 with the Howards; she later married sculptor Jo Davidson.

Lumis, Harriet Randall [P]

Salem, Conn., May 29, 1870—April 6, 1953, Springfield, Mass.

Studied with Leonard Ochtman summers 1910 and 1911.

MacRae, Elmer Livingston [P, craftsman]

New York, N. Y., July 16, 1875—April 3, 1953, Greenwich, Conn.

In Cos Cob summers 1897 and 1898; permanently 1899-1953. GSA charter member; first Secretary.

Maples, Anna Comly [P]

Life dates unknown. In Cos Cob summer and Halloween 1903. (Resident of nearby Portchester, N. Y.) GSA member 1913-19.

Mase, Carolyn Campbell [P]

Matteawan (now Beacon), N. Y., ca. 1868—1948, location unknown.

In Cos Cob by summer 1898; Holley House resident for long periods ca. 1900-1903, 1910, probably 1915. GSA charter member.

Murphy, Henry Cruse, Jr. [P]

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 26, 1886—January 1, 1931, location unknown

Cos Cob resident from ca. 1919 or earlier; lived on Cat Rock Road. GSA Associate 1919-24; exhibited with the GSA in 1919 and 1920.

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Murphys, the

Lincoln Steffens described Cos Cob as "a paintable spot frequented by artists who worked, painters who actually painted: Twachtman and the Murphys, Childe Hassam and Elmer MacRae . . . ." It has, so far, been impossible to determine which Murphys he meant. Henry Cruse Murphy (see above) was only sixteen when Twachtman died and was never a prominent artist. Two eminent artists named Murphy were both married to artists. **John Francis Murphy** (1853-1921), a Tonalist landscape painter, was married to Ada Clifford Murphy (dates unknown), a landscapist and illustrator. They lived in Arkville, N. Y. for most of each year from 1887, but artists frequently visited other art colonies for a change of scenery. J. Francis Murphy was a friend of Ochtman, whom he proposed for membership in the Salmagundi Club. **Hermann Dudley Murphy** (1867-1945) was married to two artists: Caroline Bowles (m. 1895, div. 1915) and Nellie Littlehale Murphy (1867-1941, m. 1916). He also knew Ochtman through their association with Byrdcliffe, where Ochtman was director of the summer school in 1905 and Murphy ran a frame shop. Steffens might also have meant that both Murphy men, or both couples, painted in Cos Cob, but no concrete evidence links any of the possible pairs to the art colony.

Nettleton, Walter [P, T]

New Haven, Conn., June 19, 1861-July 28, 1936, New Haven

Offered outdoor painting classes in Belle Haven section of Greenwich in summer 1894.

Ochtman, Dorothy [P]

Riverside, Conn., May 8, 1892—April 26, 1971, Greenwich, Conn.

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Lifelong Greenwich resident. GSA exhibitor 1919-64; joined 1923.

Ochtman, Leonard [P, T]

Zonnemaire, Holland, October 21, 1854—October 27, 1934, Cos Cob, Conn.

In Riverside summer 1890, year-round 1891-96; Cos Cob resident 1896-1934.

GSA charter member; vice-president 1912-15; president 1916-33.

Ochtman, Mina Fonda [P]

Laconia, N.H., March 28, 1862—April 11, 1924, Cos Cob, Conn.

Riverside resident 1891-96; Cos Cob resident 1896-1924. GSA charter member.

O'Neill, Rose Cecil [I]

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1875—April 6, 1944, Springfield, Mo.

In Cos Cob ca. 1905; at the time, she was married to Harry Leon Wilson (see Appendix 2).

Owen, R[obert]. Emmett [P, I]

North Adams, Mass., January 30, 1878—September 14, 1957, New Rochelle, N.Y.

In Cos Cob as student of Leonard Ochtman, probably in first decade of twentieth century. Cos Cob resident ca. 1913-?. GSA member 1913-19.

Parker, Cora [P, T]

Kentucky, 1859—1944, Coral Gables, Fla.?

Greenwich resident by 1905-ca. 1931. GSA charter member.

Potter, Edward Clark [S]

New London, Conn., November 26, 1857—June 21, 1923, New London, Conn.

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Greenwich resident 1902-23. GSA charter member; president 1912-15; vice-president 1921-23.

Potter, Nathan Dumont [S, P]

Enfield, Mass., April 30, 1893—November 29, 1934, Lyme, Conn.

Son of Edward Clark Potter. Greenwich resident 1902-ca. 1925. GSA member 1920-24.

Reid, Robert [P]

Stockbridge, Mass., July 29, 1862—1929, Clifton Springs, N. Y.

In Greenwich periodically by ca. 1895 (possibly at Holley Farm before 1882). GSA exhibitor 1919-26.

Reinhart, Charles Stanley [P, I]

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 16, 1844—August 30, 1896, New York City

In Greenwich (most likely at Holly Farm) in 1877.

Robinson, Theodore [P]

Irasburg, Vt., June 3, 1852—April 2, 1896, New York City

Possibly at Holly Farm before 1882; in Greenwich for short visits 1892-96 and for summer 1893; in Cos Cob summer 1894 and short visits thereafter.

Rowe, Clarence H. [I, E]

Philadelphia, Pa., May 11, 1878—July 17, 1930, Norwalk, Conn.

Married to M. L. Arrington Rowe. Cos Cob resident; joined GSA 1913.

Rowe, M[ary]. L[ouise]. Arrington [P]

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?—January 23, 1932, Canaan, Conn.

Cos Cob resident; joined GSA 1914.

Schenck, Phoebe [P, S]

Cleveland, Ohio, November 14, 1883—?

Cos Cob summer resident ca. 1915. GSA exhibitor 1919.

Selden, Henry Bill [P, T]

Erie, Pa., January 24, 1886—January 25, 1934, New London, Conn.

Greenwich resident 1900-15; married Edward C. Potter's daughter Hazel in 1913. GSA charter member.

Seton, Ernest Thompson [I, writer]

South Shields, England, August 14, 1860—October 23, 1946, Santa Fe, N. Mex.

To Canada ca. 1866; to U.S. 1882. In Cos Cob before 1900; Cos Cob resident 1900-12; Greenwich resident 1912-30. GSA charter member.

Smith, Albert E. [P]

Waterbury, Conn., 1862—July 1940, location unknown.

Cos Cob resident ca. 1904-37.

Smith, E. Boyd [I, P, writer]

St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, 1860—October 6, 1943, Wilton, Conn.

To U.S. (Boston) ca. 1866. Cos Cob resident ca. 1906-1909.

Snead, Louise Willis [P, I, C]

Born Charleston, S.C.; birth and death dates unknown.

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Greenwich resident. Joined GSA 1914.

Strazza, Emilio [S]

Greenwich, Conn., December 29, 1892—December 20, 1989, Greenwich, Conn.

Lifelong Greenwich resident. GSA exhibitor from 1919; joined 1930.

Talcott, Allen Butler [P]

Hartford, Conn., April 8, 1867—June 1, 1908, Old Lyme, Conn.

In Cos Cob summers 1894 and 1895.

Taylor, Henry Fitch [P]

Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1853—September 10, 1925, Cornish, N. H.

In Greenwich periodically by 1893; owned poultry farm on Glenville Road 1898-1904; Cos Cob resident as late as 1912-13, sometimes at the Holley House, sometimes at the neighboring Joseph Brush house. GSA charter member.

Tracy, James [P]

Lived at same address as John M. Tracy (Post Road near Putnam Hill) according to 1885-86 Greenwich directory.

Tracy, John M. [P]

Rochester, Ohio, 1844-1892, location unknown

Settled in Greenwich in 1885.

Tucker, Allen [P, T]

Brooklyn, N.Y., June 29, 1866—January 26, 1939, New York, N.Y.

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In Cos Cob as art student under Twachtman and Weir ca. 1892-93; periodically thereafter.

Twachtman, Alden [P, architect]

Cincinnati, Ohio, March 5, 1882—September 7, 1974, Essex, Conn.

Son of John H. Twachtman. Greenwich resident ca. 1889-1969. GSA charter member; council 1913; vice-president 1929-40.

Twachtman, John Henry [P, T, E]

Cincinnati, Ohio, August 4, 1853—August 8, 1902, Gloucester, Mass.

At Holly Farm 1878 and 1879; Greenwich resident ca. 1888/89-1902.

Tyler, James Gale [P]

Oswego, N.Y., February 15, 1855—January 29, 1931, Pelham, N. Y.

Greenwich resident most of his life. Joined GSA 1913.

Volkmar, Leon Gambetta [art potter, P]

Paris, France, February 25, 1879—October 30, 1959, Laguna Beach, Calif.

In Greenwich periodically from ca. 1911; resident during World War II.

Exhibited with the GSA beginning 1924; joined in 1929.

Voorhees, Clark (Greenwood) [P]

New York City, May 29, 1871—July 17, 1933, Old Lyme, Conn.

In Greenwich and Cos Cob summers 1894, 1896, 1897; probably earlier. Family roots in Greenwich.

Walkley, David Birdsey [P]

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Rock Creek, Ohio, March 2, 1849—March 23, 1934, Rock Creek, Ohio.

In Cos Cob periodically in 1890s.

Walter, Louise Cameron [P]

Born Pittsburgh, Pa.; birth and death dates unknown.

Active in Pittsburgh ca. 1907-09. In Cos Cob summer and Halloween 1903.

Weir, Julian Alden [P, T, E]

West Point, N. Y., August 30, 1852—December 8, 1919, New York City.

At Holly Farm (Stanwich Road) 1878 and 1879; in Cos Cob summers 1892 and 1893; periodic visits to Twachtmans'. Exhibited with GSA in 1914.

Weir, Robert W. [P, T]

New York, N. Y., June 18, 1803—May 1, 1889, Hoboken, N. J.

At Holly Farm in late 1870s.

Williams, Kate A. [P, T]

?—August 8, 1939, New York City.

Titled painting *Cos Cob Inlet* (undated; Connecticut Bank and Trust).

Winslow, Henry [E]

Boston, Mass., July 13, 1874—after 1953.

In Cos Cob 1906.

Yeto, Genjiro [P, I]

Also known as Gaingero Yeto, Genjiro Kataoka, Genjiro Ezoe.

Arita, Japan, March 15, 1867—May 8, 1924, Tokyo, Japan.

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U.S. resident 1891-ca. 1911. In Cos Cob frequently 1897-1900; lived at Holley House for long periods.

Young, Mary Louise [P]

Born St. Louis, Mo.; active ca. 1896-1925 in Conn., Mass., and N. Y. Greenwich resident 1896-97; Cos Cob resident ca. 1909-ca. 13. Joined GSA 1913.

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Appendix 2:

Writers and Performing Artists

of the Cos Cob Art Colony

a = actor
c = critic
d = dramatist, playwright
e = editor
f = fiction writer
h = humorist
j = journalist
l = public lecturer
m = musician
nf = nonfiction writer
p = poet
pb = publisher

Bacheller, (Addison) Irving [f, j, e, h, l]

1859-1950. Riverside resident ca. 1895-1917. Author of popular local-color fiction including the best-selling novel, *Eben Holden* (1900). Used a fictionalized Greenwich setting for *Keeping Up with Lizzie* (1910). Member editorial council of *Greenwich Press.*

Brown, Raymond J. [j, e]

1865-1944. In Greenwich ca. 1905. On the staff of *Everybody's* magazine; later, editor of *Popular Science Monthly.*

Bursch, Frederick C. [pb]

1874-after 1949. Book designer, art printer and publisher; ran The Literary Collector Press in Greenwich, 1902-06, and the Hillacre Bookhouse in

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Riverside, 1908-18.

Cather, Willa [f, p, e]

1873-1947. In Cos Cob ca. 1914-15; possibly also ca. 1924-25. Cather was not yet famous when she first came to the Holley House, as she acknowledged by inscribing a copy of her collected poems, *April Twilights,* to Constant Holley MacRae, "one of my 'public' when it was small indeed." Cather was probably introduced to Cos Cob by her colleagues at *McClure's,* where she was an editor from 1906 to 1912. She mentions Cos Cob in her novel *The Song of the Lark,* written in 1914-15. Her friendship with the MacRaes extended until at least the mid-20s.

Fitch, (William) Clyde [d]

1865-1909. Had a country home, called "Quiet Corner," in Greenwich from 1902 until his death. In numerous popular plays, he captured the drawing-room chatter and social nuances of his day.

Hall, Gilman [e]

Dates unknown. In Greenwich ca. 1905-10 or longer. Member of the editorial board of the *Greenwich Press.* At the time, he was editor of *Ainslee's* magazine; he then became editor of the reform journal, *Everybody's.*

Hartley, Emily Wakeman [a]

Ca. 1873-1935. Cos Cob resident most of her adult life. Founder-director of the Stamford Theatre (1914-28). Married to Randolph Hartley.

Hartley, Randolph [j, p, d, c]

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Dates unknown. Resident of Cat Rock Road in Cos Cob most of his adult life.

Irwin, Wallace [f, h]

1875-1959. In Greenwich ca. 1904-? His *Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy*, serialized in *Collier's* ca. 1905-25, is a comic treatment of an immigrant's bewildered confrontation with American culture. *Seed of the Sun* (1921) is a serious novel about the conflict between Japanese and native Californians.

Jordan, Kate [d, f, p]

1862-1926. In Cos Cob summer and Halloween 1903; by that time, she had published two novels and had two plays in production.

Lanier, Charles Day [e, nf, pb, c]

1868-1945. Greenwich resident 1895-1945. After a successful career in publishing, Lanier made his fortune in industrial and mining ventures. The avid sportsman wrote nature and sports stories for *Scribner's* magazine. A friend both of sculptor Edward Clark Potter and the family of Colonel Raynal C. Bolling, he was instrumental in the commissioning of Potter's *Bolling Memorial* (Greenwich, 1919-21).

Lanier, Henry Wysham [e, f, pb]

1873-1958. Greenwich resident ca. 1906-11. The younger brother of Charles Day Lanier, Henry Lanier married a Greenwich native, Josephine Ledyard Stevens, in 1897. The secretary of Doubleday, Page and Company, he wrote twelve books, was founding editor of the literary magazine *Golden Book*; and contributed stories and articles to many magazines. His essay on sculptor Edward Clark Potter (published 1906) is a valuable source for that artist.

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Le Galliene, Richard [p, nf, e]

1866-1947. In Cos Cob ca. 1905. The widely published poet was associated with the Roycroft community before he came to Cos Cob and with the Woodstock art colony in the early 1920s.

Lippmann, Walter [nf, e, j]

1889-1974. In Riverside ca. 1910-11 as assistant to Lincoln Steffens.

MacArthur, James [e, d, c, a]

1866-1909. In Greenwich ca. 1900-05. Harry Thurston Peck's junior editor on *The Bookman*, the Glasgow-born MacArthur later became literary advisor to Harper Brothers publishers.

Moody, William Vaughn [d, p]

1869-1910. In Cos Cob ca. 1900-10. His play, *The Great Divide* (1906) was a critical and commercial success in Chicago, New York, and London and was made into a movie in 1929.

Moody, Winfield Scott [nf, e, j, c]

1856-before 1922. In Greenwich ca. 1900-07. An editor of the *Evening Sun*, Moody contributed articles to other periodicals. In an essay published in 1904, he lamented the decline in what he considered proper feminine behavior ("Daisy Miller and the Gibson Girl," *Ladies' Home Journal* 21 [September 1904], p. 17).

Peck, Harry Thurston [e, nf]

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1856-1914. In Cos Cob ca. 1897-ca. 1907. The erudite professor of Latin at Columbia University was known for his intellectual brilliance, his editorial flair, and his bohemian dress. He was literary editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* when Steffens was the paper's city editor; later, he edited the influential literary magazine, *The Bookman.*

Roof, Katherine Metcalf [c]

Dates unknown. At Holley House summer and Halloween 1903; also ca. 1908. Roof, best remembered as the biographer of William Merritt Chase, wrote "The Work of John H. Twachtman," published in *Brush and Pencil* in July 1903 (vol. 12, pp. 243-46).

Roseboro', Viola [e, f, nf]

Ca. 1858-1945. At Holley House occasionally ca. 1904-20. *McClure's* influential fiction editor published Cather's first nationally circulated stories, as well as works by Rudyard Kipling, Booth Tarkington, Jack London, and O. Henry. S. S. McClure called her "one of the greatest conversationalists of her time."

Seitz, Don Carlos [nf, j]

1862-1935. Lived on Strickland Road (May to November) 1895-1933. Seitz's twenty-six books include two on James A. McNeill Whistler and two on Japan. He was business manager of the *New York World* 1898-1923, then manager of the *Evening World.*

Seymour, Frank [j]

1856-1942. Cos Cob resident 1880-1942. A colleague of Don Seitz in the business office of the *New York World,* Seymour was an amateur photographer who

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recorded the changing face of Cos Cob (his glass-plate negatives are in the collection of HSTG). He and his wife, Kate Livingston Seymour, lived in the Captain James Waring House at 30 Strickland Road, the subject of Hassam's *Colonial Cottage, Cos Cob* (1902; White House).

Steffens, Lincoln [j, e]

1866-1936. Summered in Cos Cob ca. 1901-05; Riverside resident 1905-11; owned home in Riverside until 1920. The crusading journalist was one of those called a "muckraker" for his exposés of government and business corruption. Steffens devoted a chapter of his autobiography to the art colony. His enthusiasm for Cos Cob probably accounts for the large representation of *McClure's* and *Commercial Advertiser* staff members in the art colony. Steffens and his first wife, Josephine Bontecou Steffens, boarded at the Holley House during their first visits to the area. They rented the Seitz house a few doors away from 1902-05, and in 1905 bought the house they called "Little Point" near the Riverside Yacht Club. (Steffens had bought 70 acres in North Mianus in 1901, but never built on that property.) He served on the editorial board of the *Greenwich Press* (est. 1910).

Taylor, Bert Leston [e, f, h, j]

1866-1921. In Cos Cob (Strickland Road) ca. 1905; probably 1903, when he wrote column "The Way of the World" for *New York Morning Telegraph*, and 1904-9, when he was assistant editor of *Puck*.

Torpadie, Greta [m]

Dates unknown. In Cos Cob ca. 1903-15. Swedish coloratura soprano; sang at Carnegie Hall in 1915, at Louis Comfort Tiffany's Egyptian Fête in 1913, and at

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opera comique benefits for the French war charities throughout the United States during World War I. MacRae's portrait of her is titled *Daughter of the Vikings* (ca. 1911).

Torrence, Ridgely [p, d, e, nf]
1874-1950. In Cos Cob in the 'teens; at times resident in the Holley House. Torrence's *Plays for a Negro Theatre*, produced in New York in 1917, were called "the first serious plays written about the Negro, and the first to be acted by a Negro cast." Poetry editor of *The New Republic* 1920-34, Torrence was also respected for his own work and was named poet of the year in 1942. He was a close friend of Elmer MacRae, Henry Fitch Taylor, and Clara Davidge Taylor.

Vermilye, Mrs. Frederic M.: see Jordan, Kate

Webster, Jean [f]
1876-1916. In Cos Cob ca. 1915. Webster's novel *Daddy-Long-Legs* (1912) was produced twice as a play and three times as a movie. The sequel, *Dear Enemy* (1915), concerns the romance between a young woman and Dr. Sandy MacRae, whose name was borrowed from the Cos Cob artist.

Wilson, Harry Leon [e, f, h]
1867-1939. In Greenwich ca. 1905; married at the time to Rose Cecil O'Neill (see Appendix 1). He was editor of *Puck* (1896-1902) and a frequent contributor to the *Saturday Evening Post*. His story, "Merton of the Movies," has been called "one of the most important fiction serials of the early twenties."

Young, Elizabeth [j]

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Dates unknown. Wrote article on the art colony for *Harper's Bazar* in 1900; also published essay in *New England Magazine*.

Zigrosser, Carl [c]

1891-1975. Director, Weyhe Gallery, New York City 1919-40; curator of prints and drawings, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1941-47. In Cos Cob probably ca. 1915. Zigrosser wrote, "I saw a great deal of Hassam for a while, both at his New York studio . . . and at Cos Cob where he was staying with Elmer Livingston MacCrae [sic]."

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Appendix 3:
Art Students in Cos Cob

The following list represents but a fraction of the artists who studied in Cos Cob. Photographs show Twachtman surrounded by twelve to fourteen students; more than thirty came for a session in January 1899. Leonard Ochtman also taught for many years, but little documentation of his classes survives. The names below were gleaned from diaries, correspondence, and the Art Students League registers (ASL Papers, Archives of American Art, reel NY 59-20). The ASL registers are limited as a resource, however. The 1888-89 register does not include summer addresses and the 1889-90 register does not survive. The 1890-91 register offers each student space for three addresses—city, home, and summer—but few supplied the latter. After 1892, only a few students entered anything under "Summer Address," though many of them are known to have spent their vacations painting outdoors in the country.

Twachtman moved his classes to Norwich, Connecticut, for the summer of 1898, but a small group of students spent the season working together at the Holley House.

Year in parentheses is year of attendance in Cos Cob. O indicates Ochtman's student; M indicates MacRae's; otherwise, all are Twachtman's. Artists who returned to the area after their student days are also listed in Appendix 1.

Amsden, Harriette C. (1896) O?
Andrews, Helen F. (1897)
Barrett, George (1900) M
Bradley, Susan Hinckley (1893)
Bradner, Harriet B. (1896) O?
Brinley, D. Putnam (1899?)
Brownson, Mary M. (1899)
Clark, Eliot (?)
Cox, Jennie (1892)
Dow, Mrs. Frederick? (ca. 1898)
Du Puy, Caroline L (1896) O
Ebert, Mary R.: see Roberts

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Heigh (?), Miss (1898)
Heinneman, Otto R. (1897)
Henry, Sarah (1892)
Humason, Carol (1896 and/or 1897?)
Jones, Jessie Barrows (1899)
Judson, Alice (1897, 1898)
Knight, Frederic (1891) O?
Lawson, Ernest (1892, 1893)
Lindsay, Nevada (1891)
Lumis, Harriett Randall (1910, 1911) O
MacRae, Elmer L. (1897, 1898)
MacRae, Jesse (ca. 1900-1902) M and Twachtman
Malone, Blondelle (1899)
Mase, Carolyn (probably 1898)
Mathewson, Maud (1892)
Methven, H. Wallace (1891, 1892)
Muendel, George Frederick (1892) O
Neal (?), Franklin (1896) O
Owen, Robert Emmett (ca. 1905) O
Reeves, H. H. (1897)
Roberts, Mary (1897)
Rusch, Miss (Mabel?) (1898; possibly 1897)
Spalding, Elisabeth (1896) O
Swinburne, Anna T. (Mrs. Henry H.) (1899)
Tebbetts, Louise (1899)
Tucker, Allen (1892 and/or 1893)
Vaillant, Louis David (1897)
Voorhees, Clark G. (1896) O
Watts, Evelyn N. (1897)
Wilson, Mrs. E. C. (1892)
Womrath, Andrew Kay (1892)
Yeto, Genjiro (1896, 1897, probably 1898)
Young, Mary Louise (ca. 1897)
Young, Mr. (1901) M

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Appendix 4
Greenwich Society of Artists
Active Members 1912-1920

Year in parentheses is year of joining.
D indicates artist joined between the 1912 annual and the drawing exhibition held later that year.
* indicates officer or member of council.
A = architect
C = craftworker
E = etcher, printmaker
I = illustrator
P = painter
S = sculptor

Anderson, A. A. (1912) * P
Blake, Theodore E. (1912) * A
Boyden, Dwight F. (1913) P
Browne, Matilda (1912) P, S
Collins, Frank (1913) P
Cooper, Isabel (1920) P, C
Ebert, Charles H. (1912) * P
Ebert, Mary Roberts (1912) P
Edwards, George Wharton (1912) * P, I
Fiske, Charles A. (1913) P
Fox, Virginia L. (Mrs. Edward E. Hunt) (1920) C
Fry, Georgia Timken (1912) P
Fry, John H. (1912) P
Gotthold, Florence Wolf (1912) * P, C
Green, James C. (1912) A
Hastings, Thomas (1912) A
Hunt, Joseph Howland (1912) A
Hunt, Richard (1913) P, A
Jacobs, Hobart B. (1912) P, S

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Janus, Virginia (1913) P
MacRae, Elmer L. (1912) * P, C
Mase, Carolyn Campbell (1912) P
Maples, Anna Comly (1912 D) P
Norris, Arthur James (1914) P, C
Ochtman, Leonard (1912) * P
Ochtman, Mina Fonda (1912) P
Owen, Robert Emmett (1913) P, I
Parker, Cora (1912) P
Potter, Edward Clark (1912) * S
Potter, Nathan Dumont (1920) P, S
Robinson, Mary E. (1920) P, photographer
Rowe, Clarence H. (1913) I
Rowe, M. L. Arrington (1914) P
Selden, Henry Bill (1912) P
Seton, Ernest Thompson (1912) I
Smith, F. G. C. (1913) A
Snead, Louise Willis (1914) P
Stokes, I. N. Phelps (1913) A
Taylor, Henry Fitch (1912) P
Tubby, George P. (1912) A
Tubby, William B. (1912) * A
Twachtman, Alden (1912) * P, A
Tyler, James Gale (1913) P
Vanderhoef, Mrs. Bailey (1920) C
Wakeman, Clare or Clara (1920) C
Wohlpart, A. P. S. (1913) A
Young, Mary Louise (1913) P

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Appendix 5
GSA Guest Exhibitors 1912-1920

Years in parentheses indicate years of participation. Annual exhibitions are denoted unless the year is followed by D (for 1912 drawing exhibition) or A (for 1913 architectural exhibition). Artists who exhibited with the Society before they became members are listed in Appendix 4 only.

1. Painters

Bucklin, William Savery (1912 D)
Carlsen, Emil (1919, 1920)
Carrigan, William L. (1920)
Couse, E. Irving (1919)
Curran, Charles C. (1919, 1920)
Davis, Charles H. (1919)
Dougherty, Paul (1919, 1920)
Frieseke, F. C. (1919, 1920)
Harden, Albert (1913 A)
Hassam, Childe (1914, 1919, 1922)
Hawthorne, Charles W. (1920)
Henri, Robert (1920)
Jacobs, Anna A. (1912 D)
Kidder, F. H. (1912)
Lathrop, W. L. (1920)
Miller, Richard E. (1919, 1920)
Murphy, Henry Cruse, Jr. (1919, 1920)
Myers, Jerome (1920)
Olinsky, Ivan (1919)
Potthast, Edward H. (1919)
Redfield, Edward (date unknown; GSA label on one painting)
Reid, Robert (1919)
Ryder, Chauncey F. (1920)
Tubby, J. T., Jr. (1912 D)
Turner, Helen M. (1920)
Walker, Horatio (1914)

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Waugh, Frederick J. (1919)
Weir, J. Alden (1914)

2. Sculptors

Adams, Herbert (1919)
Aitken, Robert (1920)
Beach, Chester (1920 not catalogued)
Borglum, Gutzon (1919, 1920 not catalogued)
Fraser, James Earle (1919)
French, Daniel Chester (1919)
Frishmuth, Harriet W. (1919)
Hyatt, Anna Vaughan (1919)
Konti, Isadore (1914, 1926)
Ladd, Anna Coleman (1919)
Longman, Evelyn Beatrice (1919)
MacMonnies, Frederick (1919)
McCartan, Edward (1919)
Norton, Elizabeth (1919)
Proctor, A. Phimister (1919)
Putnam, Arthur (1920)
Schenck, Phoebe (1919)
Scudder, Janet (1919, 1920)
Shonnard, Eugenie F. (1919)
Skoog, Karl F. (1912)
Strazza, Emilio (1919, 1920)
Urich, Louis (1919)
Vonnoh, Bessie Potter (1919, 1920)
Ward, J. Q. A. (1919)

3. Architects (all, 1913 architectural exhibition)

Albro and Lindeberg
Dominick, William Francis
Githens, Alfred (of Haight and Githens)
Haight, Charles C.
Magonigle, H. Van Buren
Nash, A. C.

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Platt, Charles A.
Tubby, J. T., Jr.
Waid, D. Everett
Woodruff and Leeming

4. Craftworkers

Browne, Jessie Howard (1920 not catalogued)
Bursch, Frederick (1919, 1920)
Cooper, Isabel (1920)
Hall, Edith Allen (1919, 1920)
Norris, Edward (1919, 1920)
Ochtman, Arthur F. (1919)
Ochtman, Leonard, Jr. (1919)
Picinski, Victoria (1919)
Rolfe, E. (1919)
Truesdale, Mrs. William H. (1919, 1920)
Young, H. W. (1919)

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Appendix 6: Twachtman Correspondence

These transcripts of five previously unpublished letters from John H. Twachtman supplement those reprinted in Lisa Peters's dissertation. The first of the letters is in the collection of Weir Farm National Historic Site in Wilton, Conn. The other four are in the John Ferguson Weir Papers at Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The citation for each letter is given in bold type. Brackets indicate illegible writing, crossed-out words, or information not included in the original letter. All spelling and grammar is original.

Twachtman (Greenwich, Conn.) to J. Alden Weir (probably Branchville, Conn.), ca. spring 1889 or before; J. Alden Weir Papers (WEFA 350), Weir Farm National Historic Site, Wilton, Conn.

[Pen-and-ink sketch of a large gambrel-roofed stone house is at top of sheet. See figure 8.3.]

Willow Brook

Wednesday

My dear Weir—

I went to the station this morning hoping to find you. With us the day was a little raw and misty but fine all the same. The surface of the land was exceedingly charming. Marjorie was poisoned by mercury vine [poison ivy] and suffered all night and I had to be her nurse and was awake all night and I was anxious for you to cheer me up to-day. She felt much better to-day than I did. I almost forgot to tell you that the sketch is a projected house on the top of the hill by the brook. Don't you think that we have a beautiful place? Of

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course your ideal is a different one from mine and you and Mrs. Weir would seek the wilderness. But I like this place exceedingly—its very homliness has a charm for me. You could not help having a [illegible] at the house yourself and what is beautiful to paint should be an artists delight always. You see how I'm defending our place which did not impress you favorably. But you will come oftener and learn to love it as I do.

Taylor went to the city to-day to remain until Saturday helping his sister move to a new house. He seemed to like the chance to go but then you know his sister is a very near relative and he is devoted to her. He too is making plans for a house and you had better hurry on and get the place he wants to get for it is a very beautiful! ["place" crossed out] But you will go to the wilderness I know. When are you coming down? ["up" crossed out and "down" written above it] Sincerely your friend

Twachtman

Your painting is very charming and dignified—only a little cold in color.

Twachtman (probably Greenwich) to John Ferguson Weir (New Haven), undated; ca. June 1899; John Ferguson Weir Papers, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (hereafter JFW Papers).

My dear Weir

Excuse my delay in answering your letter. ["but" crossed out] We have had a rather serious accident happen to our little daughter—She had her leg broken

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by a horse stepping on it and both bones are broken and we are rather upset. She is doing well, though.

Your plan for Alden [regarding the Winchester Fellowship for study abroad] is certainly the right one. I leave everything to your judgement as I have from the start. I want to have you visit us when we get settled again and then we can have a "talk."

Very seriously

J H Twachtman

Twachtman (The Players, Gramercy Park, New York) to John Ferguson Weir (New Haven), April 12, 1901; JFW Papers.

Professor John F. Weir

Yale Art School,

New Haven,

Conn,

Dear Sir,

The work of my son Alden arrived last week and I have had the canvases properly stretched. As regards framing them I regret to say that I have not the money to do that.

Kindly inform me when the things are wanted at New Haven

Very truly

J H Twachtman

April 12th 1901

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Twachtman (The Players, Gramercy Park, New York) to John Ferguson Weir (New Haven), May 7, 1901; JFW Papers.

May 7th 1901

Professor J. F. Weir,

Dear Sir,

I had Powell send you some canvases and drawings done by my son Alden. I have been late in sending them as I expected each day to receive a portrait by him of his sister. The sketch he sent me seemed interesting. Of course, I have a lot of things that he did at Greenwich and also at the Yale art school and if you desire them and it is not too late will you kindly advise me? Will you let me know what you think of his drawings?

Very truly yours

J H Twachtman

Twachtman (The Players, Gramercy Park, New York) to John Ferguson Weir (New Haven, Conn.), May 20, 1901; JFW Papers.

May 20th 1901

My dear Weir,

As I wrote you in my last letter it is impossible for me to frame Alden's things. I am now vastly in debt for frames—a sum amounting to over $1500.00. My pictures and all my frames are at the Cincinnati Art Museum where I have an exhibition. I haven't a single frame here. I will try and borrow from some of the artists here if I can find the proper size. Could you not have a simple

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flat moulding made at New Haven? Something that would not cost me too much? I did that with many of my things this winter—and the result was not bad.

I have had sketches in letters from Alden of things he is painting of his sisters and brothers. (How do you like the drawings I sent you?) I have been expecting some of his figure paintings, but, perhaps, he did not get them completed. When Alden went to Paris he took a number of his paintings with him and, no doubt, the ones you speak of were of the number. Besides, we have been changing our residence several times during the last ["tw" crossed out] year and a half ["that" crossed out] and many things are difficult to find. I have utterly lost track of some of my own canvases. We took all our things from our house and stored them at two separate places.

I hope the mater will be settled to your satisfaction

Believe me

very sincerely yours

J H Twachtman

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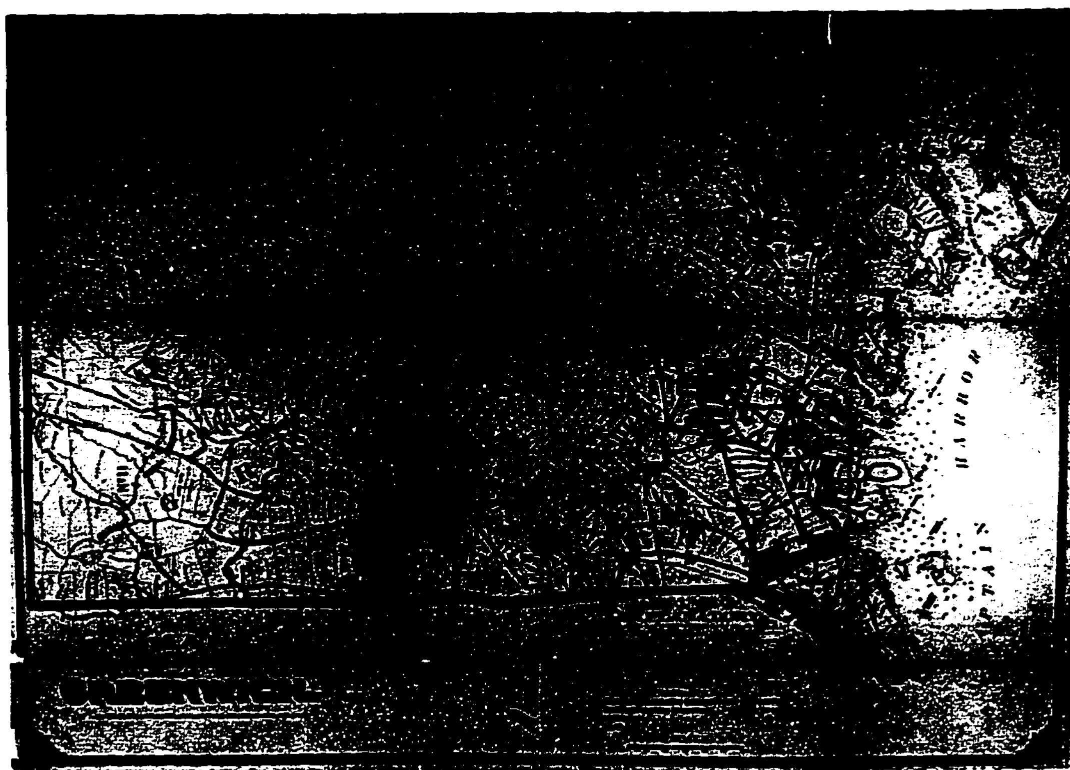

1.1. *Map of Greenwich*, no. 8, from *Index Map of the Greater Portion of Westchester County Including Greenwich and Stamford, Ct. and the Upper Part of New York City*, published by Hyde & Company (New York, 1900). Collection, Map Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

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1.2. David Johnson, *View Near Greenwich.* 1878. Oil on board, 13 7/8 x 19 3/4 in. Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, Hartford, Conn.

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1.3. David Johnson, *Lake George Looking North from Tongue Mountain Shore*. 1874. Oil on canvas, 14 1/8 x 22 1/8 in. The Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y.

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1.4. Holly Farm on Stanwich Road, ca. 1880. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. The house was demolished by the 1950s.

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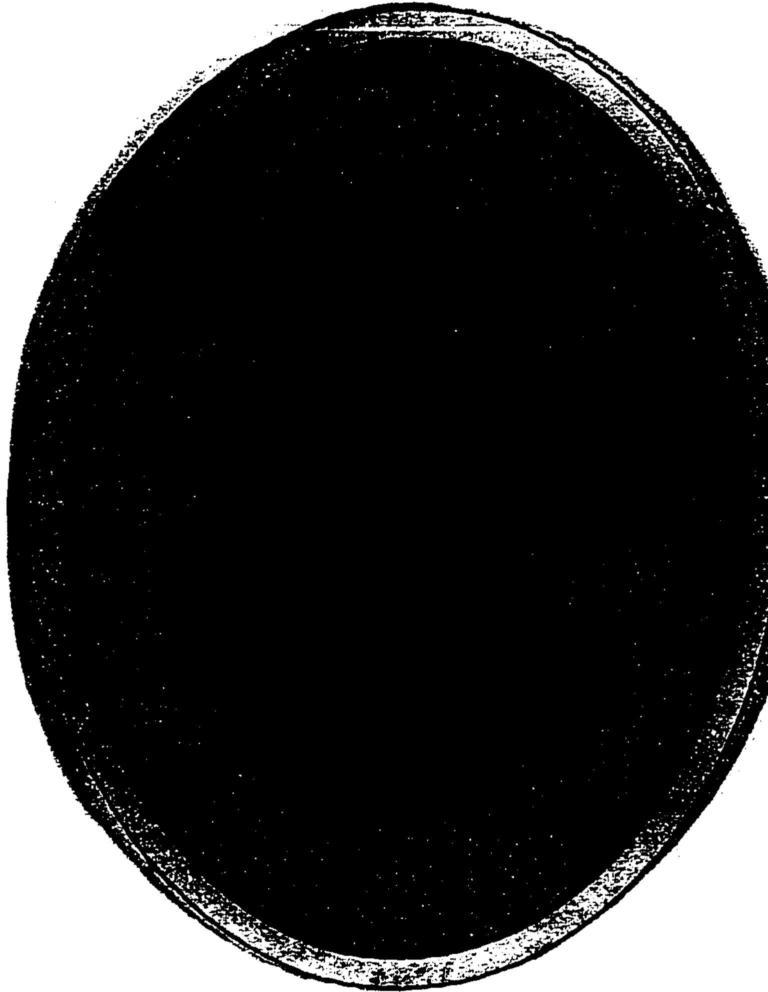

1.5. Edward Payson Holley (1837-1913), ca. 1880. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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1.6. Josephine Lyon Holley (1848-1916), ca. 1900. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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1.7. The Holley House in Cos Cob, ca. 1890. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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1.8. North end of Holley House, showing the basic saltbox and a later addition, ca. 1890-1900. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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1.9. Rear view of Holley House, ca. 1890-1900, showing grape arbor. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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1.10. Tide-powered mill on Lower Landing, Cos Cob. Built ca. 1763; destroyed by fire, January 1899. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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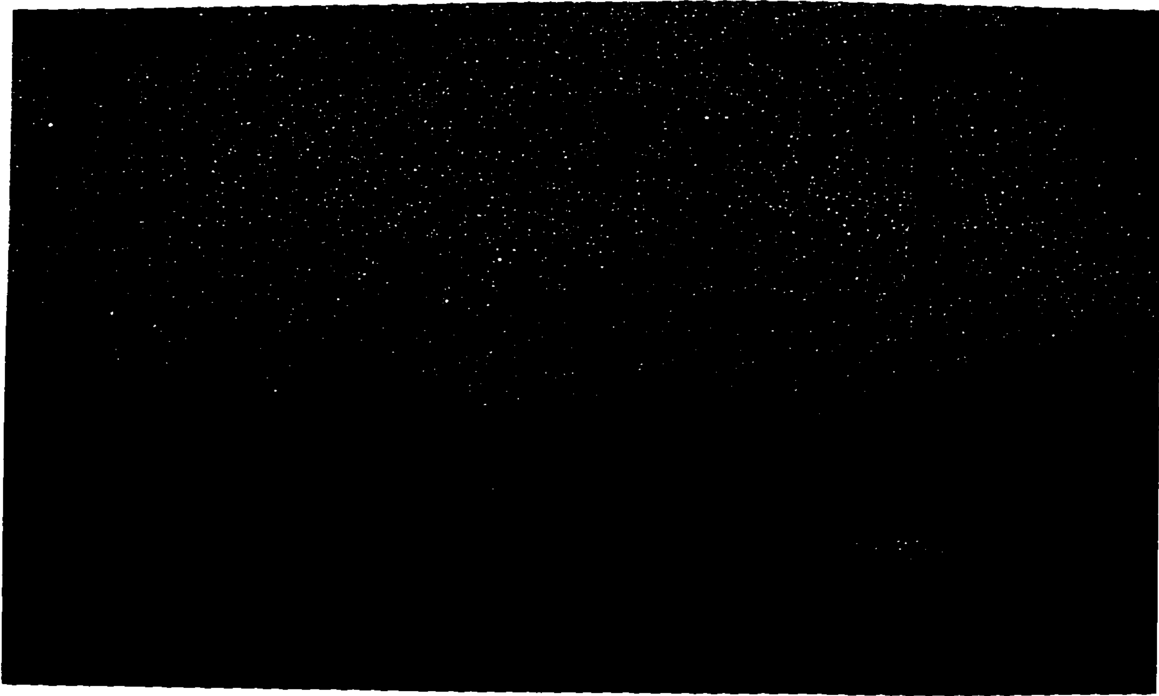

1.11. Frank Seymour, *Palmer & Duff Shipyard.* Photograph from glass-plate negative. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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1.12 Rear view of the Lower Landing, before 1899. The mill is the tall building to the right; the other buildings were stores, warehouses, and, at one period, the post office. The Holley House is visible to the left of the mill. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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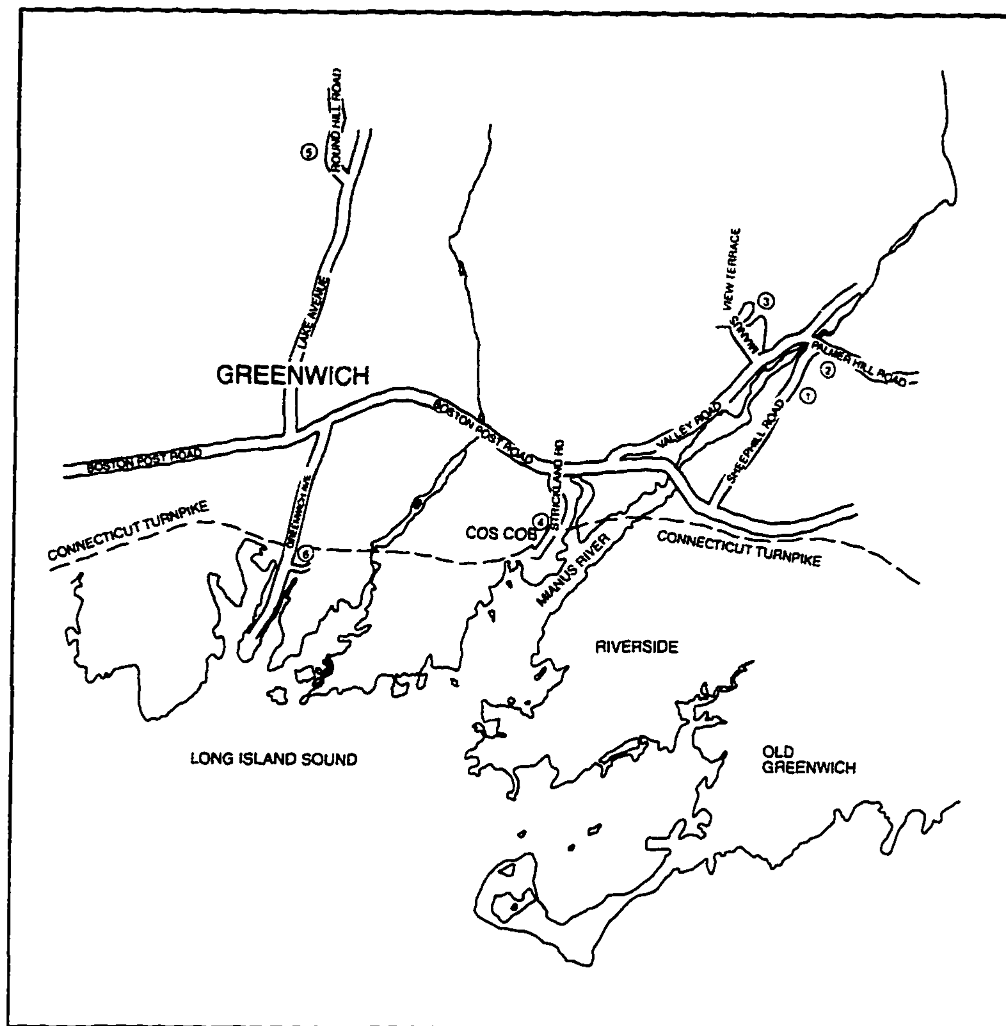

2.1. Schematic map of Greenwich (drawn by Anne von Stuelpnagel) showing sites significant to the art colony. All but the first two buildings are still standing. (Scale approx. 3/4 in. = 1 mile.)

1. Ochtman's first home in Greenwich
2. Hilltop, home of Henry and Louisine Havemeyer
3. Grayledge, Ochtman's second home in Greenwich
4. Holley House (now Bush-Holley House)
5. John H. Twachtman's house
6. The Bruce Museum

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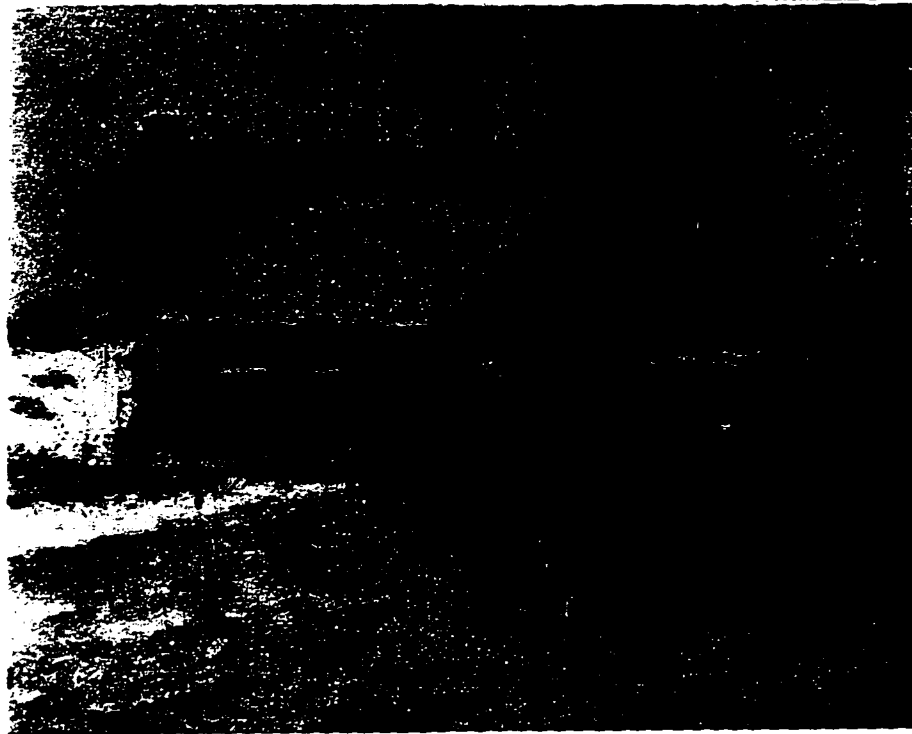

2.2. Theodore Robinson, *Twachtman's House*, 1892. Oil on canvas, 18 x 22 in. Location unknown. (Reproduced in John I. H. Baur, *Theodore Robinson* [exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum, 1946]; reprinted in *Three Nineteenth Century American Painters* [New York: Arno Press, 1969]).

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2.3. John H. Twachtman, *Snowbound*, early 1890s. Oil on canvas, 22 x 30 in. Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, New Jersey.

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2.4. Theodore Robinson, *Oxen*, undated. Oil on canvas, 18 1/2 x 22 1/8 inches. Private Collection.

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2.5. Theodore Robinson, *Stepping Stones*, 1893. Oil on canvas, 21 1/2 x 28 1/2 in. Senator and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller IV.

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2.6. Theodore Robinson, *The Watering Pots*, 1890. Oil on canvas, 22 1/8 x 18 1/16 in. The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N.Y. Museum Collection Fund.

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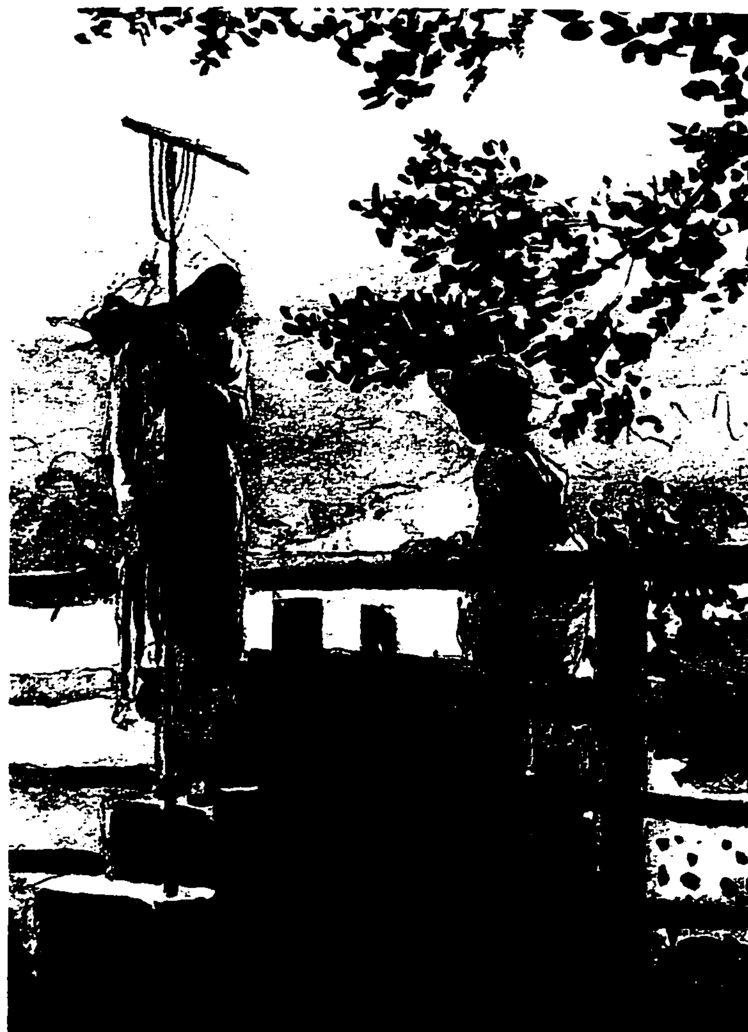

2.7. Winslow Homer, *Spring*, 1878. Watercolor on paper, 11 1/8 x 8 5/8 in. Daniel and Rita Fraad.

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2.8. Winslow Homer, *Fresh Air*, 1878. Watercolor and gouache over graphite, 20 1/16 x 14 1/16 in. The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N.Y.

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2.9. Isoda Koryusai, *The Courtesan Mandayu with Attendants, Playing the Sugoruko Game*, ca. 1775. Color woodblock print, 15 3/8 x 10 1/4, from *New Patterns for Young Girls*. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

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2.10. Theodore Robinson, *Boats at a Landing*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 18 x 22 in. Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potamkin.

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2.11. Henry Fitch Taylor, *Souvenir of Normandy*, 1888. Oil on canvs, 20 x 24 in. Private collection.

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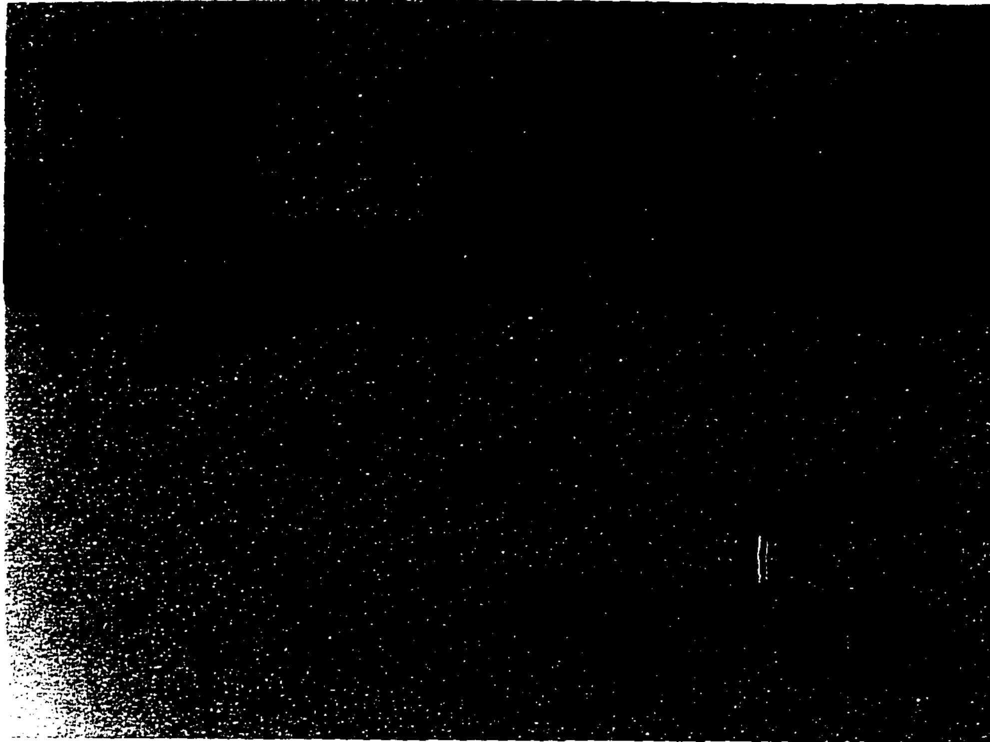

2.12. Henry Fitch Taylor, *An Old Pasture*, ca. 1892-93. Oil on canvas, 30 x 40 in. Orlando Museum of Art, Orlando, Fla., long-term loan from Martin and Gracia Andersen.

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2.13. John H. Twachtman with summer students at the Palmer & Duff Shipyard, probably 1897. Elmer MacRae is at the right. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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2.14. John H. Twachtman with student at Palmer & Duff Shipyard, looking across Cos Cob harbor at the Lower Landing; probably 1897. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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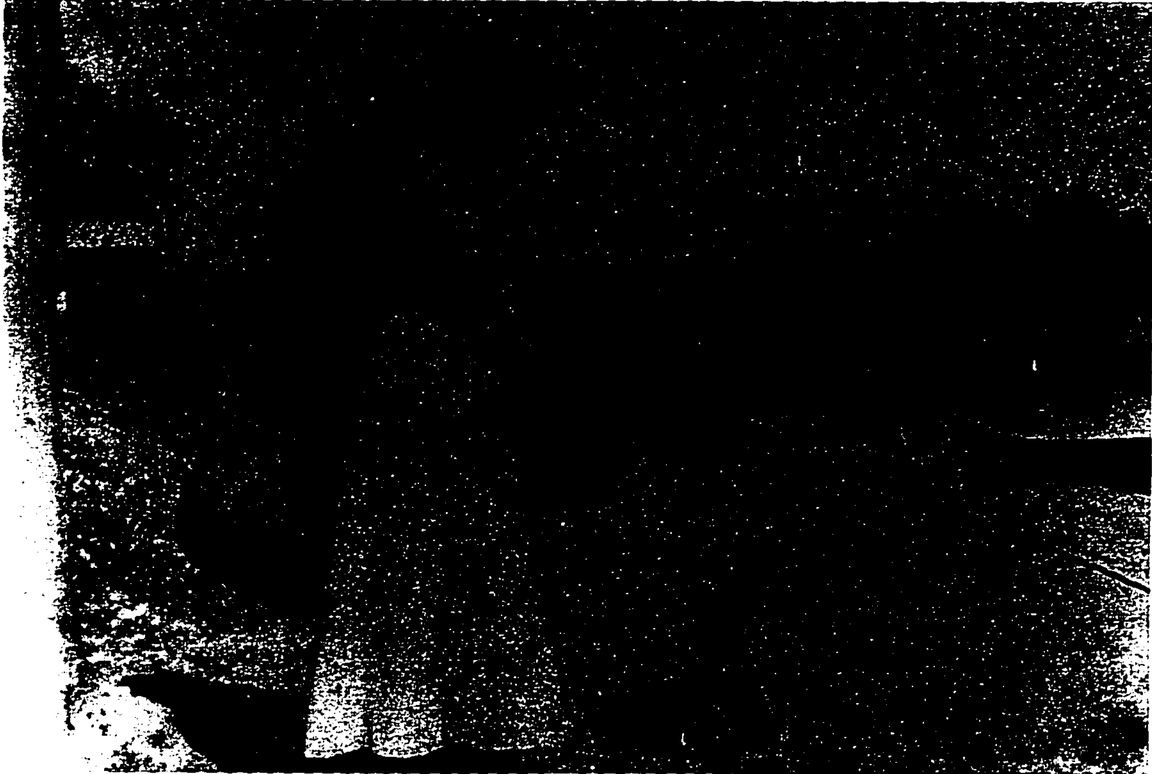

2.15. Fishing off the Lower Landing, after January 1899. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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2.16. Art colonists swimming off Palmer & Duff Shipyard, ca. 1900. The prow of a sailboat is visible at the left. The Mianus River railroad bridge extends across the background. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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2.17. Genjiro Yeto and kimono-clad women on a Cos Cob porch, ca. 1896-1900. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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2.18. Summer students hanging an exhibition in the hayloft of the Holleys' barn, probably 1897. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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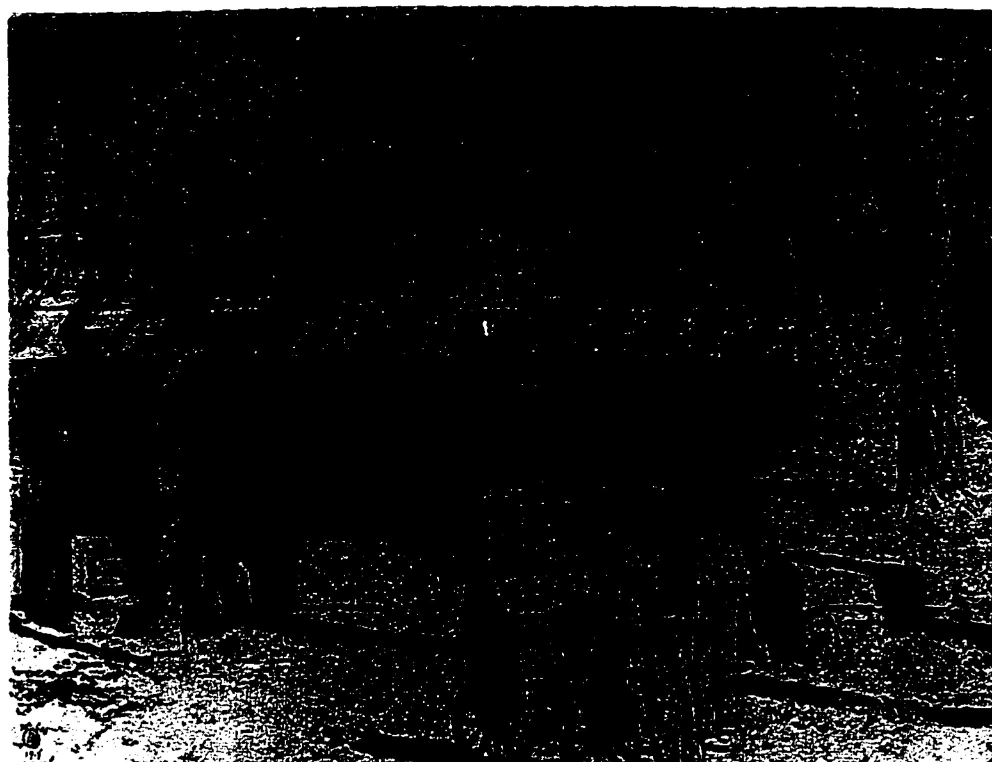

2.19. Childe Hassam, *Toby's, Cos Cob*, 1915. Etching, 7 x 8 7/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y.

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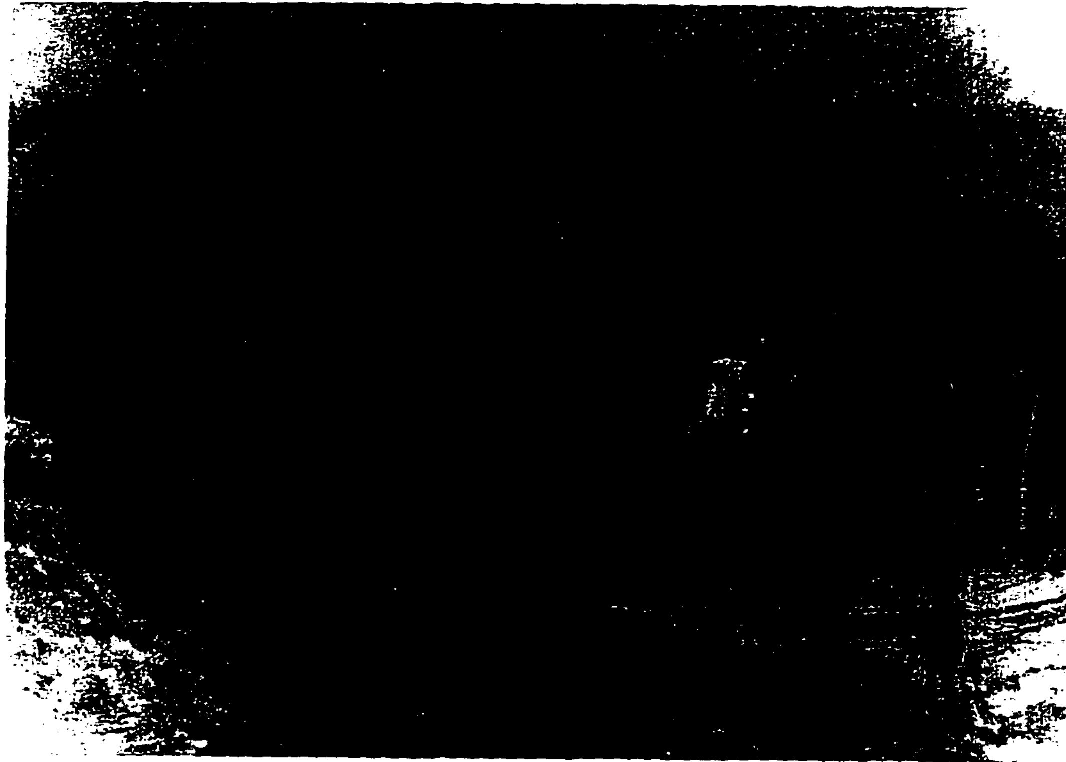

2.20. John H. Twachtman, *Holly House, Cos Cob, Connecticut*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 21 1/16 x 26 9/16 in. (frame dimensions). Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Mass.; museum purchase.

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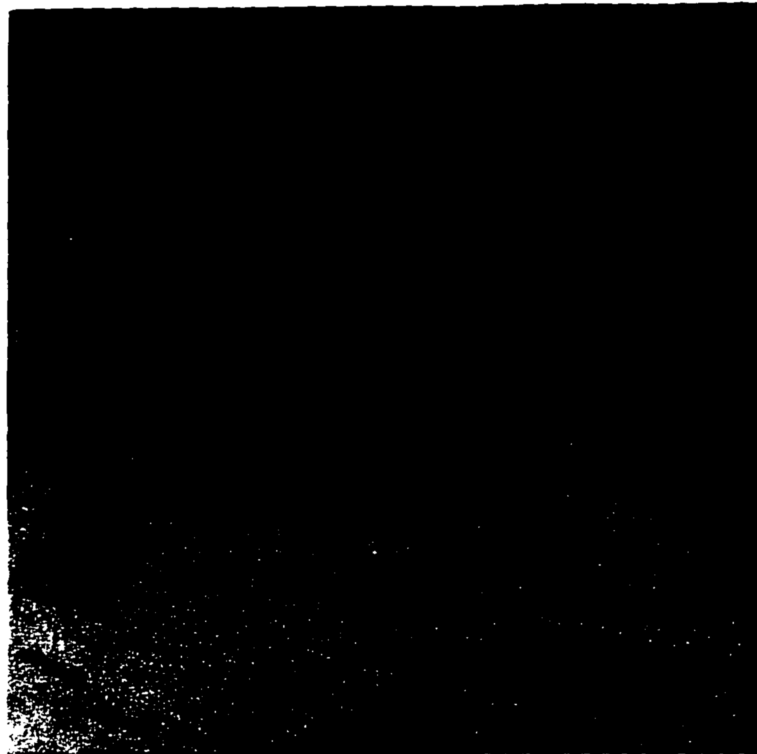

2.21. Elmer L. MacRae, *Old House, South End.* Oil on canvas, 25 x 25 in. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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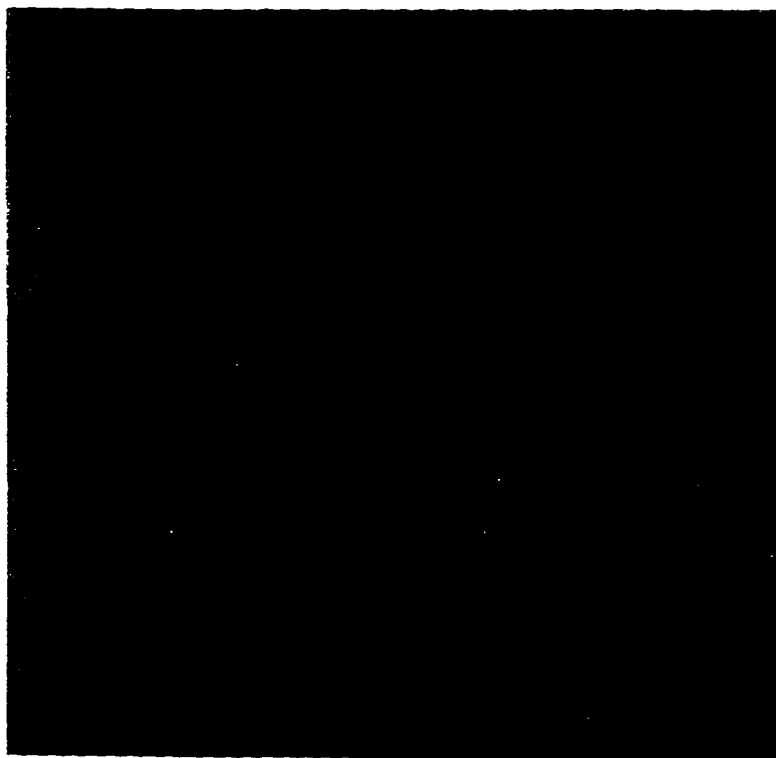

2.22. John H. Twachtman, *Old Holley House, Cos Cob,* ca. 1890-1900. Oil on canvas, 25 1/16 x 25 1/8 in. Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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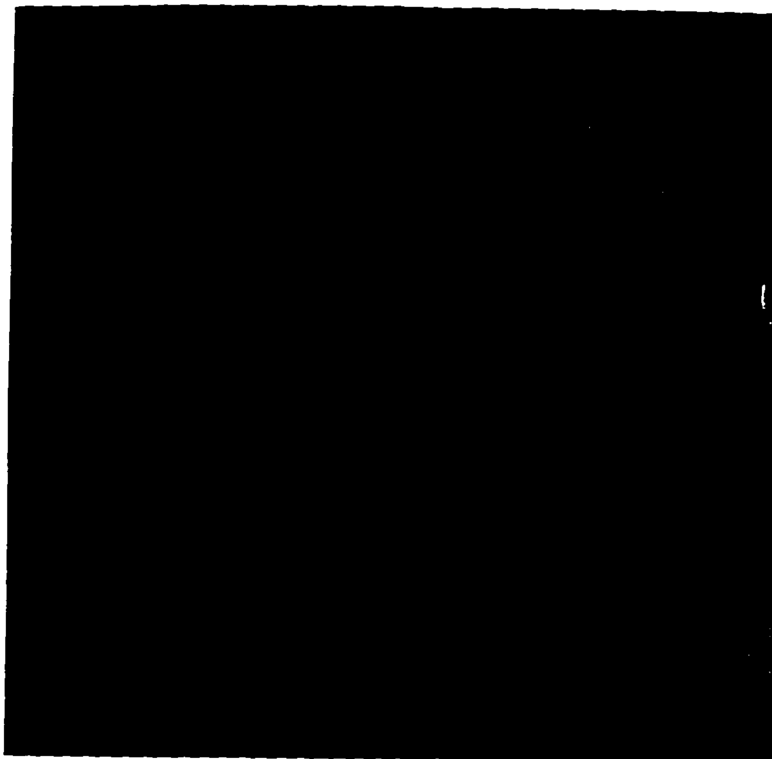

2.23. John H. Twachtman, *From the Holley House*, ca. 1901. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 in. Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Halff, Jr.

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2.24. Elmer L MacRae, *From the Holley House.* Oil on canvas, 30 x 24 1/2 in. Adele A. Prayias Fine Art Inc., Greenwich, Conn.

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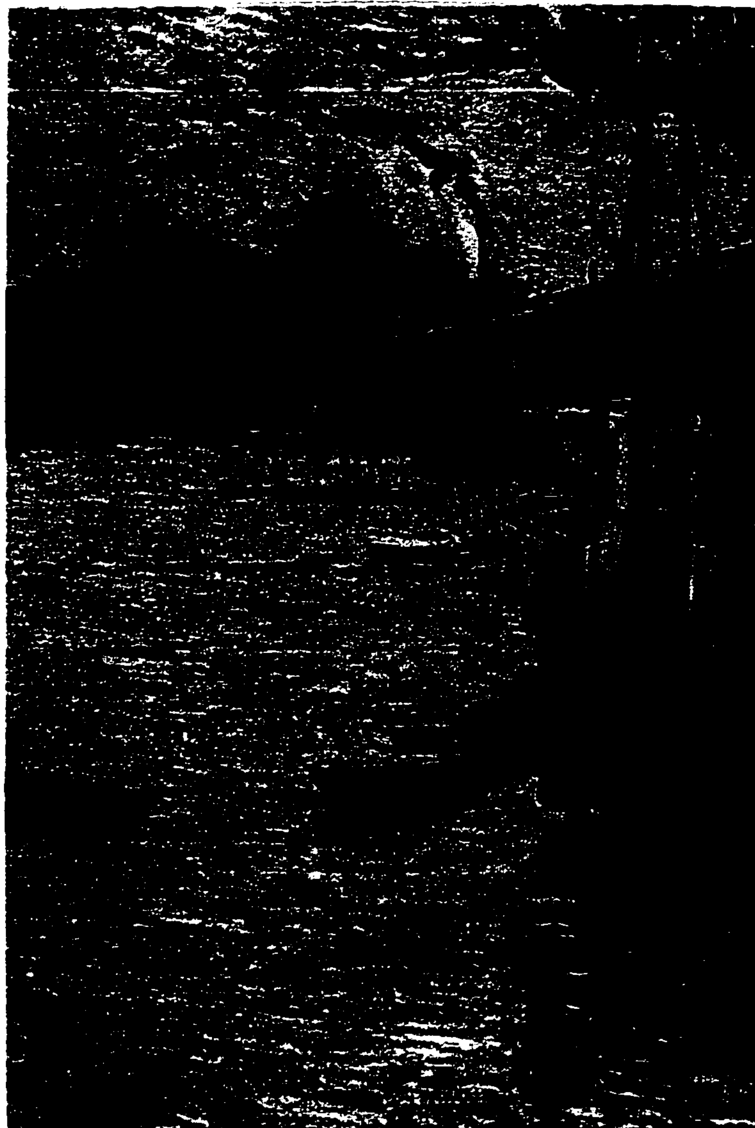

3.1. Childe Hassam, *The Mill Pond, Cos Cob,* 1902. Oil on canvas, 26 x 18 in. The Bruce Museum, Greenwich, Connecticut. Photograph by Susan Larkin.

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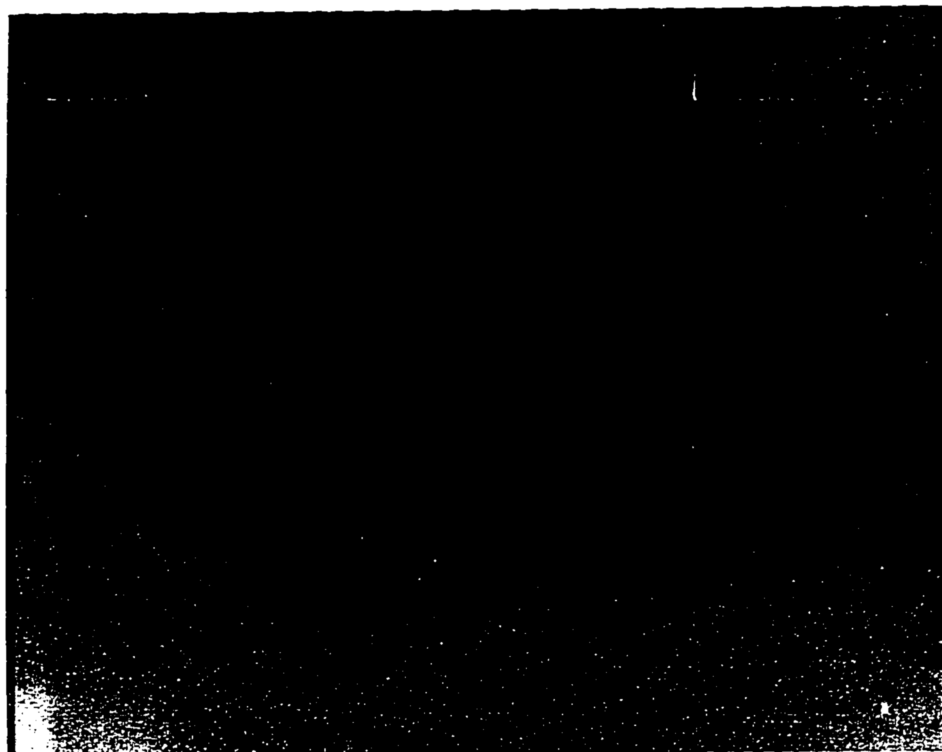

3.2. John H. Twachtman, *Landscape*, about 1890. Pastel on pumice paper, 14 3/4 x 18 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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3.3. J. Alden Weir, *Boats*, ca. 1890. Pastel and graphite pencil on wove paper (originally blue), 8 3/4 x 14 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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3.4. Childe Hassam, *The Holley Farm*, 1902. Pastel on paper, 18 x 22 in. Diplomatic Reception Rooms, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C. Photograph by Will Brown.

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3.5. Constant Holley MacRae (1871-1965) holding her twin daughters, Clarissa and Constant, ca. 1905. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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3.6. Carrère and Hastings, architects. Indian Harbor, constructed 1895 as the home of Elias Cornelius Benedict. Photograph, ca. 1900. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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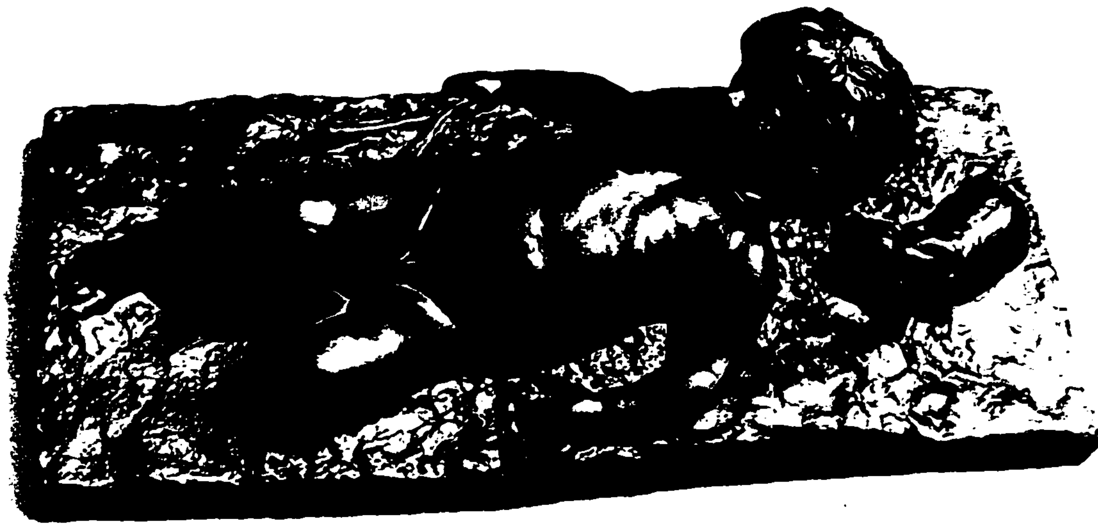

3.7. Edward Clark Potter, *Sleeping Infant Faun Visited by an Inquisitive Rabbit*, 1887-89; this cast 1912. Bronze, 3 3/4 in. h. x 12 3/4 l. x 5 3/8 d. Private collection.

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3.8. Elmer L MacRae, *Hollyhocks*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 32 x 24 in. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, The Joseph H. Hirshhorn Bequest, 1981.

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3.9. Allen Tucker, *Black Hollyhocks*, n. d. Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in. Private collection.

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3.10. Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2,* 1912. Oil on canvas, 58 x 35 in. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection.

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3.11. Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), *Garden of Love (Improvisation #27)*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 47 3/8 x 55 1/4 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949.

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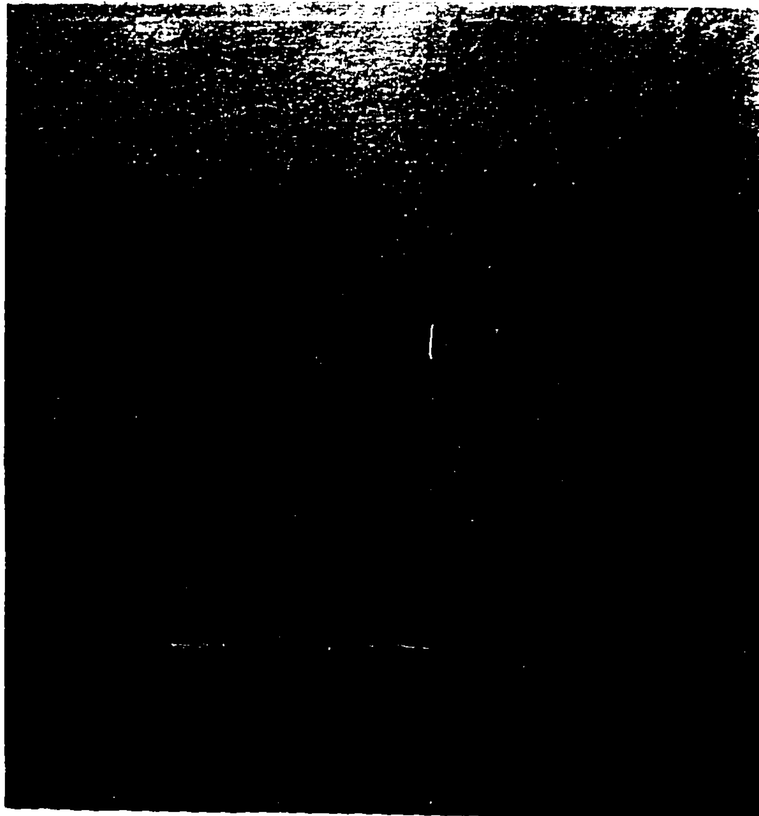

3.12. D. Putnam Brinley, *A May Morning* (*Silvermine River*), ca. 1912. Oil on canvas, 32 x 30 in. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich, Gift of Mrs. Albert A. Loder, Jr. Photograph by Susan Larkin.

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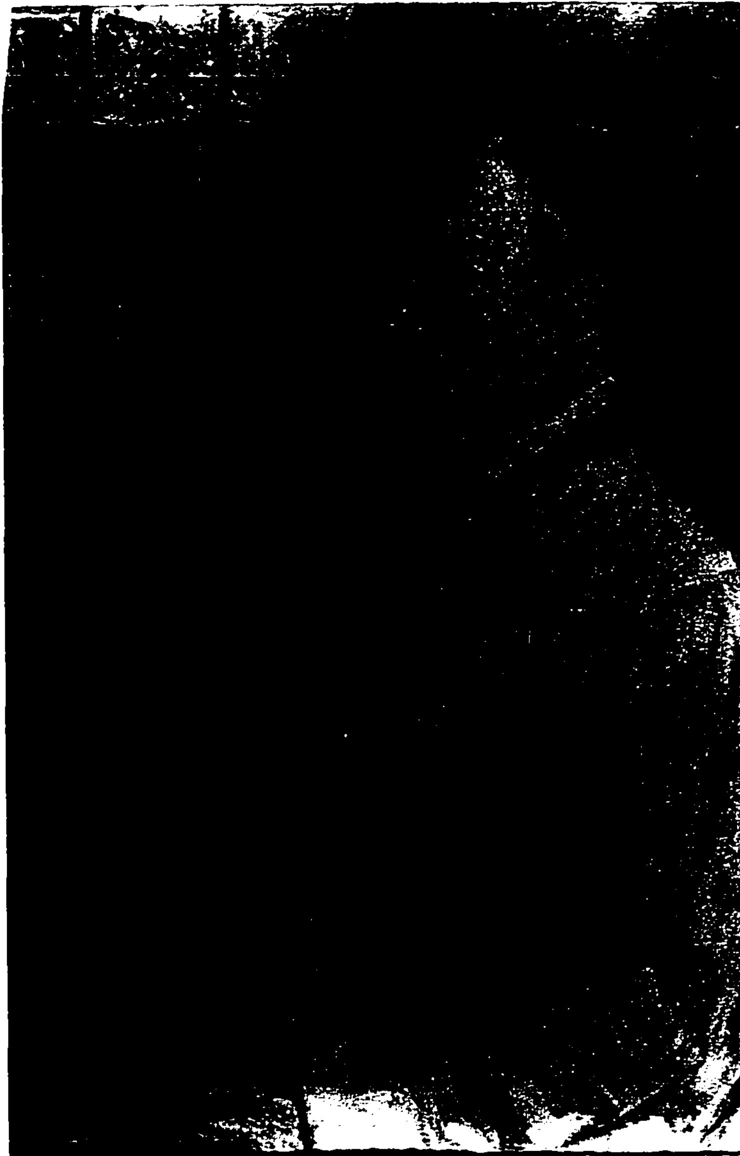

3.13. Childe Hassam, *Self Portrait*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 32 13/16 x 20 3/4 in. The American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York.

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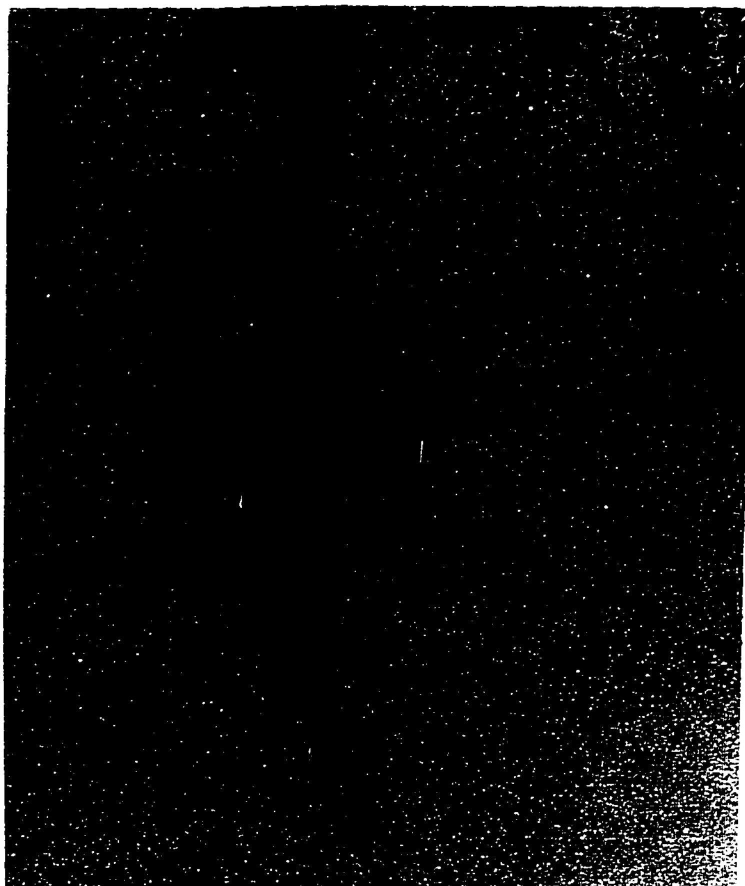

3.14. Kerr Eby, *Morning Mists*, 1913. Etching, 7 1/2 x 6 7/16 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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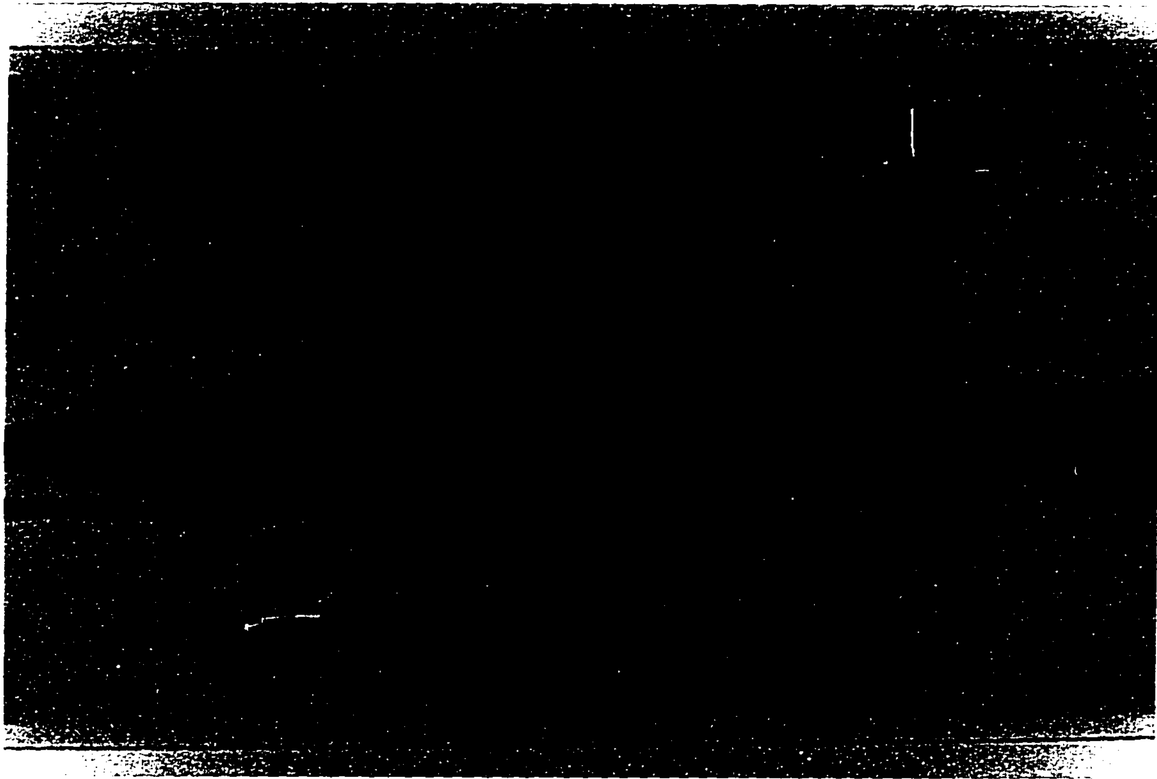

3.15. Kerr Eby, *Railroad Bridge*, 1913-14. Etching, 4 7/8 x 8 7/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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3.16. Childe Hassam, *The Old House, Cos Cob*, 1915. Etching (C 53), 6 x 7 3/4 in. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library, Print Department, Gift of Albert H. Wiggin.

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3.17. Kerr Eby, *Brush House*, 1916. Etching, 5 15/16 x 7 15/16 in. New York Public Library. Photograph courtesy of Bernadette Passi Giardina.

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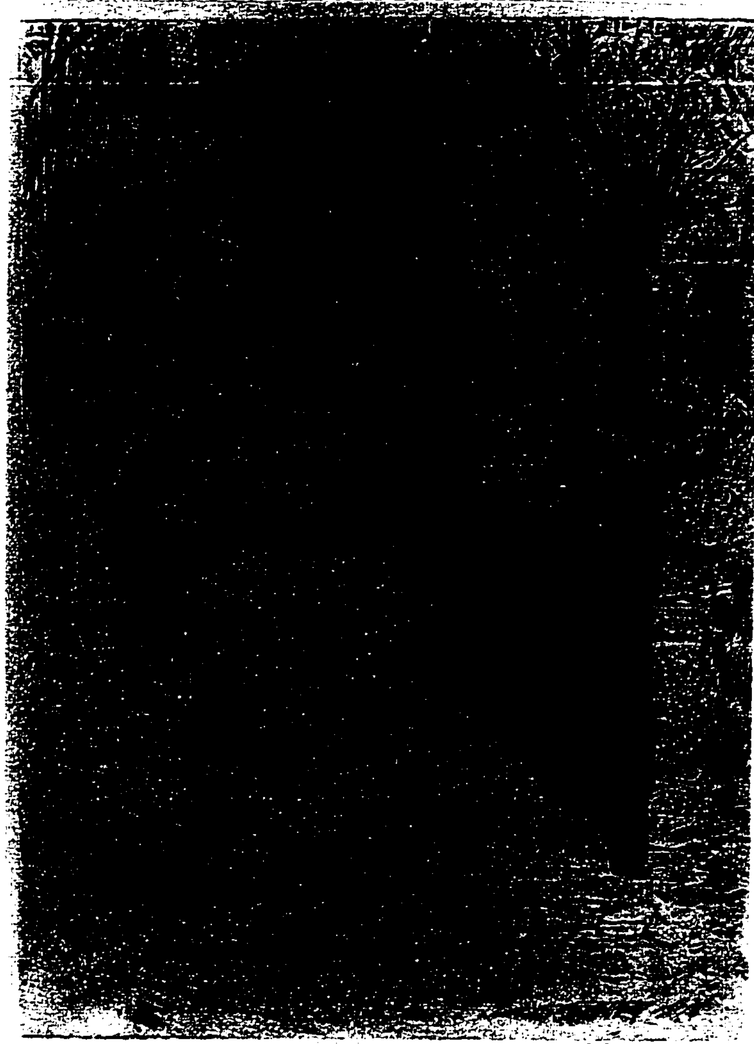

3.18. Childe Hassam, *The Steps*, 1915. Etching (C 52), 10 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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3.19. Childe Hassam, *Dock at Noon*, 1916. Watercolor, 14 3/4 x 21 1/2 in. Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, N. J. Photograph by Virginia Weckel.

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3.20. Elmer MacRae, Chair. Painted wood, 49 in. h. x 24 1/2 w. x 23 1/2 d. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich. Photograph by Susan Larkin.

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3.21. Georgia O'Keeffe, *Skunk Cabbage (Cos Cob Spring)*, 1922. Oil on canvas, 23 1/8 x 16 1/8 in. Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Mass.

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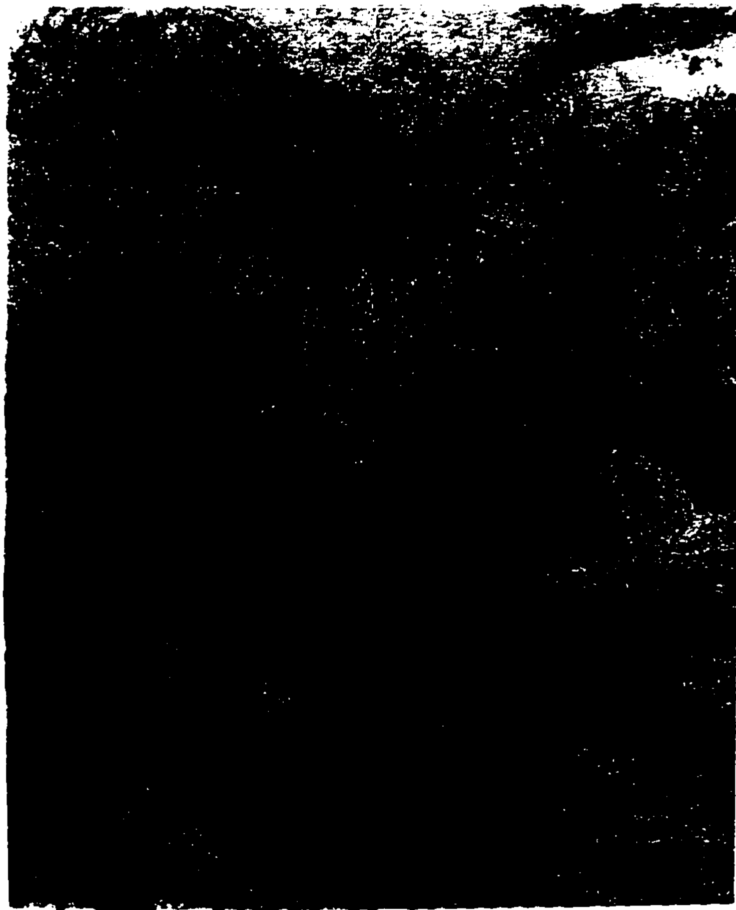

3.22. John H. Twachtman, *Waterfall.* Oil on canvas, 30 1/8 x 25 1/16 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of George A. Hearn, 1909.

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4.1. James Gale Tyler, *Harbor Scene*, 1877. Oil on board, 12 x 8 3/4 in. Private collection; photograph courtesy of Butler Fine Art, New Canaan, Conn.

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4.2. John H. Twachtman, *Sailing in the Mist*, ca. 1895. Oil on canvas, 30 1/2 x 30 1/2 in. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Pa.; Temple Fund Purchase.

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4.3. Thomas Cole, *The Voyage of Life: Old Age*, 1840. Oil on canvas, 51 3/4 x 78 1/4 in. Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Museum of Art, Utica, New York.

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4.4. Caspar David Friedrich, *The Wanderer above the Mists*, ca. 1817-18. Oil on canvas, 29 1/8 x 37 in. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

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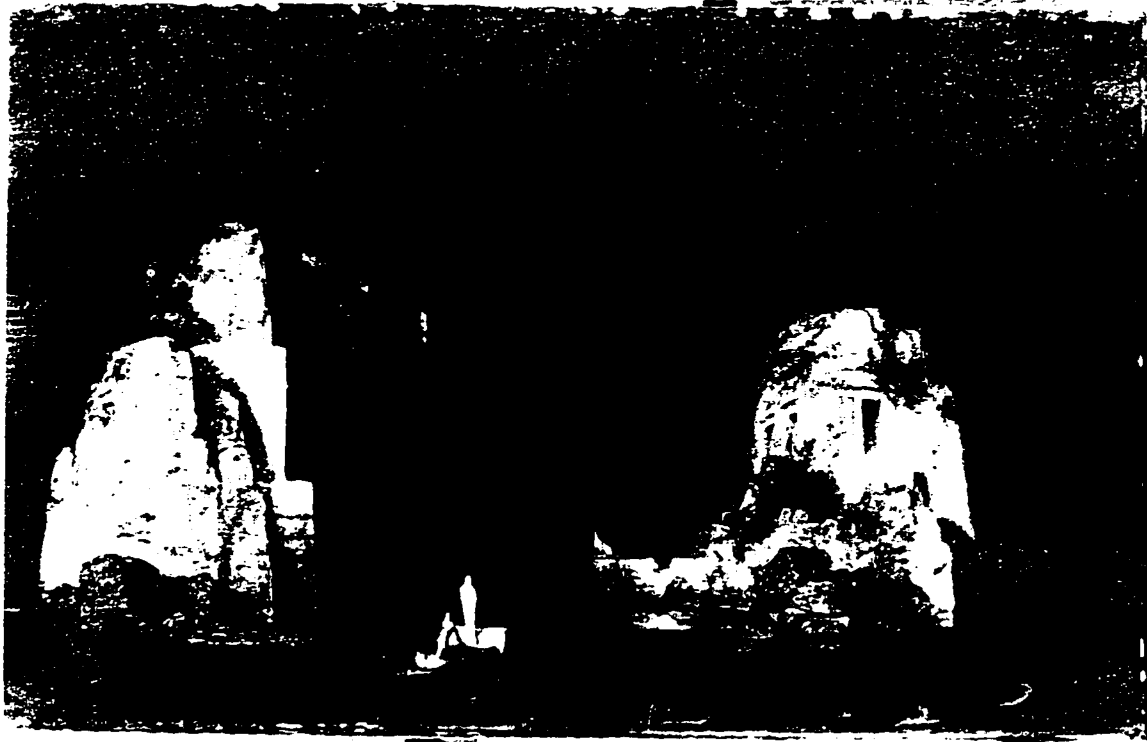

4.5. Arnold Böcklin, *Island of the Dead*, 1880. Oil on wood, 29 x 48 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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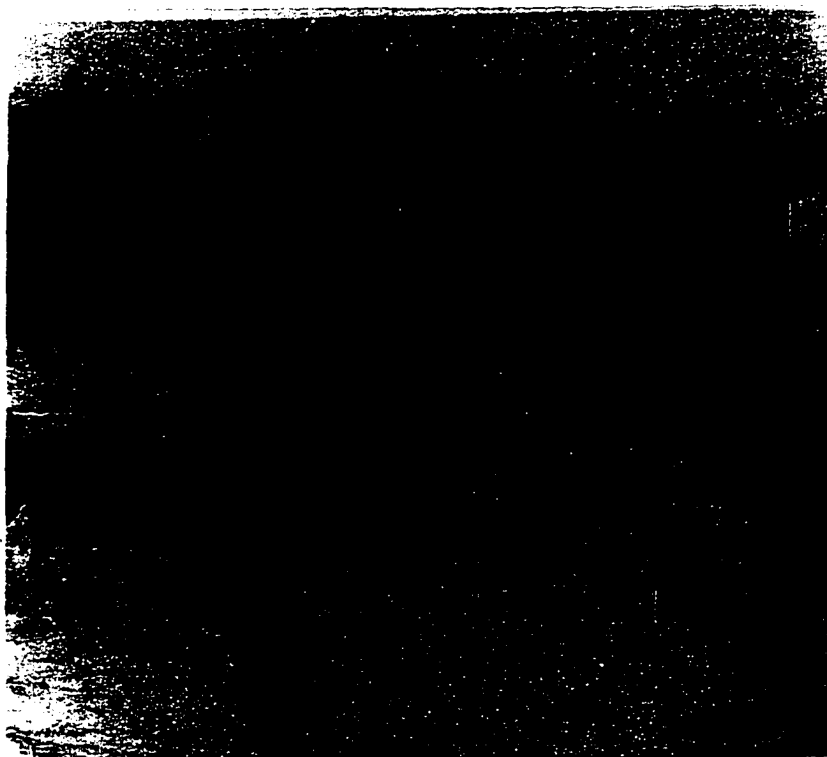

4.6. Theodore Robinson, *Sloop Cove*, 1894. Oil on wood, 10 1/4 x 11 3/4 in. Private collection. Photograph, Davis and Langdale, New York.

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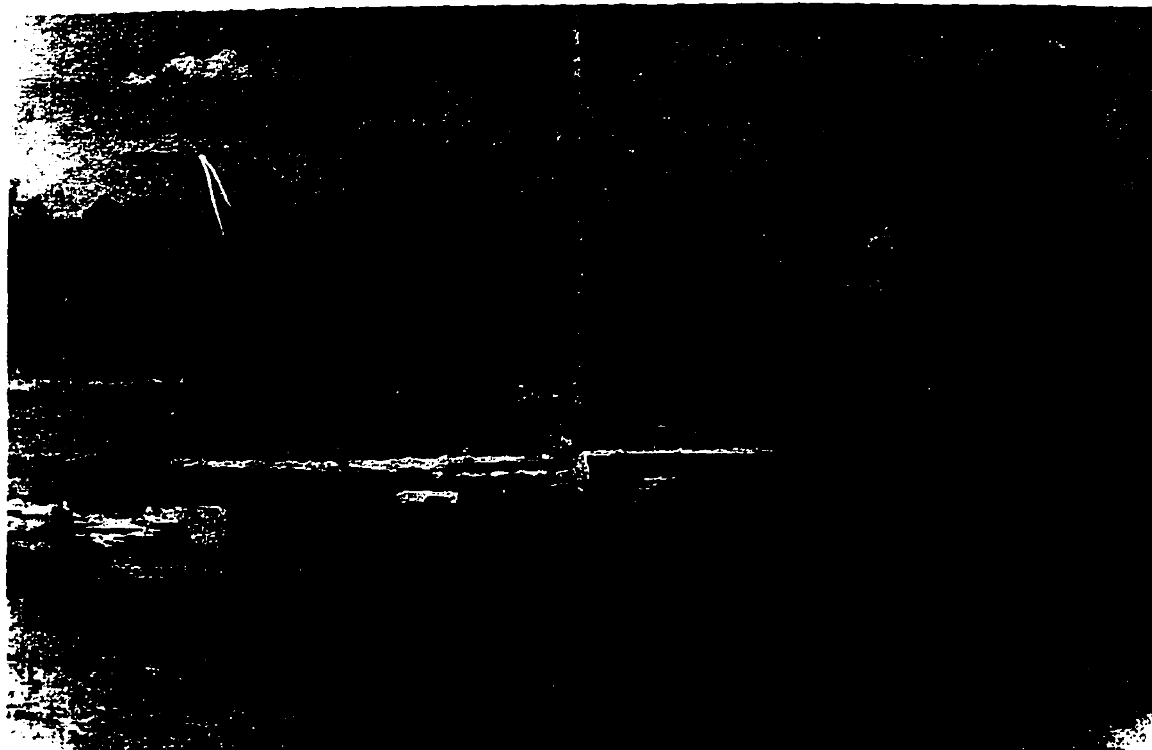

4.7. Theodore Robinson, *Sloop and Dinghy*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 8 1/4 x 13 1/4 in. Private collection. Photograph, Kennedy Galleries, Inc., New York.

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4.8. Theodore Robinson, *Low Tide, Riverside Yacht Club*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 18 x 24 in. Mr. and Mrs. Raymond J. Horowitz.

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4.9. Riverside Yacht Club, Riverside, Connecticut, 1913. This building was demolished in 1928 and replaced by the present clubhouse. Archives, Riverside Yacht Club.

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4.10. Ernest Lawson, *Yacht Club—Night, Greenwich*, ca. 1892. Oil on canvas, 20 x 24 in. Collection unknown; photograph from Sloan auction gallery, Washington, D. C.

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4.11. Ando Hiroshige, *Musa*, ca. 1838. Color woodblock print, 8 5/8 x 13 7/8 in., from *Sixty-Nine Stations of the Kisokaido.* Charles Burlingham, Jr.

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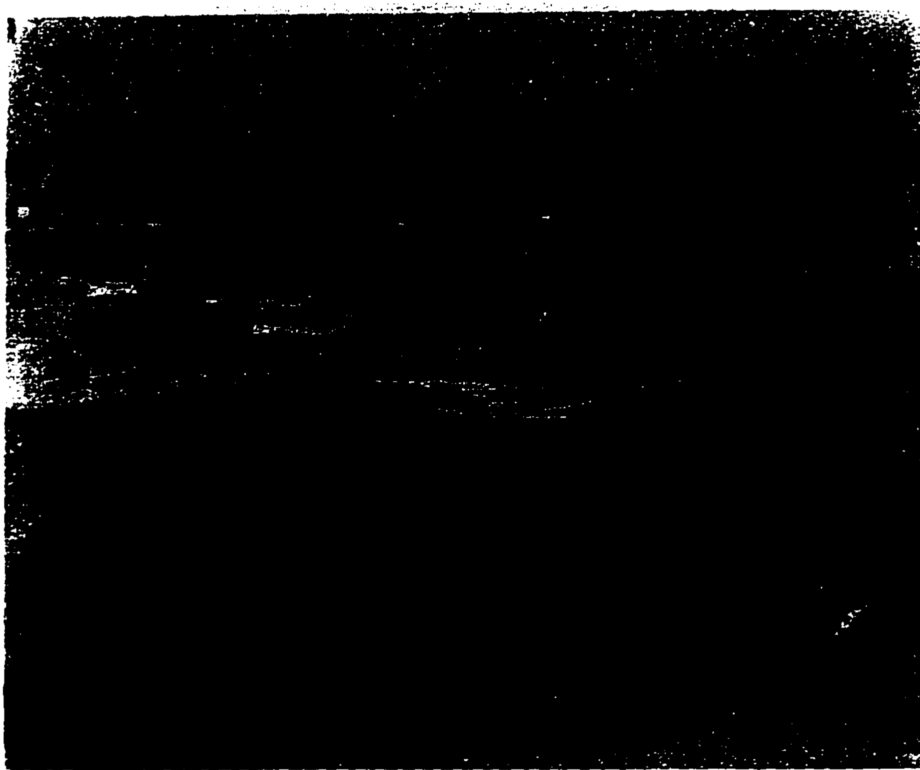

4.12. Theodore Robinson, *The Anchorage, Cos Cob*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 18 x 22 in. Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Halff, Jr. Photograph, Berry-Hill Galleries, New York.

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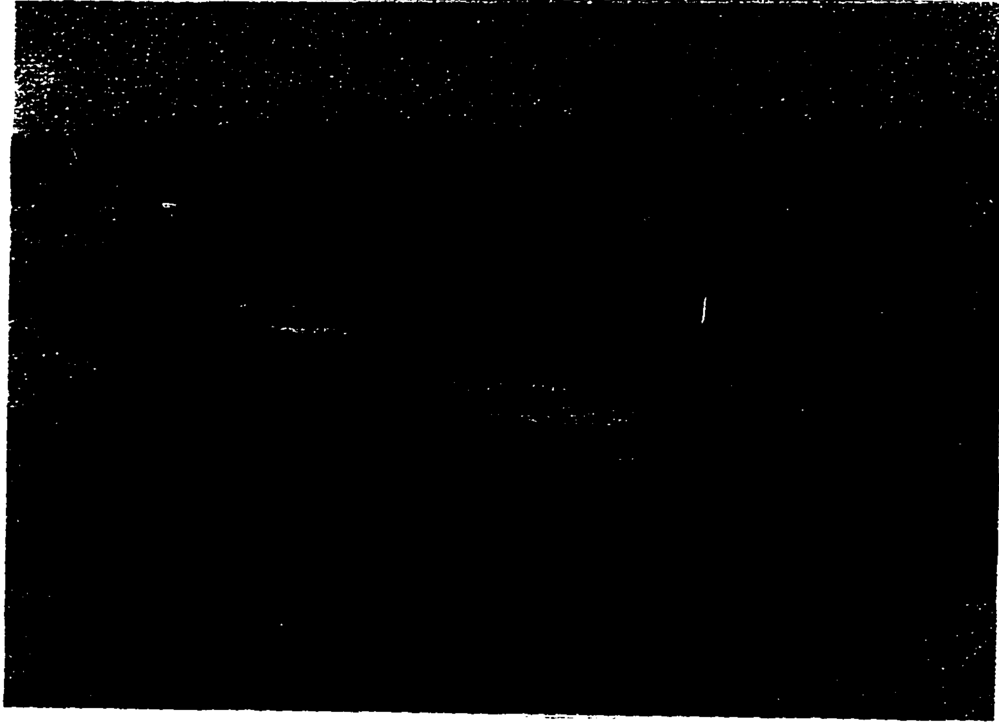

4.13. Theodore Robinson, *Low Tide*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 16 x 22 1/4 in. Manoogian Collection.

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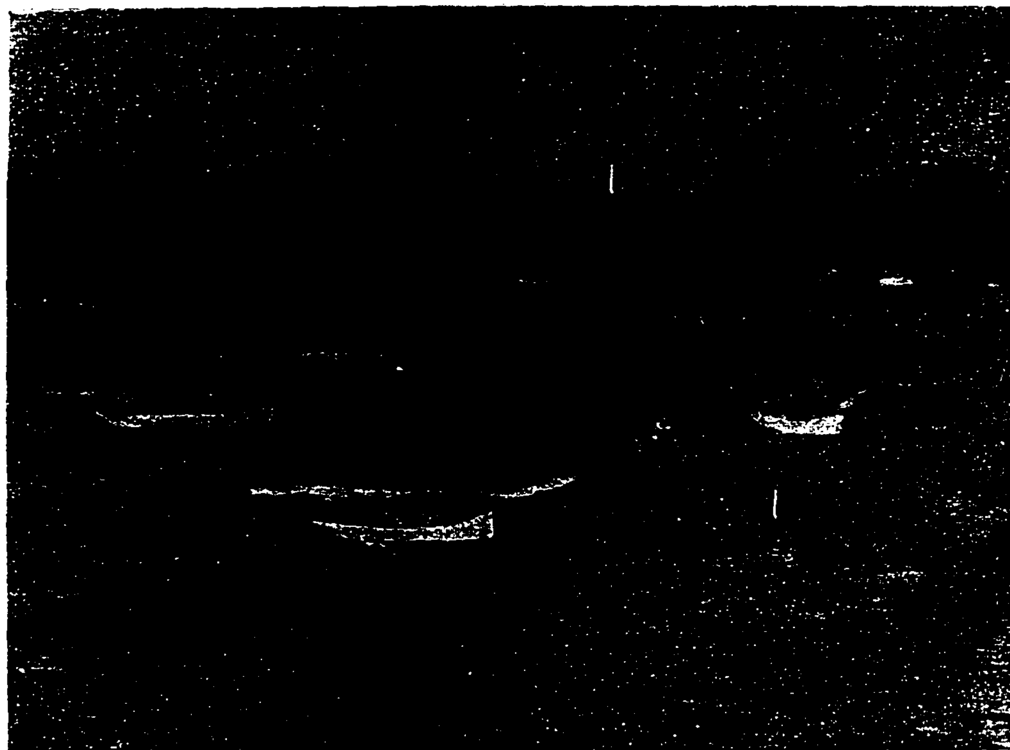

4.14. Theodore Robinson, *Yacht Club Basin*, 1894. Oil on board, 10 1/2 x 13 1/4 in. R. H. Love Galleries, Chicago, Illinois.

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4.15. Claude Monet, *The Seine at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 22 3/4 x 25 in. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, Indiana.

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4.16. Theodore Robinson, *The Anchorage, Cos Cob, Connecticut*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 20 1/8 x 24 1/8 in. Private collection. Photograph, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.

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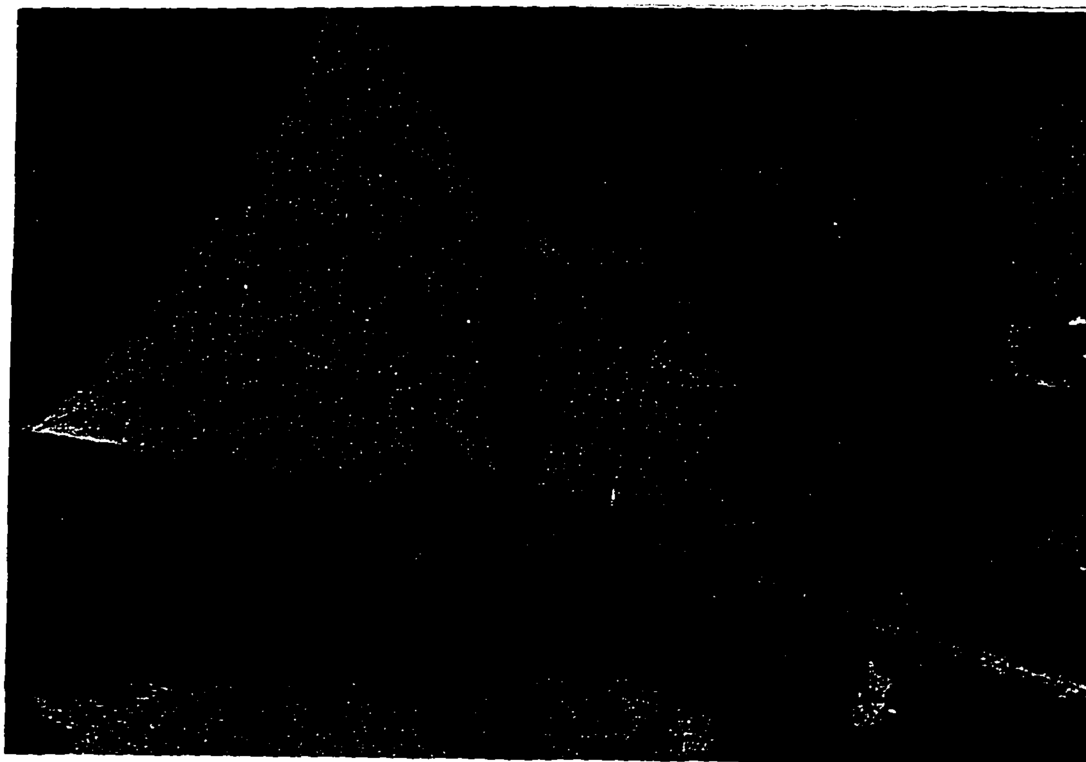

4.17. Claude Monet, *Sailboats at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 23 5/8 x 31 7/8 in. Private collection. Photograph, Archives, Durand-Ruel, Paris.

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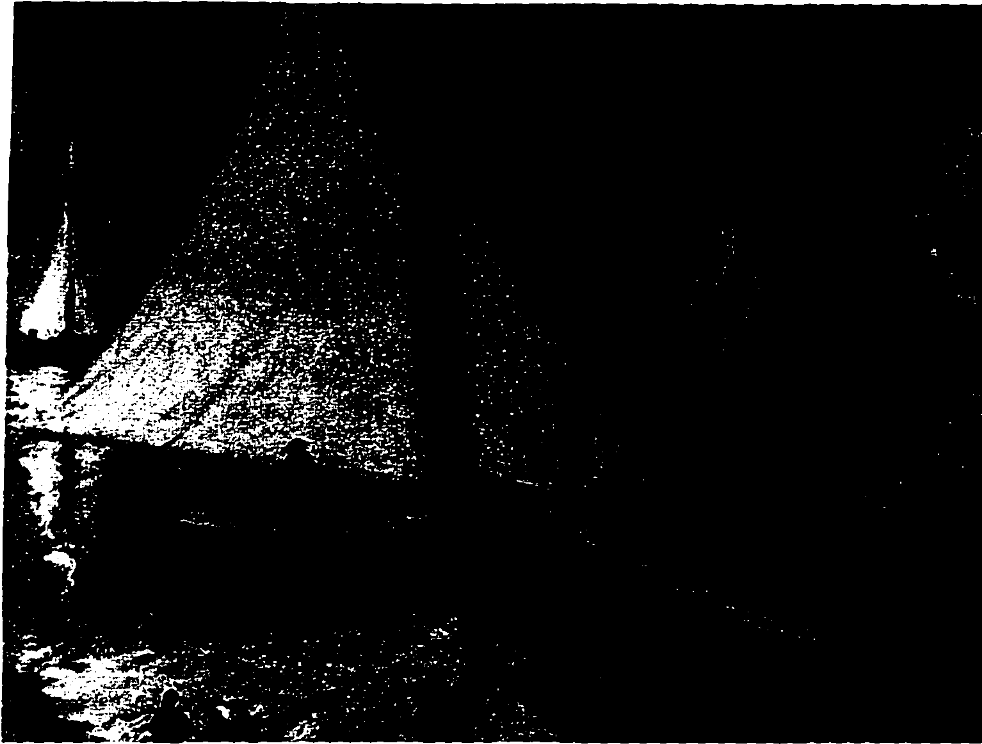

4.18. Auguste Renoir, *The Seine at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 19 3/4 x 25 3/4 in. Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, Bequest of Winslow B. Ayer.

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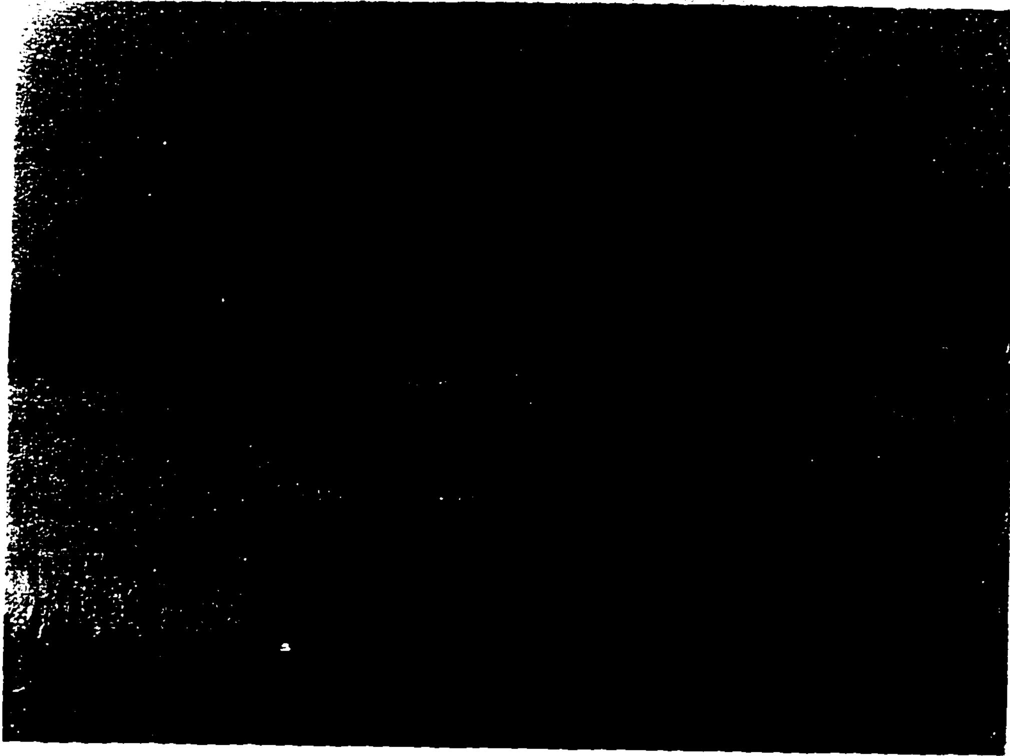

4.19. Theodore Robinson, *The Ship Yard, Cos Cob*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 16 x 22 in. Private collection. Photograph, Thomas Colville Fine Art, New Haven, Connecticut.

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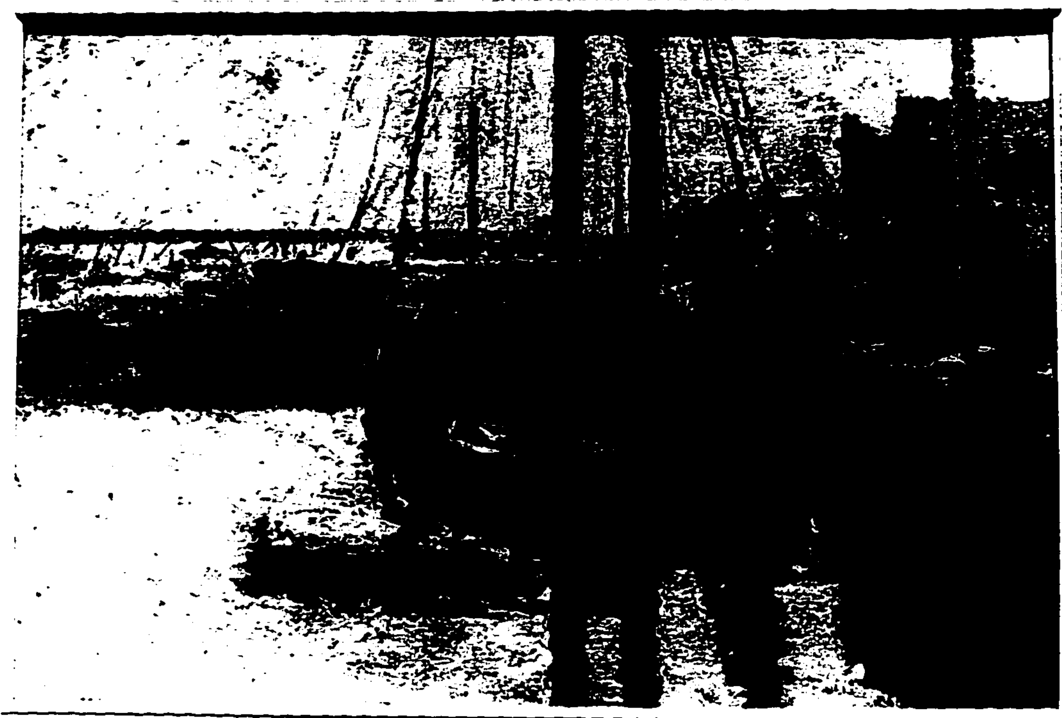

4.20. Theodore Robinson, *Coal Schooner Unloading*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 12 3/4 x 19 1/8 in. Private collection. Photograph by Susan Larkin.

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4.21. John Constable, *Boat Building*, 1814. Oil on canvas, 20 x 24 1/2 in. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, England.

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4.22. Theodore Robinson, *The E. M. J. Betty*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 12 1/4 x 20 in. Pfeil Collection. Photograph courtesy of Kennedy Galleries.

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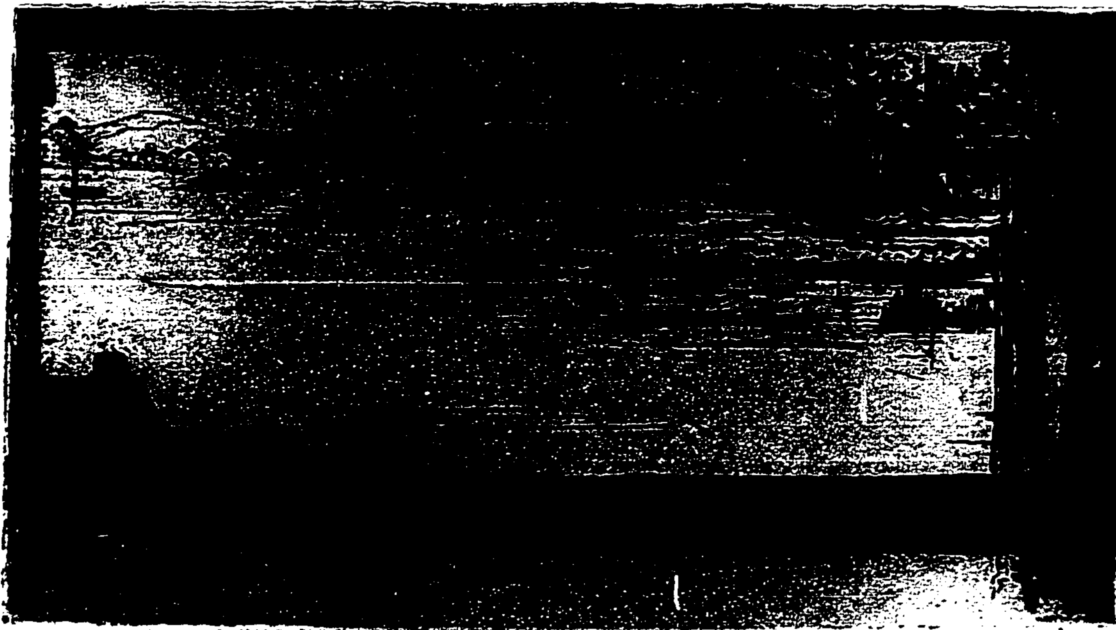

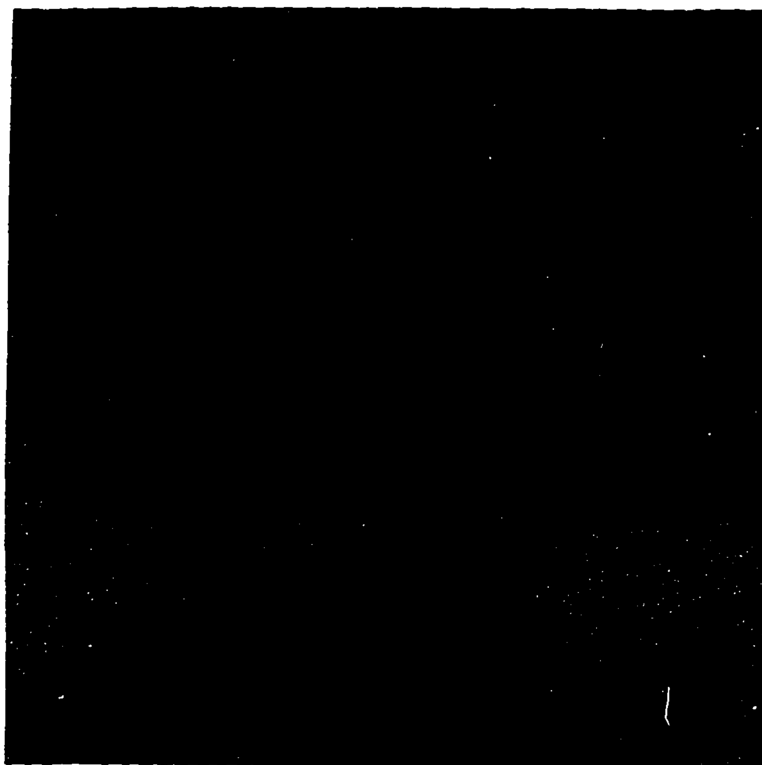

4.23. Henry Winslow, *Cos Cob*, 1906. Etching, 5 1/4 x 9 1/4 in. (image size). Boston Public Library, Print Department, Gift of Florian Carr.

4.24. John H. Twachtman, *Bridge in Winter*, ca. 1901. Oil on canvas, 30 1/8 x 30 1/8 in. Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Halff, Jr.

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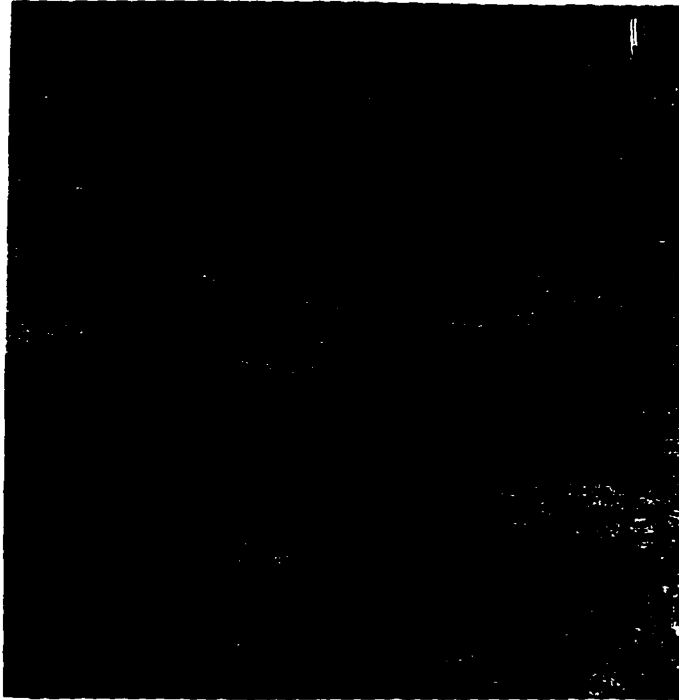

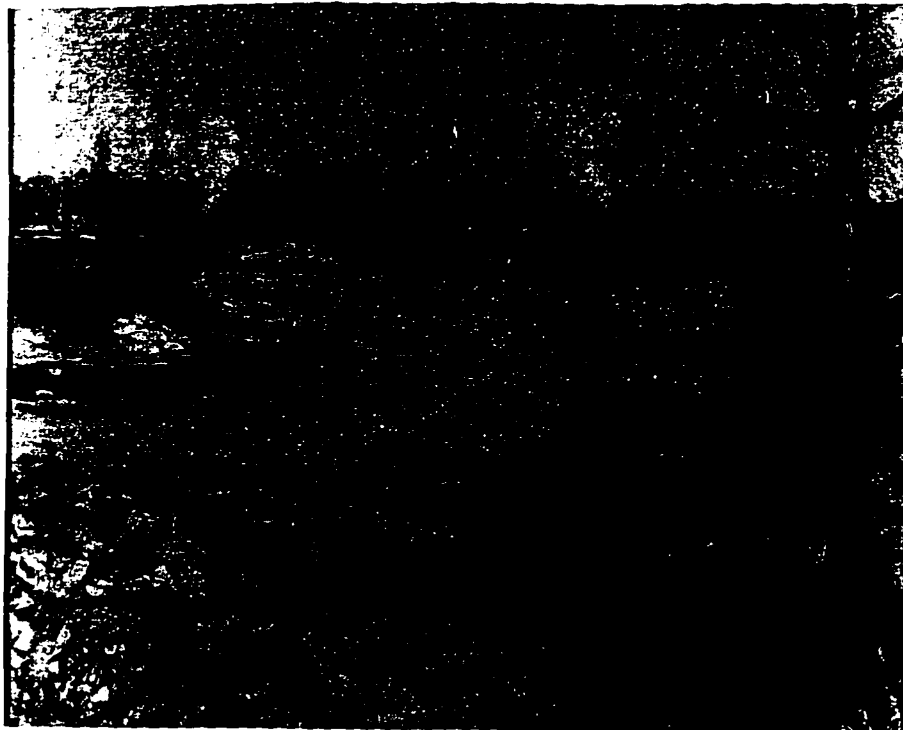

4.25. Ernest Lawson, *River Scene in Winter*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 in. Collection unknown; Sotheby's sale 6247 (December 5, 1991), lot 66.

4.26. Elmer MacRae, *Railroad Bridge, Winter*, 1907. Oil on canvas, 22 x 27 in. The Bruce Museum, Greenwich, Conn. Gift of Susan G. and James T. Larkin.

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4.27. Childe Hassam, *Oyster Sloop, Cos Cob*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 24 3/8 x 22 3/8 in. Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

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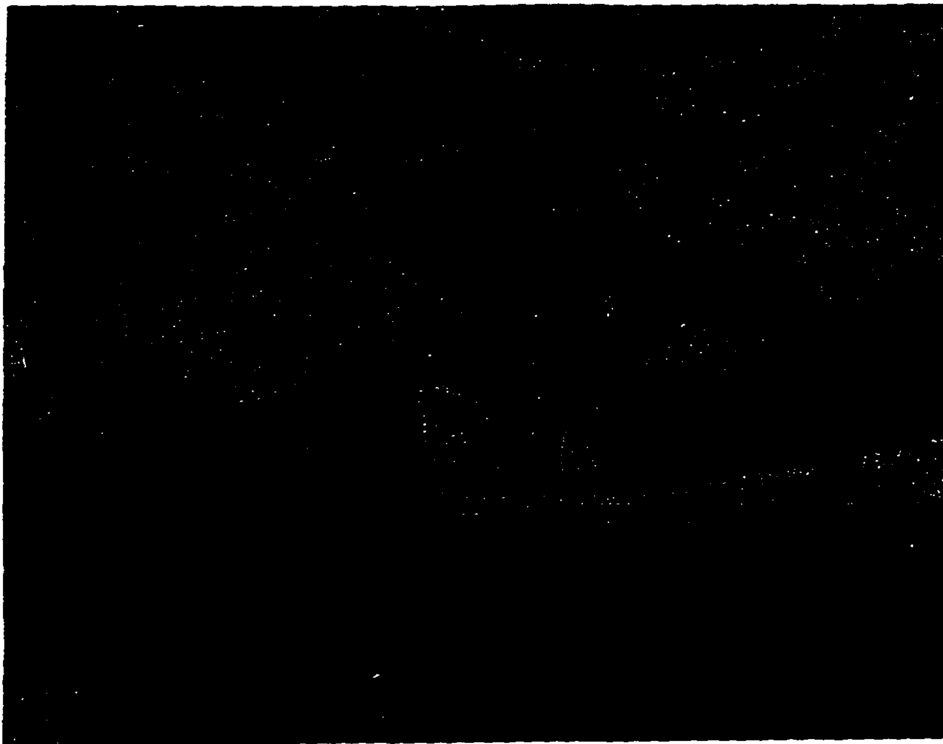

4.28. Elmer MacRae, [The Shipyard], 1906. Pastel, charcoal, and graphite on tan paper, 13 1/2 x 17 1/4 in. (sight). Private collection.

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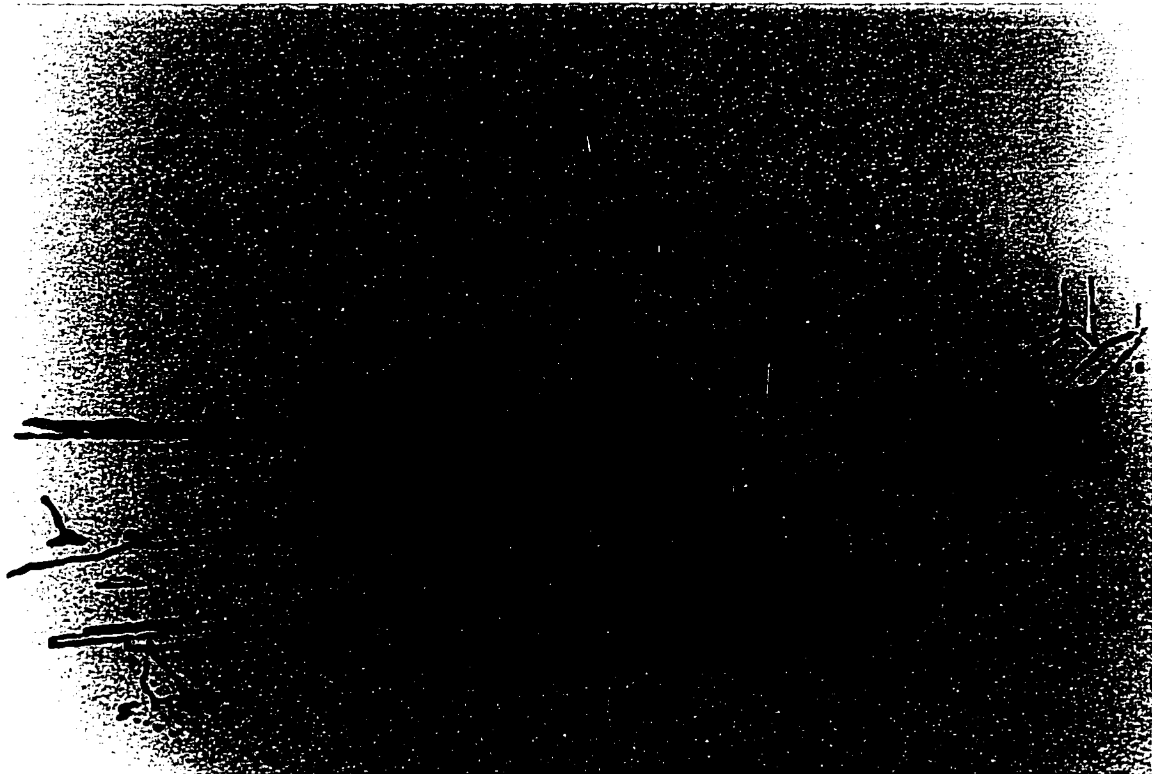

4.29. E. Boyd Smith, [Stewart's Boat Shop], ca. 1912. From *The Seashore Book*, written and illustrated by E. Boyd Smith (1912; reprint Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985), p. 12.

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4.30. E. Boyd Smith, [Digging Clams], ca. 1912. Illustration in *The Seashore Book*, p. 17.

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4.31. E. Boyd Smith, [The Ship Sails Away], ca. 1912. Illustration in *The Seashore Book*, p. 53.

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5.1. Frank Seymour, Mianus River Railroad Bridge, ca. 1900. Photograph from glass-plate negative, Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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5.2. Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1661. Oil on canvas, 113 x 156.5 cm. The Hermitage, Leningrad.

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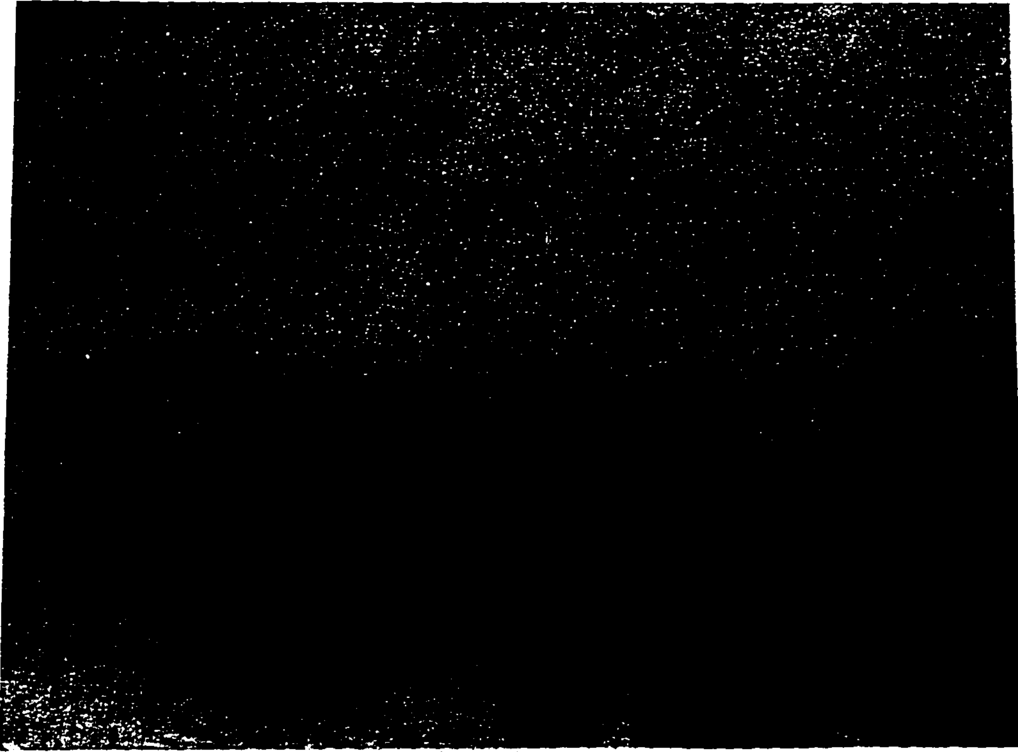

5.3. J. M. W. Turner, *Rain, Steam and Speed—The Great Western Railway,* 1844. Oil on canvas, 35 3/4 x 48 in. National Gallery, London.

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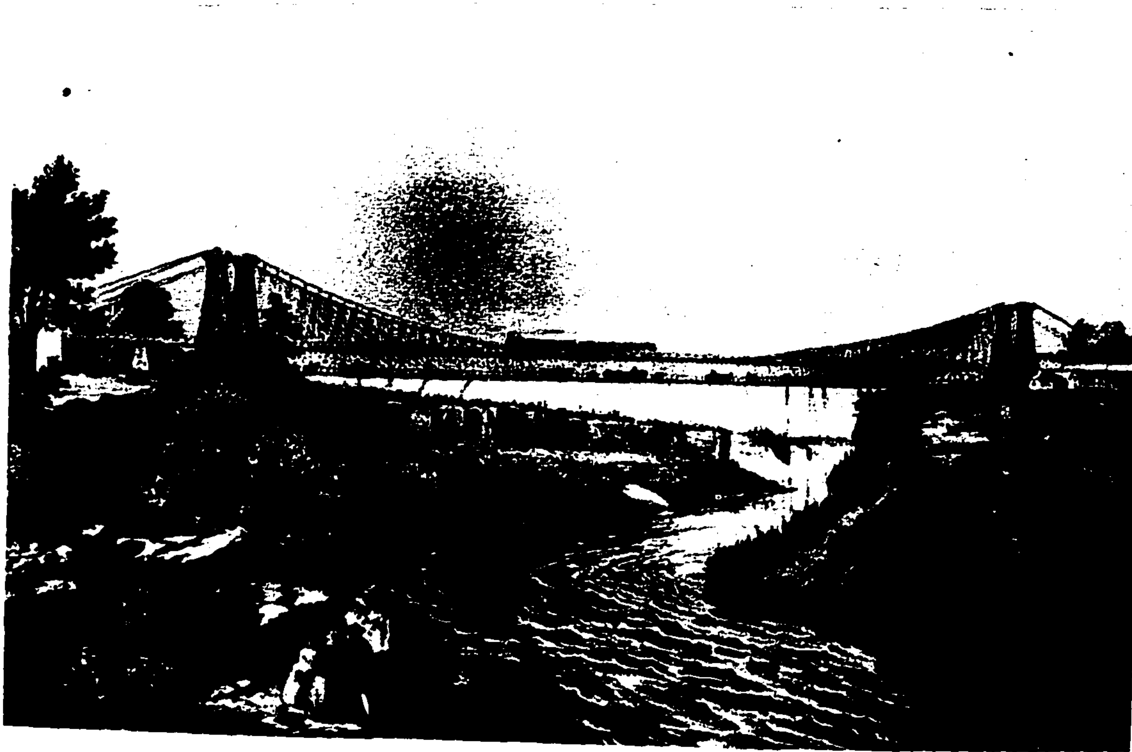

5.4. *The Rail Road Suspension Bridge Near Niagara Falls*, 1856. First state published by N. Currier in 1856. Second state published by Currier & Ives.

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5.5. Samuel Bell Waugh, *Isaac Ridgeway Trimble*, 1852. Oil on canvas, 89 15/16 x 59 5/8 in. Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

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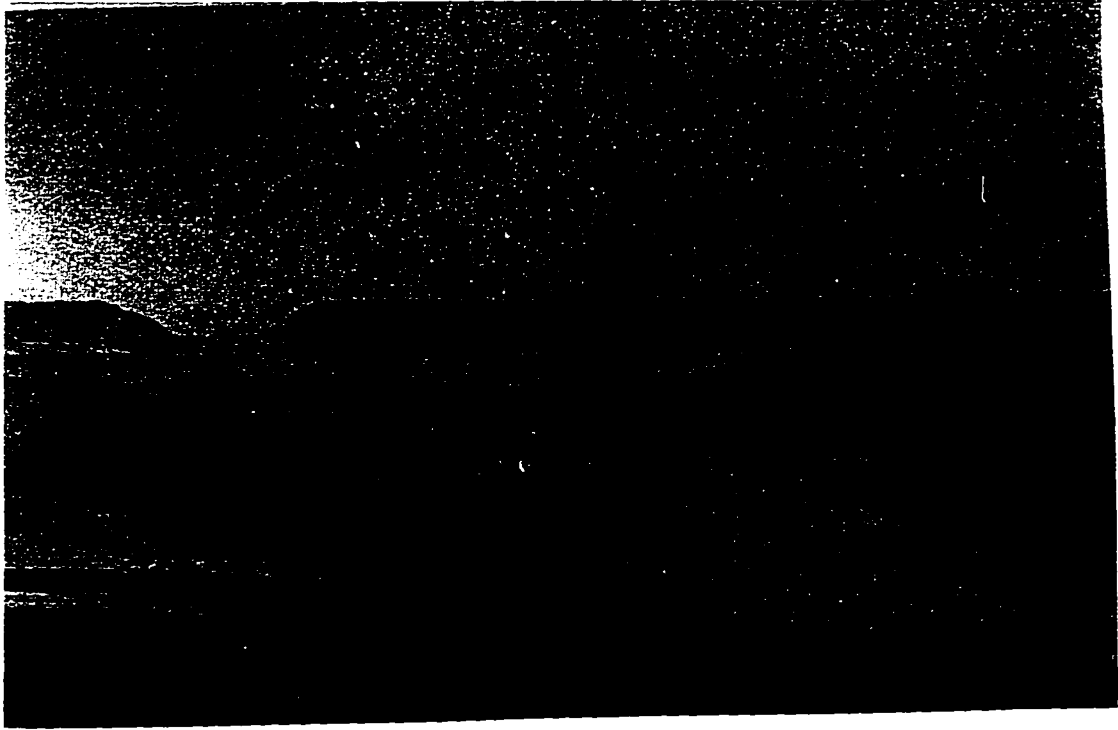

5.6. George Inness, *Delaware Water Gap*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 32 x 52 in. James Maroney, New York.

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5.7. Claude Monet, *The Railroad Bridge at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 21 1/4 x 28 5/8 in. Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection.

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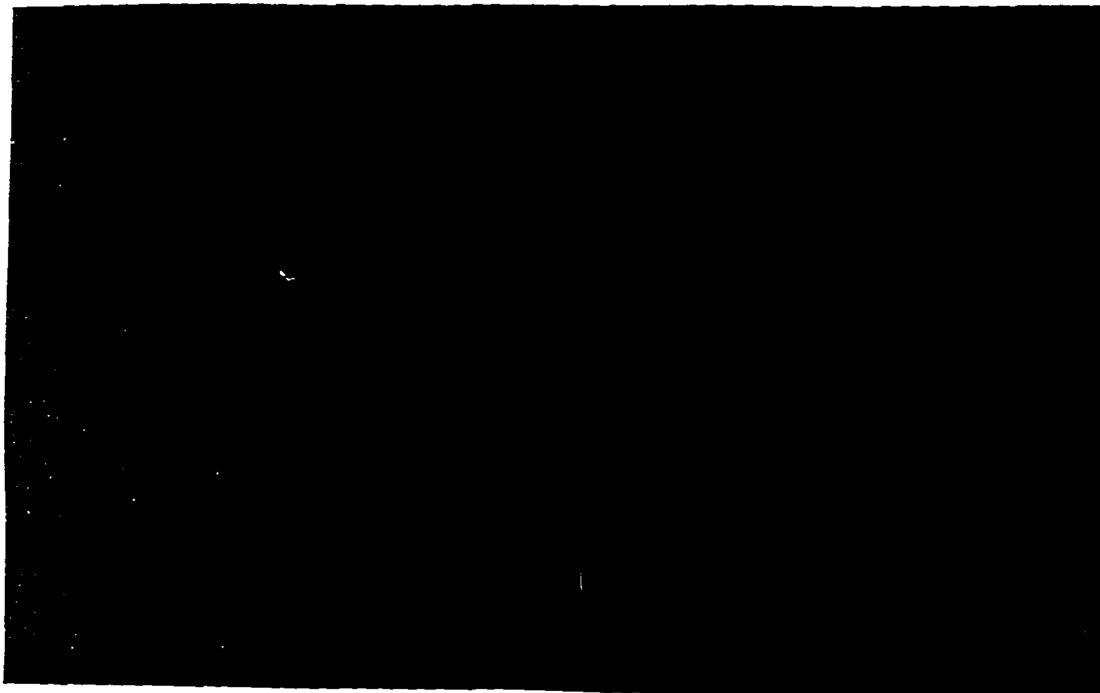

5.8. Theodore Robinson, *Mianus 10 a.m. High tide*, 1894. From a sketchbook inscribed inside front cover: *Theo. Robinson/Cos Cob, June '94.* Graphite on paper, sheet size 4 x 6 1/2 in. Terra Museum, Chicago, Ill.

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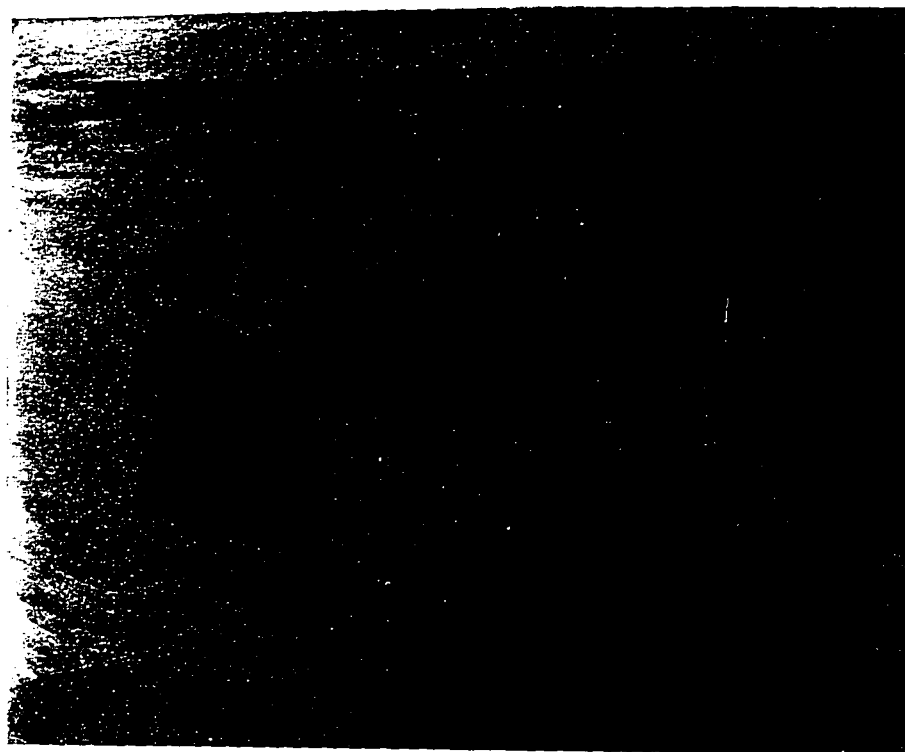

5.9. Childe Hassam, *Fishing*, 1896. Oil on canvas, 14 x 17 in. Christies's sale 8068 (November 30, 1994), lot 77.

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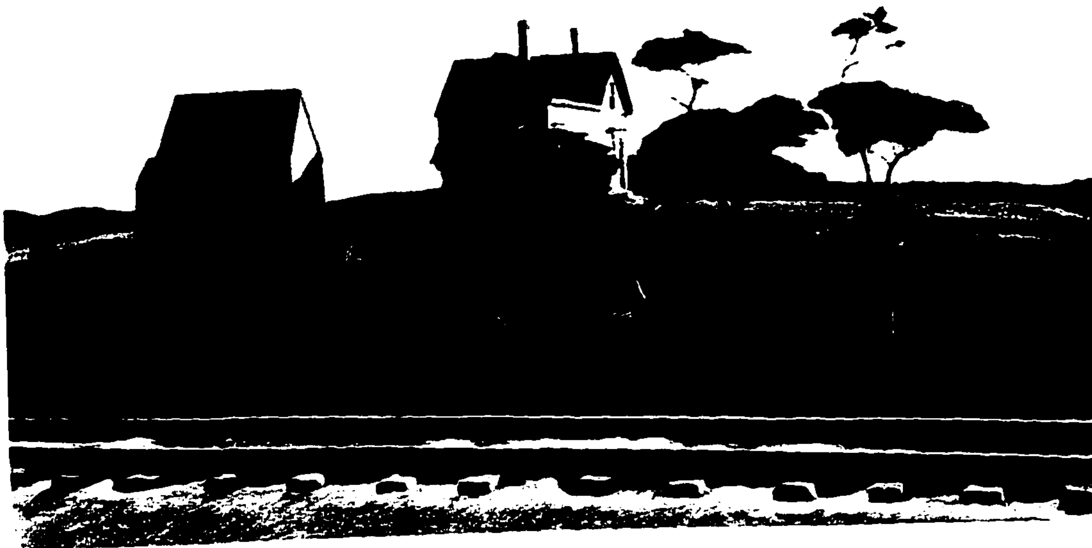

5.10. Edward Hopper, *New York, New Haven, and Hartford,* 1931. Oil on canvas, 32 x 50 in. Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Ind.; Emma Harter Sweetser Fund.

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5.11. J. Alden Weir, *The Red Bridge*, ca. 1895. Oil on canvas, 24 1/4 x 33 1/4 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. John A. Rutherfurd, 1914.

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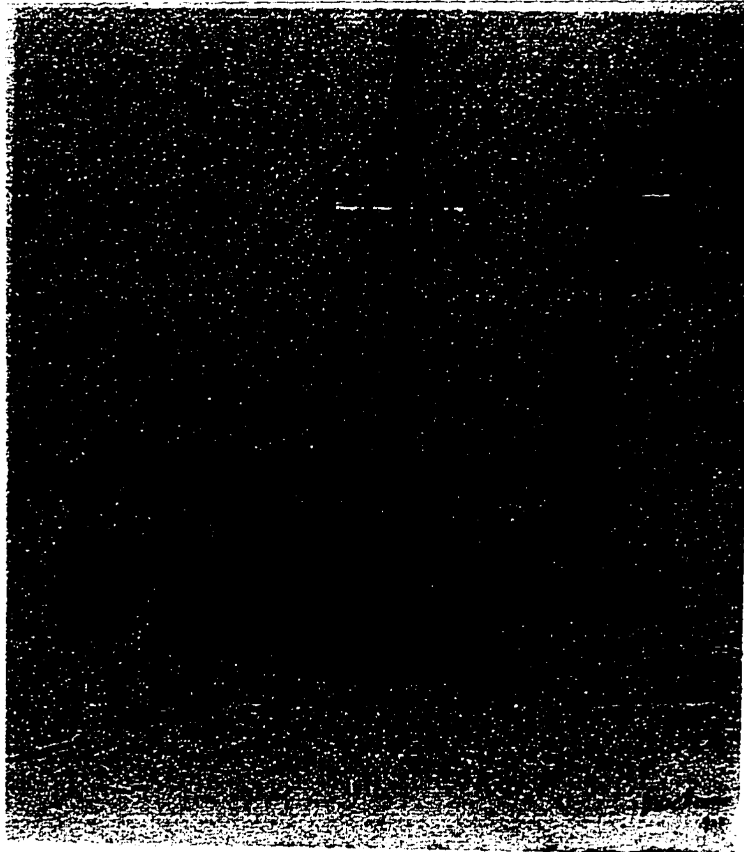

5.12. Childe Hassam, *Cos Cob, The Bridge and Dock*, 1902. Chalk on paper, 11 1/8 x 10 in. The Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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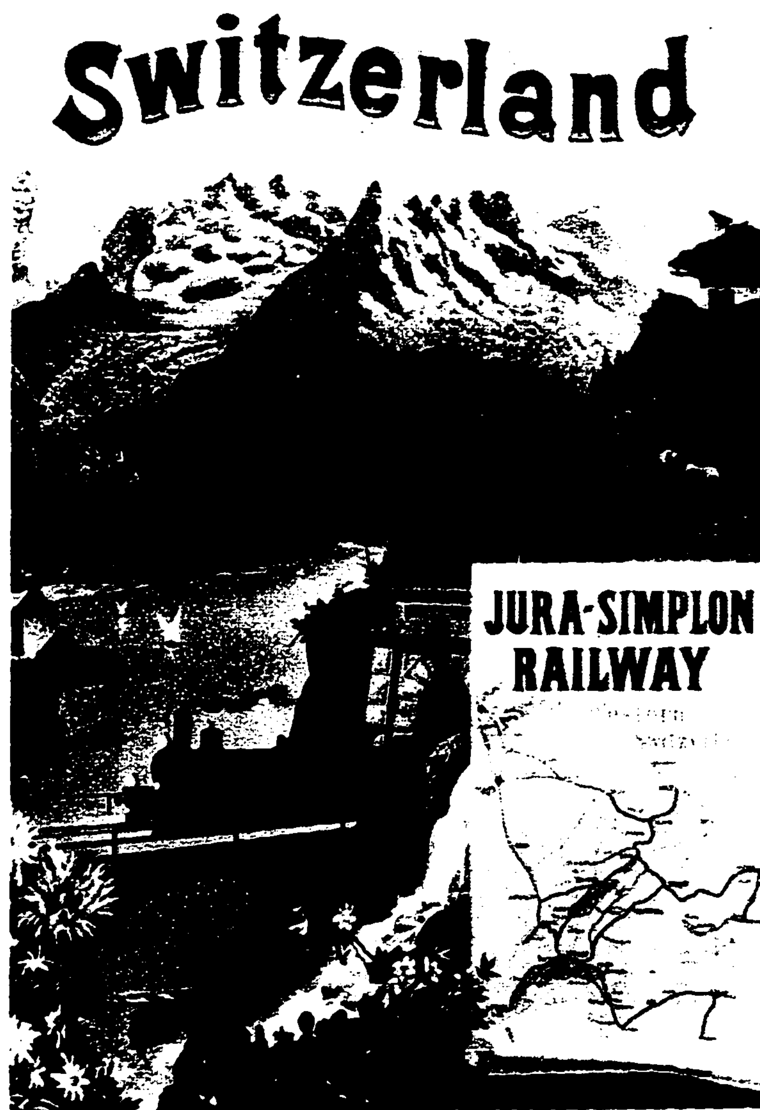

5.13. Travel poster for the Jura-Simplon Railway, Kunstgeverbemuseum, Zurich; reproduced in C. Hamilton Ellis, *Railway Art* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), p. 109. Similar images of a train with scenes of its destination date to the early days of American railroads.

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5.14. Elmer MacRae, *Schooner in the Ice*, 1900. Oil on canvas, 25 x 30 in. Mr. and Mrs. Hugh B. Vanderbilt.

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5.15. Elmer MacRae, [Ship at Dock], 1907. Pastel on paper, 17 3/4 x 13 in. Mr. and Mrs. Hugh B. Vanderbilt.

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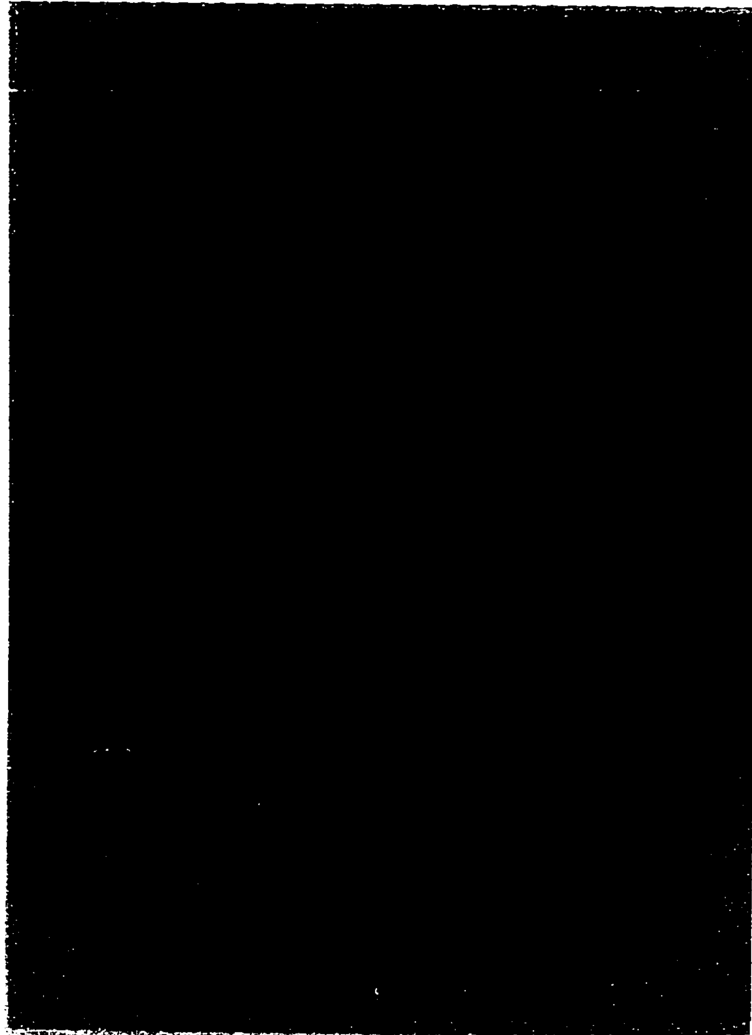

5.16. Childe Hassam, *Cos Cob Dock*, 1915. Etching (C 58), 8 3/8 x 6 1/4 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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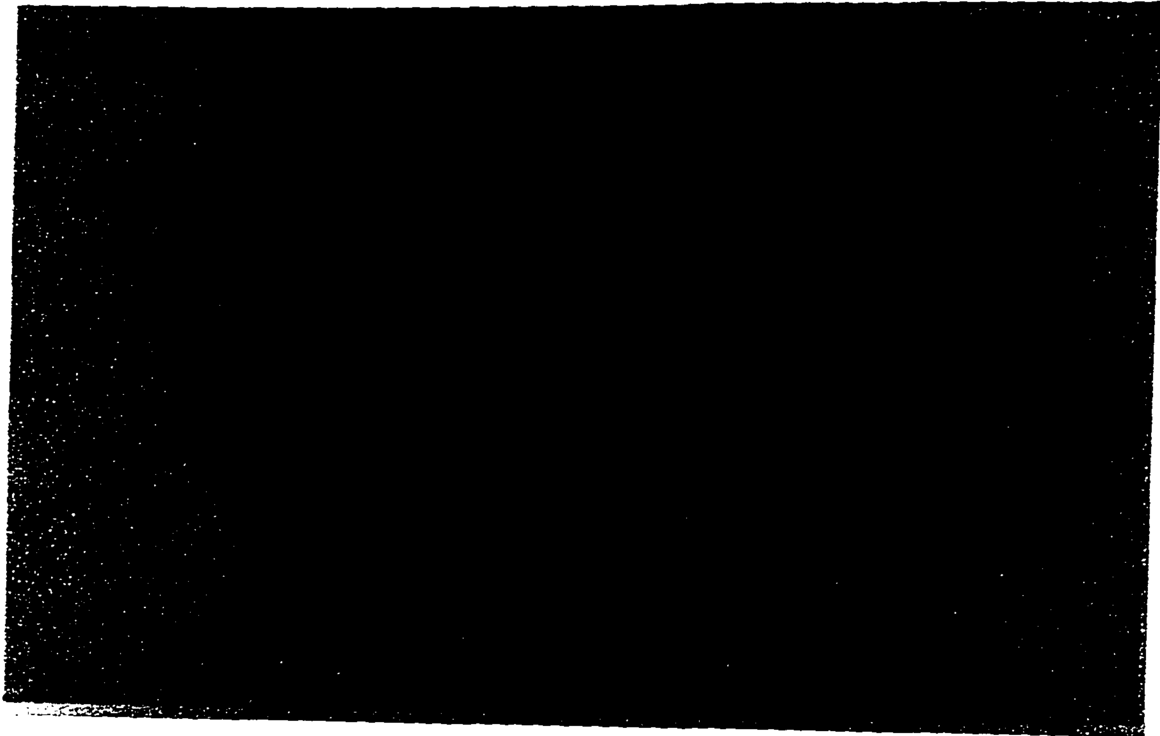

5.17. Theodore Robinson, *Low tide—2 p.m.*, 1894. From a sketchbook inscribed inside front cover: *Theo. Robinson/Cos Cob, June '94.* Graphite on paper, sheet size 4 x 6 1/2 in. Terra Museum, Chicago, Ill.

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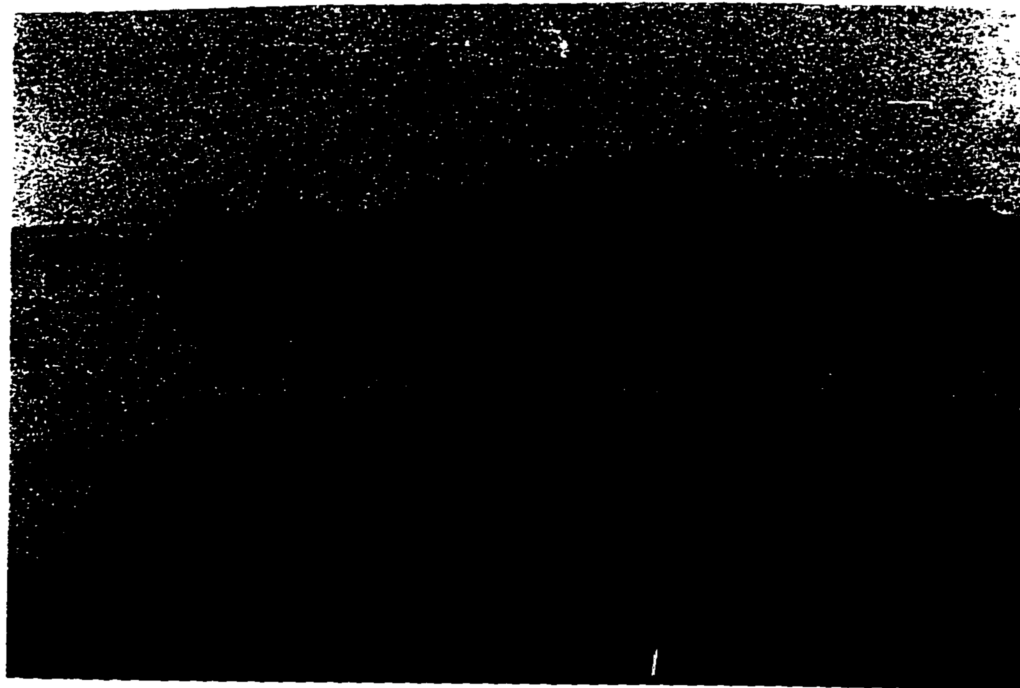

5.18. Mianus River Railroad Bridge. Photograph, 1995, by Susan Larkin.

5.19. James A. M. Whistler, *Nocturne* (Way 5), 1878. Lithotint, 172 x 260 mm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Bequest of Staunton B. Peck.

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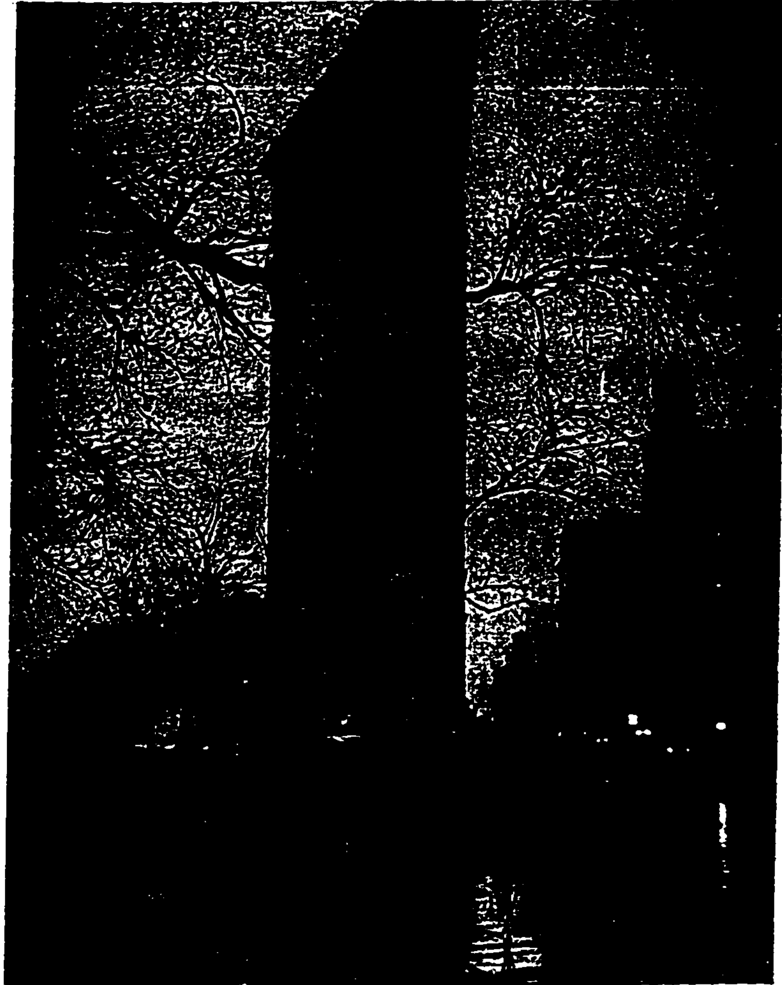

5.20. Edward J. Steichen, *The Flatiron*, 1905. Gum-bichromate over platinum print, 18 3/4 x 15 1/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Alfred Stieglitz Collection.

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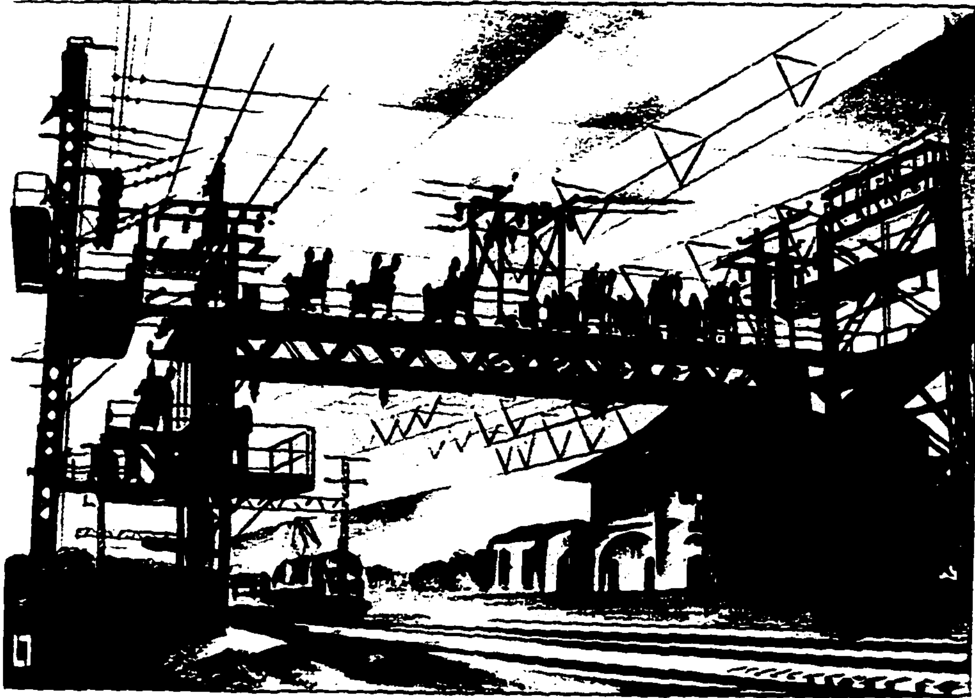

5.21. Louis Lozowick, *High Voltage—Cos Cob*, 1929. Lithograph (Flint 29), 6 9/16 x 9 7/16 in. Impressions are in the National Museum of American Art and the Philadelphia Museum of Art; this reproduction from Janet Flint, *The Prints of Louis Lozowick* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1982), p. 68.

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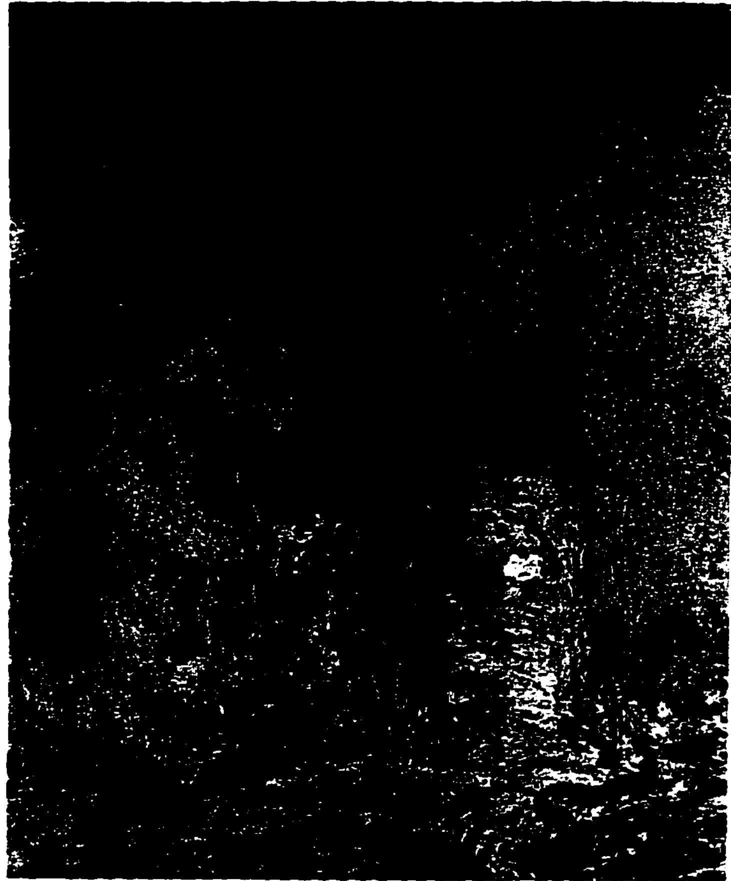

6.1. Childe Hassam, *Sunlight on an Old House, Putnam Cottage*, 1897. Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

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6.2. Childe Hassam, *Indian Summer in Colonial Days*, 1899. Oil on canvas mounted on board, 22 x 20 in. Private collection, courtesy of David Findlay Jr. Inc., New York.

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6.3. Postcard of Putnam Cottage, postmarked 1905. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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6.4. Childe Hassam, *Back of the Old House*, 1916. Watercolor over sketch in brown chalk, 15 1/8 x 21 3/4 in. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

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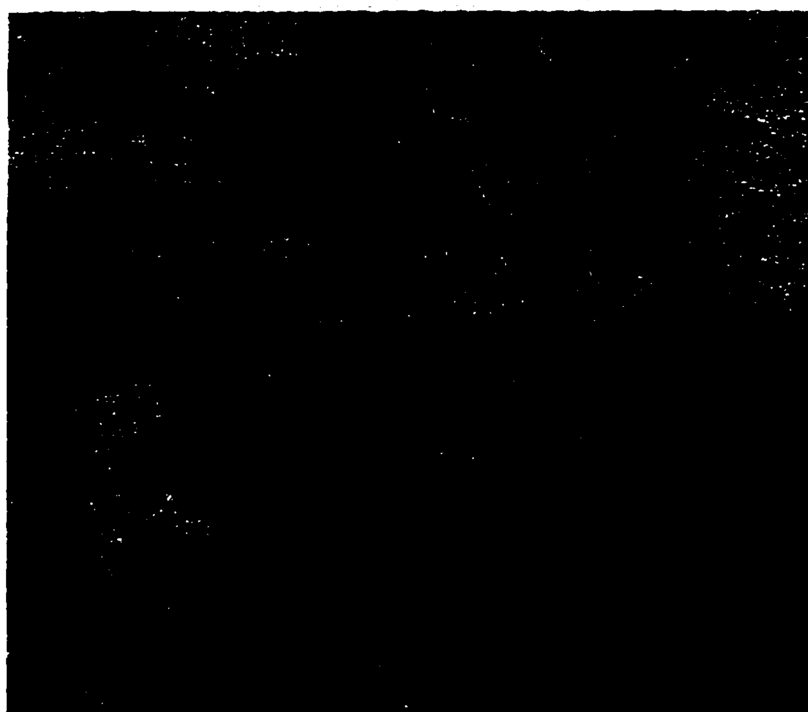

6.5. Elmer MacRae, [The Upper Porch at the Holley House], 1900. Oil on canvas, 24 x 28 in. Private collection.

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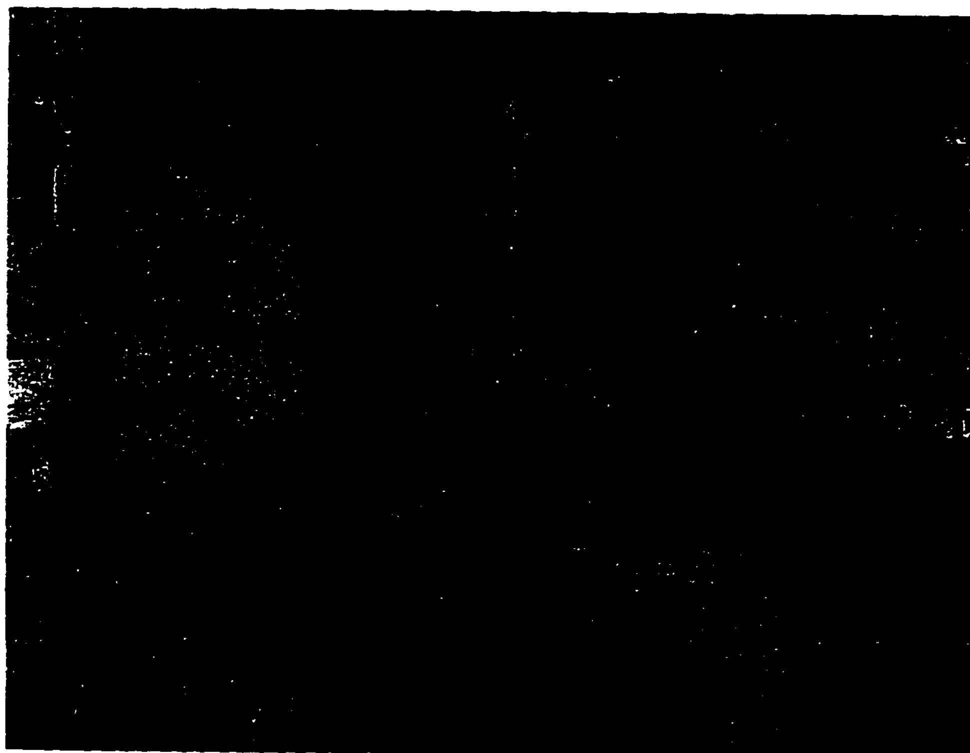

6.6. Childe Hassam, *Couch on the Porch*, Cos Cob, 1914. Oil on canvas, 26 1/2 x 32 in. Private collection.

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6.7. John H. Twachtman, *Country House in Winter, Cos Cob*, 1890s. Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 25 1/16 x 25 15/16 in. Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., gift of anonymous donor.

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6.8. Frank Seymour, *The Joseph E. B. Brush House*, Cos Cob, 1906. Photograph from glass-plate negative. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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6.9. Constant Holley MacRae and an unidentified woman on the porch of the Holley House; the Brush House is visible in the background. Photograph, ca. 1900. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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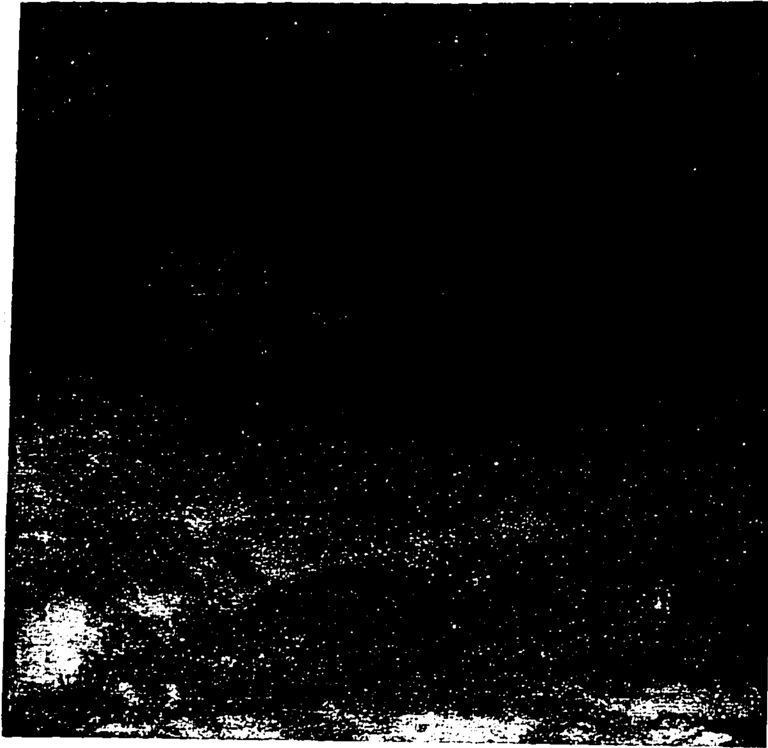

6.10. John H. Twachtman, *Brush House*, 1895. Oil on canvas. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Jacob Stern Family Loan Collection.

6.11. John H. Twachtman, *October*, ca. 1901. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 in. Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, Va. Gift of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

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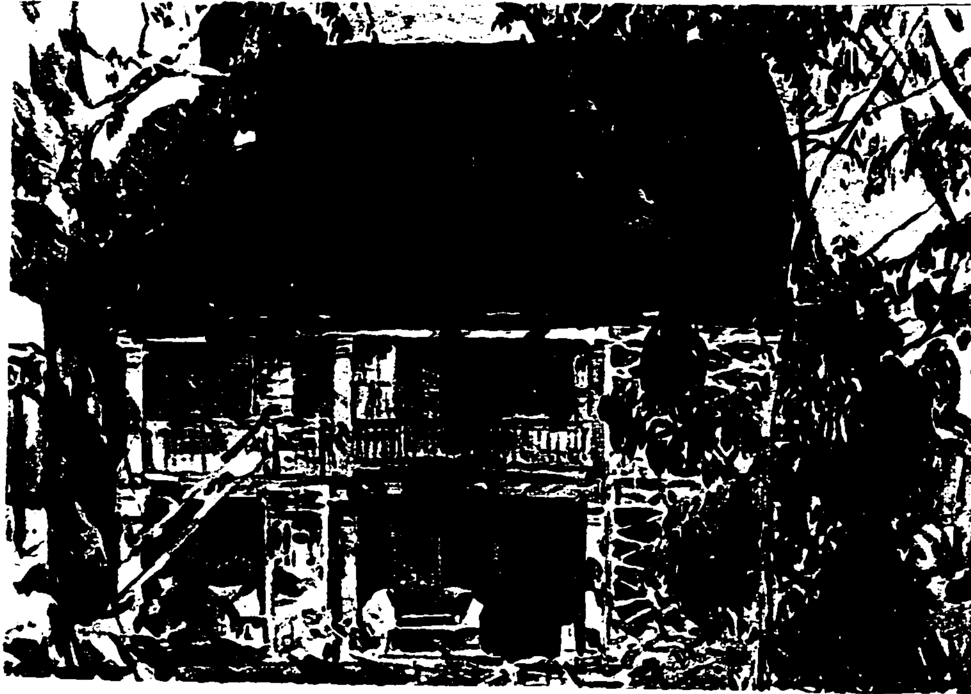

6.12. Childe Hassam, *The Brush House*, 1916. Watercolor and charcoal underdrawing on off-white wove paper, 15 5/16 x 22 3/8 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1917.

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6.13. Childe Hassam, *The Old Brush House*, 1902. Pastel on paper, 17 7/8 x 22 in. Charles M. Royce.

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6.14. Childe Hassam, *Colonial Cottage*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 25 x 30 in. The White House, Washington, D. C.

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6.15. Edouard Baldus, *Saint-Jean Quarter, Vienne*, ca. 1861. Albumen silver print from glass negative, 12 3/8 x 16 1/2 in. Canadian Centre for Architeture, Montreal.

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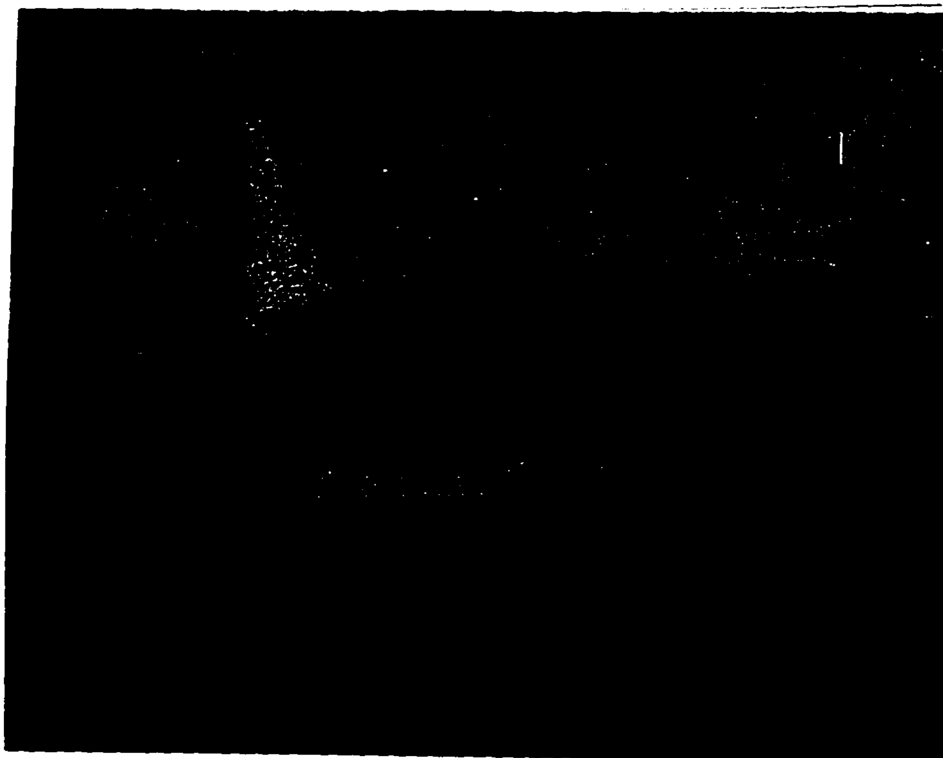

6.16. John H. Twachtman, *Cos Cob*, ca. 1890-98. Oil on canvas, 21 x 26 in. Private collection.

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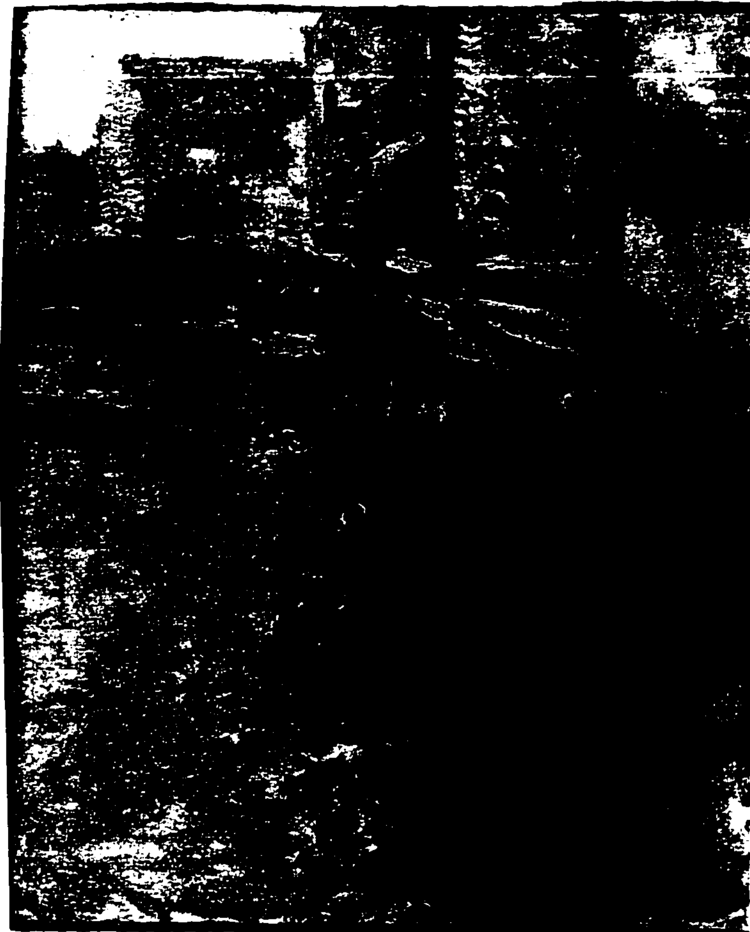

6.17. John H. Twachtman, *The Old Mill at Cos Cob*, ca. 1890-98. Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in. The Cleveland Museum of Art, bequest of Julia Morgan Marlatt, 1995.

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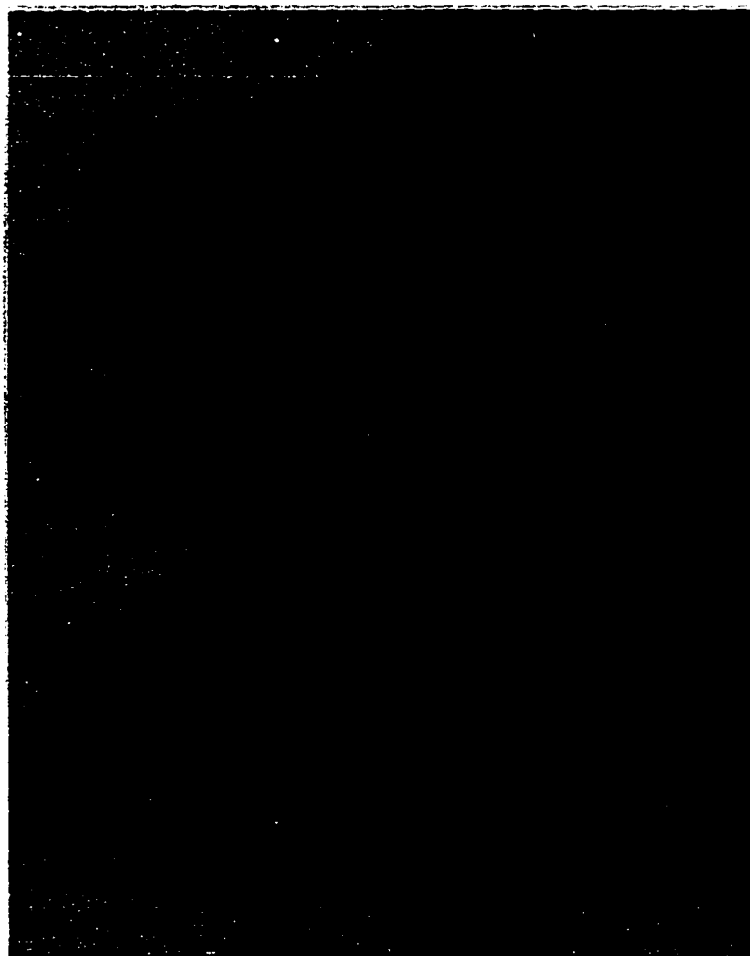

6.18. Childe Hassam, *The Smelt Fishers, Cos Cob*, 1896. Oil on canvas, 22 x 18 in. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Rawson Kelham.

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6.19. Childe Hassam, *The Fishermen, Cos Cob*, 1907. Oil on canvas, 22 1/2 x 20 1/4 in. Sotheby's sale 6247 (December 5, 1991), lot 73.

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6.20. Childe Hassam, *Casa Eby, Cos Cob,* 1916. Watercolor, 15 7/16 x 22 1/16 in. Mr. and Mrs. Everett Fisher.

6.21. Kerr Eby, *Cos Cob Harbour,* 1916. Etching, 4 15/16 x 8 13/16 in. New York Public Library; photograph courtesy of Bernadette Passi Giardina.

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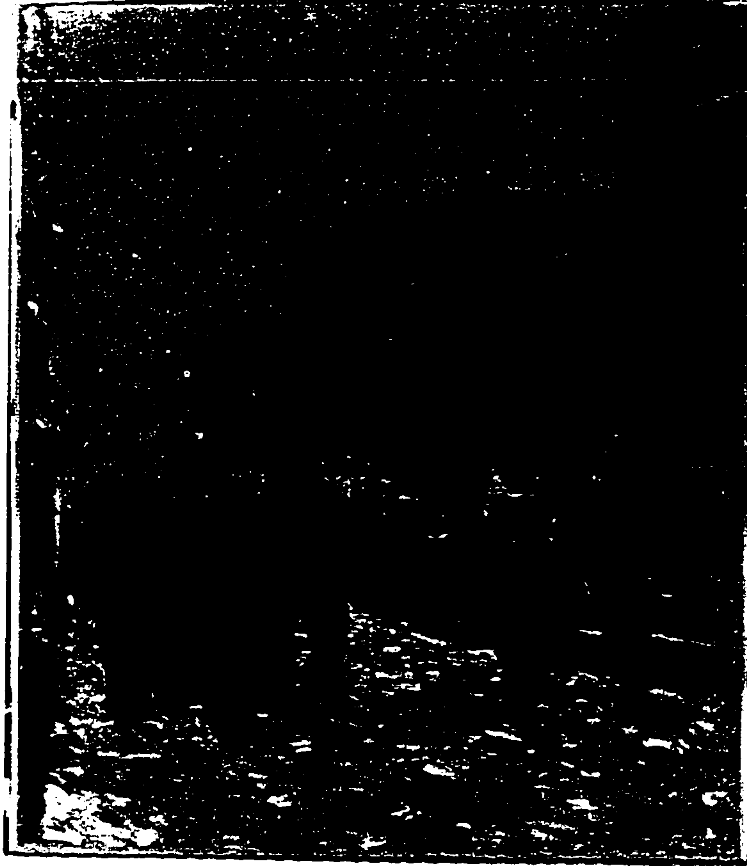

6.22. Childe Hassam, *Broadway and 42nd Street*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 26 x 22 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot, 1967.

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6.23. Childe Hassam, *November, Cos Cob*, 1902. Pastel on paper, 18 1/2 x 22 1/2 in. Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Clarke, Jr.

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

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7.2. Charles Ebert, *Mary Roberts Ebert with Betty*, ca. 1906. Oil on canvas, 30 x 27 in. Robert P. Gunn.

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7.3. Mina Fonda Ochtman, *The Evening Lamp*, ca. 1912. Watercolor on paper, 13 x 17 in. The Bruce Museum, Greenwich, Conn.

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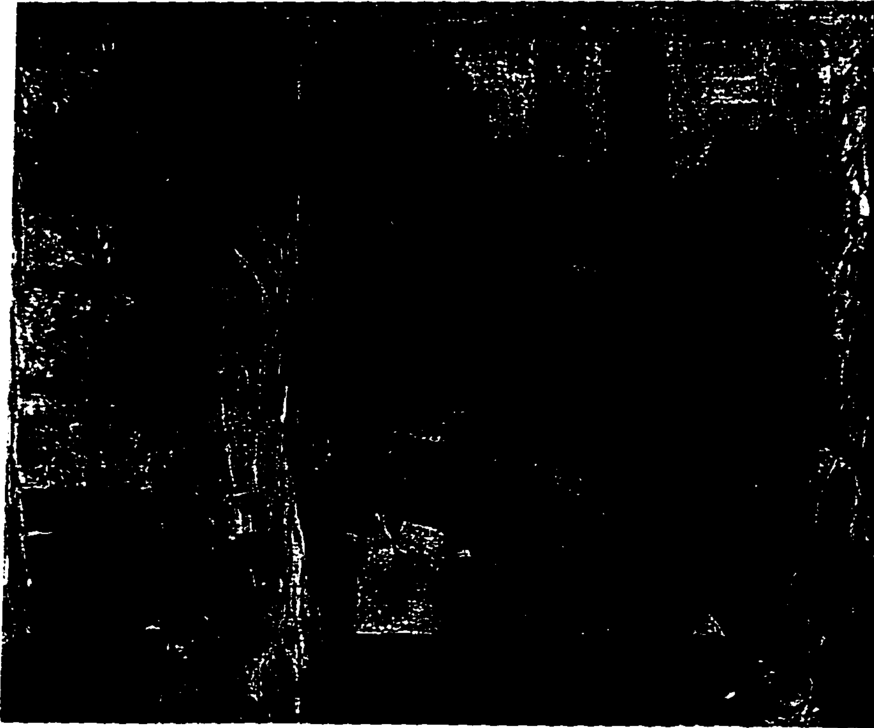

7.4. Childe Hassam, *Bowl of Goldfish*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 30 1/4 in. Ball State University Art Gallery, Muncie, Indiana, Permanent loan from the Frank C. Ball Collection, Ball Brothers Foundation.

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7.5. Childe Hassam, *The New York Window*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 45 1/2 x 35 in. Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

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7.6. John Singleton Copley, *Mrs. Isaac Smith (Elizabeth Storer)*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 50 1/8 x 40 1/8 in. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn. Gift of Maitland Fuller Griggs, B.A. 1869, L.H.D. 1938.

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7.7. Chokosai Eisho, *The Courtesan Waka Murasaki*, ca. 1798. Polychrome woodblock print, 14 15/16 x 10 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1925.

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7.8. Robert Reid, *The Goldfish*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 36 x 30 in. Jordan-Volpe Gallery, New York.

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7.9. Tiffany Glass & Decorating Co., New York, *Window with Parakeets and Gold Fish Bowl*, ca. 1893. Leaded Favrile glass, 42 x 78 in. Lorenz Trust.

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7.10. Childe Hassam, *The Dutch Door*, 1915. Etching (C 49), 8 3/8 x 9 7/8 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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7.11. Bartolomé Murillo, *Two Women at a Window*, ca. 1655/1660. Oil on canvas, 49 1/4 x 41 1/8 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

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7.12. Caspar David Friedrich, *The Artist's Wife at the Window*, 1822. Oil on canvas, 17 x 14 3/8 in. National Gallery, West Berlin.

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7.13. Winslow Homer, *Morning Glories*, 1873. Oil on canvas, 19 1/2 x 13 1/2 in. Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon.

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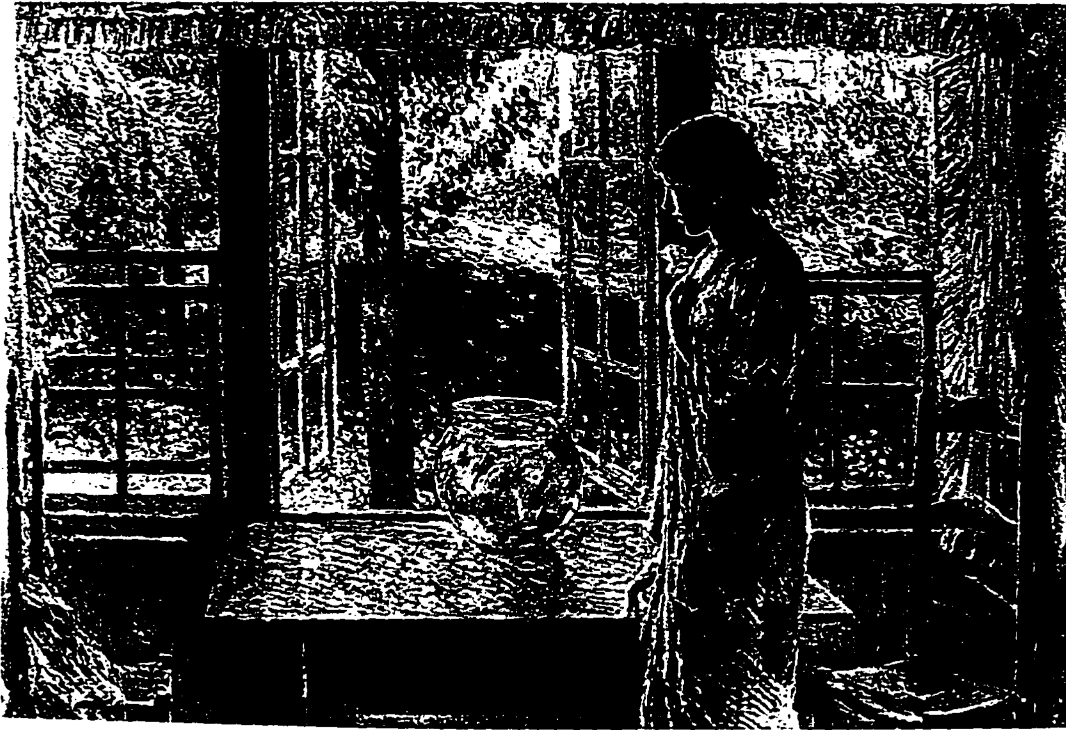

7.14. Childe Hassam, *The Goldfish Window*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 33 1/2 x 49 1/2 in. Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N. H.

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7.15. Childe Hassam, *The New York Winter Window*, 1918-19. Oil on canvas, 47 1/2 x 57 1/2 in. Ira Koger, Jacksonville, Fla.

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7.16. Childe Hassam, *Listening to the Orchard Oriole*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in. Diplomatic Reception Rooms, United States Department of State, Washington, D. C. Photograph by Will Brown.

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7.17. Childe Hassam, *Spring Morning*, 1909. Oil on canvas, 42 x 40 1/4 in. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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7.18. Childe Hassam, *The Flag Outside Her Window, April 1918*, 1918. Oil on canvas, 32 x 28 1/4 in. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.

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7.19. Claude Monet, *La Japonaise*, 1876. Oil on canvas, 91 1/8 x 56 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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7.20. James A. McNeill Whistler, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, 1863-64. Oil on canvas, 78 x 45 1/4 in. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

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7.21. William Merritt Chase, *The Blue Kimono*, ca. 1890. Oil on canvas, 57 x 44 1/2 in. The Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, N.Y., Littlejohn Collection.

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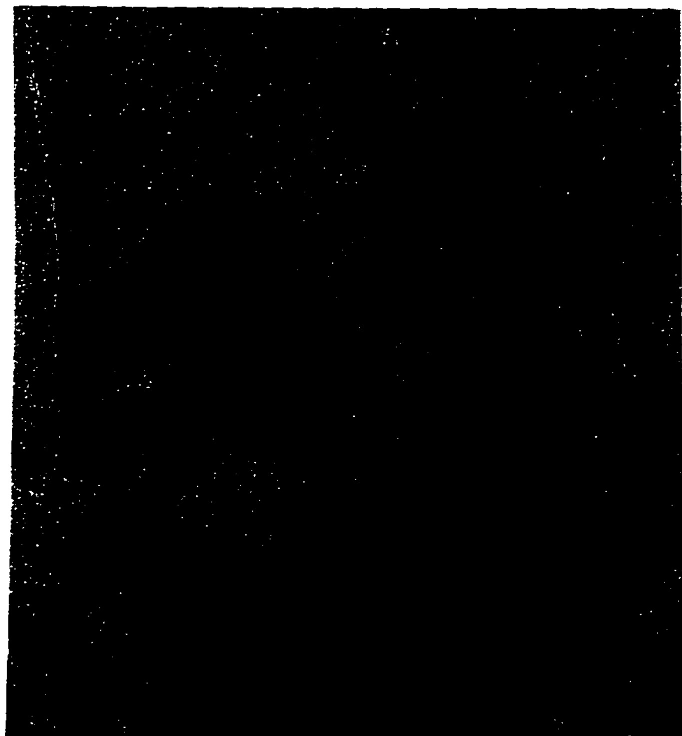

7.22. Robert Reid, *Violet Kimono*, ca. 1910. Oil on canvas, 29 x 24 3/4 in. National Museum of American Art, Washington, D. C.

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7.23. Childe Hassam, *Clarissa's Window*, 1913. Oil on canvas, 31 3/4 x 27 1/2 in. Private collection.

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7.24. Childe Hassam, *The Model Disrobing* (also known as *The New Model* and *The Model*), dated 1918 but probably begun ca. 1914. Oil on canvas, 24 1/4 x 22 1/2 in. Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.

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7.25. Childe Hassam, *The Three Little Girls*, 1916. Etching (C 63), 5 7/8 x 3 1/2 in. Cancelled plate, Hirschl & Adler Gallery, New York.

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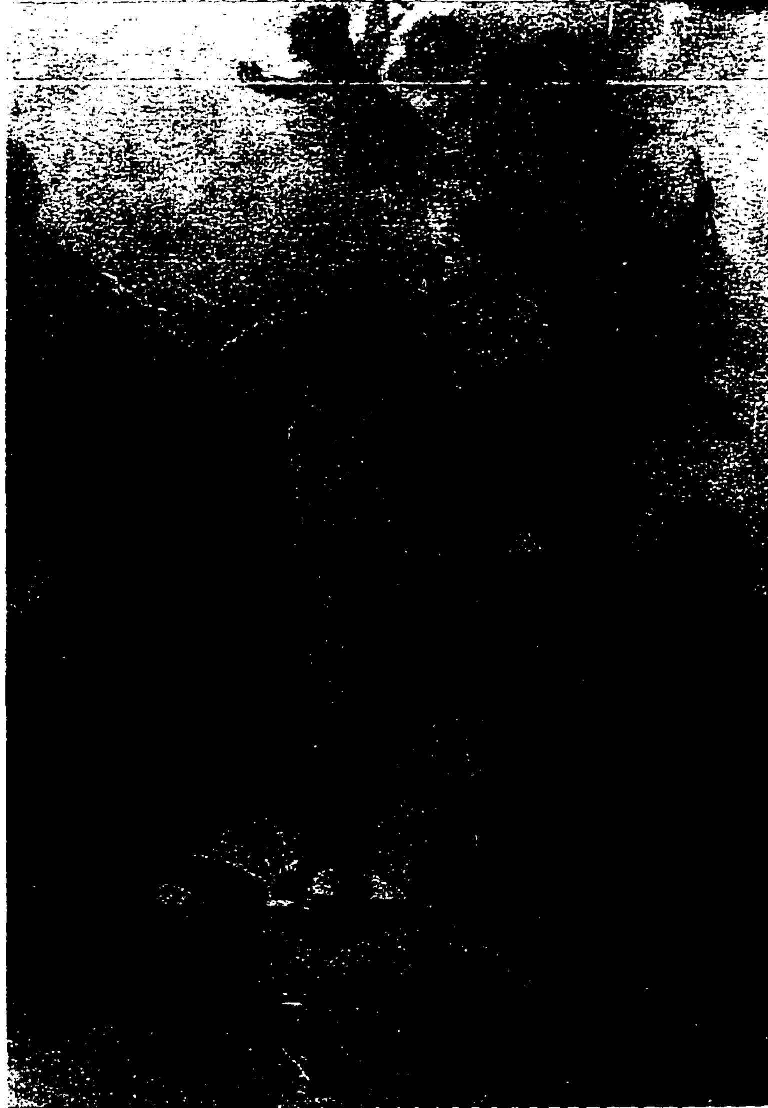

7.26. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *La Naissance de Vénus (The Birth of Venus)*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 117 x 84 1/2 in. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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7.27. Childe Hassam, *Morning Light*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 34 x 34 in. Private collection.

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7.28. Edouard Manet, *Nana*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 59 x 45 5/8 in. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

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7.29. Childe Hassam, *In the Old House*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 31 1/4 x 48 in. Sotheby's sale 6713 (May 25, 1995), lot 28.

7.30. Wallace Nutting, *Reflections Are Ever Best*, 1904. Photograph, 7 1/2 x 9 1/2 in. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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7.31. James A. McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White No. 2: The Little White Girl*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 30 1/8 x 20 1/8 in. Tate Gallery, London, England.

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7.32. Childe Hassam, *The Breakfast Room*, 1915. Etching (C 36), 11 x 7 1/2 in. St. Joseph's College, West Hartford, Conn.

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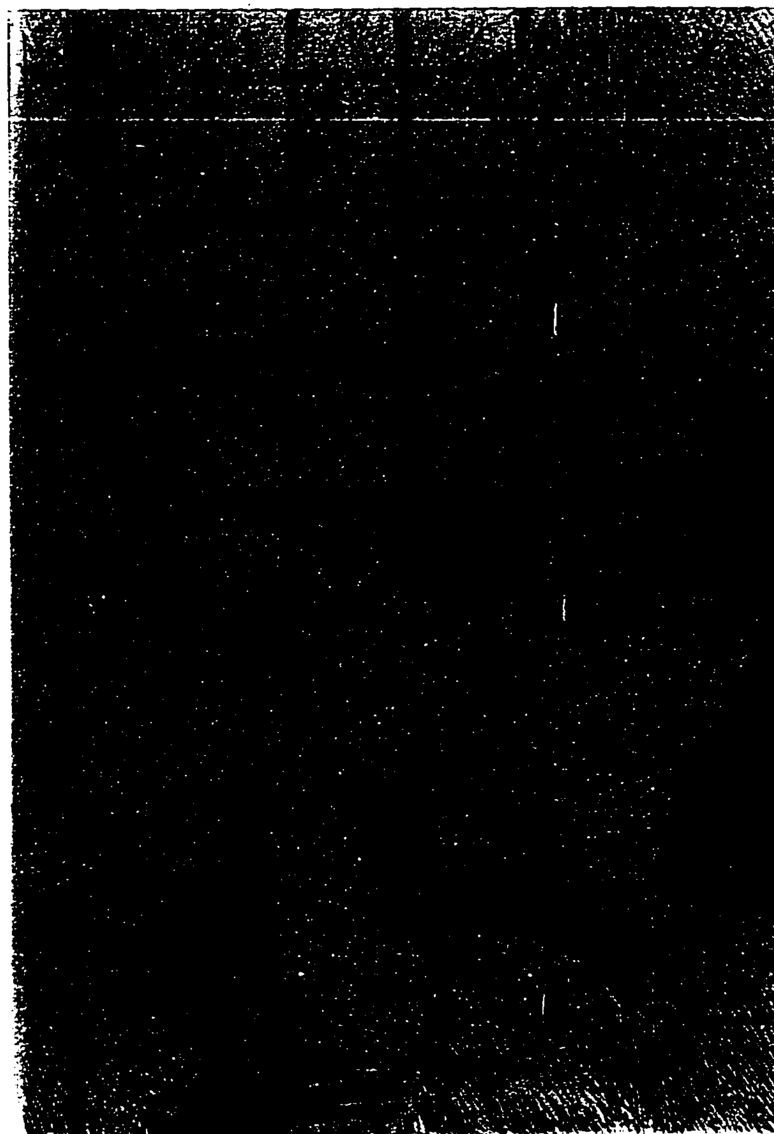

7.33. Childe Hassam, *The Writing Desk*, 1915. Etching (C 54), 10 x 17 in. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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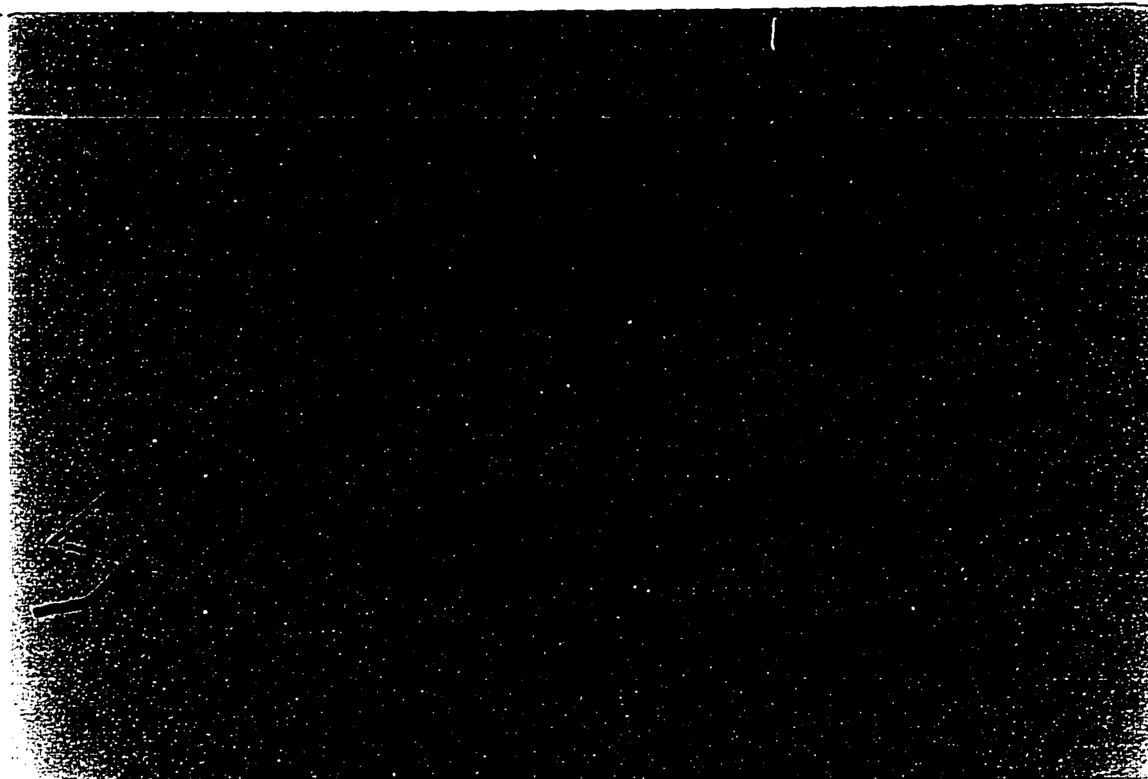

8.1. Schematic map of Twachtman's property (drawn by Anne von Stuelpnagel, 1996). Approximate locations:

1. house (front entrance indicated by arrow)
2. vegetable garden
3. poultry yard
4. barn
5. Horseneck Falls
6. Hemlock Pool
7. White Bridge

The area shown, now divided among several owners, encompasses about three and a half to four acres.

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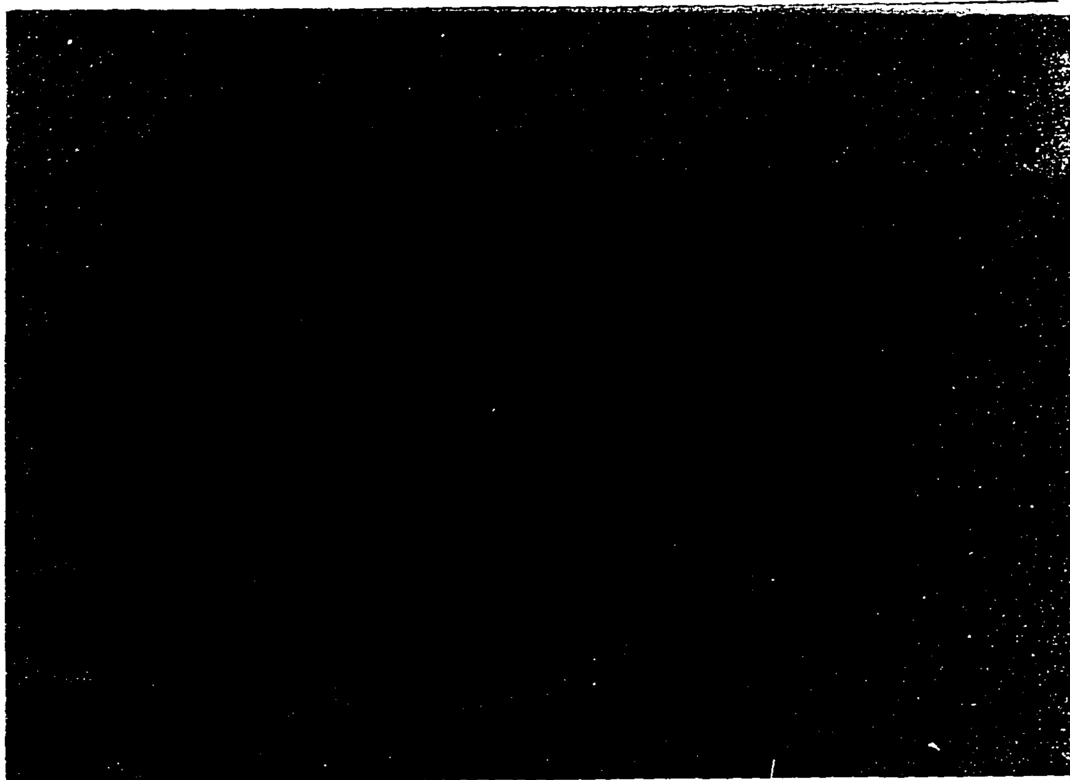

8.2. John H. Twachtman, *End of Winter*, after 1889. Oil on canvas, 22 x 30 1/8 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington. Gift of William T. Evans.

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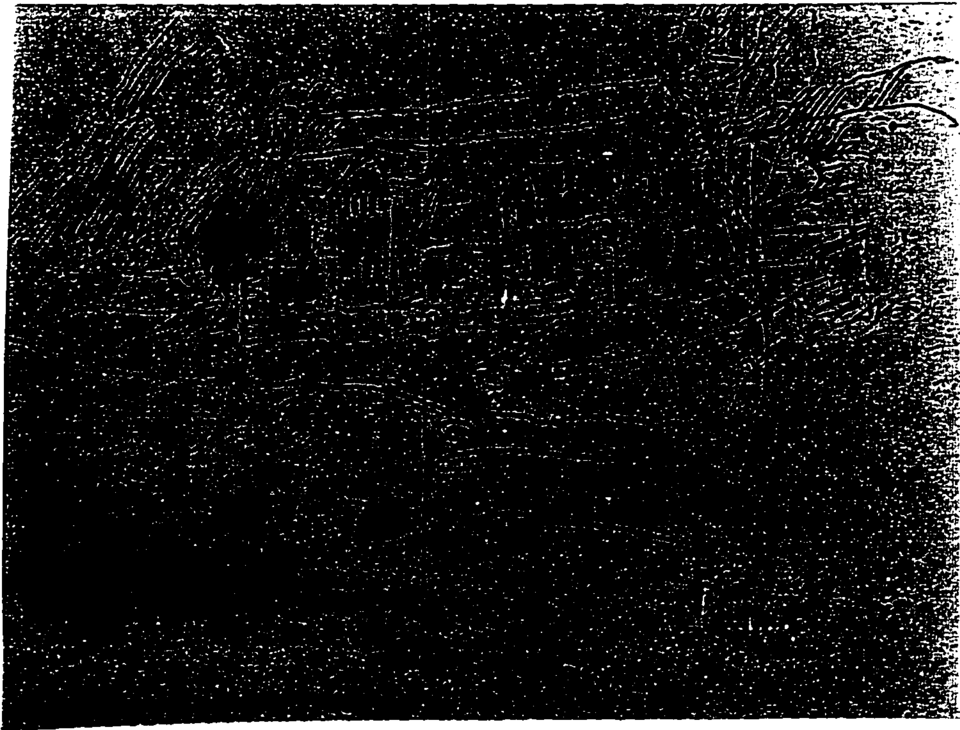

8.3. John H. Twachtman, *Willow Brook*, undated. Pen and ink on paper, image size 5 x 8 1/2 in. Archives, Weir Farm (WEFA 350), Wilton, Conn.

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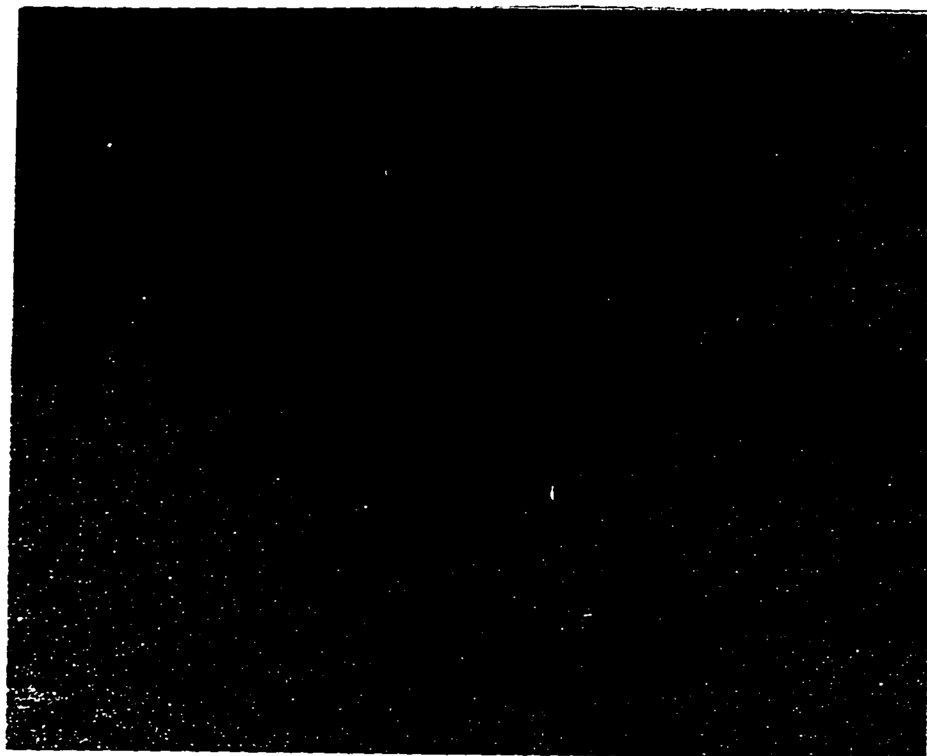

8.4. John H. Twachtman, *Last Touch of Sun*, ca. 1893. Oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 29 7/8. Manoogian Collection.

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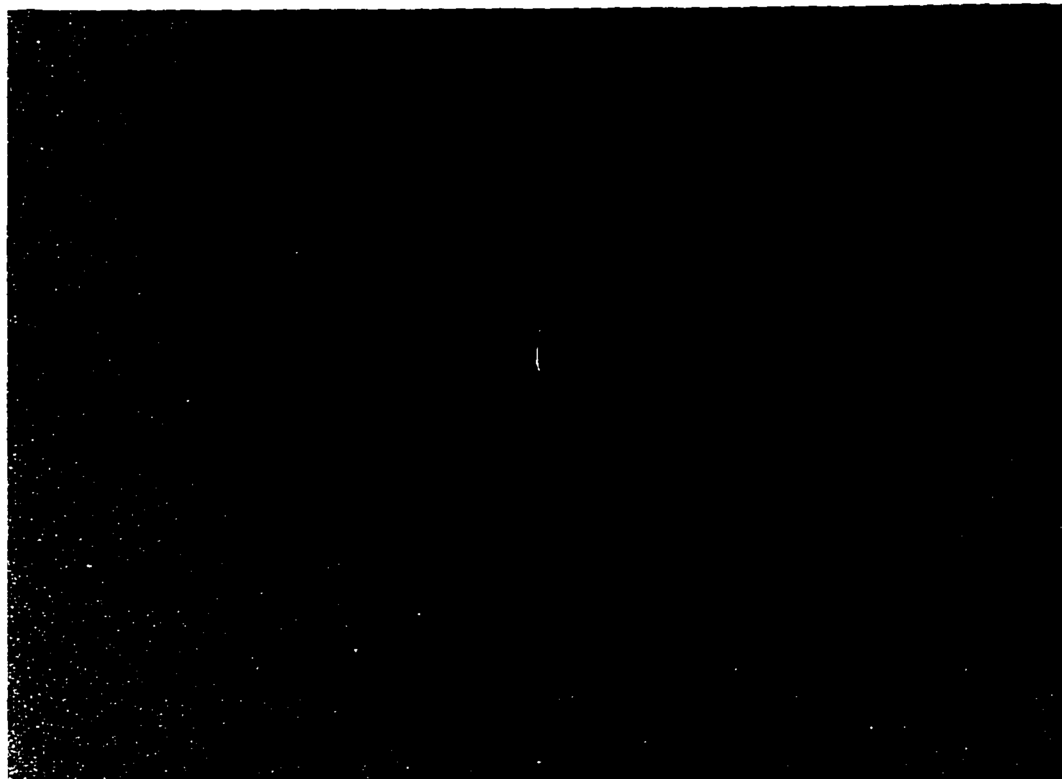

8.5. John H. Twachtman, *Snowbound,* ca. 1893. Oil on canvas, 22 x 30 in. Scripps College, Gift of General and Mrs. Edward Clinton Young, 1946.

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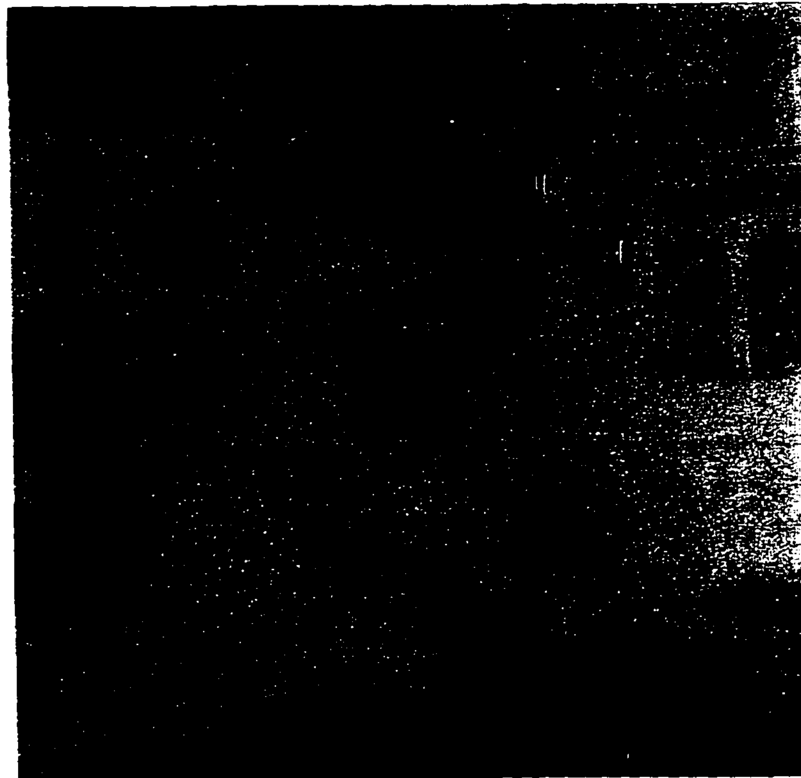

8.6. John H. Twachtman, *Summer*, undated. Oil on canvas, 30 x 53 in. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D. C.

8.7. John H. Twachtman, *The Portico*, late 1890s. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 in. Private collection.

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8.8. John H. Twachtman, *On the Terrace*, ca. 1897. Oil on canvas, 25 1/4 x 30 1/8 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Gift of John Gellatly.

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8.9. John H. Twachtman, *Barnyard*, ca. 1890-1900. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 25 1/8 in. Hartford Steam Boiler Inspection and Insurance Company, Hartford, Conn.

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8.10. David B. Walkley, *Feeding the Chickens*, ca. 1900. Oil on canvas, 17 x 28 in. Private collection.

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8.11. Edouard Manet, *The Monet Family in Their Garden at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 24 x 39 1/4 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; bequest of Joan Whitney Payson.

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8.12. Pierre Renoir, *Madame Monet and Her Son in Their Garden at Argenteuil*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 19 7/8 x 26 3/4 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington; Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection.

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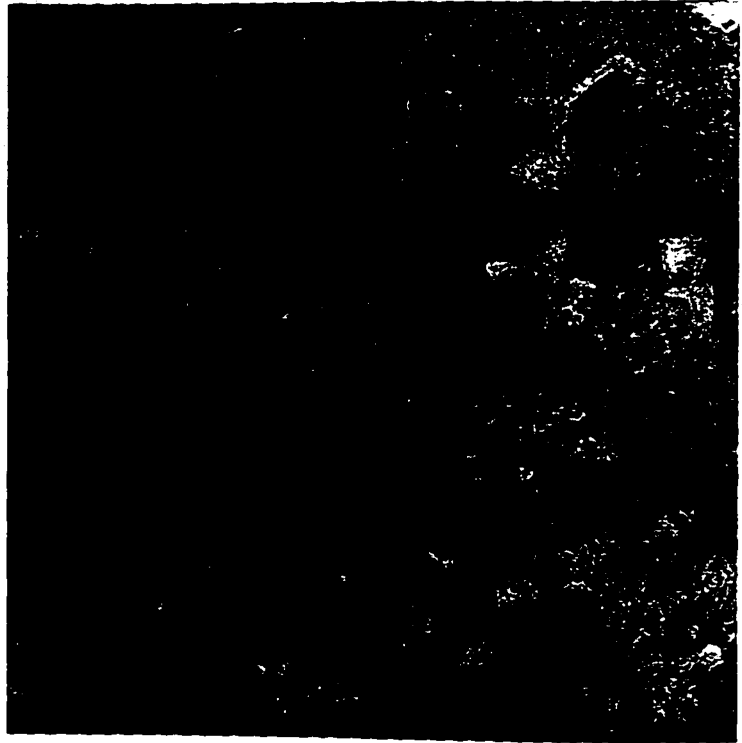

8.13. John H. Twachtman, *The Cabbage Patch*, mid 1890s. Oil on canvas, 25 x 25 in. Private collection.

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8.14. Thomas Anshutz, *The Way They Lived*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 24 x 17 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Morris K. Jesup Fund, 1940.

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8.15. Theodore Robinson, *In the Garden*, ca. 1889. Oil on canvas, 18 x 22 in. The Westmoreland Museum of Art, Greensburg, Pa.; William A. Coulter Fund.

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8.16. Horseneck Falls on Twachtman's property, ca. 1890. Photograph. Historical Society of the Town of Greenwich.

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8.17. John Twachtman, *Pink Flowers*. Oil on canvas, 13 x 16 in. Private collection.

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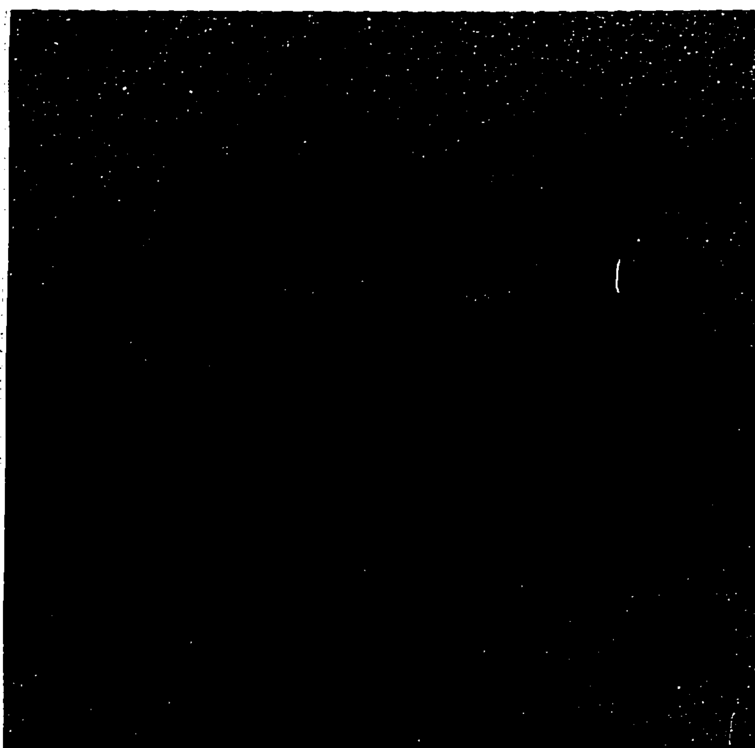

8.18. John H. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, after 1895. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 30 1/4 in. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of the Martin B. Koon Memorial Collection.

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8.19. John H. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, ca. 1900. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 25 1/8 in. Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester; Gift of Emily Sibley Watson.

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8.20. John H. Twachtman, *Bridge in the Woods*, ca. 1900. Oil on canvas, 26 x 14 in. Private collection. Photograph courtesy of Kennedy Galleries, New York.

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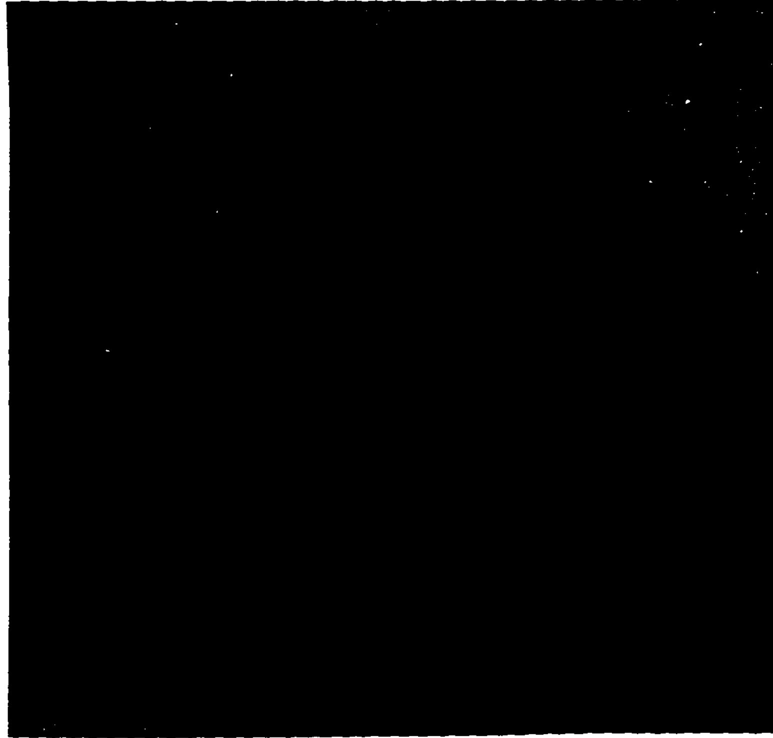

8.21. John H. Twachtman, *The White Bridge*, 1889-1900. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 1/4 in. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection.

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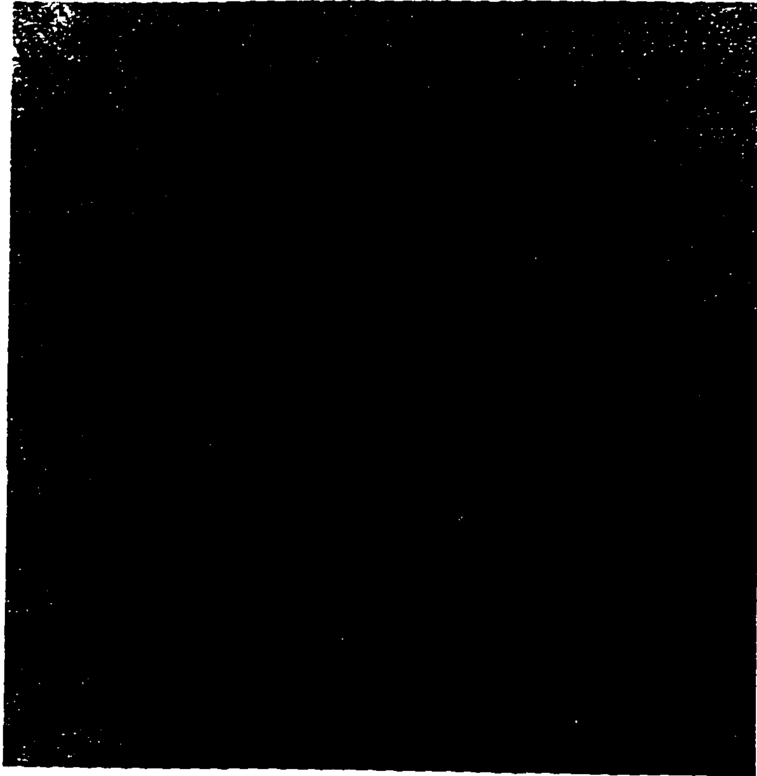

8.22. John H. Twachtman, *The Little Bridge*, ca. 1896. Oil on canvas, 25 x 25 in. University of Georgia, Georgia Museum of Art; Eva Underhill Holbrook Memorial Collection of American Art; Gift of Alfred H. Holbrook, 1945.

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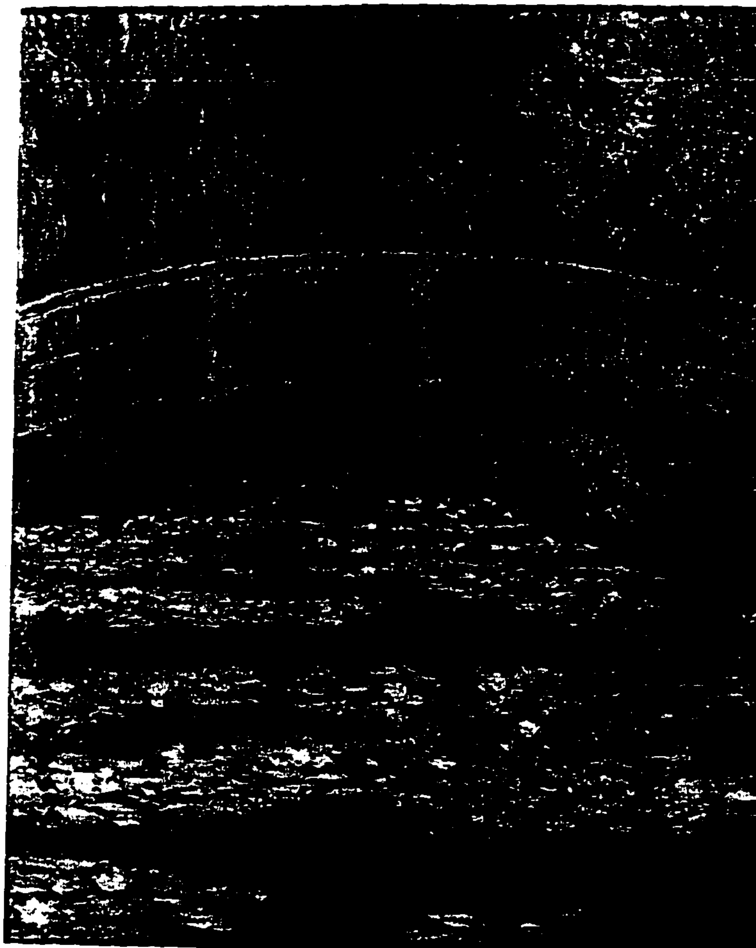

8.23. Claude Monet, *Bridge over a Pool of Water Lilies*, 1899. Oil on canvas, 36 1/2 x 29 in. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929. The Havemeyer Collection).

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8.24. Hsia Kuei, *Streams and Mountains, Pure and Remote* (detail). Handscroll, ink on paper, 18 1/4 x 350 in. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

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8.25. Edward S. Morse, *Stone Foot-bridge*, ca. 1886. Illustration from Morse, *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886), p. 278.

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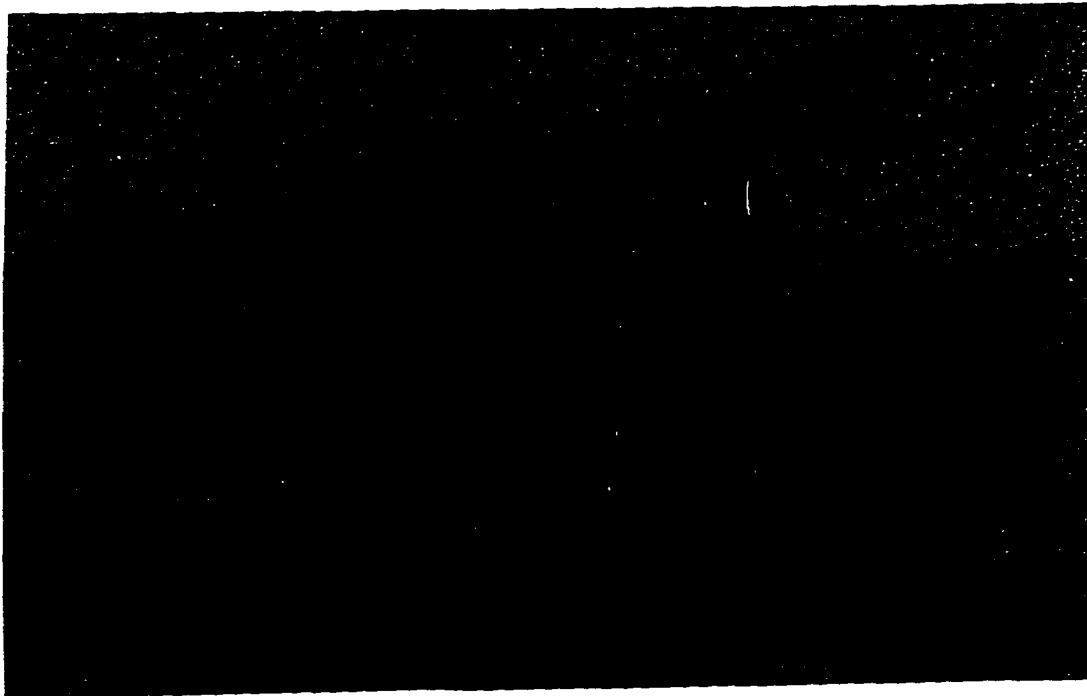

8.26. Katsushika Hokusai, *Admiring the Irises at Yatsuhashi*, ca. 1834. Color woodblock print, 9 7/8 x 15 1/4 in., from the series *Remarkable Views of the Bridges in All Provinces.* Honolulu Academy of Arts, The James A. Michener Collection.

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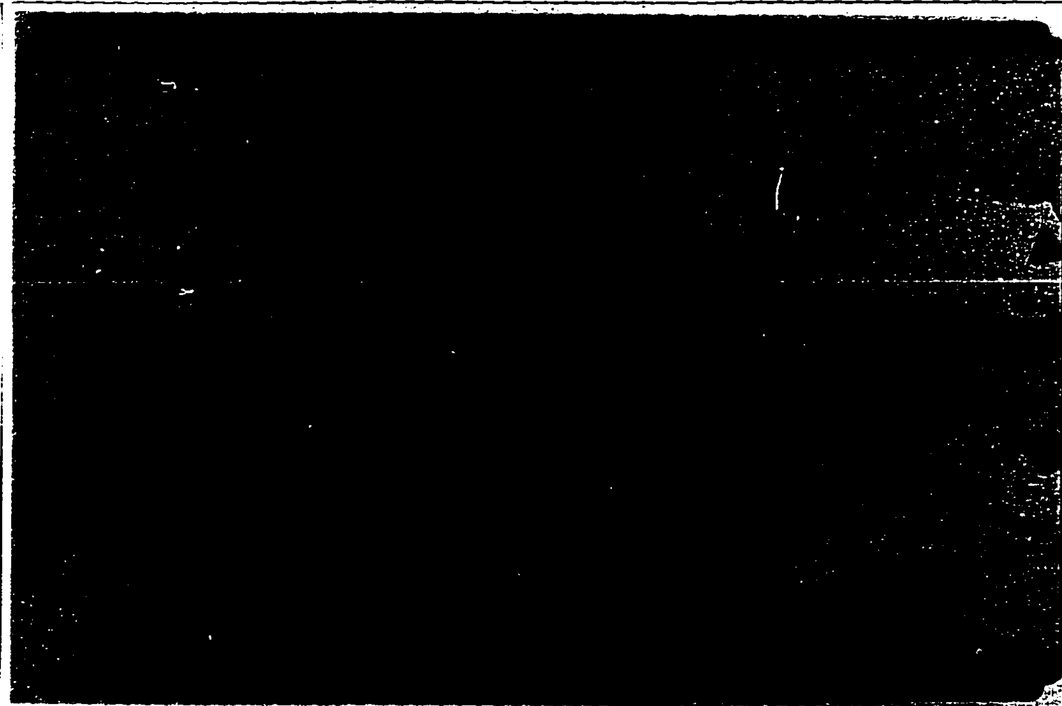

8.27. Utagawa Hiroshige, *Kameido Shrine in Snow*, ca. 1833. Polychrome woodblock print, 9 x 14 1/4 in. From the collection of J. Alden Weir. Museum of Art, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

8.28. Frederic Edwin Church, *Niagara*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 42 1/2 x 90 1/2 in. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

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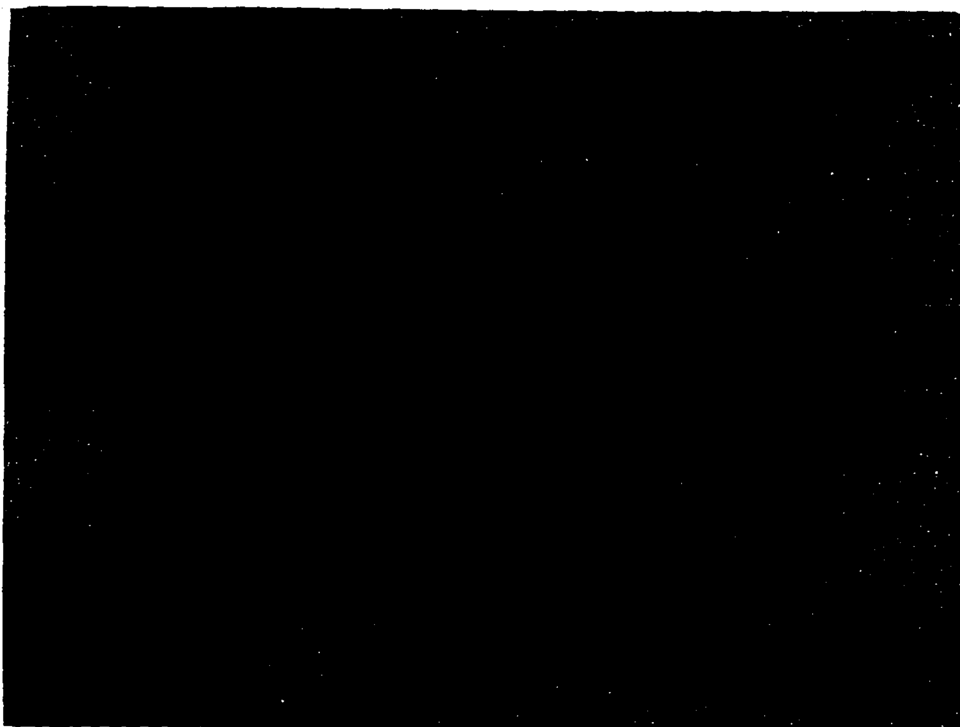

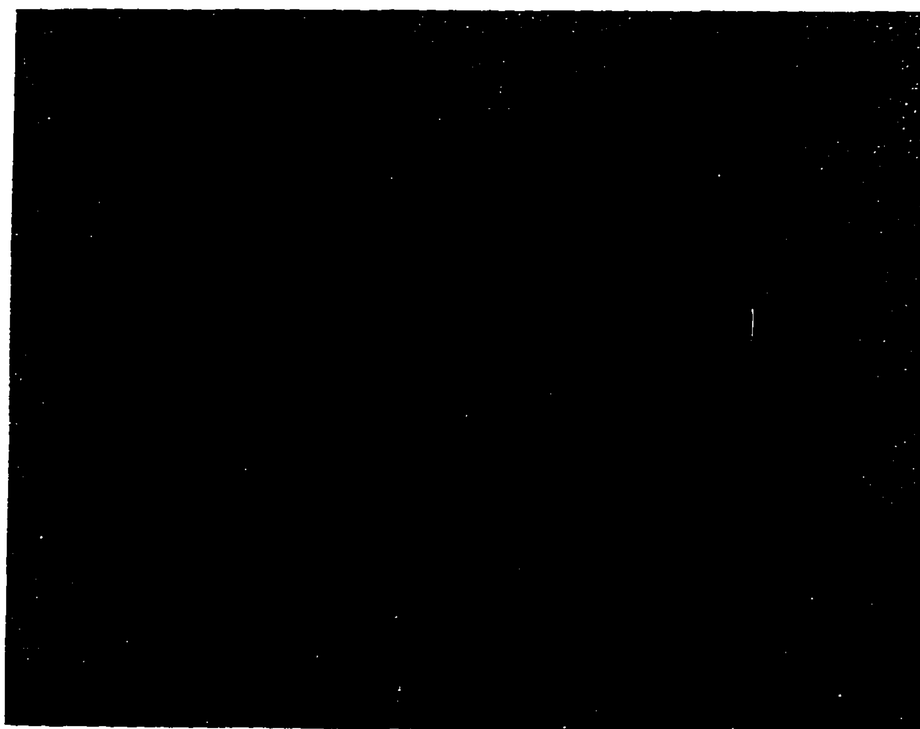

8.29. John Twachtman, *Winter Harmony*, ca. 1890-1900. Oil on canvas, 25 3/4x 32 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of the Avalon Foundation.

8.30. John Twachtman, *Hemlock Pool—Autumn*, ca. 1894. Oil on canvas, 15 1/2 x 19 1/2 in. Private collection.

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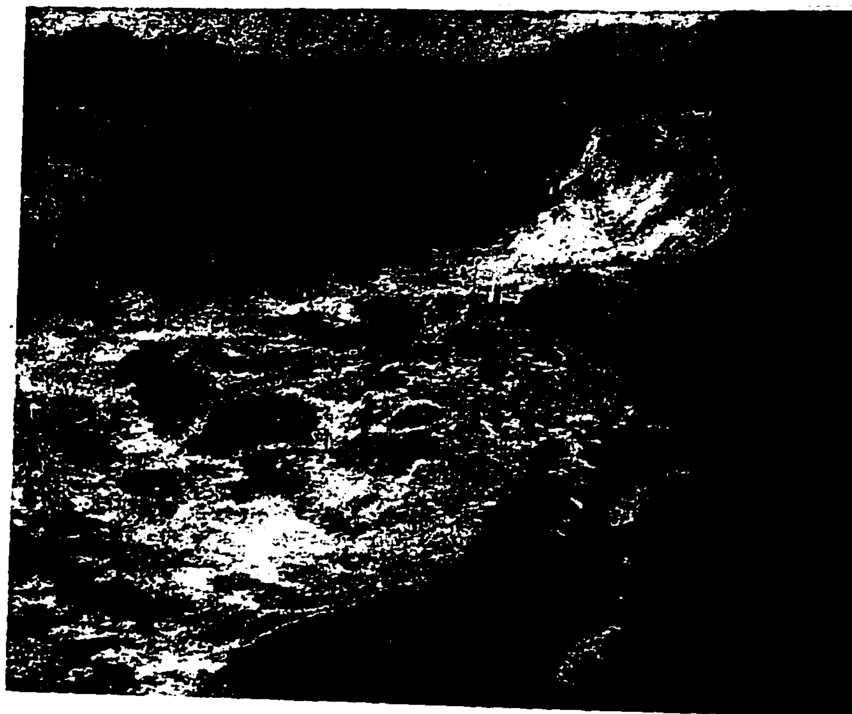

8.31. John Twachtman, *The Torrent*, late 1890s. Oil on canvas, 25 1/4 x 30 1/8 in. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Gift of William T. Evans.

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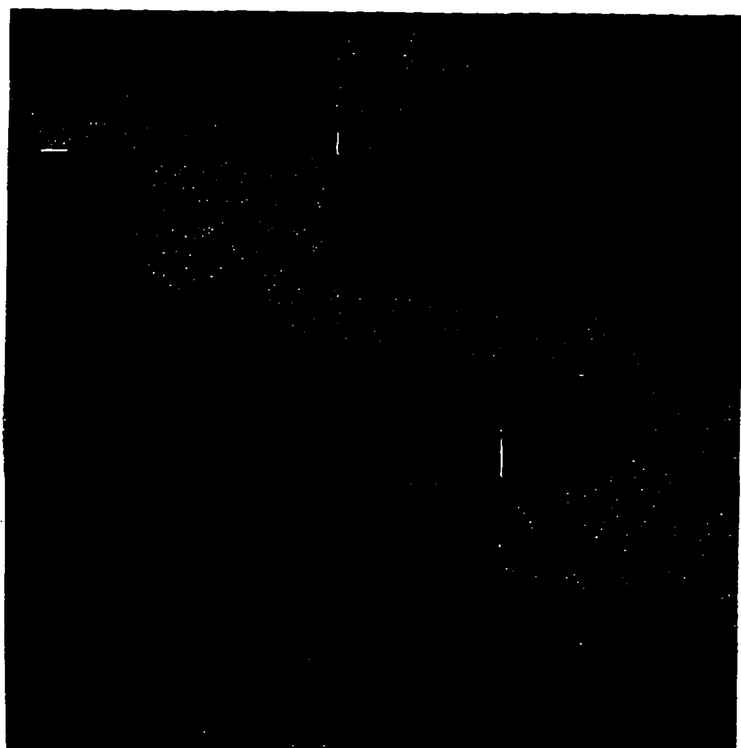

8.32. John Twachtman, *The Waterfall*, late 1890s. Oil on canvas, 30 x 30 1/8 in. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.

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