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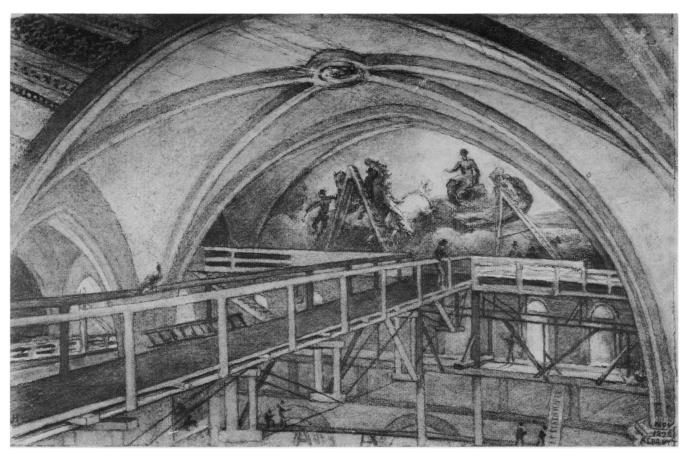


Fig. 1. Jane Hunt. WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT ON THE SCAFFOLDING AT ALBANY. 1878. Charcoal, 11 x 17¾". Prints and Drawings Collection, The American Institute of Architects Foundation, Washington, D.C.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT'S THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT

Henry Adams

F^{EW} AMERICAN PAINTINGS have attracted as much interest as William Morris Hunt's *The Flight of Night*, which is discussed in nearly every major survey of American art.¹ This was certainly Hunt's most significant work, and along with John La Farge's decorations for Trinity Church it often has been considered to mark the beginning of American mural painting.² It introduced a new type of historical painting to America,

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Hunt's first attempt to complete his conception was foiled by the Boston fire of 1872 which destroyed the entire contents of his studio. His final mural of the subject, which he completed in 1879 for the New York State Capitol (Fig. 1), lasted only ten years, for the vault over it had been improperly constructed, and its replacement by a lower wooden ceiling almost en-

tirely effaced Hunt's work. Hunt himself did not live long enough to witness the destruction of his most exceptional achievement, for after completing the mural he fell victim to nervous exhaustion, and eight months later he was dead, a possible suicide.³

These mishaps (which recall Balzac's tale of Frenhofer and his *Le Chef-d'Oeuvre Inconnu*, as well as Washington Allston's inability to complete *Belshazzar's Feast* in the collection of The Detroit Institute of Arts) certainly have attracted the attention of writers on American art. But they also have obscured the early history of *The Flight of Night*, for not only was Hunt's final mural ruined, but nearly all his early sketches were destroyed by the Boston fire. Fundamental questions remain to be solved concerning the sources, the iconography, and the expressive intentions of *The Flight of Night*, and about its relation to the creative and emotional crisis that led to Hunt's death.

I shall attempt to reconstruct the visual form of Hunt's project during each of the major phases of its development. Most of the surviving records of the composition date from Hunt's final campaign of work, in the summer of 1879, and shed no light on the earlier forms of the conception. Indeed, in the existing literature on Hunt, only two works have been cited which date from the early stages of this project, a plaster relief and an oil sketch on a Japanese tea tray, neither of which has been accurately dated. Hunt is known to have conceived The Flight of Night in the 1840s, as a young student in Paris, and to have worked on it for more than thirty years before he received the commission to decorate the New York State Capitol. However, scholars have not yet established the nature of Hunt's initial design, nor determined the successive steps in his development of the scheme.

The reconstruction presented here is based partly on three previously unnoticed studies for The Flight of *Night*, and partly on discovering the date of execution of works already known. In working out a chronology, I have relied on both documentary and stylistic evidence. Written accounts indicate the years in which Hunt was at work on the composition, and in some cases provide the precise date of execution of a particular work. Stylistic evidence offers a general place for Hunt's designs within his overall artistic development, and also establishes the sequence of Hunt's studies for The Flight of Night. Naturally some questions remain unresolved, but to a surprising degree it is possible to work out the evolution of the conception over a thirtyyear period. This presentation will not interpret the larger meaning of Hunt's endeavor, but hopefully it will provide a framework for intensive future investigations into the sources, intellectual background, and ultimate intentions of the project.4

The First Campaign of Work: 1847-1850

In its final form (see Fig. 8), *The Flight of Night* represented the Persian goddess of night, Anahita, fleeing from the dawn in her celestial chariot. To the left of the deity were exemplars of turbulence and superstition—three frenzied "night mares" and a black servant whose inverted torch associated him with the forces of darkness. To her right were representations of the tranquil aspects of night. A mother and child, symbols of Repose and Sleep, slept in a bed of mist, while above them a winged cherub drew up a canopy of fleecy clouds to screen the pair from the disturbing rays of the rising sun.⁵

The subject is obscure, and according to the artist's biographer Helen Knowlton, Hunt was introduced to it in 1846, when he was studying painting at Düsseldorf. In that year his brother Leavitt, who was studying oriental languages in Frankfurt, sent him a translation of a poem about Anahita. Knowlton states that "the subject at once took possession of Hunt's mind," but does not give a date for his first rendition of the theme.⁶ Most recent writers have assumed that Hunt started work in 1846, but Hunt's friend and confidant, the Boston eye specialist Henry Angell, reports that the composition was "first put on paper in 1847."⁷ The slight difference in date is significant, for it would indicate that Hunt began work on the project not in Düsseldorf, but after his move to Paris in 1847.⁸

Hunt worked on *The Flight of Night* at least until 1850, the year he painted *Head of Sleep* (see Fig. 5), a study for one of the peripheral figures in the composition.⁹ It is likely, however, that he had set the project aside by 1853, by which time he had come under the influence of Jean-François Millet, moved to the village of Barbizon, and turned his attention to peasant subjects.¹⁰ In fact, the only two fixed dates for Hunt's first campaign of work are 1847 and 1850, and from the visual evidence it seems quite likely that all of Hunt's work on the first project was done in this four-year span.

Helen Knowlton reports that "a general idea of the composition was settled upon at first."¹¹ This is confirmed by a previously unnoted drawing of *The Flight of Night* in the American Institute of Architects (Fig. 2). Both the stylistic character of the work and its place in the sequence of Hunt's studies suggest that it is the earliest surviving record of Hunt's scheme.

The general character of this study, with its small scale and swirling pencil lines, is distinctive to Hunt's student years in Paris, for after his return to the United States he began to favor larger, bolder, and more tonal renderings, usually in charcoal. Unfortunately, most of Hunt's early working drawings were destroyed in 1872,



Fig. 2. William Morris Hunt. Study for THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT. c. 1847–1850. Sketchbook page, pencil on paper, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{4}{4}$ ". Prints and Drawings Collection, The American Institute of Architects Foundation.

and only two or three compositional sketches can firmly be set in the period of his study in France. This little study, however, has close affinities with these works. The paper it is drawn on — a page removed from a sketchbook — corresponds with that used in a preparatory notation for a painting of 1856, La Bouquetière.¹² The looping, somewhat uncertain lines of the drawing for Flight of Night are particularly close to Hunt's earliest known, securely dated sketches, studies of 1852 for Stag at Fontainebleau and La Marguerite.13 Certain technical peculiarities directly link the girl in La Marguerite (Fig. 3) with the drawing of The Flight of Night. Both figures, for example, are given a boldly schematized square jaw and a triangular eye. Features made in this way do not appear in any of Hunt's later drawings, but are unique to these two sketches.

In addition, of all versions of the theme known, this rendition of *The Flight of Night* is the furthest away from Hunt's final composition. In every version but this one the horses are shown in the same arrangement. Here, however, the steeds have not yet assumed their final positions. The central charger, for example, which elsewhere is shown rearing, is here depicted with one foreleg on the ground and the other bent. Moreover, the horses are shown with reins, which appear in no other renderings of the subject. In all of Hunt's studies except this one there is a backward-leaning attendant for the horses, who carries an inverted torch. Here, however, this figure is only a vague blur to the left of the horses, and his pose is still unresolved. In addition, the figure of Anahita is still somewhat indefinite, and the grouping of Repose and Sleep, which is horizontal in all other versions of the theme, is vertical in shape. The expressive character of this composition is also exceptional, being more densely packed and more energetic than Hunt's later representations of the subject.



Fig. 3. W.M. Hunt. Study for LA MARGUERITE. 1852. Charcoal on paper, 71/4 x 51/2". Prints and Drawings Collection, The American Institute of Architects Foundation.

In short, both stylistic considerations, and the place of this drawing in the sequence of Hunt's studies, suggest that the drawing is early, probably made about 1850, or perhaps even as early as 1847.

Somewhat later than this pencil sketch is a plaster plaque in high relief, whose mold was stored at a plasterworker's shop at the time of the Boston fire of 1872, and thus fortuitously escaped destruction (Fig. 4).¹⁴ In this no chariot and no figure of Anahita are visible: we see only three plunging chargers and their groom. While the piece works well as an independent work of art, it seems likely that it was made chiefly to study the central figures in Hunt's larger compositional scheme. The work was certainly in existence by 1866, when it was exhibited at the National Academy of Design, and it was discussed by Henry Tuckerman in his *Book of the Artists* of the following year.¹⁵ Its exact date has never been established, although writers usually place it in Hunt's student years. Helen Knowlton, with possible reference to this relief, reported that Hunt worked in clay when he first established the forms of his conception; Henry Angell, in discussing Hunt's final execution of the design, noted that "years before he had carefully modelled the horses in clay;" and an anonymous newspaper account of Hunt's study in Europe asserted that the relief was "the original of the steeds which partially represent the 'Flight of Night,'" and that it was created in "those early days of practice."¹⁶

During Hunt's first years in Paris, he studied sculpture with Antoine-Louis Barye (1795–1875), and considered becoming a sculptor rather than a painter.¹⁷ This plaster relief was probably executed in this period. Its style and diminutive scale recall the bronze horses of Barye, and in addition, the conception is similar to a plaster relief, *Falling Horseman* by Antonin-Marie Moine, which was exhibited at the Salon of 1831.¹⁸ Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when Hunt abandoned sculpture, but it was certainly before he went to study with Millet, and probably not long after 1850.

Hunt's relief, however, could not have been made before 1848, for it reveals considerable familiarity with French Romantic sculpture. As late as April of 1847, when Hunt made a portrait relief of his friend F. Minot, his work was still predominantly neo-classical in character.¹⁹ By 1848, however, when he executed a portrait medallion of his teacher Thomas Couture, he had come under French influence, and had adopted a freer and bolder type of handling.²⁰ Hunt's plaque of horses is more technically assured and more fluid in treatment than the likeness of Couture, and consequently was probably made somewhat later. It seems reasonable to suppose that it was made between 1848 and 1850.

The third early study for *The Flight of Night* to survive is *Head of Sleep* (Fig. 5), which in 1879 was ascribed to the year 1850 in the catalogue of the memorial exhibition of Hunt's works.²¹ As the painting belonged at that time to Hunt's sister Jane, who in 1850 was living next door to her brother in Paris, there is every reason to suppose that the date is accurate.²²

It would have been natural for Hunt first to work out an overall scheme for his composition, and then make more detailed studies of the individual figures. If he followed this procedure it would establish the sequence of the studies we have discussed. Hunt would first have made the compositional sketch, then his sculptural maquette of the central group in his design,

Fig. 4. W.M. Hunt. THE HORSES OF ANAHITA. c. 1848–1850. Tinted plaster, 18 1/2 x 28 1/2 x 12 1/5". Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Richard Morris Hunt, 1880.



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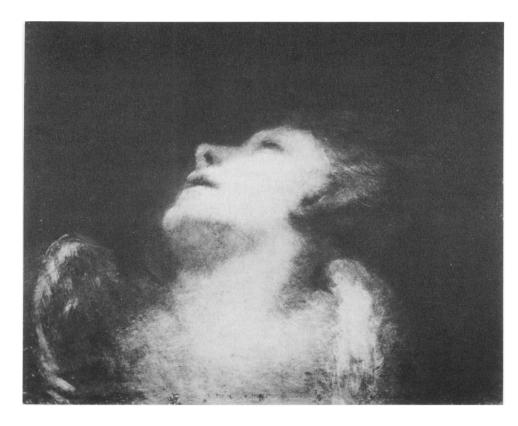


Fig. 5. W.M. Hunt. HEAD OF SLEEP. 1850. Oil on canvas or panel. Dimensions and present location unknown. Formerly in the collection of Jane Hunt. Photograph, Prints and Drawings Collection, The American Institute of Architects Foundation.

and finally studies such as the *Head of Sleep* for the subsidiary figures. Thus the visual evidence suggests that in Paris Hunt worked out the general arrangement of *The Flight of Night* and settled on the form of Anahita's three horses and their attendant, but at this stage still had not resolved the other figures in the design.

The Second Campaign of Work: 1861–1863

Hunt's next recorded work on *The Flight of Night* occurred from 1861 to 1863, after his return to the United States. Edward Waldo Emerson, the son of the Concord sage, recalled being shown a series of studies of *The Flight of Night* when he visited Hunt's studio in Newport in 1861.²³ In addition, John La Farge recalled that he and William James assisted Hunt in underpainting a version of the composition, presumably when they studied painting with him in 1860–1861.²⁴

Only one of Hunt's paintings of this period survived the Boston fire — a small sketch on a Japanese tea tray, which Hunt dashed off while visiting his sister Jane, and gave to her as a memento (Fig. 6).²⁵ Frederic P. Vinton records that this was painted in 1863, and this is the date for it given in 1879, when Jane Hunt lent it to the memorial exhibition of her brother's works.²⁶ Such a date is consistent with the usual tea tray format, as John La Farge also painted several pictures on Japanese tea trays and lacquer panels in this period.²⁷ This tea tray painting is the earliest record to show the composition in approximately its definitive form. While the general groupings correspond with those of the Parisian sketch, the changes that Hunt made were quite significant. Hunt's Parisian designs are compactly grouped, and give no indication of the aerial setting. In the sketch of 1863, however, the figural groups are placed more openly, and clouds take on an important role in the design. For his arrangement of the horses and their attendant, Hunt simply fell back on the arrangement of his plaster relief, although here we see for the first time that Hunt intended to distinguish the colors of the horses—one black, one white, and one bay. Anahita's pose was modified from the earlier sketch, and bat's wings were added to her chariot.

The most ambiguous section of the tea tray sketch is the section of clouds which, in the final mural, contains the figures of a winged putto, of Repose, and of Sleep. In the tea tray painting these clouds are arranged nearly as in the final painting, but the figures they enclose are not indicated. This may partly be due to the sketchiness of the work, which is known to have been executed hastily and from memory. Certainly the *Head* of Sleep of 1850 suggests that Hunt always intended a figural group in this area. In 1863, however, the form of these figures must still have been vague in Hunt's mind. He was probably still chiefly concerned with the central

Adams/Hunt



Fig. 6. W.M. Hunt. Study for THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT. 1863. Oil on Japanese tea tray, 9 x 14 1/2". Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Miss Jane Hunt, Newport, Rhode Island, 1897.

group, had not fully established the figure of Sleep, and accordingly left this area vague and unresolved.

The Third and Fourth Campaigns of Work: 1872 and 1875

It is unclear whether Hunt's work in the 1860s occurred chiefly in the period from 1861 to 1863, or whether he labored on the composition intermittently throughout the decade. In any case, by 1872 Hunt had worked out all aspects of his scheme, and in that year he set to work painting The Flight of Night on a grandiose scale, on a canvas which he had imported specially from Russia for this purpose. The size of this picture, which measured fifty feet across, and was even larger than the murals Hunt later completed at Albany, has no counterpart in American art of this period, and was particularly remarkable in a painting which was not commissioned or intended for a specific architectural space. With the help of a young assistant, John B. Johnston, Hunt enlarged his sketches and began the underpainting, but just as the picture was well underway it was destroyed by the conflagration which annihilated Hunt's studio.28

Only one record of this undertaking survived the Boston fire, a photograph that Hunt had sent to J.P. Rinn, a Boston architect and decorator.²⁹ In 1875, however, Hunt borrowed back the photograph he had given Rinn in order to make a replica of the composition which had been destroyed.³⁰

A photograph in the American Institute of Architects, placed there by Hunt's sister Jane, records one of the versions of this phase of the design (Fig. 7). In this photograph the composition is more developed than the tea tray painting of 1863, for the figures of Repose and Sleep are fully indicated. Certain features, however, such as traces of wings on Anahita's chariot, and the absence of a clearly defined putto screening the figures of Repose and Sleep, indicate that it precedes Hunt's final campaign of redesigning the composition in the summer of 1878. While it is possible that this photograph is the one Hunt sent to Rinn, it is more likely that it records the painting of 1875, which Hunt's sister owned. Which version it reproduces, however, is not particularly important, for in either case it is fairly certain that the essential composition is that of Hunt's lost painting of 1872.



Fig. 7. W.M. Hunt. Study for THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT. 1872 or 1875. Medium, dimensions, and present location unknown. Photograph, Prints and Drawings Collection, The American Institute of Architects Foundation.

The chief new feature of this design is the addition of the figures of Repose and Sleep. This is the earliest version of *The Flight of Night* to include these two figures, although it is likely that Hunt evolved their form in the mid-1860s, as in 1866 he used the pose of Sleep in reverse for his painting of *The Wounded Drummer Boy*.³¹

The Fifth and Final Phase: 1878-1879

After painting the small replica of *The Flight of Night* in 1875, Hunt seems to have thought little more about the project until May of 1878. In that month, while he was painting landscapes at Niagara Falls, he received a letter from Leopold Eidlitz, the presiding architect of the State Capitol at Albany. Eidlitz proposed that Hunt decorate two lunettes, each sixteen feet high and forty wide, which stood eighty-seven feet apart, at either end of the vaulted Assembly Chamber. After some hesitation, Hunt accepted the undertaking. For one of the lunettes he devised a largely new composition, *The Discoverer*, an allegorical representation of Columbus. For the other he revised his composition of *The Flight of Night*.³²

That summer Hunt worked feverishly on both murals in his Park Square studio in Boston, making several adjustments—although no fundamental alternations—in his design of *The Flight of Night* (Fig. 8).³³ He restudied each of the figures from life, changing most the pose of Anahita. Hunt had continually changed

his mind about the best sort of action for the goddess. Initially he had conceived her looking backward at the rays of sunlight that pursued her (see Fig. 2), but in the final painting she looks directly out at the viewer. While in the versions of 1878 and earlier he had conceived Anahita with her legs placed side by side, in 1878 he raised one leg above the other, to give a twisting, *contrapposto* quality to the figure. While Hunt retained the arm positions of his earlier studies, in this last campaign of work he stripped the goddess to the waist and bent the torso slightly forward, making her seem more animated.

At this time also, Hunt made several compositional changes. He seems to have added---or at least more fully defined-the watching Cupid who draws a veil of clouds to shield Repose and Sleep.³⁴ He removed the wings from Anahita's chariot, and simplified the outlines of the clouds. In addition, he transformed the lighting. In the early versions of the composition, Anahita was shown pursued by a wedge of light emanating from the background on the right and gradually blending into an area of darkness on the left. In the final painting Hunt made the lighting more scattered and inconsistent. This may have been motivated partly by a desire to make the lighting of *The Flight of* Night more similar to that of its companion mural. In addition, in this final design, light seems to emanate from Anahita herself, drawing attention to her role as an exemplar of feminine force.35

Adams/Hunt



Fig. 8. W.M. Hunt. Study for THE FLIGHT OF NIGHT. 1878. Oil and chalk on canvas, 62 x 99". Collection, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Gilpin Fund Purchase.

Thus, it is possible to trace *The Flight of Night* through every major phase of its development—from the densely packed, energetic conception of the 1840s, to the airy composition of the 1860s, to the ambitious, more resolved scheme of the early 1870s, and ultimately to the carefully restudied final design. A better

understanding of the development of *The Flight of Night* should lead in time both to a thorough investigation into its iconography and sources, and to an examination of the intellectual and artistic climate that led Hunt to undertake such an ambitious allegory.

I owe particular thanks to Theodore Stebbins, Kathryn Greenthal, Martha J. Hoppin, and William Morris Hunt II.

1. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), p. 449; S.G.W. Benjamin, *Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch* (New York, 1880), pp. 185–186; Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting* (New York, 1927), pp. 310–313; Frank Jewett Mather, Charles Rufus Morey, and William James Henderson, *The American Spirit in Art* (New Haven, 1972), p. 101; Suzanne La Follette, *Art in America* (New York, 1929), p. 151; Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Art in America: A Complete Survey* (New York, 1934), p. 77; Homer Saint-Gaudens, *The American Artist and His Times* (New York, 1941), pp. 130–131; Oliver W. Larkin, *Art and Life in America* (New York, 1949), p. 266; E.P. Richardson, *Painting in Americaa* (New York, 1956), pp. 260–261; Samuel M. Green, *American Art* (New York, 1966), p. 365; Richard McLanathan, *The American Tradition in the Arts* (New York, 1968), pp. 354–355; Milton Brown, *et al.*, *American Art* (New York, 1979), pp. 287–288. 2. Pauline King, American Mural Painting (Boston, 1902), pp. 39–54; Henry Van Brunt, "The New Dispensation of Monumental Art," in Architecture and Society: Selected Essays of Henry Van Brunt (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 135–144.

3. Helen M. Knowlton, Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston, 1899), pp. 79–80, 160; Paul R. Baker, Richard Morris Hunt (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 219–220.

4. I have discussed some of the intellectual background of Hunt's murals, and particularly his use of French sources, in an essay on "William Morris Hunt's 'Chef d'Oeuvre Inconnu,'" to be published in *Proceedings of the New York State Capitol Symposium*.

5. Knowlton, p. 79, gives the Persian poem which initially inspired Hunt, but his final composition does not closely follow this text. To a large degree his figural groupings seem to have been based on visual sources (see note 4, above). However, Hunt seems to have invested his figures with increasingly mystical symbolism as his design evolved.

A remarkable explication of the meaning of *The Flight of Night* was written by Hunt's widow, Louisa Dumaresq Hunt; see *The Paintings on Stone at the Albany Capitol, New York, U.S.A. by William Morris Hunt, Completed A.D. 1879* (Washington, D. C., 1888), copy in the Library of Congress.

6. Knowlton, pp. 78–79, quotes the poem which inspired Hunt. Her account is based on a clipping signed "W.L.B." from an unidentified Boston newspaper, dated Sunday, November 16, 1879, included in a scrapbook compiled by Jane Hunt, titled "William M. Hunt: Notes on Exhibitions," now in the American Institute of Architects Foundation, Washington, D.C.

7. Henry C. Angell, *Records of William M. Hunt* (Boston, 1881), p. 123; Knowlton, p. 79.

8. Knowlton, pp. 6–7; Marchal E. Landgren and Sharman Wallace McGurn, *The Late Landscapes of William Morris Hunt*, catalogue to an exhibition at the University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1976, p. 60. Although worked out in Paris, Hunt's design may have been influenced by the work of his teacher in Düsseldorf, Emanuel Leutze. The initial pose of Anahita may have been taken from Leutze's illustration of "Rizpah" in William Cullen Byant, *Poems* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 74.

9. Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt, published for a show at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1879, p. 31, no. 114.

10. Knowlton, pp. 10, 27-28.

11. Knowlton, p. 79.

12. The drawing is in the American Institute of Architects Foundation. For the date of the painting, see Martha J. Hoppin and Henry Adams, *William Morris Hunt: A Memorial Exhibition* (Boston, 1979), p. 60.

13. These drawings are in the American Institute of Architects Foundation. For the dates of the paintings they are studies for, see *Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt*, 1879, p. 29, no. 101, and p. 30, no. 109. Despite the inscription on the sketch of *La Marguerite* identifying it as a study for the painting owned by Martin Brimmer, it is probably a study for the first version of 1852 (reproduced by Knowlton, opposite p. 28, present location unknown), rather than for the second version of 1853 which Brimmer owned, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

14. Knowlton, p. 81.

15. The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861–1900, Maria Naylor, ed. (New York, 1973), vol. 1, p. 469; Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (New York, 1867), p. 449.

16. Knowlton, p. 207; Angell, p. 121; scrapbook compiled by Jane Hunt, titled "The Capitol at Albany," now in the American Institute of Architects Foundation, p. 2.

17. Knowlton, p. 7, reports that Hunt came to Paris to study with the sculptor James Pradier, and was waiting for the opening of the modeling class when he came upon Thomas Couture's The Falconer and decided to become a painter. Baker, p. 36, reports that Pradier "was travelling in Italy when William arrived." The records of the Louvre do show, however, that when Hunt applied for a carte d'étude on October 12, 1847, he listed himself as a student under Pradier. Knowlton, p. 6, notes that Hunt studied sculpture with Barye about 1844. Stylistic evidence, however, suggests that Knowlton's date, which she presents somewhat tentatively, may well be too early. Baker, pp. 36-37, maintains that Hunt studied with Barye circa 1847. The scrapbook already cited, titled "The Capitol at Albany," contains clippings on pp. 21 and 45 with anecdotes confirming Hunt's friendship with Barye. The architect Henri Lefuel commissioned sculpture from Barye in the early 1850s for the decoration of the Louvre (The Romantics to Rodin, catalogue for an exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980, p. 139). As William Morris Hunt's brother Richard was working for Lefuel at this time, one might speculate that the Hunts assisted Barye in obtaining this important commission.

18. Maurice Rheims, 19th Century Sculpture (New York, 1977), p. 296, no. 4.

19. A photograph of this relief is in the American Institute of Architects Foundation. An inscription on the back indicates that it was executed in April of 1847. Its present location is unknown.

20. This is reproduced in Marchal E. Landgren, *American Pupils of Thomas Couture*, catalogue for an exhibition at the University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1969, p. 8.

21. See above, note 9. I have been unable to identify the present location of this painting.

22. William Morris Hunt lived at no. 1 rue Jacob in an apartment which he shared with his brother Richard; his sister Jane lived at no. 22 rue Jacob (Baker, p. 37).

23. Edward Waldo Emerson, "William Morris Hunt," in *The Early Years of the Saturday Club* (Boston, 1918), p. 467.

24. John La Farge, "A New Side of Professor James," letter to the editor, *The New York Times*, September 2, 1910, p. 8.

25. Knowlton, p. 81. Angell, pp. 123-124, describes an early version of *The Flight of Night* in which Anahita shielded herself from the approaching sun with a raised arm. It is unclear whether Angell actually saw a representation of the subject with these features, which had survived the Boston fire, or whether he knew of it from a description. Most likely the design he describes was made after the early sketch we have identified (see Fig. 2), and before the tea tray painting.

26. Frederic P. Vinton, "William Morris Hunt, Part II: The Memorial Exhibition—The Paintings at Albany," *The American Art Review*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (January, 1880), p. 103. This is clearly the work included in the *Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt*, 1879, p. 57, no. 300, where, however, the unusual nature of the support is not indicated. The use of an unusual ground was not uncommon in nineteenth-century art. French landscapists sometimes painted on panels cut from notable trees, and George Healy even painted a portrait of Charles Goodyear on a huge sheet of India rubber. Hunt himself once painted a landscape evoking the woods of Barbizon on a panel cut from an oak in the forest there. (Lois Maris Fink, "The Role of France in American Art 1850–1879," Ph. D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1969, p. 461; Gibson Danes, "William Morris Hunt and his Newport Circle," *Magazine of Art*, April, 1950, p. 144.)

27. Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge* (Boston, 1911), p. 118; Royal Cortissoz, *An Exhibition of the Work of John La Farge*, catalogue for a show at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1936.

28. Knowlton, pp. 80-81.

29. Knowlton, p. 81. For a discussion of Rinn, see Truman W. Bartlett, Art Life of William Rimmer (Boston, 1882), p. 81.

30. Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt, 1879, p. 31, no. 113.

31. American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, 1969), vol. 1, p. 159, no. 599.

32. Knowlton, pp. 157–159. For a discussion of the evolution of *The Discoverer*, see Adams, "William Morris Hunt's 'Chef d'Oeuvre Inconnu.'"

33. Knowlton, pp. 159-160.

34. This figure is rather similar to Hunt's painting *Boy with a Butterfly* (private collection), an idealized portrait of his nephew, Richard Morris Hunt. This is reproduced by Knowlton, pp. 49–50; its date is given in *Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt*, p. 33, no. 126.

35. The symbolism of Hunt's final designs was described by Louisa Dumaresq Hunt, *The Paintings on Stone at the Albany Capitol.*