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The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Winslow Homer's "Impressionism" and Its Relation to His Trip to France

For a brief period, from the mid-1860s through the early 1870s, Winslow Homer occasionally made paintings that are remarkably close in appearance to the early work of the French impressionists. *Long Branch, New Jersey,* painted in 1869, exemplifies this trend (fig. 1). As with most French impressionist paintings, the canvas shows outdoor recreation, in this case a day at the beach with ladies in fashionable dresses and parasols. The color glows with the intensity of sunlight, and the handling of the paint is free and sketchy, in keeping with the informal nature of the scene.[1]

Long Branch does not stand alone among Homer's paintings in its resemblance to French impressionist works. A number of paintings that date from this period, for example, *The Bridle Path, White Mountains,* and *Croquet Scene,* display impressionist qualities (figs. 2 and 3). Homer did not consistently produce paintings in the impressionist style, however; he simultaneously executed works in a more conservative style.[2] This period of time, moreover, was relatively brief, and as Homer matured as an artist, his palette grew darker and his subject matter more somber on the whole.

Since the 1940s writers on Winslow Homer have commented on his impressionist qualities of this group of works.[3] They have strongly disagreed, however, on why Homer turned to impressionism and how he could have been exposed to impressionist ideas. The first French impressionist exhibition was held in 1874, but by that time Homer, at least in his oil paintings, had already begun to abandon a bright palette and turn away from impressionist effects. Did Homer know about French impressionism? And if so, how?

Much of the controversy about this issue has centered on Homer's trip to France—and first trip abroad—which corresponds roughly with the time he began to paint impressionist works. Embarking for Paris on 5 December 1866, Homer stayed in Europe almost exactly a year until his money had run out. He returned to New York on 18 December 1867, borrowing money from an American artist friend to pay for his return voyage.[4] Unfortunately, little documentation survives to indicate what Homer did in France, beyond the nineteen small paintings he made there (see appendix) and three illustrations he sent home to *Harper's Magazine,* one depicting art students and copyists in the Louvre, and the other two, couples kicking up their legs in the dance halls of Montmartre.[5]

Few issues in the history of nineteenth-century American art have given rise to such radically different assertions as the effect of this trip on Homer's subsequent work. For more than half a century writers on Homer unanimously agreed that the visit did not have a decisive impact on the

Detail fig. 1

1. Winslow Homer, *Long Branch, New Jersey*, 1869, oil on canvas, 40.6 x 55.3 (16 x 21 3/4)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Charles Henry Hayden Fund

2. Winslow Homer, *The Bridle Path, White Mountains*, 1868, oil on canvas, 61.3 x 96.5 (24 1/8 x 38)
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts

artist's style.[6] Then in 1958 Albert Ten Eyck Gardner vehemently challenged this view. Gardner maintained that Homer discovered both Japanese prints and French impressionism during his sojourn in Paris and that these two influences altered the entire course of his artistic career. Differing sharply from all previous writers, Gardner maintained that "Homer's trip to Paris was the most important event in his entire career as an artist."[7]

"It would seem most improbable," Gardner declared, "that the man who was to become 'the greatest American artist' would be able to spend such a long time in the very center of the art world and yet remain completely blind and completely unaffected by the exciting new artistic currents of the day. . . . Surely no lively, intelligent young man like Homer, with his keen artist's eye and his active Yankee curiosity, could be so dull, so unperceptive, as not to be aware of what was going on around him."[8]

As this quotation suggests, Gardner's thesis consisted largely of innuendo. Rather than locating contemporary evidence that Homer was affected by the French impressionists, Gardner argued that such evidence is lacking because Homer was deliberately secretive about what he learned. This theme of reticence was taken up by other writers, such as Yvon Bizardel, who wrote that "Homer crossed Paris with his finger on his lips. . . . That is why he used his eyes all the better, studied more closely, and felt and understood all the more deeply."[9]

One would love to have a snapshot of Homer crossing Paris with his finger to his lips. This conjectural argument is not very persuasive. It was certainly possible for a young American to visit Paris in the 1860s without discovering French impressionism. Thomas Eakins arrived in Paris about the same time as Homer, staying a full four years, yet never mentioned impressionism in his extensive letters home and seems to have looked only at the work of the old masters and such academic figures as his teacher Jean-Léon Gérôme.[10] In addition, many of the paintings Gardner reproduced to illustrate the impact of Homer's French trip were actually executed before Homer went to Paris. His *Croquet Scene*, which has often been compared with such early works by Monet as *Women in a Garden*, was painted just before he left for France (figs. 3 and 4).[11] If these works do reveal French influence, Homer must have learned about impressionism before his trip. In fact, the paintings Homer executed in France are duller in color and generally less impressionistic than those he made in the United States both before and after that journey.[12]

It is apparent even from cursory study, therefore, that Gardner's assertions often rested on shaky foundations. But despite his failure to present solid evidence for his claims, his ideas have been widely repeated, no doubt because they touched on a deeply emotional issue—the significance of nineteenth-century American painting. When Gardner was writing (and indeed, these viewpoints are to some extent still held today), American painting was judged to be dry, conservative, provincial, and aesthetically inferior to French painting, particularly French impressionism. In associating Homer with Japanese prints and French impressionist ideas, Gardner was arguing that Homer was a progressive, forward-looking, and significant artist, worthy to be considered on the same level as the leading French masters rather than pigeon-holed as a provincial American genre painter.[13]

Gardner's thesis raises a series of issues I would like to explore. What trends in modern French painting was Homer aware of, and how did he know of them? What was the influence of his trip to France? Where did he discover Japanese prints, and how did they affect him? Why did he adopt an impressionist manner for a brief period and then abandon it? Did French painting have a lasting significance on his achievement? I do not pretend to be able to answer completely any of these questions, but I do hope to demonstrate that Homer was affected by French modernist ideas, although in ways that are rather more complex than has been supposed. Homer's impressionism, I believe, reflected a mix of French and American influences.

3. Winslow Homer, *Croquet Scene*, 1866, oil on canvas, 40.6 x 66.0 (16 x 26)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Friends of American Art Collection

American Attitudes Toward French Painting in the 1860s

To understand Homer's relationship to French art it is helpful to know something of the major aesthetic controversy that dominated art criticism in the 1860s. This was the battle between the so-called American Pre-Raphaelites and the followers of the Barbizon masters, who epitomized progressive French painting in the opinion of Americans of this period.

Despite their name, the American Pre-Raphaelites produced work that had little relation to that of their better known Pre-Raphaelite brethren in England (figs. 5 and 6). The English Pre-Raphaelites loved to depict dreamy women in medieval dress, whereas the American Pre-Raphaelites were almost exclusively landscape and still-life painters and derived their tenets not so much from knowledge of English painting as from a faithful reading of the criticism of John Ruskin. Their watchword was truth, which in their minds meant a photographic literalness of description, and they banded together in a little club with the odd name of "The Society for the Preservation of Truth in Art."[14] In their manifesto they declared that the artist's task was to go out and study the smallest elements of nature—if need be, a single blade of grass—and transcribe it as accurately as possible, "rejecting nothing."[15] This procedure did not usually lead to very memorable results, unfortunately, and most American Pre-Raphaelite work was distinctly modest. The group produced charming trifles, most often drawings or watercolors rather than oils, which depict such subjects as a weed, a twig, a bird's nest, or a few pieces of fruit.

4. Claude Monet, *Women in a Garden*, 1866–1867, oil on canvas, 254.6 x 207.7 (100 1/4 x 81 3/4)
Musée d'Orsay, Paris

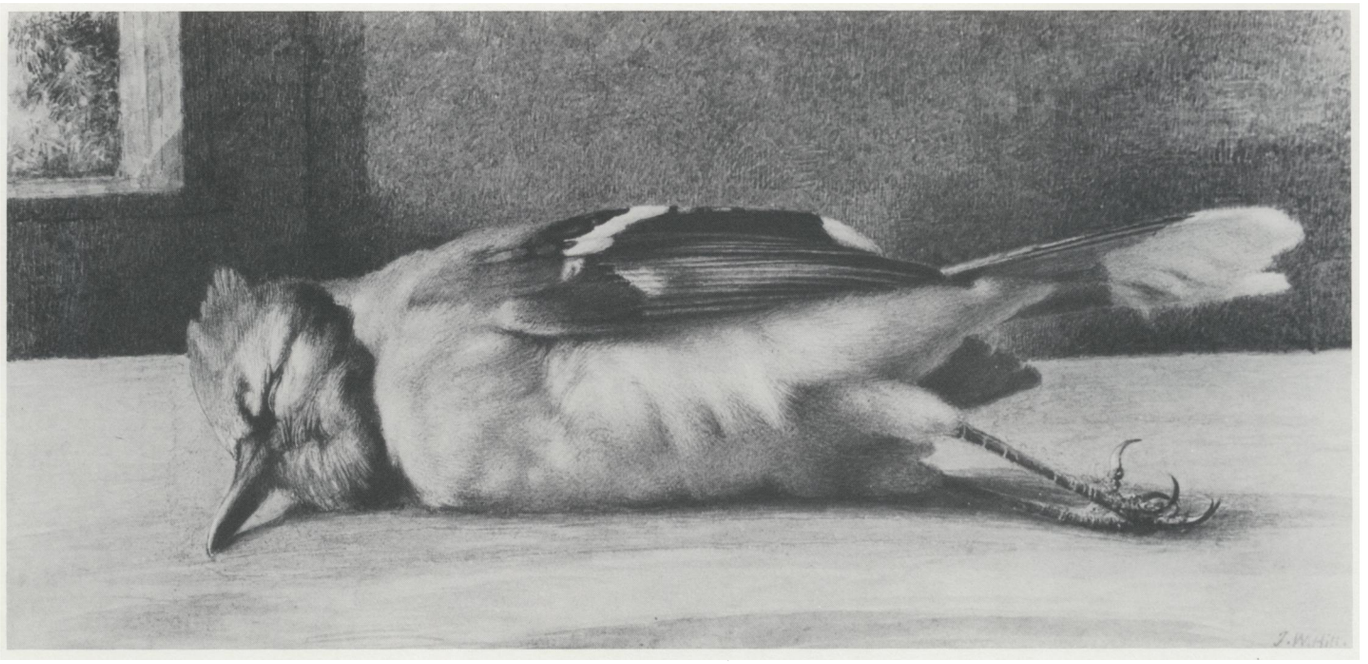
5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *My Lady Greensleeves*, 1863, oil on panel, 33.0 x 27.3 (13 x 10 3/4)
The Harvard University Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Although the American Pre-Raphaelites never produced even one painter of the first rank, they dominated artistic debate during the 1860s. Their views gained the support of the single most powerful American critic of the period, Clarence Cook, who with a pen seemingly dipped in acid wrote devastating reviews in the *New York Tribune* of those painters whose work rejected the Pre-Raphaelite creed and followed the new French trends.[16]

Devotees of progressive French painting formed an opposing camp, maintaining that art should consist not of an accumulation of meticulously rendered details, but of powerful, simplified forms and patterns that convey a spiritual and emotional message. They championed the work of such painters as Corot, Delacroix, Courbet, and Millet, whose work inspired the French impressionists, though it was generally darker in color and more romantic in mood. They found their most energetic spokesman, a figure as intense and outspoken as Clarence Cook, in the painter William Morris Hunt, brother of the architect Richard Morris Hunt.

William Morris Hunt dominated the art world of Boston from the time he returned to the United States from France in the middle 1850s until his tragic suicide in 1879. His artistic performance was flawed and uneven, and today he is mentioned only in passing in surveys of American art. In the 1860s, however, he was at the center of artistic controversy, because he represented an approach and viewpoint that was new to American artists.[17]

Hunt had studied painting in France, working first under Thomas Couture, who taught Edouard Manet and led the most progressive atelier of the period. In the early 1850s he fell under the spell of Jean-François Millet, donned French peasant costume, and moved to Barbizon to be-



6. John William Hill, *Dead Blue Jay*, c. 1865, watercolor on paper, 14.6 x 30.5 (5 3/4 x 12)
The New-York Historical Society

come Millet's pupil. Indeed, Hunt was one of the first to appreciate Millet, purchasing his famous *Sower* (fig. 7) for a mere sixty dollars and persuading wealthy American friends to acquire the paintings that were rotting on the earthen floor of Millet's studio. Thanks to Hunt's proselytizing, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston now houses one of the world's largest collections of Millet's art.[18]

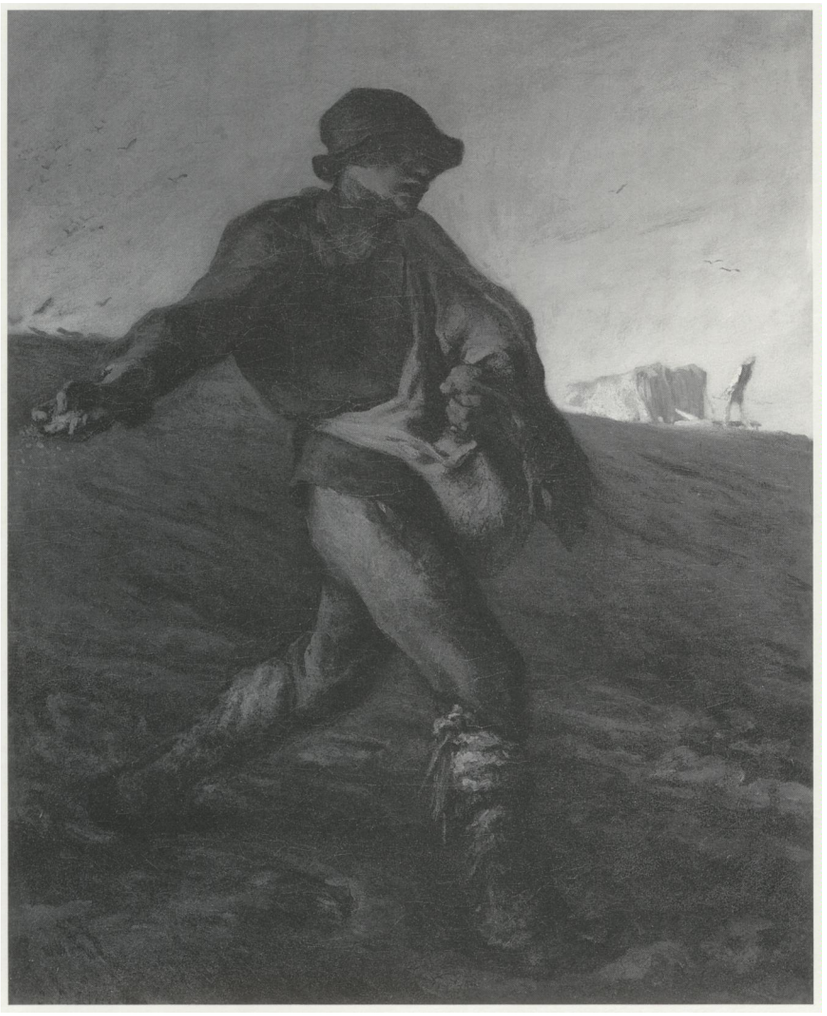
Hunt's own work, which combined features of both Couture and Millet, is characterized by great freedom of handling, broad masses of flat color, and a brownish tonality, although in his later years he often painted landscapes outdoors and grew increasingly sensitive to color and the treatment of light. Hunt's work was savaged regularly by Clarence Cook and other like-minded critics for its lack of finish, while Hunt in turn attacked the "niggling" detail that was popular among American painters. Hunt's statements about art proved to be of more lasting interest than his painting, for when his remarks were transcribed by one of his students, the little book that resulted, *Talks on Art*, became an international bestseller. It is still in print and had a significant influence on later generations of American artists, providing, for example, many of the ideas articulated later by Robert Henri in *The Art Spirit*.[19]

To understand the early reviews of Winslow Homer's work, it is necessary to remember that his paintings were evaluated in the context of the battle between the so-called Pre-Raphaelites and the advocates of French painting. Two comments recur in early writings about Homer—that he was true to nature, and that his work lacked finish. Homer's truth to nature strongly appealed to the art critics, nearly all of whom had a Ruskinian bias, but his "lack of finish" deeply troubled them. Their complaints about this lack of finish were essentially complaints that Homer had allied himself with the new progressive manner of French painting.[20]

Most of Homer's closest artist friends in Boston and New York were committed to the French principles of plein-air painting. J. Foxcroft Cole, whom Homer befriended when he was a young apprentice in Boston, fell under the influence of the Barbizon school and acted as an agent in France

7. Jean-François Millet, *The Sower*, 1850, oil on canvas, 101.0 x 82.6 (39 3/4 x 32 1/2)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy A. Shaw, Jr., and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton

8. Winslow Homer, *The Sower*, wood engraving
Scribner's Monthly, August 1878



for Seth Vose, the main dealer of the Barbizon painters in the United States. Homer traveled with Cole when he went to France in 1867, visiting some of the favorite haunts of the French painters.[21] In fact, according to John La Farge, Homer had studied and made copies of French lithographs by the Barbizon masters as early as the 1850s.[22] In New York, Homer apparently knew the painter Elihu Vedder, who was closely associated with Hunt; and he was a good friend of Homer Martin, who over the course of his career gradually shifted from the Hudson River school to the Barbizon style of painting.[23] Another of Homer's close friends was John La Farge, among Hunt's first pupils and one of the most sophisticated painters and intellects of his time.[24] Yet Homer had no close friends among the American Pre-Raphaelites or the somewhat older members of the Hudson River school.

Homer had opportunities to see Barbizon paintings in this period, for William Morris Hunt owned at least ten paintings by Millet and had worked assiduously to promote Millet's work—along with that of Corot, Daubigny, Diaz, and Théodore Rousseau—among Bostonian collectors. Homer borrowed heavily from Millet's *Sower* for an illustration of the life of the American farmer in *Scribner's Monthly* magazine (figs. 7 and 8).[25]

Homer could also have derived Barbizon themes through Hunt's own work, as is suggested by a comparison of Homer's *The Veteran in a New Field* and Hunt's *Man in Wheatfield*, both painted in 1865 (figs. 9 and 10). Homer's canvas is less broad and rough in execution than Hunt's, but even its relative lack of finish seemed daring at the time. In fact, a review of the works that Homer put up for sale to finance his trip to France singled out *The Veteran in a New Field* as an "admirable" painting, yet complained nonetheless that its execution was "hasty and slight" and that Homer would be a better artist "if he learns to finish his pictures."[26]

Homer was not simply a follower of Hunt and the new fad of progressive French painting. He was in several respects quite different. Most enthusiasts of the French Barbizon painting in America, such as

Hunt and La Farge, came from upper-class backgrounds, had traveled in Europe, and were college educated—perhaps the first group of American painters to be so. Homer, while his mother had some modest claims to social pretension, came from a poor family, never finished school, and had supported himself for years doing commercial art. He thus came to Barbizon painting from the standpoint of popular illustration. It is apparent in his paintings of the 1860s, however, that Homer had absorbed some of the key elements of Barbizon subject matter, with its emphasis on workers in the fields; and Barbizon paint handling, with its relatively bold brushwork and simplified areas of tone.

Homer's Trip to France

Any doubts about Homer's interest in Barbizon painting can be laid to rest by considering the works he made during his trip to France. He seems to have associated in France chiefly with American artists, such as Alfred Kelsey and J. Foxcroft Cole. The places he painted—Paris and the rural village of Cernay-la-Ville—were favorite American haunts. Paris by the 1860s had replaced Rome and Düsseldorf as the European training ground of choice for American artists, and a restaurant at 6 rue Michodière, "Pumpkin Pie Place," even specialized in a cuisine that supposedly appealed to Americans—baked beans, griddle cakes, and pumpkin pie.[27] Cernay-la-Ville, about forty miles from Paris in Picardy, nearly halfway to Chartres, was a favored location for sketching excursions, largely, it appears, because it had an inexpensive hotel whose proprietor was often willing to accept paintings as payment. Corot and Daubigny both worked there, and the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh owns two paintings of the village by the American artist Joseph Woodwell, executed only a year after Homer's visit.[28] Homer was purportedly taken to Cernay by J. Foxcroft Cole; and according to J. Alden Weir, who went to the village to paint some thirty years later, Homer left several paintings of farm workers on the panels of the inn, no doubt as a substitute for paying with cash.[29]

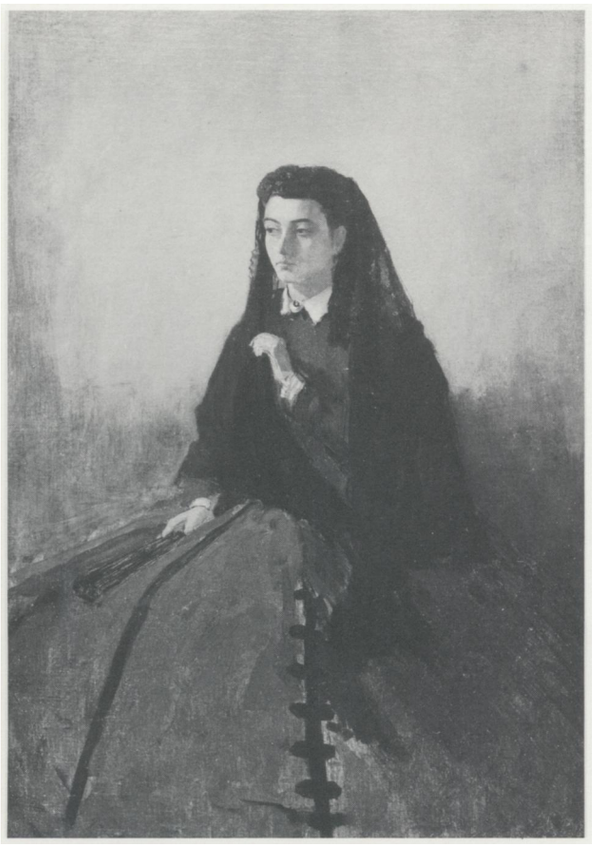
As it happens, Homer probably could not have seen the work of the impressionists in Paris, for in 1867 the jury was unusually conservative and systematically excluded the work of Courbet, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Bazille, Boudin, and Sisley, along with that of other young progressive artists. Manet and Courbet protested this exclusion by erecting pavilions at their own expense in which they staged one-man shows, which were generally ridiculed.[30] Homer may well have seen these displays. But the canvases of these artists, while containing broad brushwork and simplified tonal areas, were much larger in scale than Homer's productions of this period, were not particularly bright in palette, and were not painted outdoors. Paintings such as Manet's *Olympia*, although impressively modern, have little to do with Winslow Homer's impressionist works such as *Long Branch* (fig. 1). Short of going to Le Havre to visit Monet or to Montpellier to visit Bazille, which seems highly improbable, it is hard to see how Homer could have encountered works of plein air impressionism in France.[31] On the other hand, the 1867 Salon contained a virtual retrospective of Millet's work, and the paintings of the Barbizon painters were displayed in great numbers. Not surprisingly, the majority of Homer's French paintings were closely modeled on the achievement of Millet.

The Barbizon subject matter of the majority of Homer's French paintings is apparent even from their titles: *Girl with Pitchfork*, *Return of the Gleaner*, *Coming Through the Rye*, *A French Farm*, *French Farmyard*, *The Hayfield*, *Haymakers*, *Flowers of the Field*, *Lady in Field of Flowers*, *Woman Working in Field*, *Woman Cutting Hay*, *Peasants Working in Field*, and *Men Working in Field*. Only six paintings depict nonrural subjects: *Gargoyles of Notre Dame*, *A Paris Courtyard*, *The Nurse*, *Pauline*, and two very similar studies of *Cello Players*.[32]

The influence of William Morris Hunt's teacher Thomas Couture appears in Homer's Parisian paintings and the influence of Millet in his rural ones. Couture's influence is seen in such works as *Pauline*, a sketch Homer made of a vendor of per-

9. Winslow Homer, *The Veteran in a New Field*, 1865, oil on canvas, 61.3 x 96.8 (24 1/8 x 38 1/8)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Miss Adelaide Milton De Groot

10. William Morris Hunt, *Man in Wheatfield*, 1865, oil on millboard, 15.2 x 21.0 (6 x 8 1/4)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Elizabeth S. Gregerson



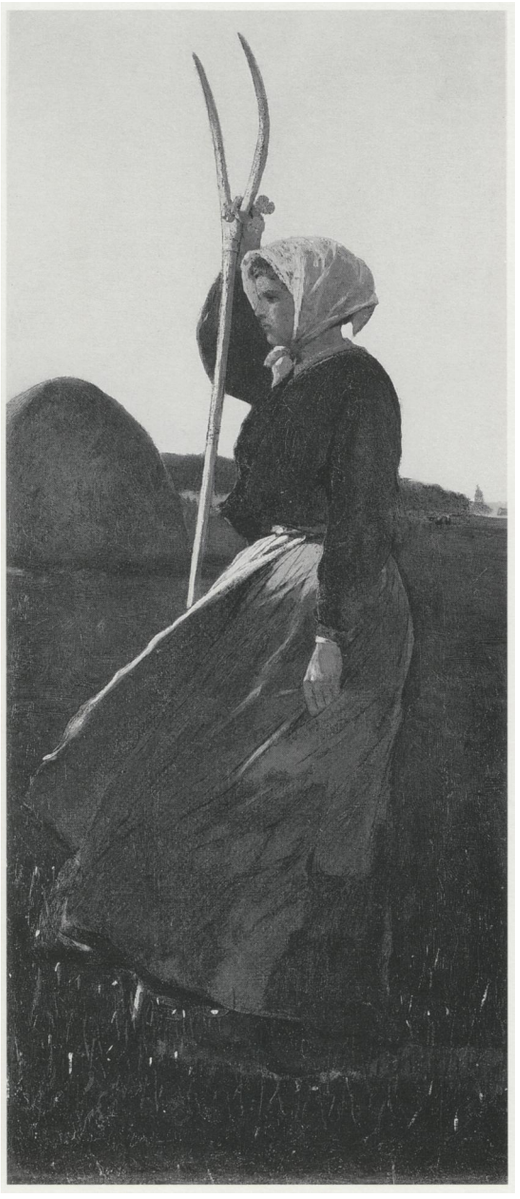
fumes and soap at the Universal Exposition (fig. 11).[33] Its format, with a vendor set against a flat wall, was explored more than once by Hunt—for example, in his *Violet Girl* (fig. 12) and *Hurdy Gurdy Boy*, executed in the 1850s and widely exhibited in both New York and Boston.[34] The handling of pigment also recalls the work of Hunt, and even more, that of Couture himself, who had devised a shorthand method of quickly building up a figure study over a toned ground with vigorously brushed outlines and broad areas of light and dark (fig. 13).[35] Millet's influence, on the other hand, stands out in Homer's rural studies.[36] *Girl with Pitchfork* (fig. 14), in its subject, coloration, and monumental treatment, brings to mind Millet's *Sower* (fig. 7), which Homer had apparently seen in Boston.[37]

Although Homer's French farm scenes directly imitate a French style of painting, they seem to have been chiefly derived from works that Homer had seen not in France but in the United States. An inter-

11. Winslow Homer, *Pauline*, 1867, oil on canvas, 55.9 x 38.1 (22 x 15)
Colby College Museum of Art, Waterville, Maine

12. William Morris Hunt, *The Violet Girl*, 1856, oil on canvas, 100.3 x 81.6 (39 1/2 x 32 1/8)
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence

13. Thomas Couture, *Portrait of a Woman*, c. 1875–1876, 41.0 x 31.8 (16 1/8 x 12 1/2)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux



14. Winslow Homer, *Girl with Pitchfork*, 1867, oil on canvas, 61.0 x 26.7 (24 x 10 1/2)
The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

esting case is the little panel *Flowers of the Field*, which shows a little girl against a green hill clutching some flowers (fig. 15). This once again recalls Millet's *The Sower* in its general conception, with a monumental figure before a high horizon. But it more specifically recalls a French-inspired painting by one of Homer's American friends, *Portrait of the Artist* (fig. 16) by John La Farge—a work that had already been imitated at least once by this date, in a somewhat clumsily conceived pastiche by the Boston artist Albion Bicknell.[38] La Farge's painting is closer to Homer's than is Millet's in many respects, including its size, its predominantly green coloration, and its inclusion of flowers.

In short, the work that Homer did in France does indeed reveal French influence, but that of the Barbizon school, particularly the work of Millet, rather than that of the impressionists, as Gardner claimed. What should we make, then, of the impressionist paintings Homer made in this period, both before and after his trip to France?

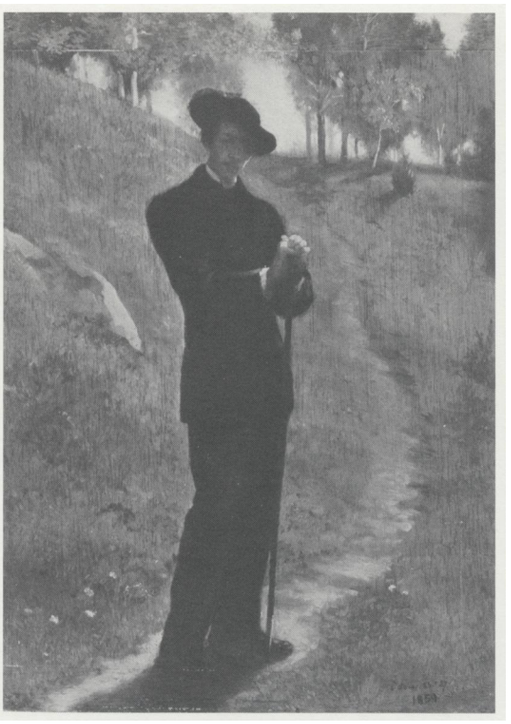
To some extent plein air impressionism was a logical outgrowth of Barbizon painting, and in fact most of the French impressionist painters began their careers making landscapes in the forest of Barbizon. Free brushwork, a direct response to nature, and even an interest in outdoor painting were all significant elements of Barbizon practice. In important respects, however, impressionism was a reaction against Barbizon painting, against its subdued tonalities and its somewhat repetitive subject matter.

Homer's impressionism, in fact, developed in the United States, and the work he did in France represented a brief regression to a more conservative and formulaic imitation of French Barbizon painting. Consequently, it must have been in the United States that Homer encountered the main influences that led him in the direction of impressionism. One influence was probably early French impressionist paintings, for, curiously enough, Homer was able to see French paintings in the United States more advanced than those he encountered in France. Another key influence was probably the artist John La Farge.

Impressionist Influences in the United States

Homer did have an opportunity to see a large group of French impressionist paintings in America the year before he went to France, for the year before Homer's departure the Paris firm of Cadart and Luget staged an exhibition of over a hundred French paintings that traveled to both New

15. Winslow Homer, *Flowers of the Field*, oil on canvas, 36.2 x 26.0 (14 1/4 x 10 1/4)
Private collection

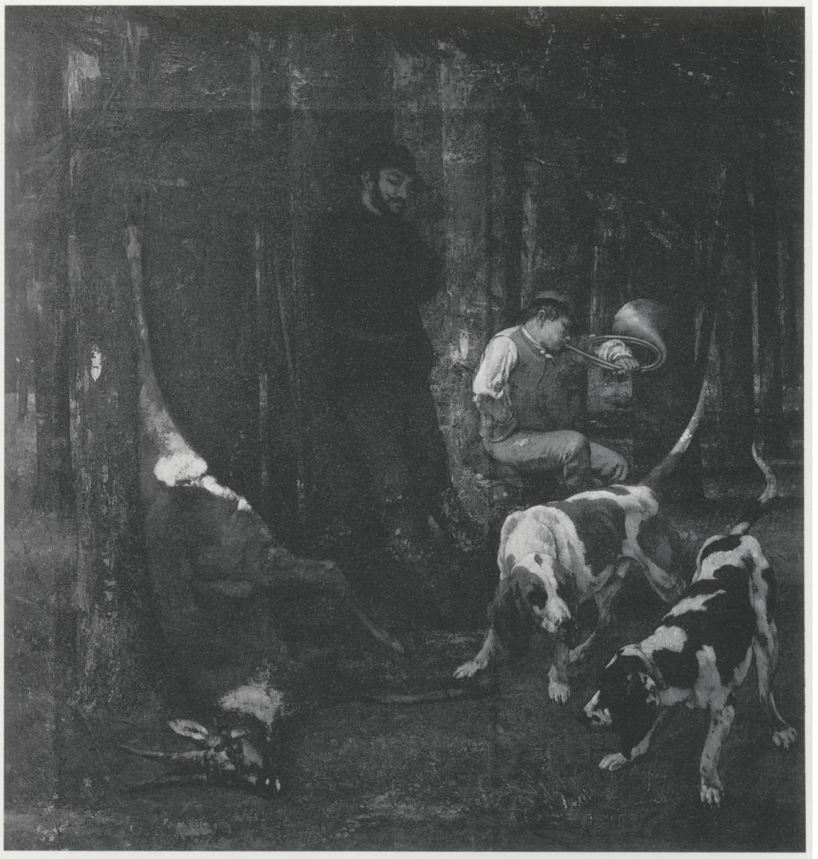


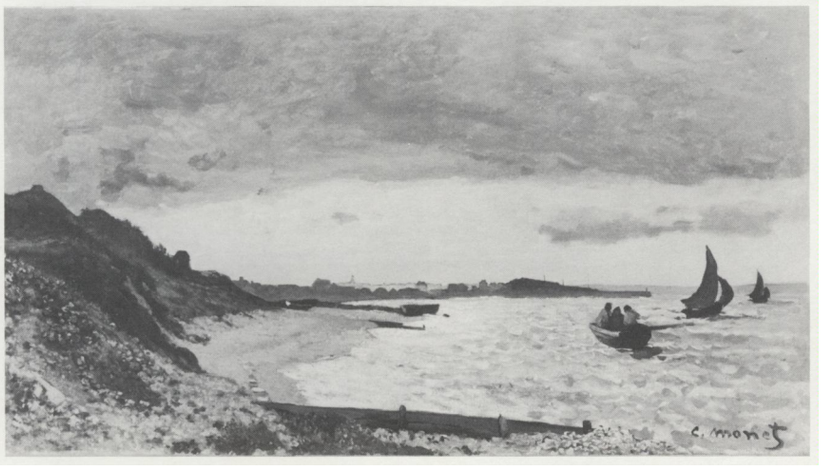
16. John La Farge, *Portrait of the Artist*, 1859, oil on panel, 40.6 x 29.2 (16 1/16 x 11 1/2)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel D. Lee Fund

17. Gustave Courbet, *La Curée*, c. 1856, oil on canvas, 210.8 x 180.3 (83 x 71)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund

York and Boston.[39] The most illustrious painting in this show was Courbet's *La Curée* (fig. 17), purchased with much fanfare by a band of Bostonian collectors and artists known as The Allston Club, which was dominated by William Morris Hunt and by Homer's friends Elihu Vedder and John La Farge. It was apparently the first painting by Courbet to be purchased in America.[40]

In addition, the show included a number of even more daring works of the sort that today are generally described as early examples of French impressionism or proto-impressionism. Along with paintings by Corot, Rousseau, Diaz, and other Barbizon masters, it contained two paintings by Johan Jongkind (a seascape and a scene of Holland), three paintings by Eugène Boudin (all views of Trouville; see fig. 18), and an early work by Claude Monet called in the catalogue *Bord de la Mer* (fig. 19). Throughout its tour the show attracted critical comment and interest, as well as sales, and its French organizers were so encouraged by its success that they quickly assembled another exhibition of 296 French paintings, which toured the United States





18. Eugène Boudin, *Beach at Trouville*, c. 1865, oil on panel, 18.4 x 34.9 (7 1/4 x 13 3/4) The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

19. Claude Monet, *View of the Coast of Le Havre*, c. 1864, oil on canvas, 40.0 x 73.0 (15 3/4 x 28 3/4) The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bennett

later the same year. In 1867 the Boston collector Henry C. Angell, a close friend of Hunt, and very likely an acquaintance of Homer as well, purchased a painting by Boudin from Cadart—one of the first Boudins sold at a public sale anywhere.[41]

Until 1866 the paintings by Homer that suggest French influence were related to the Barbizon school, in both color tonality and subject matter. Shortly after the Cadart show Homer made his first group of paintings that have been likened to French impressionism, the croquet scenes already mentioned, which are said to have been painted on the lawn of his uncle's home in Belmont, Massachusetts.[42] It seems likely that Homer had looked closely at the works by Boudin in the Cadart exhibition, which show a very similar representation of feminine fashions in an outdoor setting and which are quite close in size to Homer's paintings. Indeed, it is the work of Boudin, and not the better known impressionists, that seems to come closest in both subject matter and feeling to Homer's subsequent impressionist works. *Long Branch*, for example, is exactly analogous in subject matter to Boudin's Trouville beach scenes.[43]

Homer's contact with John La Farge may have been as significant to him at this time as his discovery of Boudin. Homer once described La Farge as the only painter with whom he enjoyed discussing art, while La Farge ranked Homer as the greatest American painter of his time and wrote a eulo-

20. Winslow Homer, *Peasants Working in a Field*, 1867, oil on wood, 15.2 x 45.7 (6 x 18)
Courtesy of Peter H. Davidson, Inc., New York

gistic obituary of him while on his own deathbed.[44] The three paintings by Homer that La Farge owned were all small studies painted in France in 1867 (see fig. 20).[45] They may well have been gifts from Homer, and they certainly suggest that the two artists saw much of each other around that date, when they worked in rooms close to each other in the Tenth Street Studio Building. La Farge seems to have introduced Homer to Japanese prints and encouraged him to explore the special challenges of plein air painting.

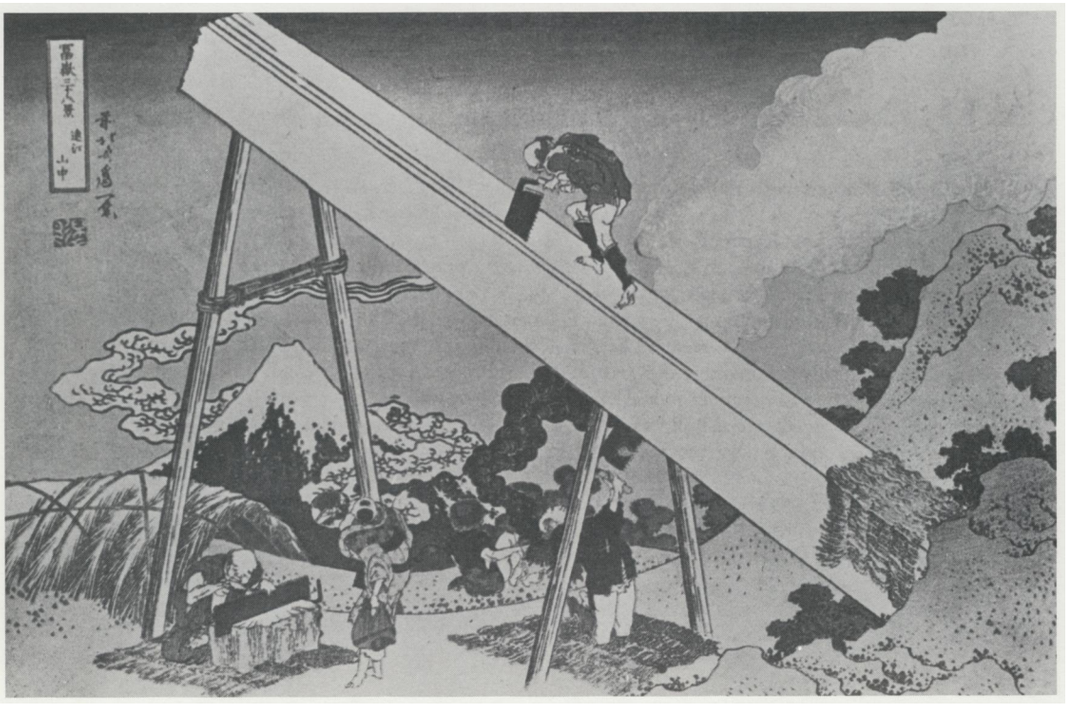
Homer and Japanese Prints

Many of Homer's paintings have characteristics in common with Japanese art. Writers have compared Homer's *The Morning Bell* with Katsushika Hokusai's *In the Mountains of Totomi Province;* his *Huntsman and Dogs* with Hokusai's *Mount Fuji in Clear Weather;* and his *Kissing the Moon* with Hokusai's *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* (figs. 21–26).[46] The paintings were done at widely spaced intervals in Homer's career, and none of the connections is so close as to establish indubitably Homer's dependence on a Japanese source. But taken as a group, the comparisons are persuasive, particularly as all of the prototypes are taken from Hokusai's *One Hundred Views of Fuji*, suggesting that Homer was familiar with this source specifically.

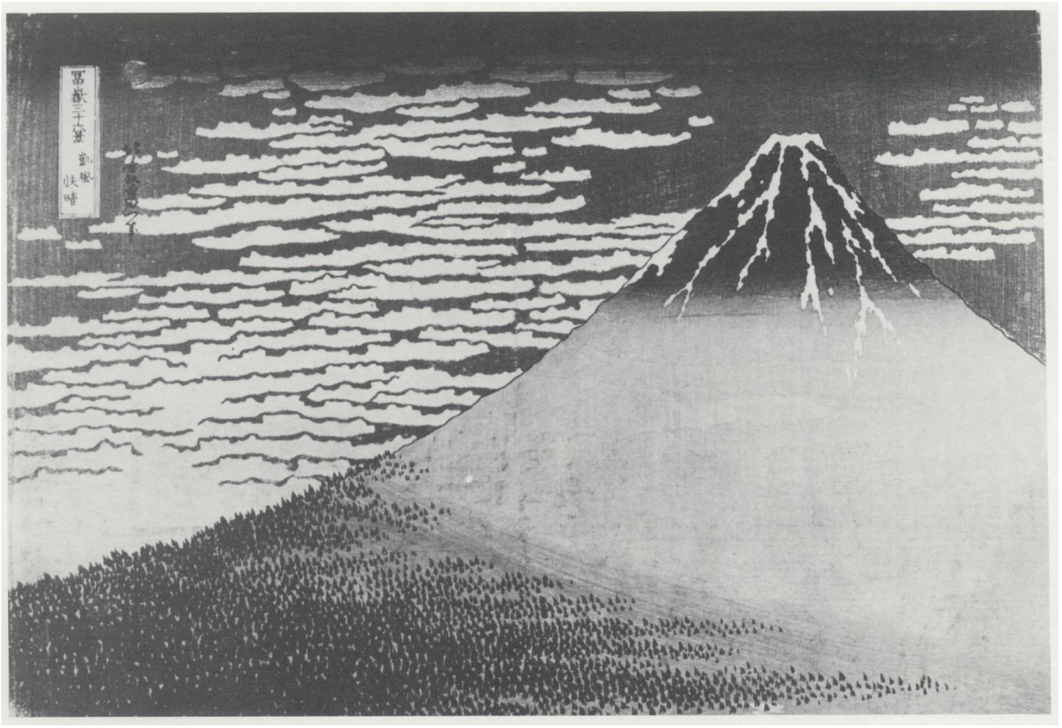
Homer's contemporaries commented on the affinity between his work and Japanese prints as early as 1868.[47] He undoubtedly was familiar with Japanese art by that time, for in that year he included a vignette borrowed from a Japanese actor print in an engraving for *Harper's Weekly* of "St. Valentine's Day."[48] Stylistic evidence suggests that he became aware of Japanese ideas even earlier.

The issue of Homer's discovery of Japanese art has given rise to many contradictory statements. Gardner maintained that Homer discovered Japanese prints at the Great Exposition in Paris.[49] John Walsh disputed this, maintaining that Japanese prints were not on view at the Exposition.[50] Technically, Walsh was correct, for Japanese prints were not displayed on the Exposition grounds. But an exhibition of Japanese prints sent by the Japanese government was displayed outside the Great Exposition, and by 1867 several stores in Paris were largely devoted to the sale of Japanese bric-a-brac.[51] In fact, 1867 seems to mark the time at which Japanese prints ceased to be an esoteric interest in Paris nurtured by a small group of connoisseurs and instead became *à la mode*. Articles on Japanese art began to appear in greater numbers, notably an important study by Ernest Chesneau; and French painters be-

21. Katsushika Hokusai, *In the Mountains of Totomi Province*, later 1820s, woodblock print
From Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*



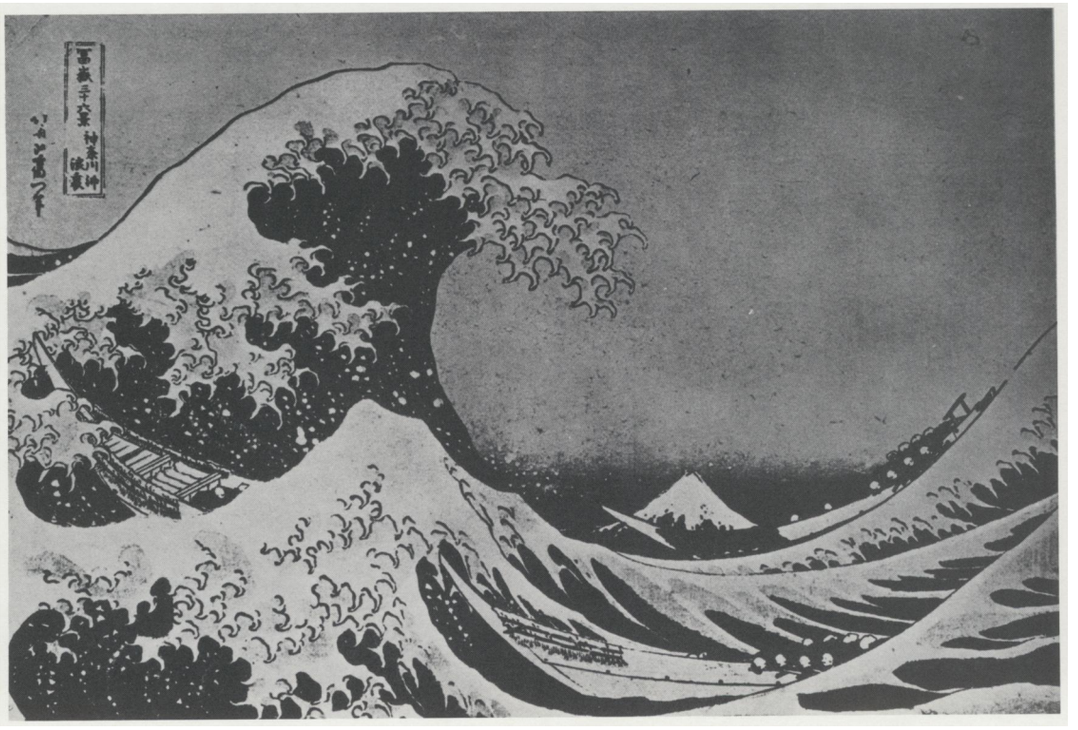
22. Winslow Homer, *The Morning Bell*, 1871–1872, oil on canvas, 61.0 x 97.2 (24 x 38 1/4)
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, Bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark



23. Katsushika Hokusai, *Mount Fuji in Clear Weather*, later 1820s, woodblock print
From Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Collection of Dr. and Mrs. James B. Austin

24. Winslow Homer, *Huntsman and Dogs*, 1891, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 121.9 (28 x 48)
Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Williams L. Elkins Collection

25. Katsushika Hokusai, *The Great Wave off Kanagawa*, later 1820s, woodblock print
From Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*



26. Winslow Homer, *Kissing the Moon*, 1904, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 101.6 (30 x 40)
Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

27. John La Farge, *Shipwrecked*, wood engraving
Illustration for Alfred, Lord Tennyson's poem *Enoch Arden* (Boston, 1864), facing p. 35

28. John La Farge, *Flowers on a Window Ledge*, c. 1861, oil on canvas, 61.0 x 50.8 (24 x 20)
The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Museum Purchase, Anna E. Clark Fund

gan to use Japanese motifs with greater frequency.[52]

Winslow Homer undoubtedly encountered Japanese prints in Paris. But Gardner was almost certainly wrong in maintaining that he discovered them there. In fact, Homer must have been introduced to Japanese prints before he left for France through his close friend John La Farge.

As has been documented in some detail in a group of recent articles, La Farge began collecting Japanese prints in 1856, as early as any of the French artists, and by the early 1860s owned very large numbers of prints, particularly works by Hokusai and Hiroshige. By 1864 he was making illustrations directly based on Japanese prints, some of which are entirely Japanese in style (fig. 27). La Farge's enthusiasm for Japanese art was not unique but was picked up by other members of Hunt's circle, for example, by Albion Bicknell, Edward Cabot, Elihu Vedder, and, of course, Hunt himself.[53] It seems reasonable to suppose that Homer learned of Japanese prints in America rather than in France, particularly as those qualities of design in his work that Gardner characterized as "Japanese" appear in his work before he visited Paris.[54]

Recent writers have often suggested that Japanese prints affected Homer's sense of design, but they have not considered the change in his sense of color.[55] John La Farge, in an important essay on Japanese art published in 1870, noted that one of the most striking aspects of Japanese prints was their use of clear, brilliant colors:

> *For the Japanese, no combinations of colors have been improbable. . . . Their colored prints are most charmingly sensitive to the coloring that makes up the appearance of different times of day, to the relations of color which mark the different seasons, so that their landscape efforts give us . . . the illuminated air of the scene of action. They use the local colors to enhance the sensation of the time, and the very colors of the costumes belong to the hour or the season of the landscape.*[56]

In 1867 the influential writer Russell Sturgis argued that American artists should turn their backs on the low color harmonies and overcast skies of French Barbizon painting and draw inspiration instead from the brilliant American light and the intense colors of Japanese prints: "Our American sky and sunshine are unmistakeable, and nature surrounds us with lovely colors. If our painters lose sight of these, and think that French pictures are better because soft and gray, or even that they are not much worse for their coldness, they might better have studied of the Japanese than of the French."[57] Sturgis, in essence, was arguing that American artists

should develop a kind of impressionism by disregarding the French and looking at Japanese prints. Homer seems to have followed this suggestion, and on several occasions in the 1870s American critics noted that Homer's use of color had a Japanese effect.

John La Farge and Plein Air Painting

Like Homer's interest in Japanese prints, his "impressionism" must also have been influenced by his contact with John La Farge. At this time La Farge was preoccupied with painting landscapes that often anticipated the work of the French impressionists in their sensitivity to the issues of outdoor color and light. La Farge began this direction as early as 1861, as is apparent from his *Flowers on a Window Ledge* (fig. 28), with its remarkable handling of reflected lights and colored shadow, its subtle differentiation between indoor and outdoor light, and its differing focus between details inside and out. His most ambitious impressionist work was *The Paradise Valley*, on which he worked intermittently from 1866 until 1869, painting outside at a particular time of day and attempting to model almost entirely without shadows but merely through transitions of color.

La Farge was not the only non-French artist at the time to move toward impressionism. Although the style's maturation and flowering have made it seem a uniquely French phenomenon, works similar to those of the early French impressionists had appeared periodically in the mid-nineteenth century in both Europe and the United States. The works of John Constable in England, Giovanni Fattori in Italy, and the young Adolph Menzel in Germany were often impressionist in character. In the mid-1860s several American artists, including not only Homer and La Farge but George Inness, Elihu Vedder, and even Worthington Whittredge, worked outdoors and executed paintings that are relatively bright in key.[58]

Thus, Homer could have picked up impressionist tendencies from many sources. But he was probably most influenced by John La Farge, both because he was closest to him personally and because La Farge was certainly the most progressive American painter in the impressionist style. Speaking of his brief exposure to the methods of Couture, La Farge recalled:

I noticed how Couture painted his landscapes as a form of curtain behind a study of the model, which in reality belonged to the studio in which it was a part, and, with the uncompromising veracity of youth, I could not understand the necessary compromises with the general truth of nature. Besides that, I was becoming more and more dissatisfied with the systems of painting which assumed some conventional way of modelling in tones that were arbitrary, and of using colour, after all, merely as a manner of decorating these systems of painted drawing. My youthful intolerance required the relations of colour for shadow and for light to be based on some scheme of colour-light that should allow oppositions and gradations representing the different directions and intensities of light in nature, and I already became much interested in the question of the effect of complementary colours.[59]

He later elaborated:

The closed light of the studio is more the same for every one, and for all day, and its problems, however important, are extremely narrow compared with those of out of doors. There I wished to apply principles of light and color of which I had learned a little. I wished by studies from nature to indicate something of this, to be free from recipes *as far as possible, and to indicate very carefully, in every part, the exact time of day and circumstances of light.*[60]

In one of the very few recorded early interviews with Winslow Homer, published by George Sheldon in 1881, Homer expressed very similar ideas, directly attacking academic studio painting (fig. 29), and arguing that artists should work out-of-doors:

I wouldn't go across the street to see a Bougereau. His pictures look false; he does not get the truth of that which he wishes to represent; his light is not out-door light; his works are waxy and artificial. They are extremely near being frauds. . . . I prefer every time a picture composed and painted outdoors. The thing is done without your knowing it. Very much of the work now done in studios should be done in the open air. This making studies and then taking them home to use them is only half

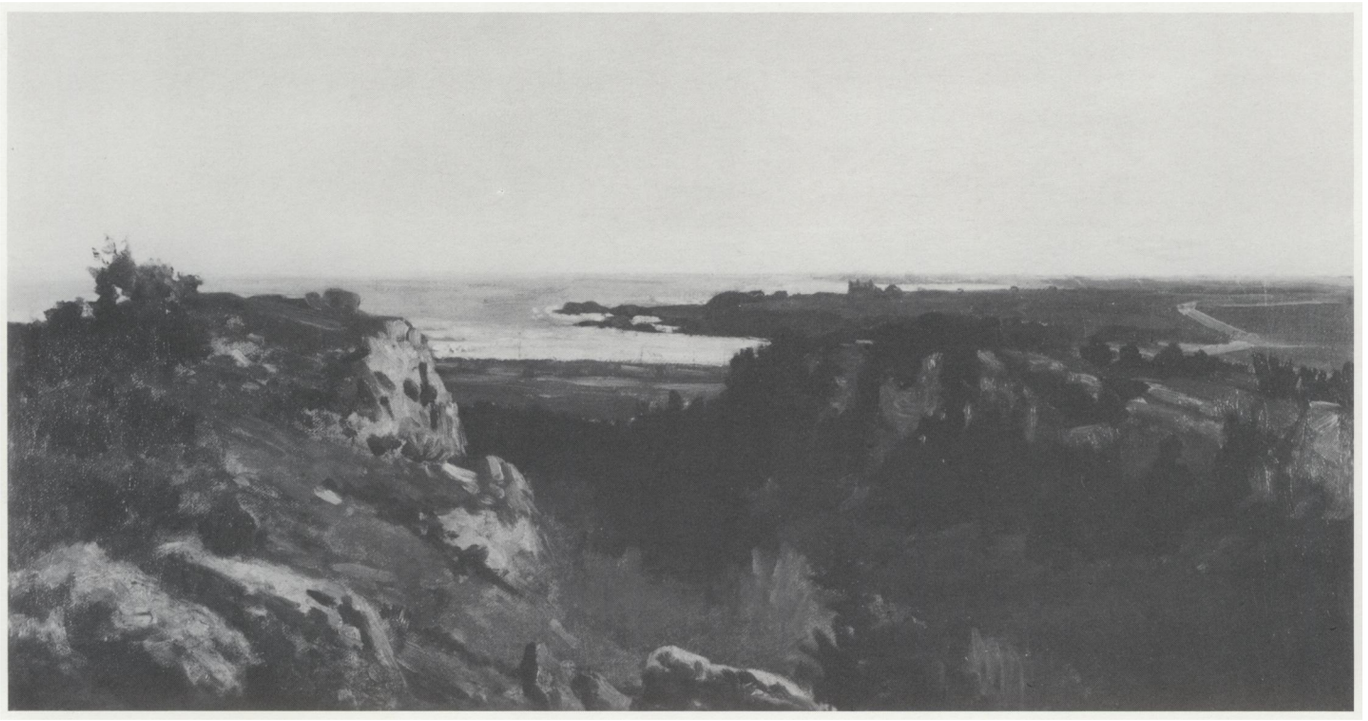
right. You get the composition, but you lose freshness; you miss the subtle, and, to the artist, the finer characteristics of the scene itself. I tell you it is impossible to paint an out-door figure in studio-light with any degree of certainty. Out-doors you have the sky overhead giving one light; then the reflected light from whatever reflects; then the direct light of the sun; so that, in the blending and suffusing of these different illuminations, there is no such thing as a line to be seen anywhere. I can tell in a second if an out-door picture with figures has been painted in a studio.[61]

La Farge and Homer sometimes painted together in the 1860s, and the attribution of at least one painting—a striking view of *Newport from Paradise Rocks, Looking South* (fig. 30)—has been variously assigned to both Homer and La Farge. The work bears a close relationship to works of the late 1860s by La Farge. One of his drawings (fig. 31) represents an almost identical view, and his well-known painting of *Bishop Berkeley's Rock* (fig. 32), made from nearly the same spot although looking in a different direction, is similar in its loose handling of the paint and in its coloration, with the unusual mix of orange and greenish tones. For several reasons, however, it seems likely that the painting is actually by Winslow Homer. It shows a mastery of dramatic design and a vigor of execution that are more characteristic of Homer than of La Farge. In addition, the circumstantial evidence is strong: it was traditionally attributed to Homer; it came from a distinguished Boston collection of Homer's work; and it was shown in a retrospective of Homer's paintings at the Carnegie Institute as early as 1911.[62] It once bore Homer's signature, although unfortunately this was removed in a recent cleaning. In any case, whichever of the two artists created the painting, this confusion between their work illustrates the close connection that existed between them in the 1860s.[63]

29. William Bouguereau, *Nymphs and Satyr,* 1873, oil on canvas, 260.0 x 180.0 (102 3/8 x 70 7/8)
Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts

Conclusion

In summary, Winslow Homer's relationship to French painting, Japanese prints, and impressionist ideas was more complex than Albert Ten Eyck Gardner supposed. First, one must distinguish between two intertwined currents in Homer's work of the 1860s, a Barbizon and an impressionist tendency. Perhaps the major influence on Homer in this period was the work of the French Barbizon painters, to whom he was introduced through William Morris Hunt's circle in Boston and through his 1867 trip to France. The paintings Homer made in France are particularly closely modeled on those of the Barbizon masters. The influ-



30. Attributed to Winslow Homer, *Newport from Paradise Rocks, Looking South*, c. 1867, oil on canvas, 30.5 x 50.8 (12 x 20)
Private collection, New York

ence of the Barbizon painters was of enduring value, for through their example Homer learned to eschew details and concentrate on fundamentals. Moreover, in their work he first discovered the subject of man against nature that would occupy him for the final half of his career, a theme he eventually transposed from the French farmyard to the open sea and the American wilderness.

Homer's impressionism, by contrast, was chiefly encouraged not by his trip to France but by influences found in the United States, especially Japanese prints and the impressionist work of John La Farge. Homer's impressionist period was brief, but like his Barbizon phase, its significance was lasting, for he continued to hold certain impressionist ideas throughout his career. Although his later work grew more subdued in color, many of his major late paintings were painted out-of-doors and one of their most notable features is their remarkable sensitivity to the most fugitive and fleeting effects of the weather and of the light.[64]

Paintings such as *Long Branch* represent an all too brief episode in Homer's career, when he painted with a colorfulness and freshness that he otherwise achieved only in watercolor. He put behind him the literal-minded accumulation of detail found in the work of academic painters, the American Pre-Raphaelites, and most of his American contemporaries. He reduced each scene to its expressive essentials and presented the figures and activities in their natural envelope of light and air. These paintings show Homer's remarkable synthesis of French ideas and those of his close friend John La Farge, to produce effects that go beyond his immediate models and rival the works of the most advanced European painters.

Albert Ten Eyck Gardner was wrong about how Homer encountered progressive French painting and what he learned from it, but he was correct in recognizing its fundamental importance to Homer's work. As the painter William Glackens perceptively observed in an interview he gave at the time of the Armory Show, Winslow

Homer was "never good, never the power that he became, until he got under the influence of France."[65]

CHECKLIST OF THE PAINTINGS HOMER MADE IN FRANCE, 1867

Compiled by Lloyd Goodrich

THE 'CELLO PLAYER'
Canvas, 19 × 13. Signed: "Paris 67/Winslow Homer." Inscribed on back, not in Homer's hand: "In the Old University Tower/New York/By Winslow Homer." Baltimore Museum of Art. Acquired from Homer by Charles de Kay, friend of Homer, who occupied Homer's room in the tower of the New York University Building on Washington Square after Homer left for Paris.

MUSICAL AMATEURS OR AMATEUR MUSICIANS
Canvas, 18 × 15. Signed: "Winslow Homer N.A./67." The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The cello player is identical with the one in the preceding. In the Paris painting the room has a big window with Gothic frame and a view of another building outside; in *Musical Amateurs* no window is visible; just a wall, light from the upper left, some canvases propped up.

The chronological sequence of these two paintings is unknown. Also whether *Musical Amateurs* was painted in Paris or New York.

COMING THROUGH THE RYE
Canvas, 17 × 12. Signed: "Homer/Paris 1867." Private collection.

A FRENCH FARM
Wood, 11 × 18. Signed: "Homer 18[??]" (last two numbers illegible). Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Champaign. Inscribed on back, probably not in Homer's hand: "Cernay la Ville. French Farm. Winslow Homer." Probably National Academy of Design, 43rd Annual Exhibition, 1868, #71, "Picardie, France."

FRENCH FARMYARD
Wood, 18 1/8 × 14 1/4. Not signed or dated. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.

FLOWERS OF THE FIELD
Canvas, 14 1/4 × 10 1/4. Signed: "H." Not dated. David S. Ramus, Ltd., Atlanta, Ga. (1982).

GARGOYLES OF NOTRE DAME
Canvas, 19 × 13. Signed: "Homer/1867." Private collection.

GIRL WITH PITCHFORK
Canvas, 24 × 10 1/2. Signed: "W. H./1867." The Phillips Collection, Washington.

31. John La Farge, *Paradise Rocks, Newport, Looking South*, 1865, pencil on paper, 14.6 x 20.2 (5 3/4 x 7 15/16)
Avery Library, Columbia University

THE GLEANERS OR PEASANTS WORKING IN FIELD
Wood, 6 × 18. Signed: "H 67." American Art Galleries, The John La Farge Collection, 30 March 1911, #657, "Peasants Working in Field." Peter H. Davidson & Co., Inc., New York (1986).

THE HAY FIELD
Canvas, 9 7/8 × 16 3/4. Signed: "Winslow Homer 67." Private collection.

HAYMAKERS
Canvas, 13 × 18 1/4. Signed: "Winslow Homer." Not dated. Mrs. Donald S. Stralem, New York (1978).

LADY IN FIELD OF FLOWERS
Canvas, 18 × 12. Signed: "Homer." Not dated. Davenport Municipal Art Gallery, Iowa.

MEN WORKING IN FIELD
Wood, 4 1/2 × 4 7/8. Signed: "H." Not dated. American Art Galleries, The John La Farge Collection, 30 March 1911, #619. "Men Working in a Field. Study. Painted on wood. Signed lower right corner, 'H.' Height 4 1/2 in.; width 4 7/8 in." Not illustrated. Purchased by Mr. E. B. Child, $30. Present ownership unknown.

32. John La Farge, *Bishop Berkeley's Rock, Newport*, 1868, oil on canvas, 76.8 x 64.1 (30 1/4 x 25 1/4)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.

THE NURSE
Wood, 19 × 11. Signed: "Homer/1867." Mrs. Norman B. Woolworth, New York (1973).

A PARIS COURTYARD
Canvas, 17 × 11 7/8. Signed: "Homer/Paris 67." Randolph Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.

PAULINE
Canvas, 21 7/8 × 11 7/8. Not signed or dated. Colby College Museum, Waterville, Me. Inscribed on back, not in Homer's hand: "Unfinished sketch of a woman 'Pauline' done in Paris for AWK[?] in 1867 by Winslow Homer. She sold perfumes and soap at the Exhibition." [The Exposition Universelle, Paris, in which Homer had two paintings. "AWK" was his friend Albert Warren Kelsey, from Belmont, Mass., with whom he shared a studio in Montmartre.]

RETURN OF THE GLEANER
Canvas, 24 × 18 1/4. Signed: "Winslow Homer/1867." The Strong Museum, Rochester, N.Y.

WOMEN WORKING IN FIELD
Wood, 6 3/4 × 12 3/4. Signed: "H 67." American Art Galleries, The John La Farge Collection, 30 March 1911, #623.

WOMAN CUTTING HAY
Canvas mounted on composition board, 9 × 12. Signed: "Homer 1867." Charles and Emma Frye Art Museum, Seattle, Washington.

NOTES

1. The term "impressionism" has been used to describe progressive French artists of widely differing approaches. To avoid the confusion, I will employ it here in a specific and limited sense, to refer solely to impressionist *plein air* landscape painting, especially as seen in the work of Claude Monet. In fact, Monet's style of the mid-1860s possesses particular analogies with the work of Homer. More specifically, I am thinking of Monet's *Women in a Garden* of 1866-1867 (Louvre, Paris), with its broad, patchy areas of color, as opposed to his shimmering, insubstantial *Boulevard des Capucines* of 1873–1874 (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City). Monet's mature impressionist style goes beyond anything ever attempted by Homer. My subject, in short, is the relation of Winslow Homer's work to a specific episode in French landscape art. See *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886* [exh. cat., Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and National Gallery of Art, Washington] (San Francisco, 1986), for broader treatment of impressionism.

2. Homer painted *Man with a Scythe* (Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution) about 1869 as the basis for an illustration in *Appleton's Journal* of 7 August 1869.

3. Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer* (New York, 1944), 38, noted of Homer that: "His early work showed many curious parallels to the early work of the French impressionists, especially Claude Monet, and to their precursor, Eugène Boudin." Goodrich cited Homer's *The Bridle Path* of 1868 (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown), *Long Branch* of 1869 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and *High Tide* of 1870 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), as impressionistic works. Barbara Novak in *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1969), 165–174, discussed at length the impressionist qualities of these same three works, as well as of *Croquet Scene*, 1866 (The Art Institute of Chicago), and *Croquet Match*, 1868–1869 (private collection). In the discussion that follows, I use "impressionism" to refer specifically to this small group of Homer's pictures, rather than to the many other works by Homer, distributed throughout his later career, which present occasional analogies with French impressionism but in which the impressionistic qualities are not the most fundamental or striking qualities of the work.

4. The dates of Homer's sailing are provided in Gordon Hendricks, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer* (New York, 1979), 73, 76.

5. "A Parisian Ball—Dancing at the Mabille, Paris," "A Parisian Ball—Dancing at the Casino," and "Art Students and Copyists in the Louvre Gallery, Paris," in *Harper's Weekly*, 23 November 1867 and 11 January 1868. Homer also drew an illustration of his return voyage, "Homeward Bound," which appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, 21 December 1867. All are reproduced in Philip C. Beam, *Winslow Homer's Magazine Engravings* (New York, 1979), 149, 150, 155. To my knowledge no scholar has noted that Homer included a self-portrait in *Dancing at the Casino*. He is the short man with his arm raised in astonishment just to the left of the dancers.

6. Augustus Stonehouse noted that Homer failed to profit from this opportunity to learn about French painting and concluded that, "it is just this slowness to take suggestions that has made Mr. Homer, with all his limitations, the refreshing, the original artist he is." See his "Winslow Homer, "*Art Review* 1, no. 4 (February 1887), 12–13. Similarly, Homer's first biographer, William Howe Downes, wrote that Homer "did no studying and no serious work of any kind worth mentioning while he was in Paris, and it is probable that he devoted most of his time to sightseeing and recreation." See Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer* (Boston, 1911), 59. Lloyd Goodrich declared that "the influence of this trip on his art was not great." Goodrich 1944, 40.

7. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, *Winslow Homer: A Retrospective Exhibition* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art] (Washington, 1958), 28; reprinted in [exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts] (Boston, 1959), 30; and in an expanded and slightly altered form in *Winslow Homer, American Artist: His World and His Work* (New York, 1961).

8. Gardner 1961, 90.

9. Yvon Bizardel, *American Painters in Paris* (New York, 1960), 168. This is a virtual paraphrase of Gardner in 1958, 43; 1959, 38; 1961, 106: "Perhaps he was at his most Yankee when he chose to keep his mouth shut on the subject of the discoveries he made on his trip to Paris." Goodrich wrote a highly critical review of Gardner's book in *The New York Times Book Review*, 26 November 1961, 7, in which he characterized Gardner's argument as "a highly debatable thesis," and commented that "in this book, a surmise on one page has a way of turning into a certitude on another."

10. Lloyd Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 1:28.

11. David Park Curry, *Winslow Homer, The Croquet Game* [exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery] (New Haven, Conn., 1984), discusses the dating and sequence of Homer's paintings of croquet. The comparison with Monet's *Women in a Garden*, made by both Novak and Wilmerding, is misleading (Novak 1969, 167–169 and John Wilmerding, *Winslow Homer* (New York, 1972), 48, 64–65). The works look similar in photographs but are vastly different in scale. Homer's is less than a foot high while Monet's is over six feet high—so tall that he had to dig a hole in his garden in which to sink the canvas in order to work on the upper section.

12. As noted by John J. Walsh, Jr., "Winslow Homer, Early Work and the Japanese Print." (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1965), 17–18.

13. The emotional appeal of Gardner's thesis may also explain why scholars have clung to it despite the lack of solid evidence and may make comprehensible the curious ambivalence with which scholars

have asserted Homer's relationship to the French impressionists while insisting on his uniquely American qualities. A few writers have wholeheartedly endorsed Gardner's ideas. Stuart Feld wrote of Homer's *Croquet Match* (private collection) of c. 1868/1869: "The painting is an effective synthesis of the important lessons Homer had learned from Japanese prints and from the work of the French Impressionists, both of which he had ample opportunity to study during his ten-month visit to France in 1866." *American Genre Painting in the Victorian Era: Winslow Homer, Eastman Johnson and Their Contemporaries* [exh. cat., Hirschl and Adler Galleries] (New York, 1978). Most writers, however, have been less definite. Novak affirmed Goodrich's conclusion that Homer's French trip did not have much influence on his work, and then, a page later, cited several impressionist paintings that "obviously related to the French adventure" (Novak 1969, 173). Wilmerding concluded his discussion of the influence of Homer's trip to France with the somewhat ambiguous statement that "touches of Monet and Boudin continue to surface, whether consciously or unconsciously, throughout Homer's subsequent career" (Wilmerding 1972, 51). Both Novak and Wilmerding, the leading scholars to adopt Gardner's ideas, have significantly altered his thesis. Gardner aggressively maintained that the influence of impressionism and Japanese prints on Homer was fundamental and shaped the entire course of his artistic production. Although he gave few examples to illustrate these influences, those he mentioned were for the most part from the latter half of Homer's career. Novak and Wilmerding, on the other hand, have argued that the influence of impressionism and Japanese prints occurred at a specific moment in Homer's development, shortly after his trip to France, and that this influence was for the most part dissipated fairly soon. They have concentrated on a half dozen paintings dating from the mid-1860s to the early 1870s—those listed in note 3. Gardner alluded in passing to Manet and Courbet, two precursors of mature impressionism, but never specifically referred to the "plein air" impressionism of such figures as Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Pissarro. Novak and Wilmerding, on the other hand, have likened Homer's work to the early impressionism of Boudin and Monet.

14. A somewhat outdated but still useful account of this group is David Howard Dickason, *The Daring Young Men: The Story of the American Pre-Raphaelites* (Bloomington, Ind., 1953). A more scholarly treatment is provided in Linda S. Ferber and William H. Gerdts, *The New Path* [exh. cat., The Brooklyn Museum] (New York, 1985). The differences between the English Pre-Raphaelites and their American followers have perhaps not been sufficiently stressed. John La Farge maintained friendly contact with several of the English Pre-Raphaelites, such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, but was opposed to the sort of finicky detail favored by the American Pre-Raphaelites and was regularly attacked by their supporter, Clarence Cook.

15. Thomas Charles Farrer, "A Few Questions Answered," *The New Path* 1 (June 1863), 14.

16. Cook deserves more serious study. For a brief biography, see Dickason, 1953, 87–91. Fuller documentation is provided in John P. Simoni, "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1952).

17. For an introduction to Hunt's work, see Martha J. Hoppin and Henry Adams, *William Morris Hunt: A Memorial Exhibition* [exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts] (Boston, 1979); and Martha Hoppin, "William Morris Hunt and his Critics," *American Art Review* 2 (September–October 1975), 79–91. Thanks to Hunt, advocacy of the Barbizon school was particularly fervent in Boston, but Barbizon paintings were also widely exhibited and collected in New York. Henry Ward Beecher owned Barbizon paintings in New York in the 1860s; George Ward Nichol sold them at Crayon Gallery; they are frequently mentioned in newspaper reviews.

18. For an excellent account of collecting in Boston, see Alexandra R. Murphy, "French Paintings in Boston: 1800–1900," in Anne L. Poulet and Alexandra R. Murphy, *Corot to Braque* [exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts] (Boston, 1979).

19. Hoppin and Adams 1979, 22; William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca, New York, 1969), 182.

20. "Fine Arts," *The Nation*, 15 November 1866, 395–396, declared of three oil paintings exhibited by Homer: "They are all three very sketchy, rapidly painted in the 'broadest' manner, and we are sorry to see Mr. Homer's work *always* so slap-dash. . . . These pictures, it should be remembered, are slight and unfinished studies in oil color; it is, as we have hinted, of questionable propriety to exhibit them as for sale." By contrast, George Sheldon, in "American Painters: Winslow Homer and F. A. Bridgman," *Art Journal* (August 1878), 227, maintains: "Many of his [Homer's] finished works have somewhat of the charm of open-air sketches—were, indeed, painted out-doors in the sunlight, in the immediate presence of Nature." Henry James, who had studied painting with Hunt and was a close friend of John La Farge, prefigured a general shift in American taste when he wrote favorably of Homer's generalized execution but criticized the realism of his subject matter. In "On Some Pictures Lately Exhibited," *The Galaxy* 20 (July 1875), 93, James wrote: "Mr. Homer has the great merit, moreover, that he naturally sees everything at one with its envelope of light and air. He sees not in lines, but in masses, in gross, broad masses."

21. Goodrich 1944, 6; Henricks 1979, 27–28, 40, 73, 207, 302; Peter Bermingham, *American Art in the Barbizon Mood* [exh. cat., National Collection of Fine Arts] (Washington, D.C., 1975), 129; David Sellin, *Americans in Brittany and Normandy, 1860–1910* [exh. cat., Phoenix Art Museum] (Phoenix, 1982), 7; Frederick Vinton, *Memorial Exhibition of Joseph Foxcroft Cole (1837–1892)* [exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts] (Boston, 1893).

22. In *The Higher Life in Art* (New York, 1908), 172–173, La Farge declared that in the 1850s, "not being able to see the originals, he [Homer] drew from the

French lithographs we had here, which were almost entirely devoted to the reproduction of the work of these men. At that time we had but very few examples in the country, exceedingly few, perhaps it might be said none, of Corot, none of Rousseau. By chance there happened to be a few Millets. The foundation then in great part of such an independent talent—I might say more than talent, of such a genius as Mr. Winslow Homer's—refers back then to this school and to the teachings, the inevitable teachings, even from studying them in translations. On that . . . is built a form of painting as absolutely different as it could possibly be; a thoroughly American system of painting, a representation of American light and air, of everything that makes the distinction; even the moral fibre and character of New England being depicted all through the picture, whether it be the rocks and the sea, or the men who hang about them."

23. Homer's friendship with Martin is documented by Goodrich 1944, 24–25; a connection with Vedder has been suggested by Sellin 1982, 6–7. Vedder, La Farge, and Homer are said to have painted together in Newport around 1865, as has been discussed by James Yarnall, "The Role of Landscape in the Art of John La Farge" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1981), 189.

24. Goodrich 1944, 24–25, 36; Philip C. Beam, *Winslow Homer at Prout's Neck* (Boston, 1966), 97, 108, 162, 191, 205.

25. Homer's illustration is discussed in Henry Adams et al., *American Drawings and Watercolors in the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute* [exh. cat., Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute] (Pittsburgh, 1985), 54. Hunt's collection of Millet was also disseminated through copies made by La Farge, Vedder, and other pupils. See Ortgies and Co., New York, *Important Collection of Oil and Water Color Paintings, by John La Farge of This City*, 17 April 1884, 20, no. 65; Elihu Vedder, *The Digressions of V.* (Boston and New York, 1910), 261–262, ill. 261.

26. *The Nation*, 15 November 1866, 395.

27. Lois Fink, "American Artists in France, 1850–1870," *American Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (November 1973): 34.

28. *Cernay-La-Ville, No. 1*, and *Cernay-La-Ville, No. 2*, both dated 1868, left to the museum in 1959 by the artist's daughter, Johanna K. Hailman. For Woodwell, see Nancy Colvin, "Scalp Level Artists," *Carnegie Magazine* (September–October 1984), 14–20.

29. Sellin 1982, 7; Goodrich 1944, 39. Homer's visit to Cernay was mentioned in a letter from Mahonri Young (J. Alden Weir's son-in-law) to Maynard Walker, 1 October 1937, a transcript of which was provided to me by Lloyd Goodrich: "J. Alden Weir told me that at one time, when he was a student in Paris (sometime in the late '70s), he made a visit to Cernay-la-ville, where many Barbizon artists painted. In 1902 I visited Cernay-la-ville with my friend, Lee Green Richards, and stopped at the hotel there. The hotel had been and still was a rendezvous of artists, but we were too late to enjoy the pictures which had been, previously, on the panels of the doors and on the furniture, and disposed generally around the hotel. Corot, Daubigny, and many other men had painted there, and there had been pictures of theirs on the walls and panels of the doors, etc. I mentioned to Alden Weir that I had been to Cernay-la-ville, and he told me about some of the pictures that had been there. In particular he mentioned that on one of the panels (he didn't say whether on furniture or on the doors) there was a study of people working in a grain field which Winslow Homer had painted there on his visit to Paris in 1867. He said that even then Winslow Homer was already the Winslow Homer we know." Young suggested that the painting Weir saw was the one described in note 46, which once belonged to John La Farge and is now with Peter Davidson in New York. It seems likely, however, that Weir saw a different painting.

30. John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism*, 4th rev. ed. (New York, 1973), 168–171. Of the progressive artists, only Degas, Morisot, Whistler, and Fantin-Latour were successful with the jury.

31. Walsh 1965, 19–22, proposed that Homer might have visited Bazille, but there is no evidence to support this conjecture.

32. Wilmerding 1972, 50, proposed that *Gargoyles of Notre Dame* was based on a photograph by Charles Nègre, but this suggestion has been rightly questioned by Nicolai Cikovsky in "Winslow Homer's Prisoners from the Front," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 12 (1977), no. 45, 166–167. *Cello Players* has often been compared with the work of Degas. "Degas and Homer," *The Fine Arts* 18 (April 1932), 33; Martha Davidson, "Two Centuries of American Paintings," *The Art News*, 5 December 1936, 16; Wilmerding 1972, 51, 82. Degas, however, does not seem to have begun painting musicians until 1868–1869, so it is unlikely that he directly influenced these works.

33. Hendricks 1979, 74.

34. *The Violet Girl* was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1857; *The Hurdy Gurdy Boy* was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1852, 1854, 1856, 1858, and 1859, and at the National Academy of Design in 1857. For *The Violet Girl*, see Hoppin and Adams 1979, 60; for *The Hurdy Gurdy Boy*, see Martha J. Hoppin, "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of his Work" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1974), 34 and 290, no. 125.

35. For Couture's methods, see Albert Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven, 1980); Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting* (London, 1971), 65–78; Alain de Leiris, "Thomas Couture, The Painter," in *Thomas Couture, Paintings and Drawings in American Collections* [exh. cat., University of Maryland Art Gallery] (College Park, Maryland, 1970), 14–15; Anne Coffin Hanson, "Traditional Picture Construction," in *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven, 1977), 143–154; Thomas Couture, *Conversations on Art Methods* (*Méthode et entretiens d'atelier*), trans. S. E. Steward (New York, 1879), 6–9, 143–148; Helen Knowlton, *Art-Life of William Morris Hunt* (Boston, 1899), 9–10.

36. I do not mean, of course, to imply that Homer was exclusively influenced by Millet, for some of his rural works bring to mind other French painters of rural subjects. For example, as John Wilmerding has pointed out, Homer's *A French Farm* (Krannert Art Museum, Champaign, Ill.) belongs to the same general type as Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot's *Church at Lormes* (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford) painted some twenty years earlier. Wilmerding 1972, 77.

37. Sellin 1982, 7, asserts that *Girl with Pitchfork* was painted in America, but he has told me in conversation that he now believes it was painted in France. The girl's costume and *sabots* seem clear evidence that the subject is French.

38. Henry Adams, "A Fish by John La Farge," *The Art Bulletin* (June 1980), 273. Bicknell's painting was also influenced by Ary Scheffer's *Dante and Beatrice*, then owned by C. C. Perkins of Boston. See Murphy 1979, xxviii.

39. Lois Fink first noted the importance of the Cadart and Luget exhibition and its probable influence on Homer. See her "French Art in the United States, 1850–1870: Three Dealers and Collectors," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (September 1978), 90.

40. Jean Gordon, "The Fine Arts in Boston" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1965), 253.

41. Murphy 1979, xii. Angell wrote an informative memoir of Hunt, *Records of William Morris Hunt* (Boston, 1881).

42. "The William Flagg Homer House—661 Pleasant Street," *Belmont Citizen*, 29 March 1973. Henry Bloch of Kansas City recently purchased a painting of croquet by Manet that bears a remarkable resemblance to those by Homer and is similar in scale. It seems most unlikely that either artist was familiar with the other's work, but Robert Rosenblum has made the ingenious suggestion that Manet saw Homer's *Prisoners from the Front* of 1866, which was exhibited in Paris in 1867, and that it served as a source for his *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian* of 1868. See Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, *19th-Century Art* (New York, 1984), 285–287.

43. Lloyd Goodrich (see note 1) perceived the similarity between Homer's work and that of Boudin, though without citing the Cadart and Luget exhibition.

44. Philip C. Beam, *Winslow Homer at Prout's Neck* (Boston, 1966), 162. La Farge wrote three appreciations of Homer: "Speech at the Annual Banquet, American Institute of Architects, January, 1905," *American Architect and Building News*, 87, 28 January 1905, 28–29; the passage cited in note 22 (La Farge 1908); and a letter/obituary printed after his death by Gustav Kobbé, "John La Farge and Winslow Homer," *New York Herald*, 4 December 1910. In the 1905 address, La Farge described Homer as "a great American painter, as great as any in the world." Comparing Homer to "the French artist who scraped on the bones of the cave bear," he declared that Homer was "the only one who has drawn as distinctly and as well, with that firmness of touch, that far down feeling of nature" (p. 28). La Farge encouraged Homer at various moments in his career. In 1891 he criticized Homer's dull palette, and in rebuttal Homer painted *The West Wind*; in 1892 he praised Homer's watercolors, stating that the prices were "ridiculously low"; in 1897 he persuaded Homer to exhibit *The Lookout* at the Society of American Artists (Beam 1966, 97 and 108; Goodrich 1944, 143). Early biographers tended to contrast La Farge and Homer, seeing La Farge as a promoter of foreign influences in American art and Homer as a native American figure. Downes 1911, 84, and Goodrich 1944, 36, discounted La Farge's claim that Homer was interested in French painting. Recently, scholars have been more willing to accept the notion that La Farge may have influenced Homer. Helen Cooper, for example, has compared some of Homer's watercolors to La Farge's watercolors and stained glass in *Winslow Homer Watercolors* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington] (New Haven, 1986), 173.

45. American Art Galleries, New York, *The John La Farge Collection*, 29–31 March 1911, no. 619, *Men Working in Field*; no. 623, *Women Working in Field*; and no. 657, *Peasants Working in Field. Peasants Working in Field*, which was sold to A. A. Healy, is now with Peter H. Davidson, New York.

46. Novak 1969, 166, discussed the Japanese quality of *The Morning Bell*; the parallel with a specific print by Hokusai was pointed out by Adams 1985, 456. Gardner 1961, 206–207 and 210–211, suggested the other two comparisons. Apparently the first modern scholar to comment on this relationship was Allen Weller, who maintained that Japanese prints were "one of the few definite exterior influences on Homer's development" and proposed that the artist's "refinements of spacing and proportion" in such late works as *The Fox Hunt* of 1893 reflected Japanese influence. See Weller, "Winslow Homer's Early Illustrations," *American Magazine of Art* (July 1935), 412–417, 448. A Japanese painting that may have been a source for *The Fox Hunt* is More Ippo's *The White Fox*, which shows a Japanese demon fox in the snow. Homer could have seen the painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With reference to Homer's later work, Philip Beam has stated that "Homer had examined oriental paintings, and even done some pastiche studies in Japanese style" (Beam 1966, 162).

47. Nicolai Cikovsky kindly brought to my attention what appears to be the first comparison between Homer's work and Japanese prints in "The Fine Arts of Japan," *The Nation* 7, 16 July 1868. After a discussion of the freedom, truth, and decorative qualities of Japanese drawings, the writer noted: "To compare this for a moment with our own popular art: the recently published cuts after drawings by Mr. Homer are remarkable for the freedom of drawing they display, for the vigor of gesture and general truth of action of the various figures. If one can imagine a whole race of artists taking after Mr. Homer in these good qualities of his work—for instance, the designers of the illustrations in the *Ledger* on the one hand, and those of the title-pages of popular music on the other—he can also understand that it would seem evident that some common influence would be discoverable which would sufficiently account for

the strong resemblance. And that is precisely the case in Japanese picture-making, in which manifestation of human intelligence there is to be seen a most extraordinarily diffused power over subjects of art generally considered difficult."

By the 1870s comparisons between Homer and Japanese art had become relatively common. On 17 February 1876 an anonymous reviewer for *The Nation* wrote: "It is such a beautiful thing to tell these healthful stories with all the simplicity, all that confinement to the idea, which we find in Japanese artists, that we can only mourn the loss of the fine painter Mr. Homer would be if he could give us the developed painting instead of the sketch impression." A year later, on 14 February 1877, another unsigned article in *The Nation*, devoted to the Eleventh Exhibition of the American Watercolor Society, mentioned that the year before Homer had produced "some powerful effects of the blotchy order, some abrupt eulogiums of Japanese fan painting, some cries of irreconcilable color, that excited the liveliest attention of the public." Sixteen months later an anonymous critic for the *Appleton's Art Journal* (August 1878) called Homer's painting *Upland Cotton* "a remarkable penetration of Japanese thought into American expression," and described it as "a superb piece of decoration, with its deep queer color like the Japanese, dull greens, dim reds, strange neutral blues and pinks." An article on "Artists and their Work—Pictures in the Academy," *New York Times*, 9 April 1880, 5, discussed Homer's *The Camp Fire* of 1880, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, saying, "What is most striking about the picture—and Mr. Homer is always sure to avoid the stupidity of mediocrity, even if he makes many misses—is the treatment of the sparks from the campfire. With a boldness which emulates Japanese draughtsmen (who sometimes make lightning proceeding from a cloud in the shape of bamboo running at right angles to each other), Mr. Homer follows the airy trail of the sparks from his campfire, and gives at length and in full, against the dark background, what the eye only sees for a moment and in motion." Albert Ten Eyck Gardner may have known of this passage when he wrote of *Camp Fire* that: "The treatment of the figures in their rustic rightness is absolutely in the style of Hokusai. The novel and daring design of the sparks flying up from the fire recalls Japanese prints of fireworks at night. The delicate pattern of weeds that lean out of the darkness towards the flames are so Japanese in feeling and yet so true to the realistic American woodsman's vision" (Gardner 1959, 53–54). On 20 June 1882, in a collection of "Art Notes," the *New York Times* juxtaposed a paragraph on the waywardness and unexpectedness of Japanese art with a paragraph on Winslow Homer.

48. *Harper's Weekly*, 22 February 1868, reproduced in Beam 1979, 157, and in Gardner 1961, 117. Homer included some whimsical Japanese elements in an undated wash drawing (Cooper-Hewitt Museum), probably made in 1876 at the time of a large display of Japanese art in Philadelphia at the Centennial Exposition. Depicting "an International Tea Party" in which Miss Japan and Mr. China entertain Mr. and Mrs. Uncle Sam in a vaguely Japanese interior, the drawing represents a few Japanese items and is spotted here and there with imitation oriental seals and inscriptions in a manner that parodies Japanese ink paintings and prints.

49. Gardner 1959, 32; Gardner 1961, 93.

50. Walsh 1965, 15. His statements have been repeated by Novak 1969, 166 and 310 n. 6.

51. See David J. Bromfield, "The Art of Japan in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe: Problems of Art Criticism and Theory" (Ph.D. diss. Leeds University, 1977), 229–234; and Phyllis Anne Floyd, "*Japonisme* in Context: Documentation, Criticism, Aesthetic Reactions" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1983), 111–114.

52. Ernest Chesneau declared in 1878 that "En 1867 l'Exposition universelle acheva de mettre le Japon à la mode." Ernest Chesneau, "Le Japon à Paris," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (1878), 387. In 1868 the Goncourts confided to their journal that the taste for Japanese art had descended to the middle classes (Gardner 1961, 102). At the time of the Exposition, Chesneau wrote an important study of Japanese art that was published in three forms, in *Le constitutionel*, 14 January, 22 January, and 11 February 1868 [copy in the Library of Congress]; in *Les nations rivales dans l'art* (Paris, 1868); and in *L'art japonais—discours fait à l'Union des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1869).

53. Henry Adams, "John La Farge's Discovery of Japanese Art: A New Perspective on the Origins of Japonisme," *Art Bulletin* 67 (September 1985), 449–485.

54. Novak 1969, 166, maintains that "there are sufficient indications in Homer's work before 1867 that he was either already familiar with Japanese prints or had arrived, through his own printmaking experience, at similar formal solutions." Unfortunately, the example she cites, *The Morning Bell*, is now known to date from 1872 rather than 1866 (Hendricks 1979, 90). But Novak's general observation remains valid. Although Gardner cited a skating scene by Homer made shortly after his return from Paris as proof of his recent discovery of Japanese prints (Gardner 1959, 50; Gardner 1961, 115), Hendricks has pointed out that the same Japanese mannerisms occur in a similar skating scene published in *Harper's Weekly* on 13 January 1866, just before the trip to France (Hendricks 1979, 75).

55. Significantly, in two contemporary references to the Japanese character of Homer's work (note 47), it was not the composition but the unusual color harmonies that the writers singled out as "Japanese." Some of Homer's later paintings also employ color effects that specifically evoke Japanese prints. His *West Point, Prout's Neck* (Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown), contains a sunset the intense reddish hue of which resembles the red aniline dyes that were often employed in later Japanese landscape prints.

56. John La Farge, "Japanese Art," in Raphael Pumpelly, *Across America and Asia* (New York, 1870), 201. La Farge's discussion in this same essay of the occult compositional balance found in Japanese art may

also have influenced Homer. Homer often exploited this form of arrangement, perhaps most dramatically in his late masterpiece, *Right and Left* of 1909, in which the precarious balance of the composition rests, quite literally, on the placement of the floating pin feather on the right hand side.

57. Russell Sturgis, *The Galaxy* 4 (1867), 238.

58. Curiously, these American artists shifted back to a darker palette in the 1870s.

59. Cecilia Waern, *John La Farge: Artist and Writer* (London, 1896), 11–12.

60. Royal Cortissoz, *John La Farge: A Memoir and a Study* (Boston, 1911), 112–113.

61. [George Sheldon], "Sketches and Studies, II," *Art Journal* (April 1880), 105–109, reprinted in G. W. Sheldon, *Hours with Art and Artists* (New York, 1882), 136–141. The phrasing of these remarks seems more flowing and articulate than that found in Homer's correspondence or in other interviews. Sheldon may have recast the artist's statements somewhat, drawing on notes he had made during an interview, but the substance of the remarks probably accurately reflects Homer's views.

62. The painting belonged to Mrs. Edwin S. Webster, who owned several other major paintings by Homer, including the last of his croquet scenes. Nearly all the paintings in the collection seem to have been purchased directly from the artist. This work was illustrated on the cover of the Parke Bernet catalogue of 21 April 1977, under the title "Prout's Neck," but was withdrawn shortly before the sale.

63. In my doctoral dissertation, "John La Farge, 1835–1870: From Amateur to Artist" (Yale University, 1980), 286, I attributed this painting to La Farge. The close resemblance of the painting to La Farge's work of this period makes it clear that if not by La Farge himself, it was created by an artist close to him. James Yarnall has ingeniously proposed that it was painted by Homer while on a sketching excursion in Newport with La Farge and Vedder, an episode that La Farge may have referred to in his book *Considerations on Painting*. See Yarnall, "John La Farge's 'Paradise Valley Period,' " *Newport History* 55, pt. 1 (Winter 1982), no. 185, 6–25. Yarnall does not discuss the stylistic qualities of the painting, and while it bears a general resemblance to the work of Homer, it is not easy to cite a documented painting by Homer from the 1860s that possesses similar stylistic qualities. Perhaps the unusual qualities of the painting are related to the unusual circumstances under which it seems to have been created. The painting does not appear to be by any other artist in La Farge's circle, and thus, through a process of elimination, it should probably be attributed to either Homer or La Farge.

64. Even Homer's largest and most carefully planned paintings were often painted outdoors. Philip Beam asserts that Homer painted *The Fox Hunt* of 1893 outside in the snow (Beam 1966, 108–110). There is also strong evidence to suggest that Homer made a practice of painting outside at night, a procedure that entails enormous technical difficulties. George Sheldon stated of Homer's *Adirondack Camp-Fire* of 1880 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) that: "He painted it out-doors. . . . The composition is a general transcript of the surroundings of a fire lighted one night while he was camping in the Adirondacks" (Sheldon 1882, 107). William Howe Downes stated that Homer's *Moonlight, Wood Island Light*, of 1894 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), was created in "four or five hour's work," and that "like his other moonlight pictures, it was painted wholly in and by the light of the moon, and never again retouched" (Downes 1911, 173). David Tatham has brought to my attention a letter by J. Ernest G. Yalden in The Memorial Art Gallery, Rochester, New York, written on 30 September 1936, which describes Homer's watercolor *Paddling at Dusk* of 1892. According to Yalden, Homer "was particularly interested in the broad flashes of light from the paddle when under way after dark; and this picture was painted when it was almost dark. . . . It has always been a puzzle to me how he was able to get the effect he did when it was almost too dark to distinguish one color from another." Philip Beam has doubted that it would have been possible for Homer to paint at night (Beam 1966, 89–90), but the existence of several independent accounts making this claim suggests that he did so, at least to some degree.

65. "The American Section: The National Art," *Arts and Decoration* 3, 1 March 1913, 159.