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1959
THE AMERICAN LITHOGRAPH FROM ITS INCEPTION TO 1865
WITH BIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF TWENTY
LITHOGRAPHERS AND A CHECK LIST
OF THEIR WORKS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State
University

By

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1954

Approved by:

[Signature]  
Advisor
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Each December my father always came home with a calendar or two rolled up under his arm. The one that always impressed the whole family was the one from a local insurance company which invariably had colorful reproductions of birds, animals or scenes from long ago. In retrospect I realize that the birds were Audubon's, lithographed originally by J. Bien, the quadrupeds\(^1\) were also by Audubon and Bien and the snow scenes were originally from Currier & Ives lithographs. The calendar always occupied a prominent place in our kitchen and after a year of use it would be saved by one of us to be hung in his bedroom. The coal bills, grocery bills, or dentist appointments were written on the other calendars but not on the ones from the insurance company. So, without realizing it, I have been concerned with lithography for a long time.

As an undergraduate, I studied lithography with Robert Von Neumann some of whose lithographs of muscular fishermen are owned by the Art Institute of Chicago and the Library of Congress Print Department. As a graduate student I worked with Alfred Sessler who had done considerable work under the Federal Art Project in lithography and whose work of this and later periods is owned by many museums. Mr. Sessler is

\(^{1}\)Audubon's quadrupeds were originally engraved. J. Bien's artists reduced and transferred the original drawings to stone. The new edition was issued in folio form with letter press text.
passionately interested in the Graphic Arts and no student of his with any art sensitivity could fail to be similarly inspired.

In the first course I had with Mr. Sessler, he was just setting up a new Graphics Department and the lithographic stones that we were given to work with had been donated by the Schlitz Brewing Company. These were stones that had seen years of service and produced countless pieces of lithographic matter. My first stone still had the negative on it for a hand receipt and bore the date "1927." I put my first drawing on the stone, followed the prescribed etching process, and at the stage where one washes the stone with turpentine and watches the lampblack in the drawing swirl down the drain, my drawing disappeared down the sink. Mr. Sessler worked with me from seven o'clock that night until past midnight trying to get my stone to print. We retraced the steps and he used every device that he knew of to bring the stone into printing condition. He finally discovered that through the years of use followed by years of disuse at the brewery, the acid had worked down into the stone very deeply. What should have been done was to plane away a quarter inch or more of the surface before applying the drawing. The stone was greatly over etched. Despite this exasperating initiation into lithography, it was still to become for me the most satisfying of all the art processes.

Later, I was to take a course in the history of graphic arts in which the European production dominated the scene.
and in which, with the exception of Bellows and Whistler, no American was mentioned. It occurred to me at that time that someday it would be interesting to inquire if American artists hadn't worked in this medium long before Whistler.

Hence this study comes as a result of a creative and historical stimulus. In August of 1951 I canvassed the curators of the museum and library Print Departments from Chicago to New York interviewing each and asking if there was material and a justifiable need for a dissertation in the field of American Lithography. With the exception of one, all agreed that material existed and that such a dissertation could be a contribution to the art field. All admitted that there was a mass of nineteenth century material but that, because of the multitude of their duties, they had never been able to make an investigation from an art standpoint.

Many museum directors and even print Curators admit that they have no interest in graphics of the nineteenth century except for "the sacred few" artists who have been esteemed over a long period of time. As one curator of a large print department said to me, "You will find nothing in American lithography of the nineteenth century; European lithography, that's different."

Frank Weitenkampf, while Curator of Prints in New York Public Library, pioneered the first writings in the field with his brief chapter, "Lithography: A Business, An Art," in his book, American Graphic Arts, published in 1912, which
is still one of the standard sources in the field. In it, however, he practically admits that it is nothing more than a directory of names of individuals who worked in the medium. In addition to writing on lithography, he encouraged many artists of his day to take up the crayon and did much for the twentieth century revival of interest in lithography. He was the first to stimulate curiosity in the work outside the area of Currier & Ives.

The word "business" in Weitenkampf's chapter spells the main difficulty that the researcher in this area finds. There are ten anonymous prints to each signed or artist-identified print. Because the imprint of the publishing house is on the print ninety percent of the time, the cataloguing of lithographic prints of this period, if done, is ordinarily accomplished through the names of the publishing house; e.g., Fritz Hugh Lane's works may be found under Pendleton, Thayer, Moore or Lane & Scott, as he worked for each of these firms and formed the latter one. If even this system were followed universally, research would be facilitated, but in the majority of collections, mainly those in connection with libraries, the prints are filed and located according to subject matter. To locate the prints of George Lehman in the Philadelphia Free Library, one must go through the section on Fairmount Park, Chestnut St., Walnut St., Main St., and every lithographed street in Philadelphia to find just his Philadelphia production. As a dividend, one does get a liberal education on the early appearance of
Philadelphia.

Much valuable source material is to be found in the vast collection of scrapbooks which have accumulated through the years and seem to have been an integral part of nineteenth century American living. Sometimes these were kept by librarians over a long period of years and sometimes by local citizens who were collectors of anything which touched on their native city, and sometimes by collectors of views. Scattered through the scrapbook of a young lady of the period amid souvenirs and dance programs are often lithographed views of her street, her seminary, her church, etc. There are large collections of sheet music covers bearing lithographed illustrations to be found at Harvard University and in the music division of the large libraries of the country. The Boston Public Library owns an interesting volume of these covers inherited from a person who evidently specialized in the collecting of music sheet covers portraying military officers. Most of them bear dates from the late thirties and the early forties.

As one could expect, these prints in the majority of public collections exist in every state of preservation. Those which once were a part of a scrapbook have been badly hand colored by amateurs or children and can be seen today along side of those legitimately colored at the publishing house. Many prints have had their imprint material cut off and large plates containing multiple views have been cut up and each view mounted individually. Some prints are
difficult to see and measure because the framing mats extend over the printed surface or cover the imprint material.

Amazing as it may seem, there is a great deal of contemporary coloring being applied to old prints that were originally issued uncolored. It is difficult today to determine whether the coloring that one sees on some prints is of recent vintage or a poor job from the printing house. Some print dealers today have a flourishing color-faking department. One dealer who considered himself to be honest told me that he stopped the practice because there was no one today that had the ability to color these old prints with the finesse that the colorists of the previous age possessed.

Up to the period of 1929 when Harry T. Peters' first book, *Currier and Ives, Printmakers to the American People*, came on the market, very little attention was given to the nineteenth century lithograph as a work of art. Peters' books were written mainly as collector's guides but sprinkled here and there are comments dealing with art quality. The lithograph was collected in the same undiscriminating fashion as china and antiques. If one collected ship prints, he collected everything with no regard to quality or artist. It is these collections later given to museums or libraries which have formed the nucleus of most print collections of today. To foster and encourage collecting activities, magazines developed "Print Collector's Corners" and the bulk of the written matter of today lies in trade or hobby magazines.
such as *Antiques*. Occasionally an article on early prints may appear in publications of historical societies where the prints have reference to local history but the major writings are by contributors to the collecting magazines. Some of these articles are written by dilettantes but occasionally an article appears which shows surprising research and scholarship.

The heyday of American collection stems from the period of the mid-nineteen twenties through the 'thirties. Attics were combed and old frames torn apart with the hope that hidden beneath them would be a Currier & Ives like "Home for Christmas," or some equally valuable treasure worth at that time at least $1,000. The East was searched from Maine to Carolina mainly for Currier & Ives, and newspapers carried advertisements encouraging people to "find gold in their attics." Print shops and antique stores did a thriving business.

The late President Franklin Roosevelt was an avid and thrifty collector, and his excursions into the print shops of New York with entourage made publicity for the graphic arts. Like many others, he specialized in nautical prints but also was a Currier & Ives fan.

One dealer, who today runs a modest shop alone, told me that during this period prints could not be kept on hand to supply the demand. At that time his establishment had seven salesmen, and it was not unusual for a wealthy client to come in and buy a dozen framed prints without ever inquiring
the price. Sufficient time has not lapsed to put these collections back on the market or make them available to museums or libraries. Within these collections lies a vast wealth of material which is again dormant in some attic or storeroom making material non-available to the student or historian. Even with this loss the Library of Congress owns between 10,000 to 15,000 lithographs which takes the researcher over six weeks to scan on a nine to five basis. This collection was assembled through the copyright act\(^1\) and has been catalogued only in the last few years. Initially these were cumped in the various basements and forgotten. Much of what would have been vital material disappeared or became unusable through the ravages of time.

Many artists such as H. Walton worked entirely outside of the copyright law so this vast production must be secured through museums, historical societies, and libraries.

In Peters' book, *America on Stone*,\(^2\) there are at least 2,000 names of artists, craftsmen, and printing houses connected with American lithography of the nineteenth century, and as one uses this book which is the standard reference in the print rooms of the various public galleries, one finds additional names entered in the book with the notation, "not

\(^1\)The copyright act was not effective however as far as lithographs were concerned. Frequently a print was copied for an original by a new firm and submitted a second time to be copyrighted.

known to Peters." One becomes overwhelmed by the mass of names and the enormity of the production, and only then does one realize that the cliche' used in connection with this art form is so appropriate, "a subject without a beginning and without an end." Thus the lithographs which the museum directors did not know about are actually so numerous that a catalogue resume of their works would require a life time or more to compile.

It is my intent to write a general history of nineteenth century American lithography with biographical sketches of twenty representative lithographers with a check list of their production and with a glossary of technical terms. Starting with the introduction of lithography into this country, I have followed its technical development through the century to its supplementation by other reproductive processes in the eighties. There is no doubt that the high point of production is reached by 1865 or perhaps even by 1850, and from this point there is a gradual degeneration in the use of the medium.

The lithographers selected for special study are in part representative of some unique contribution to the field and in part are typical. Some weight has been given to the extent of the biographical material which could be found. Finally, it has been my goal to do some qualitative sorting, to separate the lithographic sheep from the goats in this voluminous field. In some cases the choice had to be an
arbitrary one among equivalents. Why include Edwin White- 
field and not Napoleon Sarony? As a starting point I inves-
tigated some forty-five artists who were indicated by Peters, 
Weitenkampf and others as possessing art quality. Some of 
theses were discarded because they appeared to have had a 
very limited production; some actually were not lithographers 
but had their work put on stone by other men; some refused 
to be dug out of their hiding places. A few new names have 
been added, thanks to those finds which are the researcher's 
all too infrequent reward, and to the fruitful suggestion of 
a number of well informed and helpful curators and dealers. 

Much of my material cannot be documented in the usual 
sense, as in most instances the lithographs of this time are 
folk art with their attendant folk tales. Much of what has 
been previously written was passed by word of mouth from one 
person to another, a typical instance of this being the 
story of the Pendletons and their dealings with Gilbert 
Stewart to secure the presidential series that today is 
called "The Five Kings." This gossipy element in the story 
of lithography at least prevents the material from becoming 
dull and academic. 

My avoidance of Currier and Ives, who have dominated 
the lithographic scene for so long, has been deliberate. 
Anyone interested in this firm and the lithograph as news 
can find an abundance of material. Since I am not primarily 
interested in newsvalue or subject-appeal, which tends to
overshadow all other qualities, I have found the real meat of lithography outside of the work of these two men.

Although in treating each artist I have necessarily been concerned primarily with their lithographs, the nature of the art itself has inevitably involved the association of drawing and painting. In some cases I have given a good deal of time and space to the discussion of their paintings in the hope that this would shed more light on their graphic production.

As in any undertaking of this kind, it generally is not so much the work of the one who records it as it is the accumulated effort of many people. I shall now try to list everyone who assisted me in my research and who has made this paper possible. In this connection I want especially to acknowledge the assistance given to me by Miss Ann Waite, for many years the Curator of Prints at the American Antiquarian Society. Her notes, which I have had the privilege of using, are the result of years of jotting down everything that came her way on lithography and comprising material for published articles and articles which never materialized. Also, I was greatly aided by the "Notes and Collection of the Late Charles H. Taylor" which are deposited with this same institution. Mr. Taylor for many years was a writer and art editor for the Boston Globe and is responsible for much that Peters printed in his book.

I wish to thank the following people for their assistance in aiding me with my search for prints, and securing...
information about them:

Mr. Harry McNeal Bland, art dealer, New York City; Mr. Willman Spawn, Philadelphia; Mr. David McKibbin, Art Librarian, Athenaeum, Boston; Miss Mary Brown, Miss Ann Forbes Waite and the Staff of the American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, Mass.; Miss Elizabeth Roth and Mr. Wilson Duprey, Print Dept., New York Public Library; Miss Alice Newlin and Miss Olivia Paine, Metropolitan Museum of Art Print Dept.; Mr. Richard B. Holman, art dealer, Boston, Mass.; Miss Anna Stringoski, The Library Co., Phil.; Miss Parker, Miss Daiker, Mr. Kaplin, and Mr. Milhollen, of the Print Dept. of the Library of Congress; Mrs. Eisley, Pennsylvania Academy of Art; Mrs. Alice Hook, Librarian, Historical & Philosophical Soc. of Cincinnati; Miss Caroline Lewis Lovett, Print Dept., Phila. Free Library; Miss Grace Mayer, Print Curator, Museum of the City of New York; Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Kainen, Smithsonian Print Dept.; Mr. Kneeland McNulty, and Mr. Carl Zigrosser, Print Dept., Phil. Museum of Art; Mr. Maurice Block, Curator of Prints, Cooper Union; Mr. Charles D. Childs, art dealer, Boston, Mass.; Mr. Gustave von Groschwitz, Curator of Prints, Cincinnati Museum of Art.; Mr. H. P. Rossiter and Miss Anna Hoyt, Print Dept., Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Mrs. Jacqueline Sisson, Art Librarian, Ohio State University and Miss Una Johnson, Curator of Prints, Brooklyn Museum of Art.
I wish to especially thank Professors Robert M. Gatrell and Everett Kircher of my committee; Professor Ralph Fanning for guidance on this and other matters and above all to Professor Frank Seiberling, my advisor, who helped formulate this dissertation from idea to completion.
INTRODUCTION

Probably no other graphic medium became so inextricably bound up with the life of its people and times as did the nineteenth century American lithograph. It was seen hanging in the home above the fireplace in just the same manner as the fifteenth century religious woodcut had hung, though the lithograph was not of a religious nature; it partially instigated the rise of the American landscape school of painting just as the sixteenth century etching had fostered the rise of European landscape; it surpassed the seventeenth century French engraved portrait in output. It sailed the ocean pasted to the inside cover of a sailor's sea chest; its animal illustrations were nailed to the stalls and doors of barns; its sentimental figures of a "Dick or James" became the pinups of the period to grace the bed chamber of a forelorn maiden. It documented the countenance of murderers and ministers, and served as the label on beer bottles and horse tonics. It furnished the cartoon for newspapers or handbills and glorified the features of Jenny Lind for posterity. No subject was too lofty and none too low to be captured by the crayon. It becomes the fine art, the genre art, and the commercial art of its day and caused no concern as to its versatility in this matter.

From its introduction into this country from Europe in the first quarter of the nineteenth century to its death in the last quarter of the century, it reigned graphically
supreme and even in its death it went out in a blaze of raucous color to give birth to another art form, mechanical lithography in its many variations.\textsuperscript{1} I do not mean to imply that all other graphic processes ceased to exist. Engraving and aquatinting continued and all processes were sometimes practiced by the same hand, but in production it outstripped the older medias just as they had supplanted earlier reproductive processes.

What then were the attributes of this medium that made it outstrip its predecessors? The first and probably the foremost was its rapid reproduction of such diverse materials as portraits, maps, periodical illustrations, sheet music covers, badges, facsimilies, real estate plans, prenological charts, advertisements and even church pew plans. A stone could be prepared and be ready for printing in an hour if the artist or craftsman were experienced. Up to 5,000 impressions could be secured if the technician knew his process, and if more were needed, the stone could be redrawn and another 5,000 secured immediately and just as rapidly; the twentieth century limited edition was unheard of. Secondly, the results of lithography are highly autographic -- what is put down on stone is transferred to the paper in

\textsuperscript{1}It made possible three twentieth century American Renaissances of lithography. The first by men of the period of George Bellows, the second under the Federal Arts Project, and a contemporary revival in color lithography as seen through the Biennial Color Lithography Shows of the Cincinnati, Ohio, Museum of Art.
exact duplication, in reverse. With etching and engraving, no matter how dexterous the technician, there is always some slight variation in each print due to the less controllable inking process. To the publisher and the buying public, this was important.

These two qualities of lithography made possible the widespread coverage of illustrative matter. What we today think of and classify as fine art prints once served a multitude of more ignoble purposes. They satisfied the public hunger for photographs of the heroes and favorites of the day. The champ and the darling of the boards could be possessed for the small part of a dollar; the congressman and politician could advertise his physiognomy to his constituents; the patriarch of the clan could supply his likeness for the edification or derogation of later generations. In a more commercial vein these prints were once the trade-cards of a hatter's shop, the portraits of stud horses incorporated into an exotic background, the brewery teams and "the hands" on their way to the company picnic. On such occasions the firm name was commonly so printed on the wagon that even a half blind man could see that the print was done more with the intent to advertise beer and show the magnitude of the firm than to portray a group of employees off on a gay outing. In this connection one could add that the lithographic industry generally grew up in a center where this amber fluid was produced because if no other work was
available to the lithographer the demand for beer labels was continuous.

Lithography was the most versatile means of pictorially pigeonholing life in the nineteenth century. Some of the larger subject headings such as portraits, views, sheet music covers, and publications will be dealt with under separate headings, later, but let us look over the total gamut. There are prints on transportation, horses, sports, Indians, marine life, temperance, morals, sentimental subjects, and comic commercial products, slavery, disaster, fire, architecture, fairs and exhibitions, and some that are a combination of two or more of these classifications. The prints of exhibitions on a large scale become panoramas. When buildings are combined with parks and city surroundings, they could readily become view prints. The classification of this group must be an arbitrary one.

Technically, the American lithograph would be a lithograph drawn and printed in America by an American lithographer. This definition would then exclude the works of LeSueur, Milbert, Castleman, Bodmer, Miss Scolly, Bingham, and the chief works of Catlin. We could not include birth in America as a qualifying regulation, for this is the period of great immigration from Europe. Yet, at times it seems a little unjust to exclude Bodmer's lithographs, for he traveled through the West just ahead of Catlin around 1833 as the traveling companion and recorder to the Prince
of Weid and his lithographs are some of the earliest and best documents of the country, Indians, and exploring life. He would be excluded just because his drawings were transferred to stone in Germany, France, and England. On the other hand, the work of Gustavus Gruenwald is accepted as American even though he came to this country at maturity, around 1831, and returned to Germany in 1867. In many respects the work of the men like Milbert is American in the broad aspect of the word because the results of their work returning to this country set the pattern for American lithographs produced by later generations of American lithographers. J. Milbert's "Picturesque Views of the Hudson River" (to be discussed later) contributed to Americans the

1An amusing incident in Bodmer's career briefly made an Indian painter out of (Jean Francois Millet) an artist who would hardly have become one on his own account. In 1850, asked by an American print publisher to prepare a series of Indian lithographs, Bodmer turned over the commission to his young friend Millet. There were to have been a hundred in the series but only five had been completed when the publisher learned that an unknown was doing them rather than the great Indian painter, Bodmer, and so cancelled the order. These five were signed by painter Bodmer, though his contribution to them seems to have been slight. Four of these were printed in 1852 in, apparently, a small edition as "Annals of the United States Illustrated -- The Pioneers." They are exceedingly literary. Two deal with the capture of Daniel Boone's daughters by Indians (though one of these appears to have been based on the Last of the Mohicans), one with the legendary "McCullough's Leap," and the fourth with another incident celebrated in Revolutionary literature. Though the content is literary and the Indians mythological, the drawing and lithography are superb. Bernard Devoto, Across the Wide Missouri, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947, p. 454.
"how" of setting up series views. The scenes of Bodmer were to be lifted bodily into new American lithographs and Catlin's lithographs of the "wild and woolley" West were to be followed to the letter as an appealing and effective type for presenting this subject to the public. Bingham's lithographs were done from his paintings, which were sent to Europe, the stones and paintings sent back here to be checked and the stones again returned to Paris to be run off. When the prints were circulated in this country, the more popular ones were immediately stolen and redrawn -- one finds miserably inadequate copies of the originals and it is probably fortunate that no credit line was given to Bingham.

One frequently finds in lithographic print collections material that once had a very practical use and a commercial purpose. The earliest of these prints are what today are known as Trade Cards. Trade Cards were originally a means of advertising to show the goods or services that a shop or firm had to offer. The Trade Card was not an invention that came about in the development of lithography but can be found in the earlier wood cut and engraving. At first, the facade of the building alone was presented, the place where

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1I am indebted to Mr. Maurice Block of Cooper Union for this information. Bingham's lithographs did not sell well. They were printed on very heavy paper and today prints can be found using these lithographs as mats. The reverse side being white, the lithograph was cut to be a mat for a new print. Mr. Block tells me that a number of these Bingham prints cut into mats have shown up in New York City.
these goods and services could be secured. Then people and activity were included which sometimes today puts them into the category of "View Prints." In The Handbook of Early American Advertising Art we read, "There was good reason for these advertising-lithographs which bear the imprint of all of the outstanding print makers. Newspapers and other publications of the day would not break their column rules to allow an advertiser to illustrate his copy with anything larger than crude wood cuts or engravings on copper, which measured about two inches in width."¹ This fostered the growth of the lithographic trade card because it could be made much larger in size. Again we read:

Still further comment on these prints /Trade Cards/ appears in the Bulletin of the Museum of the City of New York as follows: "Since the Stephenson Views /prints of the nature we are discussing/ are not devoted to the advertisement of a single product or concern, it is believed that all the tenants of a given block were canvassed, and invited to pay for the dear privilege of having their signs appear on the facades of the buildings they occupied. Failure to contribute resulted in a complete 'black out' or anonymity. This theory is further substantiated by an earlier G. & W. Endicott lithograph of 'The Washington Stores' as the impression owned by the Museum bears the pencilled notation, probably indicating the amount each firm was taxed, fifty-five cents per $100 /rent or cost of production/ being the price of glory.² The prints were given to customers and were probably used in any publicity campaigns of the firms involved.

²Idem.
Another branch that today is filed with print collections is The Fashion Plate. This kind of print appeared first in woodcut and etching and the lithographic fashion plate appeared only to a limited degree in publications for women, e.g., Miss Godey's Magazine. Later, these fashion illustrations were taken over by the paper pattern manufacturers, where the number produced was large. The home manufacturing of clothing in this period and the eternal desire by a segment of the population to be fashionably dressed led to the magazine illustrating Paris styles and the use of lithographic add plates by such firms as Butterwick Patterns. The early ones, around 1835, illustrated only the figure or figures, showing front and back without much setting; but the later ones, after the '50's, show groups of figures in interior scenes and incorporated into landscape. Strange as it may seem today, more of this type features men's clothing than women's, so we see the fashionable male in the variations that the garment had to offer plus, the silk topper, cane, etc., all the accoutrements of the gentleman.

Architects were not slow to see the possibilities that the medium had to offer. Although I doubt that their building designs as such were copyrighted, prints of the buildings designed and built by them were. They might have served as a personal record for the architect and builder or were given away at dedication ceremonies; and they could have served as the architects portfolio in the same way that an artist keeps examples of his wares.
Harry Peters states, "What put Currier & Ives ahead of other Lithographic Houses, was their sense of news value." To be sure a large portion of the lithographs of this period do fall into the classification of news and this was one of the greatest contributions to the people they served. If one looks farther one can find that the lithograph was news itself for during one year, in 1847, a newspaper was published from lithographic stones and carried a daily cartoon of the trials and tribulations of a German immigrant in this country. The newspaper, The Fliegende Blätter, was published in German in Cincinnati, Ohio, and a copy is to be found at the New York Historical Society. The cartoons are far from the quality produced by Daumier but served their purpose, for especially in an age when there were as many illiterates as literates, the picture quite frequently, must have sold the newspaper. One cannot discount the need for news, especially within the far flung limits of this country in an age when the standard means of communication that we know now were in their infancy or not known at all. News, especially that of disaster, had strong holds on the population. The sinking of the good ship so-and-so in the awful gale on such-and-such a date had both strong personal and economic holds on the people of the maritime states and especially in the ship's home port. A picture of the bark (boat) wallowing

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in a hurricane sea with the survivors holding on to bits of debris satisfied the desire for gory details, and for the skeptic there was the attached caption stating that the picture was "drawn correctly from the description of the event by the undersigned survivors."

It would seem that no building any larger than a chicken house ever burned without a journalistic recording of the event. As one goes through any lithographic print collection one is overwhelmed by the number of pictorial conflagrations. As an almost integral part of the fire story was the life of the fireman, generally told in series.

Any heinous crime or "the dastardly act" was sure to be lithographed by one concern, stolen and reissued by another. The site of the crime or the house of the culprit must have sold equally well judging from the number that have survived. The capture of Jeff Davis, the president of the Confederacy, dressed in a woman's costume appears over and over and varies in portrayal from pure realism to the ultimate in cartooning. What with the pulpy production of the tabloids of today we can cast no aspersions on this age but here may lie the embryonic seeds of our present day dilemma. Also it may indicate the trend of Americans to be lookers and not readers.

Each period of American history from about 1830 to 1880 can be followed decade by decade along with its problems through its lithographs. One does not realize the unpopularity of Abraham Lincoln in this period until one sees the
MOUNT VERNON.
multitude of uncomplimentary cartoons. It is only after his martyrdom that he is portrayed in the role that we associate him with today. Although the character and ideals of Lincoln were assassinated by the cartoonists of his time, there is not a single derogatory stroke against Washington in the hundreds of prints that surround his life and times as shown in lithographs. He had retired from political life, however, before the lithograph was current. Most amusing among them are the "Tomb and Shade" lithographs. Generally these prints show the burial site, or the grave and Mt. Vernon, and hidden in the branch of the trees is the outline of the head or figure of Washington. Henry Inman's (Fig. 1) is the most unusual of this type as his print shows only the head of Washington outlined between two trees and yet it is entitled "Mt. Vernon." This device, reminiscent of the trompe-l'oeuil pictures, was not limited to Washington.

After 1849 and the discovery of gold in California a deluge of prints occurs on almost every facet of the enterprise. Some deal with the discovery, some the mining process, and some are cartoons about the prospectors, and life in the mining camp. One of the most interesting of the latter is the series of twelve plates owned by the New-York Historical Society, executed by an unknown artist by the name of Agusto Ferran who legend says was a Puerto Rican. This speculation is made plausible because of his Spanish name and the fact that the plates bear English and Spanish
titles. Printed with the barest of delineation outside of the figures themselves, they give a vivid picture of the miner of the period and the crude hovels and bars that he inhabited. These prints, too, could fall into the category of "News" as well as genre as they graphically portray what the life was and would not have deluded the folks back home if they were taken at face value. However, this on the spot pictorialization is in the minority. Most of the California material before the establishment of the California lithographic presses was done from hearsay or the vaguely worded description and drawn by artists with no conception of what the subject matter really looked like and their charm often lies in their naiveté.

Now let us return to Peter's original statement that Currier and Ives were ahead of other houses due to their "sense of news value." As we have just verified, news was important and the lithograph did contribute to this need in life, but the statement needs qualification. Much Currier and Ives material was pure illustration only, and due to this the art quality was wanting. I am sure that it was not the conscious effort of this firm to produce lithographs that could be thought of as works of art, and for this element we must turn to other lithographic houses such as the Pendletons who were head and shoulders above Currier & Ives. Thus Currier & Ives, though certainly popular, were ahead of the others for reasons extraneous to art.
From a standpoint of documenting history, let us look at a few of the topics which drew considerable support through the lithograph. A wealth of material exists which was connected with the temperance movement which flourished in the 'forties and 'fifties. Many of them are series prints, sometimes not over three in number but enough to get across the point that was desired. The single print often used what was referred to as the stile system of presentation to show the rise and fall of the drunkard. On the first tread of the step on the left, the young man is seen having a sociable drink with friends. On each ascending tread he is shown becoming more entrenched in the vice until the top of the stile is reached and he is a confirmed drunkard. As the steps go down on the right, his plight becomes more and more pathetic until on the last tread we see his death in the gutter. The series plates may take him from his first drink to the eventual evicting of his family from their home and the children becoming thieves or "ladies of the street."

Along with this Temperance movement were "The Sons of Temperance Portraits." These portraits generally show an unknown young man with a medalion on his chest and a wide ribbon holding it around his neck. On the table, which usually is next to him, is the quill pen, ink bottle and paper where he will sign his abstinence pledge. The pledge may or may not be written on the bottom of the page stating that he will shun liquor and all those that use it. Many of these are
A SERMON ON TEMPERANCE.

Die Temperanz Predigt.
admirably drawn but follow a set pattern of presentation. The exceptionally good ones are either signed with initials or have no indication as to who put them on stone or drew the original sketch. This is also true of a great majority of the series prints. It is true that there seems to be no Hogarth among them but one series at the Library of Congress shows considerable ability on the part of the anonymous artist which is not too far behind Hogarth's work. As with all movements there are always the devil's advocates and this factor is delightfully presented in the print "Sermon on Temperance" (Fig. 2) signed only with the initials "M.W." It can be assumed that a relatively high percentage of this kind of material was the combined efforts of an artist sketcher and a craftsman who put the ideas on stone, the combination that exists through the whole of the nineteenth century American lithograph.

Another large group which comes late in the century is the presentation of the leaders of the Finian Movement in Ireland and the portraits of Irish leaders and patriots. Usually several portraits are arranged on one sheet. This production was geared for segmental consumption -- the Irish of Boston, New York and the East. To be sure there is little if any art quality in them except here and there in a good portrait, but they do register what a portion of this country was interested in and how the lithograph catered to the diversified and sectional interests of the country.
The ramifications attendant upon the building of the Washington Monument are scarcely known to the average American, yet the surviving vast amount of lithographic material on it reveals that it was a topic more vital to the American of that day than was the building of the United Nations Headquarters to the American of the twentieth century. Certificates presented to the subscribers to its building fund for having donated to its erection, prints showing the progress of building, and prints showing the monument as it would have appeared according to the original, and less pleasing, plans can be found at the Library of Congress.

In the conscious documenting of history through the lithograph we have only to look at the production of the year 1876. Here is a copious quantity of material showing how the population of that year realized the significance of the centennial of the United States as a nation. Here is presented the national concern of this country and its past. The first hundred years was revived through illustrations of many famous events. Lithographed centennial certificates abound. A typical certificate usually showed a bust portrait of Washington and early flags in various positions and combinations, or the arrangement might include the bust of Washington surrounded by eight or ten medalions each showing some event in revolutionary history. New parades of the old wars are shown with the battles illustrated on individual plates. Heroic deeds from the past became favorite subject matter.
Without definitely mentioning them as such, I have spoken of some of the sociological aspects of the nineteenth century that are so vividly illustrated in the lithograph. One concern that is outstanding is the preoccupation with death. This interest is illustrated through the large number of lithographed tombs, monuments of all kinds, and especially through the historical print. No president ever died without having a bedside scene drawn and lithographed. The president is usually shown lying on his bed with his soul suspended between this world and the next, as well illustrated as it was within the power of the artist to capture this, and with his family rather hysterically grieving and mourning. The battle print provided another opportunity to express this interest, for war offered the best chance to display mass slaughter and death on a wholesale scale. In one particular series of the Mexican War with approximately thirty individual episodes in it, the one that evidently was the favorite was the death of a certain general who dies three times. In each plate he assumes a different position as he falls from his horse. Either the delineator, J. Cameron, disliked re-drawing the same identical scene or the collectors could take their choice of position for the General's departure for Valhalla.

Another item which is not strictly a print but illustrated the interest in death is the Mourning Piece. M. E. D. Brown seems to have created one of the earliest and to have
set the pattern. (Fig. 3) It was a memento for a lost one, generally designed with a monument set within a group of mourning figures and the ever-present weeping willow; the monument usually was surmounted by a Grecian type urn. Space was provided on the monument for the departed one's name along with his birth and death dates.

Here we see the birth of commercial art as we know it today. This is not to imply that in the trade cards of engravers and woodcutters there was no commercial implication but with the development of lithography this trend in art took on greater proportions. It took little effort to add a few words to the drawing of a famous Indian or horse which had captured the public fancy and use this as a label for horse tonic or for one of the famous patent cure-alls that this time is noted for. In the beginning the label or advertisement contained little written advertising and relied on the illustration to convey the message. This was often symbolic. This age was not far removed from the era in which an animal picture might be put on a medicine for human consumption suggesting that the strength of a lion could be contained within or that the Indian was the healthiest of men and drank its equivalent. Later Barnum was to incorporate the success of high powered visual advertising through his famous lithographed circus posters and supposedly this contributed greatly to his success.
PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
Incorporated 1830.

VIEW OF MONROVIA

THIS IS TO CERTIFY
There exists a large division of lithographic material that is mostly of a utilitarian nature. It comprises such items as marriage certificates, diplomas of all kinds, valentines, and keepsakes. Lithographs which had pictorial matter have frequently had the illustration cut from them and today exist as free prints. One of the most interesting of these certificates is James Queen's "Pennsylvania Colony Certificate" of 1857. (Fig. 4) The vignette shown here demonstrates the ability of this unknown artist. Its mass of detail, drawn in microscopic fashion, his chiaroscuro effects, the lifelike and animated figures show him to be one of the lithographic genre masters of all time.

Many of the prints seen today are beyond our ken as to the intent they were to serve. Their idiomatic visual language has been lost but in many others the symbols are as strong today as when they are viewed in these century-old prints. The thumb-to-nose as a symbol of disrespect seen even today can be traced back at least to this point. We have no present-day counterpart of the "Mose and Liz" characters who tore up the road behind a spirited bony nag and whose antics are carried to the stage as one notes on lithographed flysheets which displayed a scene from the great triumph of the great actor so-and-so in his role as Mose. The newspaper comic strip and the radio serial do not seem to coincide with what these two characters represented to their age. This material and "Brushes on the Road" (races
between horse drawn vehicles) drawn by Thomas Worth are some of the better comics. In some respects the subjects of the lithographic engravings of F. O. C. Darley and those of our world are not too far apart. His "B'hoys" who are seen scaring the parson's horse or lounging on the street corners in the series, "Penciling and Penning About Town," are the same as boys of today. "B'hoys," a rowdy group of boys, is now an antiquated word.

Along with this brief excursion into the subject matter of the nineteenth century lithograph, it is pertinent to inquire where the lithograph of this age fits into the scheme of art in general. The nineteenth century American lithograph as a whole can unequivocally be said to be genre art. Those who do not accept the lowly lithograph as true art but prefer to lump it into the category of Americana, and there are many, at least have conceded that it represents a considerable percentage of the creative effort of this age and that it is truly American. The Metropolitan Museum of Art excluded Currier & Ives from their print collection until 1946 when a collection of these printmakers' works were foisted on them. Their typically American quality is best illustrated in the slave and Indian prints. The slave prints capitalized on those subjects which were most repelling to the Northern mind, the presentation of the slave market and Eliza fleeing from the hounds. They convey a burning passion about the subject they illustrate and fit into the pattern
of what life's concerns were in the mid-fifties. Hand in hand with Uncle Tom's Cabin they must have been as strong a propaganda medium as could be attained. To this end, the American lithograph shaped American culture, became history itself, and presented that world which is now so remote -- the world where fair beauties give no indication of diptheria or the number of women who died in childbirth; the peaceful snow scenes where prancing horses trot through a world superficially free of trouble and only the joy of living is revealed.
PART I
CHAPTER I
THE PROCESS AND ITS EARLY AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alois Senefelder, the inventor of lithography, developed the theory and all the basic techniques that were used in lithographic printing before the advent of chromolithography.¹ To be sure, a few refinements were made by others, such as Rudolph Ackerman and Hullmandel of England, but the basic principles of lithography were never improved upon down to our day.² The history of lithography both here and in Europe, nevertheless, constituted an unsuccessful quest to produce a lithographic printing process that could be followed as an exact scientific procedure. Senefelder's first book on the process was not written in German until 1818,³ the year before the first writings appeared in

¹In the exact sense of the word, any color applied to a lithograph makes it a "chromolithograph" but in this paper only that which was done using many colors and printed with mechanical presses will be considered chromolithographs -- only works after 1848 can come under this category.


³The Invention of Lithography by Alois Senefelder, Translated from the original German by J. W. Muller, New York, Fuchs & Lang, 1911, p. XII.
this country in English. 1 When one reads the description of the process written by Senefelder 2 it appears to be a relatively simple procedure but time and practice have proved it otherwise. The early practitioners of this art in America must have worked primarily with unscientific formulas compared to what we have today. Even now, the process is not exact but is carried out by formulas that are based on rule of thumb. Due to the individual differences inherent in the chemical makeup of each piece of lithographic stone, no two can be etched in exactly the same manner. Each must have a tailormade etch. The etch in turn works according to its strength and age. The actual printing from the stones is somewhat affected by atmospheric conditions. 3

From the foregoing limitations it can easily be seen that when any discoveries were made which could improve the printing process they immediately became trade secrets of the house which developed them. However, with the tendency of the lithographer to seek new places of employment, these secrets could not be held indefinitely.

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The lithographic plants and publishers of France and England supplied America with the basic knowledge of the lithographic technique, and as in the case of the Pendletons, it took Europeans who were imported to put the plants in successful operation. In the beginning all lithographic materials had to be imported and as evidence of this we know through a letter that Rudolph Ackerman of London sent a lithographic press to Stephan Elliot of Charleston, South Carolina in 1822. A press which must have been similar to the one referred to in Ackerman's letter is shown here. (Fig. 5).

It is possible that the first American artists knew the technical aspect of lithographic printing, but soon the door to the press room was closed to them. Only in the instances of Imbert and Childs & Inman do we find that men who were artists in their own right established a printing house. In the majority of cases the houses seem to have been started or developed by pressmen; e.g., P. S. Duval was the pressman who took the plant over from Childs & Inman and developed it. The dependency of the artist on the printing house is not limited to this country alone.


2 The term lithographer can mean: the owner of a printing or publishing house; the pressman or printer, the copyist or craftsman who applied the drawing to the stone, or the artist who made the drawing and applied it to the stone himself. In this writing the term lithographer will refer to the latter definition, artist-lithographer, unless otherwise noted.
Today, however, it is recognized that there is without
doubt a beneficial interaction resulting from the artist
first making the drawing and then doing the actual printing
himself which leads to lithographs of greater value.

Even before the Americans possessed the necessary know­
how to produce lithographs they started the search for
native stone which would be a satisfactory substitute for
the expensive Bavarian limestone which had to be imported.

.....Mr. Otis had also executed specimens of lith­
ography, upon lithographic stones produced by
Doctors Brown and Cooper, and Mr. Blight, from a
limestone quarry near Dirks River, Ky. Specimens
of white lithographic stone were about this time
deposited in the Troy Lyceum by Isaac Mconike,
Esq. who found it alternating with compact lime­
stone in Indiana.....1

The following year the Western Review of 1820 printed
that Kentucky limestone had been sent to Philadelphia for
experimental purposes.2

In a review of the historical writings on the develop­
ment of the technical phases of lithography in this country
there seems to be an attempt from the beginning to free the
industry from dependency on Europe. (See the anonymous

1History of American Manufacturers, Vol. 1, 1800-1860,
Phil., Ed Young & Co., p. 252.

2Fortunately we have in Kent, the peculiar sort of
stone which is made use of by the German artist...Mr.
Clifford of this town sent to Philadelphia for the purposes
of experiment, some stone which he procured in the neighbor­
hood of Frankfort, and it has been found to succeed admir­
ably... Western Review (no author or title) Vol. 1,
Lexington, Ky., p. 59-60.
lithograph of the boy with a dead rabbit, the imprint of which states that the lithograph was made on Vermont marble, Fig. 6) At the same time lithographers were keeping an eye cocked for any improvements developed there.

When Bass Otis's first print appeared in the *Analectic Magazine* of 1819 it was in accompaniment to an article on the process of lithography and a description of the press. This was the first report to the American public that such a medium did exist. The process as listed in this article is one of the masterpieces of simplification:

Principles on which lithography depends:

1. A line traced with a crayon, or thick ink upon stone adheres so strongly that mechanical means are necessary in order to efface it.

2. All the parts of the stone not covered with this substance, receive, preserve and absorb water.

3. If, over the stone thus prepared, there be passed an oily and coloured substance, it will attach itself to the lines drawn by the ink or crayons, and will be repelled by the moistened parts. In a word, the lithographic process depends on this, that a stone moistened with water repels ink, while the same stone, when covered with an oily substance, repels water, and absorbs ink. Thus, when a sheet of paper is pressed upon the stone, the greasy and coloured lines will present a copy of the design drawn upon the stone.¹

The next writing that I have been able to locate appears in *The American Journal of Science and Arts* two years before it published its first lithography. Here Benjamin Silliman,

the Professor of Chemistry at Yale advertises Senefelder's recent discovery, a substitute of Bavarian limestone. In 1822 in this same journal he prints the first full length article on the technique of lithographic printing and with it three plates.

Of all the publications in the first third of the century to explain and foster the art of lithography, none was to assist its development like the American Mechanics Magazine, which changed its name in 1825 to the Journal of the Franklin Institute, published by the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia. This magazine did more than just publicize the art, for each year at its annual fair and exhibition it offered awards, premiums, and cash prizes for lithography of excellence executed in native materials.

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1Senifelden /sic/, the original inventor of the Lithographic art (printing on stone) has contrived a substitute for carbonate of lime used for that purpose, which has hitherto been found in perfection only in Bavaria. He forms an artificial plate of stony substances, attached paper, which he calls Papyrographic. It is said to possess great advantages. The machines are offered for sale at Paris at from twenty to thirty dollars each. The American Journal of Science and Arts, Conducted by Benjamin Silliman, Professor of Chemistry, minerology, etc. in Yale College, New York, Vol. II (1820), p. 341.

2Ibid., Vol. IV (1822), "Notice of the Lithographic Art, or the Art of multiplying designs, by substituting Stone for Copper Plate, with introductory plates by the editor." (All designs printed on the stone by Messr. Barnet and Doolittle, 23 Lumber St., New York), pp. 169-171.
This Journal's first reference to what might be some form of lithograph, but designated "stone engraving," appears in June of 1825. The editor describes witnessing stone engraving which was in his words "uncommonly good." One of the advantages of stone engraving was that unlike wood, the stone would not warp. In 1826 the second of the Annual Exhibitions made its award to the Lithographic House of Pendletons of Boston as we will see later. In the April issue of 1827 the editor made this announcement:

We have, in several instances, published individual processes, in the beautiful and important art of lithography, an art in which considerable progress has been made in the United States, but more particularly in Boston and New York, and we are informed that a lithographic press will soon be established in this city; an event, which for our sakes, we shall hail with no small degree of pleasure... We now commence a series of essays which are intended to combine all the essential information which has been published on this subject...

In the four volumes published from 1827 through 1830, the following Essays on Lithography appeared:

1. Kind of Stone used and Mode of Polishing the Stone.

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2 The Franklin Institute Journal (Editor's Note), Vol. IV (1827), p. 57.

3 Ibid., "Essays on Lithography". Translated from the Journal Des Connaissances Usuelles (Published in Paris by Count M. C. DeLastey, Son-in-law to La Fayette who has an extensive lithographic establishment which is esteemed the second in the city.) Vol. IV, (1827) pp. 57-62.
2. Ink for Writing, or Drawing on Stone, or on Autographic paper.\(^1\)

3. Lithographic Crayons for Drawing on Stone, Printing Ink, Preserving Ink.\(^2\)

4. Retouching Ink, On the Paper and the Mode of Wetting it, Manner of Outlining the Drawing on Stone, on the Precautions to be Observed in Writing or Drawing upon Stone.\(^3\)

5. Manner of Proceeding and Executing Work of Different Kinds upon Stone, Autographic Processes, New Mode of Copying Paintings by Means of Lithography.\(^4\)

6. Engraving on Stone, by Indenting Lines Similar to Engravings (en creux), Imitation of Woodcuts.\(^5\)

7. Imitation of Aquatinta, On the Combination of Lithographic Processes, in the Execution of the Same Design, on Tracing Pieces of Music upon Stone.\(^6\)

8. On Printing from Drawings or Engravings upon Stone, On the Corrections to be made upon stone on which a design has been drawn.\(^7\)

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 135-140.

\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 164-165, p. 168.

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 334-339.

\(^4\)Ibid., pp. 393-396, p. 415.


\(^6\)Ibid., pp. 341-344.

\(^7\)Ibid., pp. 403-407.
In 1829 the *Journal* published, "An Historical Account of Lithography together with some improvements recently made therein Translated from Gill's *Technological Repository*, from Ferrussac's *Bulletin des Sciences Technologiques*, in its notice on the unpublished work, *Mémoire sur quelques Ameliorations Apportés à l'art de la Lithographie* by M. M. Chevalier and Langelume of Paris.\(^1\) In 1830, "On Improvements in Effacing in Lithography," appeared.\(^2\) The last article of importance appeared in 1831 and was entitled: "Description of Improved Mode of Making Lithographic Transfers," by J. Nethclift.\(^3\)

From 1831 to 1840 there is a note here or there that someone had made an improvement in the technique, and lithographic art appeared in the annual exhibits, but no awards were made. In 1842 J. T. Bowen received a certificate of honorable mention for a specimen of colored lithographic prints\(^4\) from drawings by Audubon, but by 1844 the lithograph was being overshadowed by the first Daguerrreotypes to be exhibited.

\(^3\)Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 276.
The "Premium List" of 1847 presents the diversified material that was now being produced in this country twenty-five years after the first true lithograph had been made here. In the list we find four frames of lithographs by A. Britt; two frames of colored lithographs (assumed to be hand colored) by John Childs; a lithographic portrait of General Scott by Wm. H. Brown; a portrait of Colonel May F. Mahan, after a daguerreotype by Van Loan & Chase, of Washington D. C.; colored lithographs by Wagner & M'Guigan; and a lithographic fashion plate by L. A. & A. F. Ward.

The advent of color printing is publicized in the list for the show of 1848 when A. Britt and Thomas Sinclair each received a first award for "colored lithographs." 

In 1849 P. S. Duval received a first award for his color printing and a third for lithographic "window shades." He surpassed this achievement in 1850 when he carried off the "first premium" for "chromo-lithographic printing" and the judges said that it was a decided advance over anything that they had seen in this country and equal to the best of foreign production in that line.

There is no doubt that the publications of this journal and the competition offered at the Annual Exhibitions of the Franklin Institute spurred on the development of commercial lithography in this country. What is amazing is that none of this printed technical material on how to print from their stones was known to the creative artists after the

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1Ibid., p. 254.

2Idem.

3Ibid., p. 255.
period of 1865 when the art turned completely commercial and the artist lost the knowledge of how to pull prints from his stones.\(^1\)

Before the achievements of the best production in black and white or tonal lithography had been secured, the search for colored lithography started. No graphic art form has ever seemed to be content with mere black and white. Even the Japanese, who seemed to feel that all color was contained in black and white and that color only added a sensuous appeal, produced an abundance of colored wood block prints. Etching did not remain too long within its original means and soon the aquatint was born so it does not seem unreasonable that this article should appear in the *Athenaeum* of 1829:

>A French Society offers a prize for the invention of "a certain and economical method of colored printing in lithography." The method must furnish at least a thousand impressions of one subject... the result shall be less expensive than those which are furnished by the printing in color on copper... the operation need not be confined to the use of one stone.\(^2\)

\(^1\)Early artists like H. Walton and Gustavus Gruenwald must have known the technical process as some of their prints bear no imprint from a printing house and it does not seem likely that a printery would print for them without putting on the house imprint. Ch. Fenderich noted on two lithographs that they were printed by him, although bearing the imprint of P. S. Duval's plant. John Collins who was noted as the "printer for Wild's Views of Philadelphia" could have printed his own series of "Burlington, New Jersey."

The simplest method of coloring prints, if it can be called coloring is the laying of a color or tone over the entire background and this process was called tinting. The method was to run the roller full of color across a stone and then to transfer this colored ink to the paper. The application of the "tint stone" to the paper was generally done before the black and white design was transferred to it. The process is so simple that one wonders that it did not appear in America long before it did. The advent of the tint-stone process on the American scene is aired in the writings of Charles Hart, an early lithographer:

The first known attempt at tint or color printing in America was made by Michelin in 1835 or 36. A lithograph of Madame Celeste dancing the Cachucha was sent to America. It was printed in black and a warm creamy yellowish tint. Nothing of the kind had ever been seen in America before, and the picture naturally excited a great deal of attention and curiosity. No one could discover how it was done till the advent of Michelin. He had done such work at Hullmandels and printed the first picture in America in black and tint which was entitled "The Farewell." That kind of tint continued in use for many years until Charles Hart, in his apprenticeship period used a warm gray on the picture of the little church he was then printing. "The Farewell" was printed in Endicott's Establishment...¹

Actually, Senefelder first used the tint stone over the printed drawing, thus reproducing a more natural background.²

¹Notes from Charles Hart's Writings incorporated into the Diary of C. C. Baldwin at the American Antiquarian Society.

²The procedure is outlined in The Invention of Lithography by Alois Senefelder, pp. 197-198.
The want of highlights was solved by hollowing them out of the tint stone, or by leaving uncolored spots on it when applying the ink. More than likely the tint stone was used in this country before Michelin. Wm. Sharp must have known of it when he did his "Rev. Greenwood" in 1832 but the tale of Charles Hart does illustrate how the American lithographers sought out the products of other countries to discover what advancements were being made abroad.

The "lithotint" process was also developed by Senefelder but C. J. Hullmandel of England was responsible for the adaptation and expansion of the process. He is accorded the credit of making the first successful experiments in the art of lithotinting which preceded true printing in color.¹ His method was to give the stone an aquatint ground after the drawing had been completed. This graining or tone could also be done before the drawing was applied to the stone.² In 1840 he took out a patent in England for this method called "lithotinting," a "New Effect of Light and Shadow Imitating a Brush or Stump Drawing or both combined, produced on Paper being an Impression from Stone."³

¹"The New Art of Lithography," in Miss Leslie's Magazine, April, 1843, pp. 113-114. (no author)

²The term lithotint can also refer to a drawing applied through the use of tusche. In this case the resultant print can be in black and white. For a description of this process see Grant Arnold, op. cit., pp. 135-138. But in this paper I am using the term lithotint to denote a process used to achieve multicolored prints.

³Charles H. Taylor, Notes, at the American Antiquarian Society.
In the late 1830's Wm. Sharp came to Boston with his technique of lithotinting fairly well established; there are enough examples of his early work existing to verify that he had worked with this process previous to his coming to this country.¹

His plates in Mattson's *Vegetable Practice* in 1841 can only be described as a series of printed impressions. They appear to be run from a series of stones, one for each color unit or one stone for the designated number of colors, with each being eradicated after its impression was made. This artist-lithographer combined with Ephraim W. Bouve, lithographed several music covers in 1844 which even incorporated some gold leaf into the designs, and attached to them the word "Chromolithographs." In its strict meaning, "color lithograph" or the word "Chromolithography" could be applied to the lithotint. It was probably in this narrower sense that J. H. Hall used the word, "chromolithographed," to describe the plate "Stomach of the Drunkard" in Sewall's *Pathology of 1841*. The coloring is done with washes of red, easily brushed on to the stone, hence, a lithotint. It was he who first used the word to mean aligned and blended colors. Later the word "polychrome" was used to designate plates having some printed color work. The resemblance to painting, which was its aim, was secured by Duval in his Indian scenes, Ackerman in flower studies, and Sinclair in miniature scenic medallions which mark the peak of this process.²

In 1843, *Miss Leslie's Magazine* served as a kind of clearing house for the three Philadelphia color experimenters, Duval, Sinclair and Wagner & McGuigan. In that year also, J. H. Richard produced his "Grandpapa's Pet" which is generally accepted as the first lithotint done in this

¹A large scrapbook of his English lithotints is in the Art Room of the Boston Public Library.

country.\(^1\) The print's only merit lies in the fact that it is a "first." This magazine mentioned in 1839 that the mere coloring of its prints from steel plates cost three thousand dollars per annum and gave employment to twenty females constantly throughout the year. One can see from this statement why Miss Leslie's Magazine was so concerned with the development of a satisfactory color printing medium. The hand-coloring of lithographs was a slow, laborious process. The lady colorists as they were called, sat around a table with a master sheet in front of them and in assembly line fashion each painted on a particular color or colored a small section of the print.

Miss Leslie's publishers could not have been too happy with the results secured by J. H. Richards' work because no more lithotints appeared in the magazine issues of that year despite the high praise given the new medium.\(^2\) Time heals

\(^1\)Peters, American on Stone, p. 164.

\(^2\)In our present number we present to our subscribers specimens of an art hitherto unknown in the United States; and with few exceptions unknown to the most skillful artist of Europe--an art, destined at no very distant day to achieve a revolution in the pictorial world, such as centuries have not witnessed; and to promote proportionally all the great interests which are connected with the highest successes of the pencil and graver. Of this art Mr. Hullmandel, of London, a lithographer of rare skill has the honor to be the inventor and though thousands have attempted to follow in his footsteps, none have attained an equal perfection. In this country, as we have said, no one has heretofore been able to approach him, and no one has attempted to make a public trial of his abilities in the new art, except Mr. Richards, to whom we are indebted for the opportunity of being the first to present to the American public this novel and useful invention... It is not, of course, pretended
all and in the next year the process was tried again. Geo. Lehman drew and lithotinted the "Pirates Well" which was, however, no better than the previous work. After 1843 the quest for color went on but one sees no work that can be assigned as true color printing. By 1848 P. S. Duval had not achieved the product that he desired and brought Christin Schusele to this country to be in charge of Duval's color development. Schusele had studied lithography under Simon of Strassburg but his American production seems mainly to have been in the making of the so called "fancy print." The process of true color in lithographic printing had arrived by 1856 when this article was written by a contemporary of P. S. Duval:

In regard to the drawing in color the same method that Mr. Richards is the inventor of this art, but he is certainly entitled to warm praise for his skill, perseverance and industry; for by the most patient investigation, after more than a twelve month period in various and frequently baffling experiments, he has at length discovered a species of ink, and a method of applying it to the stone, which after a few further trials, will enable him to produce effects scarcely inferior to those of Mr. Hullmandel himself. Miss Leslie's Magazine, (April) 1843. "The New Art of Lithography," (no author) p. 113.

1 Ibid., 1844, p. 119.

2 Christian Schusele (Chussele or Schussele) was born in Grebweiler, Alsace. He is supposed to have been forced out of France by the Revolution of 1848 and came to Philadelphia in that year at the invitation of P. S. Duval. Later he became a professor of drawing at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts, and held this position until his death in 1879. Charles H. Taylor, Notes, at American Antiquarian Society. Also Peters, America on Stone, p. 361.
and white reproduction is again resorted to, except that each portion of the drawing forming a different color, must be executed on a separate stone; but during the printing the whole is finally combined on the same paper, forming eventually a work that looks like a painting. It is here necessary to observe, that each color should be strictly adjusted in its place to insure success, and the more readily to obtain this result, iron frames, made expressly, are used, in the center of which the stone is first secured; then at a given point, through the medium of particular screws, this iron frame, to which little steel points are attached as indicators on which the printer adjusts his paper and being careful to prick the paper each time in the same place for each impression, together with the stone being suitable and accurately placed, all the colors can in this way be printed in their appropriate places.

An experienced artist, in this branch of lithography, can produce drawings equal in brilliancy of color to oil paintings, and at the same time he can employ an unlimited number of colors, should the drawing require it.¹

Even today the registration of colors is a trying and difficult operation and is one of the reasons why more creative lithographers do not leave the area of black and white prints.

With the subtlety of coloring used in the first of the chromolithographs, it is often difficult to ascertain whether a print is hand colored, a lithotint, or a true chromo but if one checks the print on the reverse side, two or more tiny holes will be seen if it is not hand colored. This registering method was sometimes used in laying down the background tone from a tint stone but less frequently.

¹Edward Young, "Lithography" in Leading Pursuits and Leading Men, Phil., 1856, p. 232.
Up to this date (1856) lithography was still to be considered a fine art and a creative medium but with the next innovation we find assembly line printing appearing with little consideration for aesthetic qualities. In 1848 P. S. Duval installed the first steam operated presses. The art, now a business, was described as follows:

In 1843 Mr. Duval on becoming proprietor of his present establishment made every effort to increase the demand for the productions of his art, which previously had not furnished employment to more than two presses in any establishment, and to this end he published several periodicals, with lithographed illustrations. As these works had considerable circulation, they brought the art to the notice of the public, and make known its utility and capacity. The government of the United States became one of its patrons by intrusting to it the illustrations of numerous reports of expeditions sent out to explore its vast domains and as these reports were generally accompanied by maps, views, and subjects of natural history and botany, they furnished a vast amount of work for the lithographic press. Mr. Duval has always obtained a large portion of this work and has at this time a large contract on hand to furnish the illustrations accompanying the report of Lt. Gibbons on the Amazon River, and also those for Lieut. Gilles' Astronomical Expedition to Brazil...

Another source from which this art receives a great supply of work is in the printing of copper plate engravings transferred to stone, as a large proportion of all the maps now published in this country are printed by the lithographic press. The method of doing this has already been described, but as transferring may be considered an art in itself not universally understood, even by Lithographers, it is proper to mention the name of Mr. F. Borquin, who first introduced it into Mr. Duval's establishment, and who to this day has but few rivals. The rapid increase of the business will be at once perceived, when we state that Mr. Duval now runs thirty-four presses, and employs from seventy to eighty hands constantly, besides furnishing work to a hundred and sometimes one hundred fifty print
colorists. This immense increase suggested to Mr. Duval in 1841 the idea of adapting steam power to his lithographic press, which he succeeded in doing, and consequently was the first to introduce this important improvement in the business. He has now about twenty-four of his presses working by steam, and his establishment—the largest in the country—is a model of perfect successful operation.

In 1856 Duval was running steam presses and still employing colorists but by 1865 this would give way to complete color printing. An odd fact in the history of color development is that no patent on the process of Chromo Lithography was granted until 1871. Whether the government would not accept the work up to that date is not known.

With the steam press, lithography is shortly to be dominated by the compositor and the result is to be found in the flamboyant posters and advertisements of the sixties and seventies.

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1Ibid., p. 236.
2Charles H. Taylor, Notes on Lithography.
CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LITHOGRAPHY

IN THE UNITED STATES

When in 1804 Benjamin West made his lithographic drawing of "He is Risen, He is not Here" for the Specimen Book of Polyautography in England he very probably was the first American artist (if he could still be called an American) to make a lithograph. In keeping with the rest of the drawings in this book there is nothing outstanding about West's print, showing the angel hovering over the tomb of Christ and the three Marys being told the news. The book is nothing more than the title would indicate, specimens of lithography, only at this time called Polyautography. West's print was done eight years after the discovery of lithography by Senefelder but may still be the first American lithograph. Later, West was to be included in the Catalogue of the Centenary of Lithography, 1796-1896, Exhibition of Boston in 1896 with a "Hercules." These are the only two lithographs by West recorded in America although the New York Public Library has a few unsigned portrait lithographs of West's family.

The discovery of lithography, by Alois Senefelder, whether it was accidentally or theoretically arrived at,

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1 There is a copy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

2 Artist's File, under West.
came about in 1796. From the very first airing of the story of its birth, the idea of accidental discovery seems to have captured the popular imagination and soon became the accepted explanation. Senefelder fought this popular concept all his life, stating that the whole process had been one of scientific reasoning and that if there was a happy accident it was only of a relatively minor technical phase. In as much as stone engraving had been used in the reproduction of music long before his time and the fact that he knew of it and in as much as he had the ingredients on hand which made the story of the laundry list possible, I favor the concept of the rational invention over the chance discovery although the latter makes a good tale. It is astounding to realize that Bavaria was the only place in the world where the invention could have occurred because this limestone could not be found in a state of perfection good enough to make the invention possible anywhere else. Later, after the technique was perfected, usable stone was to be found in Spain, Canada, Russia, and in Kentucky and Ohio in the

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1I had just ground a stone plate smooth in order to treat it with etching fluid and to pursue on it my practice in reverse writing when my mother asked me to write a laundry list for her. The laundress was waiting but we could find no paper. My own supply had been used up by pulling proofs. Even the writing ink was dried up. Without bothering to look up for writing materials, I wrote the list hastily on the clean stone with my prepared ink of wax, soap and lampblack, intending to copy it as soon as paper was supplied. The Invention of Lithography by Alois Senefelder. Translated from the original German by J. W. Muller, (1911) New York, Fuchs & Lang, p. 7.
United States, but the best for lithographic purposes still comes from the Solenhofen district of Bavaria.

Senefelder, after receiving the Protective Rights to his invention from the King of Bavaria, started to expand his development into all of what is now Germany, then England. It was on his first visit to England that he probably met West and as an outgrowth of this meeting we see West’s plate included in the Specimen Book. The introduction of lithography into France came later due to the fact that Napoleon would not permit its entry for fear that it would lead to mass counterfeiting.¹ Only with the Restoration did it make an entry. The so-called French Golden Age might never have happened if Napoleon had lived forever.

All of this expanding of the lithographic process was done, first, with the idea of mass reproduction of illustrative matter; secondly, with a hopeful desire to develop a process of applying colored designs to cheap cotton fabrics; thirdly, to invade the music publishing industry by producing sheet music cheaply; and lastly, for use as an art product. The latter two mentioned were generally leased out to other interested parties wherever one of the European lithographic establishments was started, which demonstrates the low regard with which these two phases were held.

¹This statement has never been verified. It is apparently well known to people working with lithographs. A chronological development of the art as told by Senefelder shows that it was well established in Germany and England before entering France.
Just who was responsible for the importation of lithography into the New World can not be satisfactorily explained and may never be known. It is probable that West was indirectly responsible. In an artist's handbook and dictionary bearing the title *The American Artist's Manual or Dictionary of Practical Knowledge in the Application of Philosophy to the Arts and Manufacturers* by Jas. Catbush, published in Philadelphia in 1814, there is found under the heading of Etching a subdivision of Stone Etching, followed by a short description of etching on stone. It is herein stated that this process is being carried out as practiced by a group of gentlemen in London, including Mr. West, and that this process is undergoing experiments in this city but that to date there have been no satisfactory results. From the description of the process there can be no doubt that it was true lithography and not just stone etching.

Even earlier this notice appeared in the *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, on January 8, 1808: "Dr. Mitchell of New York received a lithographic stone and inks from Paris and made some experiments in this new art." In the early days of lithography in Paris it was possible to buy or rent stones, make a drawing, bring the stone to a lithographic establishment and have the stone printed at a small cost. It may have been one of these amateurs who made the tusche drawing of "St. Paul's Church, New York City." The drawing shows the use of lining for sky, as would have been
done by the liner's machine of the worker on copper. The scroll border embellishment found on it also is a carry-over from the engraver. This crude lithographic drawing is so close to the technique and style of the engraver that one feels that it must have been done quite early in the century, as early as anything done by Bass Otis.¹

With America as the escape grounds for the adventurers of Europe and with Americans again going abroad for culture and business in the early days of the republic it is possible that the first new medium in three centuries came into this country via some novelty seeker. The knowledge that it was practiced abroad doubtless provided an incentive for the engravers to go to England or France to obtain its secrets. We know that J. Milbert knew of it when he arrived for his sojourn in this country.

A few writers have lamented and questioned why it took the process so long to be imported from Europe. The appearance of a new medium has always engrossed the art historian. Actually lithography was twenty-two years old in Europe when it made its appearance here which can be dated. Does the development of a new technique appear through a need of it? Is it always latent in a climate which is technically conducive to its coming into being? We do know that it came into

¹This print is undated, but Mr. Phelps Stokes documents it as being done by 1819 or earlier. His source is a similar drawing made by the artist Strickland at that time. The print is on loan to the Museum of the City of New York.
being in the one spot where the invention was possible, and it did arrive in America at the time when the need was ripe, when there was the first great desire for mass dissemination of illustrative matter.

The artist Bass Otis has generally been accorded the honor of producing the first American lithograph which can be dated. Technically his first works are a combination of etching on stone and lithography. The white areas of his prints were secured by acid eating away the stone so there was no surface to print and the remaining raised portions carrying the ink for printing. Actually he used intaglio methods. The first writers in my field assumed his prints to be true lithographs but through the interest of collectors and historians in the 1930's it was discovered that his prints were achieved largely through the stone etch process. Hence, from this time on comes the nomination of men as the first to achieve a print utilizing the planeographic principle of lithography as known to Senefelder.

Bass Otis was primarily a painter; his interest in lithography occupies a short space in his career, but he was the first to instigate exploration into the medium and leave

1Frank Weitenkampf writing in 1912, American Graphic Art, New York, The MacMillan Co., p. 152 called the "Portrait of Rev. Abner Kneeland" by Bass Otis (1818) "a mixture of line, stipple and aquatint." In 1931, as will be shown, George Echardt discounts Otis's first work as being lithographs. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has classified the portrait as "stone etching and lithography."
documented evidence. He was born in Bridgewater, Mass., in 1784, the son of a physician, and in his youth was appren­ticed to a scythe-maker. He studied in New York from 1808 to 1812 and then moved to Philadelphia. His specialty was portraiture and in this respect he further specialized in "portraits after death." He must have had a scientific bent for in 1815 he invented a perspective protractor highly rec­ommended by Birch, Sully and other Philadelphia artists.¹ He also did some experimenting in mezzotint because the two extant prints in the medium bear witness to the fact that they were executed as experiments.²

In 1818 he drew and etched on stone the portrait of the Rev. Abner Kneeland, as a frontispiece to a book of that clergyman's sermons, published in that year. This print antedates the "Bath House" which appeared in the Analectic Magazine of February 1819 which the earliest writings in this field credit with being the first American lithograph. Neither print has any great artistic merit.

Otis must have done a considerable amount of experi­menting and produced many more of these stone etchings than have survived. It is recorded in the Notes of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia of 1818 at Independence

¹Mantel Fielding, American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel, A Supplement to David Stauffer, Phil., Printed Privately, 1917, p. 30.

²Ibid.
Hall that, "The Lithographic Stone belonging to the Cabinet of the Society has been loaned to Dr. Brown (of Alabama) and Mr. Otis...experiments in the art of Lithographic Engravings... This stone was imported from Munich by Mr. Thomas Dodson of Philadelphia who presented it to the Society...

Probably earlier than any of the previously mentioned prints is the experimental work, "Christ Healing the Sick," after West. The stone bearing this pitted image is also owned by the Philosophical Society but no print exists. Here we again find West's name associated with American lithography, which further strengthens his connections with the first lithography in this country. It also might indicate that Otis was one of the men who was part of the group of experimenters mentioned in the Artist's Handbook of 1814 for this book makes direct reference to the fact these gentlemen were working along the lines of West's group in London.

In the American Journal of Science and Art of 1818 we find that,

We are promised for our next Number, a full account of this art, of which we have received a beautiful specimen, A Minerva, executed by Mr. Bates [sic] Otis, an ingenious and enterprising artist of Philadelphia, who, under the patronage of Dr. Samuel Brown, is preparing to disseminate

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1Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. Compiled by One of the Secretaries from the Manuscript Minutes of Its Meetings from 1744 to 1838. Phil., (1884) Entry May 7, 1819, p. 487.

2Ibid., p. 439.
the production of his skill, and to make this important art (executed with American materials) extensively useful to this country. [The promised article was not published, however]

By this time Otis had probably exhausted his supply of imported stone and was looking about for native stone. Even the image of the lithograph "Christ Healing the Sick," appears to have been done on Kentucky limestone.

After his initial experiments, Otis seems to have gone back to painting although later he drew two more portraits, "The Rev. Joseph Eastburn, Drawn on Stone by B. Otis, Copyright secured, 1826, Imberts Lith., New York" and the "Portrait of M. B. Roche, Drawn by B. Otis, Childs & Inman, 1831." A lithograph entitled "The Rear Guard" by him is listed in the Boston Catalogue of the Centenary of Lithography, 1796-1896, Exhibition of 1896. The print is not in the collection of Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Some of Otis's portraits were to be lithographed by later lithographers. Albert Newsam was to put on stone Otis's portrait of the famous Philadelphian, Girard.

Otis went back to New York in 1845, on to Boston and back to Philadelphia in 1859. He died in Philadelphia in 1861. By this time his early experiments had fostered a thriving art which was already declining in quality.

In 1820 only one print is known. The second of Otis's stone engravings, "The Old Mill," appears in the Analectic Magazine of that year. Neither of Otis's prints which
appeared in this magazine are scarce and can be found in any of the large collections.

1821 saw no more experiments, but in 1822 the race in true lithography began. In that year "lythography" as it is sometimes spelled, had two major productions, one by Charles LeSueur (Lesueur) and one by J. Milbert. Which came first is relatively unimportant. George H. Echardt champions Le Sueur as the producer of the first true lithograph refuting Peters who says that the firm of Barnet & Doolittle had that honor. Echardt defends his position in the following:

Thus it became possible for the Journal\(^1\) of the Academy to attain the object announced in the preface of its first issue, namely, "to be as cheap and as unostentatious as the nature of the subjects will admit; so that it need not encroach on the funds of the society, or of those who wish to purchase it."

With this end in view, Charles Alexander LeSueur, a distinguished French naturalist, who had come to Philadelphia in 1815, produced what no less an authority than Joseph Jackson regards as the first true lithograph in the United States. Previous to this, the art was not at all well understood in this country and such examples of it were before LeSueur's attempt a combination of engravings on stone and lithography.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)The Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences, published in Phil., Pa.


LeSueur's production consisted of two fishes, drawn by him for the 1822 June issue of the journal. It is plate 10 of the work.

J. Milbert signed one of the three plates in *The American Journal of Science and Art* of 1822 which were lithographed by Barnet & Doolittle of New York. The signed plate is a folding map of the Coal Mines of Treuil near Etienne. Very likely the other two plates were also from his hand and he may have been the delineator of the unsigned lithographs in *The Grammar of Botany* lithographed by the same firm in that year. This book is thought to be the first American book using lithographic illustrations. Thus Milbert, the French artist-engineer, may share honors with his fellow countryman LeSueur as the producer of the first American true lithograph.¹

¹J. Milbert was a French adventurer who came to this country and spent the years from 1815 to 1823 sketching and working on the canal system of New York State. He returned to France and put out two lithographic series of prints...
In many respects the development of the early lithographic houses and their connection with the artists of the period is one of the most fascinating aspects in the total field of the nineteenth century American lithography. This subject was once suggested to me as a dissertation in itself. Unfortunately the records of many of the houses have been lost or destroyed when the firms were liquidated or changed their line of business. For example the Fuch & Lang Manufacturing Co., (Lithographic House) which published much of the early history of lithography and much on Senefelder and built one of the largest collection of prints, is now the Sun Printing Ink Co. The Fuchs & Lang Collection of prints is now housed in the Smithsonian Institute. The Strowbridge, Wallace & Middleton firm of Cincinnati; one of the oldest plants in the midwest, lost all of its records in a fire in 1889.

The almost complete index of the names of lithographic firms and a limited history appears in Peters' America on Stone. The later firms do not come within my scope due to the fact that many of them were organized after the art quality had been completely subjugated to the printing compositor. The early firms lured, hired, and trained the artists or at least the artisans to work for them but the later

bearing both French and English titles; "A Series of Picturesque Views of North America" and "A Series of Picturesque Views of the Hudson River." They were both lithographed in France, but the entire production found its way to this country and can be located piecemeal in the large print collections.
firms used illustrator-craftsmen, as demonstrated in *Plug Tobacco and Fine Art*\(^1\). This enlightening booklet tried humorously to show the tenuous connection between fine art and chromo lithographed tobacco labels. Viewed with contemporary eyes these labels are laughable and were the petty picture for the nineteenth century male and helped usher in the era of sex in advertising.

From the outset the lithographic house took all the credit for any work issuing from their presses, the artist being a robot who drew and drew for them, receiving a wage. In the case of A. J. Davis, Pendletons included his board and that was all. Dunlap who is one of the first to mention lithography decries this situation in 1837 saying: "The first lithographic establishment of which I have any knowledge was made amidst many difficulties by Mr. Imbert of New York. They are now almost innumerable throughout the United States. But however beautiful or perfect the plates are, the credit is transferred to the master of the establishment, and the artist is sunk. This must change. The artist must be announced and must be Master."\(^2\) In the long history

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of the production of the House of Kellogg\(^1\) seldom does one see an initial, to say nothing of the name of the artist who made the drawing on stone. The hundreds of music covers done by Winslow Homer bear only the "W.H." and were discovered as his only after it had been established that he had worked for Bufford of Boston. If an artist had an established reputation as in the case of Rembrandt Peale, the signature of the artist appears and this only through the selfish interest of the publisher due to the fact that the work might sell better with an established artist's name on it. Cases of doubt were resolved by omission. J. T. Bowen, for example, removed Wild's signature when he reissued his "Philadelphia Views."

The insecurity of the artist which seems always to have been a condition of the printing trade made the artist-lithographer a wandering tramp, working first for one firm and then another, going from city to city pursuing the illusive rainbow.

An examination of the printing houses can be best accomplished through a chronological development. Their growth after the first few is a kind of offshoot progression of apprenticeship, journeyman, employee, and then owner. There are some exceptions to this rule to be found in the German and Swiss immigrants like Kurz who came to this

\(^1\)The Kelloggs started in Hartford, Conn. but branched into Buffalo and New York City.
country in 1848 and were already trained in lithographic techniques. Kurz established his plant in Chicago, along with a man named Allison. They are best known for their unrestrained chromos of Civil War Battles.

Although Charles LeSueur may have been tied with Barnet & Doolittle in producing the first American true lithograph, he never started a lithographic press and how his work was printed is not known.

This problem of having a press is not too important as presses were probably here long before they were written about, and the printing from the stone could have been done in any number of ways without a lithographic press. Letter presses existed in all the print shops and heavy cylinders were used in early recorded writings.

Barnet & Doolittle whose three plates in the American Journal of Science and Arts, Vol. IV, No. 1, (1822) and whose book A Grammar of Botany is the first book using lithographic plates¹ is the first American lithographic firm. Actually the firm may have been established as early as 1821 at 23 Lumber Street, New York. Isaac Doolittle came from a family of engravers but Barnet's origins are pretty much clouded in obscurity.

¹Miss Ann Waite, Charles H. Taylor, and Harry Peters all agree that this is the first book to employ lithography. I have been able to find nothing that antedates this production.
Isaac Doolittle was born in New Haven, October 13, 1784, the son of Isaac and Desire Bellamy Doolittle. He may have been related to Amos Doolittle, the engraver of the scenes in the campaign of 1775.

Doolittle and William Armand Barnet (son of Isaac Cox Barnet, the American Consul in Paris from 1816-1833), wrote two letters in Paris, February 27, 1818, relative to their attempt to secure American patents for an improvement in steamboats. These are in the New-York Historical Society. They give Barnet's address as Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Doolittle's as New Haven.

In 1821 there was published in Paris Oliver Evan's "Manuel de l'Ingénieur Mecanicien constructeur de machines à vapeur," translated by I. Doolittle with notes in French by the translator. This volume included at the end a letter from I. Doolittle, dated Paris, December, 1820...

Here in Paris may lie both the source of the knowledge and the source of the press that this first firm used. It also may give the incentive for which it was started as the two unsigned plates in The American Journal are designs for improvements for steamboats.

It is taken for granted that Barnet accompanied his father, who was a government official, to Paris and there was initiated into lithography. In the previous section I drew attention to the fact that one of the first plates was signed by J. Milbert and that this Frenchman may have assisted in the establishment of the plant.

With the name of Arthur J. Stansbury we come to the second lithographic house which was established hot on the

1Peters, America on Stone, p. 89.
heels of the first. Standsbury did the drawings for The Grammar of Botany and in the next year, 1823, he was in Washington D. C. doing work for the Press of Henry Stone. This is attested to in "Plan of the Floor of the House of Representatives. Showing the Seat of Each Member, Drawn on Stone by Arthur J. Stansbury December 23, 1823. Printed by Henry Stone." (American Antiquarian Society) It seems he was a very versatile fellow.

How Henry Stone was introduced to lithography is still a mystery. Although the Stone family has lived in Washington from this date, 1823, up to the present time, they are still an illusive family to trace; and Henry Stone continues to be one of the most illusive lithographers.\(^1\)

\(^1\)An Englishman by birth, Henry Stone was the son of one Charles Henry Stone, of His Majesty's Navy, who, in the early days of the Republic, came to the United States and eventually settled in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. From England he brought with him his wife, Anna Marie Garnett Stone, and two young sons, Henry and James, children of a prior marriage. As Henry grew to manhood, he became interested in lithography, just as the new art was winning a foothold in this country. E. A. Wright and J. A. McDevitt, "Henry Stone Litographer," in Antiques, July, Vol. 34 (1938) pp. 16-19.

A letter from Mr. Charles S. Groves, October 13, 1919, to Mr. Taylor, states that Henry Stone is entered in the Washington directory of 1822 as a "lithographic printer," north side "F" St. between 19th and 20th and that this is the area known as "Foggy Bottom." Mr. H. C. Gauss, acting for Mr. Taylor, interviewed Mr. Garnett Stone Brown, of Washington, a descendent, who is quoted as saying that Henry had a shop where the Senate Office building is now and James at 14th and F Street, that they had an apprentice John Garnett Stone, a half brother who was later engineer of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, that Henry and James quarrelled over a girl, and that Henry owned the estate Stonington, in
It has been speculated that Henry and (Wm.) James Stone's connections with lithography came through the Maverick family of engravers and lithographers. Somehow it has been established that the elder Stone was a friend of the Mavericks although they do not have any lithographic production which can be dated before 1824.

In 1818, Maverick and Durand nursed another William, a very seriously ill young man by the name of William James Stone, because Stone's relatives were too far away even to know of his illness. Since, a dozen years later, Stone was established as an engraver in Washington, D. C., it is probable that he was one of the Mavericks' apprentices at the time of his illness.¹

If it can be accepted that (William) James Stone learned lithography from the Mavericks, it is safe then to say that Henry did too.²

Montgomery County, fifteen miles from Washington. Mr. Brown has a portrait of Henry Stone. Mr. Stauffer notes Henry Stone as an engraver and lithographer and guesses that he was connected with "Mr. and Mrs. William J. Stone," engravers. There will have to be more investigation before this matter is finally made clear.

Wm. James Stone... His engraving work includes maps of Washington, 1820 and 1839, and a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence, 1823, ordered by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State. There is a map of Washington, 1829, engraved by Mrs. Stone. W. J. Stone lithographed a few fugitive sketches. Peters, America on Stone, pp. 375-76.


²I have also located an early lithograph of a small house with a note on the plate "Charcoal transfer by Benj. Stone, but used only for experiment." American Antiquarian Society. Where this Stone fits into the picture would be interesting to know.
From The Washington Gazette, November 15, 1822, it is evident that Stone was in business and had established a press. In addition to describing the service that his press could render to the public he advertised that the lithographs were run from a smooth surface of marble. Although his announcement to the public appears in 1822 there is no lithographic production which can be dated as coming at that time. In 1823 Stone published his lithographic masterpiece, The Timber Merchants Guide. It contained thirty, hand-colored lithographic plates bearing the signature of Henry Stone which "represented the figures of the principle pieces of timber, used in building a seventy-four gun ship of the

1Mr. Henry Stone, residing on F Street...has recently devoted himself to this art; and by his skill and experience in drawing, has upon a smooth surface of marble with chemical and other inks printed off, beautiful designs of various figures for needle-work, etc.... He has it in contemplation...immediately to commence the publication of a Periodical Miscellany of Music from his Lithographic Press; and having arranged his correspondence in the principal cities, will furnish the ladies of the District and elsewhere with the newest pieces... The inventors of the newest machines who may require drawings as an accompaniment of their specifications at the Patent Office will find it to their advantage to apply to Mr. Henry Stone. Washington Gazette, November 15, 1822.

Mr. Stone respectfully informs his friends and the public that having succeeded in establishing a LITHOGRAPHIC PRESS, which is now daily in operation, he tenders his services as a lithographer to those who may wish to publish drawings of any description, Music, Linear Perspective,... and those who may wish to encourage an infant art, which, from its being in the power of every one who draws, preserves all their delicacy of style and execution, as well as from its extreme simplicity, economy and ingenious inventors. Washington Gazette, 20 April, 1822.
line, in standing trees." This very interesting guide was published by James Lovegrove, of Baltimore, to illustrate the particular part of a tree suitable for keel piece, stern, stern post, gundeck beam, rudder stock, etc. This was the second book with lithographed illustrations in America.¹

Only two lithographic prints are known to exist that were drawn and lithographed by Henry Stone. They are "Boarding School, Alexandria D. C." and "Portrait of Amos Kendall, H. Stone, De Rose, pinxt." The latter portrays the seated Mr. Kendall. This print is also undated. (American Antiquarian Society)²

Where and how Stone was able to learn the technique of executing lithography on marble is one of the mysteries of this field. It does show the trend that was established

¹After 1826 he ceased advertising in the Washington Gazette, and his name disappears from the Washington directory of 1827. Indeed, from this time until July, 1834, we find no record of him. In 1834, however, he made a lithograph to accompany an announcement of the Alexandria (D.C.) Boarding School, a thriving institution for boys run by Prof. B. Hallowell, a teacher of Robert E. Lee. Since this lithograph was printed by P. Hass, of Washington, we may surmise that Henry no longer operated his own press... Henry never married. His later life was spent with his step-mother at their home at Stonington, Montgomery County, Maryland. Here it was that he died. Quoted from Wright, McDevitt article in Antiques, (July 1938), pp. 16-19.

²In 1824 Stone drew three folding plates, all mechanical drawings for John Thomas's "Improved Planking for Vessels by Hooking or Jogging the Planks Etc." which appeared in the Washington Quarterly Magazine. In 1825 he drew a folding plate of Bath and Refrigerator, for Mary Randolph's Housewife, 2nd Ed., Washington D. C.
early in American lithography as in other countries to ex-
periment with native stone thereby hoping to avoid the neces-
sity of importing the expensive Bavarian limestone.

The next important house from the point of time was
made with the entry of the Maverick family into lithography.
The exact date that this well established printing house
entered into the field is not known but existing work would
suggest 1824-25 as possible dates.1 This family so impor-
tant to the field of American graphic arts has been covered
in a book written by Stephen DeWitt Stephens in 1950,
culminating ten years of research. This book still leaves
the family's lithographic production with many gaps and
points that still are unscrambled.2

From the staff of the print department of the Newark
Public Library, which owns the best Maverick collection, I
received the opinion that Peter Maverick Sr. never did much
lithography but seems to have sent his daughters out to
learn the trade so that when he departed the shop could
continue, for it appeared that engraving was losing out to
the new invader. This move was prompted by the fact that

1#2001, Stephens Checklist, Birds. Lith: 8.6 x 5.10.
Songbirds billing on blossoming apple bough. Sig: "C. M.
vign., 8 x 6.8. Five grimacing or crying children, one
holding struggling dog. In family scrapbook, signed in pen-
cil "Catherine Maverick."

2See Stephan DeWitt Stephen, The Mavericks, American
of all the children Maverick fathered, only one son was to survive. In the trade this son is often referred to as Peter-Peter Maverick. In the check list in Stephen's book, all the assigned lithographs, with the exception of one by the son, are the work of the daughters. Typical of these prints is "Excursion" by A. M. Townsend, nee Anna Marie Maverick. (Fig. 7)

Peter Maverick, the son of the engraver Peter Rushton Maverick, was in New York in 1792 running his shop. Later, he moved to Newark, New Jersey, established a home-shop-farm enterprise and did some teaching. Later, in 1826 he was to become one of the founders of the National Academy of Design.

Again the question arises as to how the Mavericks came by their knowledge of lithography. Nowhere does there seem to be any indication as to where it came from but as a good bit of their work was the copying of English models, it is possible that this may have been the source.¹

¹"Engraving was not a cheap method of reproduction, even if enough copies were printed to make the cost of the original plate relatively small, as bills of Maverick and his contemporaries testify. The Durand-Perkins firm, in 1828, for instance, charged $250 for engraving a copper-plate of four banknotes, and half that amount for retouching it after the guaranteed six thousand impressions, to make it good for six thousand more. Steel engravings were just becoming possible, and the same work on steel cost twice as much, though the guaranteed product was thirty thousand impressions before retouching, and twenty thousand more afterwards. The charge for printing these plates, however, was given as two dollars a hundred, with no mention of an extra charge for the paper stock. Although prices varied, the small print done in the lithographic process ran around six cents with no other charge.² For each operation of
The history of the Maverick shop is especially interesting to one concerned with graphic arts because it offers a look into the American counterpart of the print establishments of Europe and the apprenticeship system as it operated here in this country.

But a craftsman's shop was not only a business establishment, it was also a training school. At No. 3 Crown Street and at No. 65 Liberty Street, where the Mavericks moved in 1794, Peter must have been in daily contact with many whose names were to be important ones in the graphic arts. ... Francis Kearny...recorded as Maverick's apprentice from 1798 on. Kearny was near Peter Maverick's age, and the two young men worked together for years.1 Later Kearny was to be a partner in the short lived Philadelphia Lithographic firm of Pendleton, Kearny and Childs.

Under Peter Maverick we find that William James Stone, members of the Peale family, C. Toppan, J. Herring, Henry

inking this plate, wiping it clean, and running the plate and paper through the press, Maverick charged ten cents, and for the sheet of paper for this engraving of approximately sixteen by eighteen inches he charged about five cents. If only five hundred copies were made from this plate, the cost of cutting the plate added twenty-five cents for each copy. To these costs must also be added the shipping charges from New York to Richmond. In the light of such costs, it is no wonder that the cheap and easy process of lithography—though it resulted in a muddy surface and a ragged line which must have set many a good engraver's teeth on edge—pushed very rapidly to the foreground." Stephens, The Mavericks, p. 64. As a lithographer I must say to Mr. Stephens, "Each man to his own bad taste." I have seen the same lithographs that he is discussing and they are not "muddy surfaced and ragged lined," in fact if they were, they would be preferred to the monotonous line of the engraver's burin. If the lithographs of the Mavericks lack the technical performance that is to be found in the later lithographs, let us be tolerant in view of the fact that they were pioneering a new medium.\

1Ibid., p. 61
Inman, George Catlin, Moses Swett, and John Neagle are either apprentices or came to work with the Mavericks, or are connected with the firm in some other way. One can establish that William James Stone and Moses Swett were actually apprentices. Swett later became the superintendent of the "Senefelder Lith. Press" during its short life and now is included with early genre painters. Henry Inman's work is included in The Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York production with the Maverick imprint, and his first connections with the lithographic medium probably came through them.

When Peter Sr. died and a sale of his property was held in 1831 because he left no will, the Young Peter and William Henry Townsend, the husband of Cornelia, bought some of the property of the shop and carried on a kind of partnership. The inventory of his possessions also gives an insight into a shop of this period:

The varied kinds of work carried on in his shop required extensive equipment, and from the inventory of his estate at his death we know that Peter's shop was well equipped. In addition to one copperplate press, there were four items identified only as presses, two items which were listed as iron-screw presses, three called lithographic presses, and one called an iron lithographic press. In the sale which followed his death these eleven presses ranged in price from twenty to seventy-six dollars. Paper of various kinds, sometimes with the quantity specified but sometimes merely "a lot of paper in the corner," brought nearly three hundred dollars. The largest and heaviest asset in Peter Maverick's estate was lithographic stone. The various lots of this, which sold always for ten cents a pound,
total more than two and a half tons.\(^1\)

There survives by Peter Jr. only one documented lithograph.\(^2\) In a careful check of Stephen's book, I can find no work that can positively be assigned to the father. The endorsement of his products through his imprint beclouds the whole of his print production and unless there is a definite signature to stamp it as being done by an individual other than Peter Maverick Sr., one can never tell whose hand it came from.

With the death of Peter Jr. the work of the family did not stop. Two of the daughters married the Townsend brothers who set up their own lithographic presses.\(^3\) As neither

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 61.

\(^2\)Young Peter's contemporaries seem to regard him as an unworthy son of a worthy father, but the records do not indicate whether their opinion was based on a comparison of their business efficiency, their social behavior, or their technical skill. At any rate, he continued to work in lithography up to his death on September 6, 1845. At a recent sale, because of its rarity, his lithographic view of Wall Street, New York, sold for nearly four thousand dollars. This print was long assumed to be the work of his father, and it is possible that other lithographs attributed to his father are instead work of the son. Ibid., p. 78.

\(^3\)In spite of the fact that the majority of Peter's children were girls, it is in this branch of the family that the association of the name Maverick with the arts was most strongly continued. Ibid., p. 26. The two eldest girls, Emily and Maria Ann, worked in their father's shop as his pupils and assistants in drawing and engraving, and when about 1824 Peter turned to the new field of lithography, both girls became active associates, reproducing drawings and doing original ones. Like other apprentices, they must have done also much of the simpler work on plates and stones signed by their father. Ibid., p. 58. On January 31, 1843,
of them are listed as Maverick apprentices, it can be assumed that the wives taught them the trade.

Of equal importance with the Mavericks in the dissemination of the knowledge of the lithographic technique, is the firm of Anthony Imbert. Imbert, so Archibald Robinson said, was a professional marine painter, who was captured in the war between France and England and taken to England as a prisoner of war. To wile away his time and improve his talents he became interested in lithography and after his release he eventually came to New York and there established one of the early lithographic presses.\(^1\)

On display at the Museum of the City of New York is the one and only example of Imbert's painting. It is entitled a "View of New York Harbor" with some of the brigs of the time lying at anchor. This oil, which is no miniature, has a wonderful Chinese quality that makes one feel that he was captured by the Chinese instead of the English. In keeping when the aging Dunlap was completing his Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, he was visited by "Two Misses Maverick" who brought with them samples of lithographic work. These girls may well have been Otavia and Catherine, the only other daughters of Peter whose signed works testify to their abilities in the graphic arts. What appears to be their only public available signed work may be found in the scrapbooks acquired by the Newark Public Library in 1947. Since there is record of a letter written by Dunlap to their brother Peter Jr. (then the head of his father's business) only a few days before their visit, it is conceivable that they had come at Dunlap's request...

\(^{1}\text{Ibid., p. 76.}\)

\(^{1}\text{Peters, America on Stone, p. 228. This biographical information can be authenticated at the Museum of the City of New York.}\)
with the topsy turvey career of Imbert, the painting was discovered in England by an English naval officer and returned to this country. It demonstrates that Imbert was a very competent painter.

By 1825 he established his lithographic house in New York City and for ten years he ranked along with the Pendletons and Childs & Inman as one of the pioneers whose output was not only prolific but of good quality. In 1825 he was listed as "painter" in the New York directory and from then until his widow was listed as selling boys' clothing in 1838-39 he continued as a lithographer. Imbert gathered around him some of the best artists and craftsmen of the time to work for him. As with his painting, his own signed lithographs are scarce. To date I have located only one, "The Institute at Flushing," drawn and lithographed by Imbert, no date, now at the American Antiquarian Society. (Fig. 8) Like most other lithographers he seemed to have become so involved in the running of his plant that he discontinued working on stone himself.

Imbert gathered around him two groups of draftsmen, some who seem to have been foreign immigrants like himself and others the old familiar faces that were seen before or will be seen again at other establishments, i.e., George Catlin; A. J. Davis, later to become the architect; Bass Otis; E. W. Clay and D. C. Johnson who drew cartoons; Archibald Robinson, R. Cooke, and Henry Inman who had also
worked for the Mavericks; plus a host of names that are only names today.

One of two facts which are important in the short and vague career of this artist-lithographer is that he was one of the first, if not the first, to use lithographic transfer. On a print entitled "Trenton Falls" at the American Antiquarian Society as part of the imprint there is recorded this fact, "Imbert Litho Transfer."¹ The print has no other information. The second important achievement is that he produced one of the first cartoons in the lithographic medium with his print of Jackson (alligator) and John Quincy Adams (turtle) for the campaign of 1828.

A survey of the total production from this house would seem to indicate that most items were done on commission rather than initiated by the house itself. One can find a "Seal for the Chairmakers Society," (American Antiquarian Society) comics, cartoons, serious portraits, views, monuments, maps, sheet music, and marine prints. Some items would appear to have been done by amateurs who were giving this new toy a whirl as their names are not seen again in the lithographic field. Typical of these might be Ann Peale, niece of the artist Wilson Peale who drew one plate for the Canal Book.

¹In this instance lithographic transfer was made through the use of a special paper. The drawing was put on the transfer paper, which was then laid on the stone and run through the press. The pressure transferred the drawing to the stone.
Imbert's masterpiece, commonly called the *Golden Canal* Book because of its unyieldy title, will be treated in the section on lithography and publications.

No lithographic history has so intrigued the imagination of the lover of prints as has the history of the entry of the Pendleton Brothers of Boston into the lithographic field. These famous brothers have been responsible for the instigation of much unfinished research. The total story would in many respects be as fascinating as the story of the Maverick Family and the folk tales surrounding their origins are as fascinating as the turbulent career of George Catlin.

Numerous individuals have started to write the total story and have spent years listing all of their prints; others have refused to reveal information that they had secured first hand because they were going to publish it but died before they ever got around to it. Three people are largely responsible for what is known of the Pendleton firm. The first was C. C. Baldwin, the second Charles H. Taylor and the third Harry T. Peters.

There are three versions of almost every facet of the Pendleton's lives and activities. In some cases I will print what seems to be the most authentic information and in other cases the reader can take his choice.

Sometime around 1789 a Captain William Pendleton, of Liverpool, England set out for New York with his wife Susan. Two sons were born in this country, William S. in 1795 and John B. in 1798.
Christopher C. Baldwin, who knew the son William S. Pendleton, wrote in his diary that their father was lost at sea in 1791, and the boys were put to work, William S. as a copper engraver's apprentice. In 1819 Wm. S. Pendleton went to Washington and established himself as an engraver in that city. After about a year there he was joined by his brother, and the two went to Pittsburgh. John soon came east to Philadelphia, at the request of the Peales, but William remained in Pittsburgh until 1824, giving flute and piano lessons when short of orders for engravings.¹

In the notes of Mr. Taylor² from one of the descendants, another story is told. In this version it is stated that the mother died around 1800; that Captain Pendleton married a New York woman and took his sons and his new wife to Albany, and that the boys, ill treated by the stepmother, did the usual thing and ran away to New York, working their passage on a canal boat. Upon their arrival both boys apprenticed themselves to a printer and in true Horatio Alger fashion they completed their education at night school. They learned their trade in New York and later went west as far as the Mississippi River, returned again as far east as Washington where they settled down and began the manufacture

¹The Diary of C. C. Baldwin deposited at American Antiquarian Society.

²Notes and Papers on Lithography by Charles H. Taylor, deposited at the American Antiquarian Society.
of thermometers, the first to be placed on the market. Evidently this business was not a success for they moved on to Boston where they established a lithographic plant.

"Still another version, by John W. A. Scott, who was an early apprentice of Wm. S. Pendleton, has it that this brother [William] came to Boston from Canada, with Alexander MacKenzie, a copper engraver, in 1819 or 1820, that MacKenzie became the partner of Able Bowen, and that Wm. S. Pendleton worked for them."

At this time it seems that some concrete facts would be a relief from speculation. Wm. S. Pendleton is listed in the Boston Directory of 1825 as a partner of Able Bowen which makes the latter story the most acceptable one. From 1826 to 1830 he is in the directory with his brother, John, and listed alone from then on until 1835 when he sold out to Thomas Moore.

The switch of Wm. S. Pendleton from engraving to lithography came about in 1825 through a curious chain of circumstances. It seems that he had purchased a lithographic press from a man named Thaxter who had imported it to run off circulars but didn't know how to use it. Now, owning a press, he is supposed to have talked the Doggett Brothers into sponsoring a set of lithographic portraits of the first six presidents. Further, Wm. Pendleton knew that Gilbert Stuart

was short of cash and so had previously arranged with Stuart to do the six portraits for $50 apiece from which the lithographic copies were to be made. At this time his brother John was in Europe acting as purchasing agent for the Doggett Brothers who were importers and booksellers.

On November 16, 1825, this announcement appeared in the **Columbian Centinel** of Boston:

> Messrs. Doggett of this city have received from France, Lithographic Plates of the fine Portraits of the five Presidents of the United States, from the pencil of Stuart; and which adorned the residence of the Nation's Guest [LaFayette?] during his visit to this city. We learned, that the plates are most excellent samples of the skill of the French artist; and that with the plates, Messrs. Doggett have received a press to strike off the impressions, and a French pressman to conduct the work.¹

A like announcement had appeared on November 5, 1825, in the **Boston News Letter**; and, in addition, used a lithographed sketch from the house of Pendleton to illustrate what this new art could do.

If one can believe newspapers, then Wm. S. Pendleton who is not mentioned at all in the **Columbian** article, had

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¹The diary of Jonathan Cobb, son-in-law of John Doggett, reveals that in 1825 and 1826 Cobb undertook to sell such a series, but J. Pendleton "Could not perform the workmanship as had been represented, and after making diverse frivolous excuses and delays was obliged to confess that he could not himself, but offered to go or send to France at my expense and procure the prints to be executed, but losing all confidence in him I concluded it would be most prudent in me not to have anything more to do with him." In the later part of 1828 John Pendleton again returned from a trip to France for Doggett and actually produced the lithographs... Quoted from Mable Swan, "The American Kings," **Antiques**, Apr. 1931, Vol. 19, pp. 279-281.
discovered that just owning a press was not enough and although the arrangements were made for the issuance of the presidential series, he could not do the work and sent the paintings to France to be copied. Only five of the six were ever put on stone and the portraits of Washington, Adams and Jefferson were burned in a warehouse fire of 1851. The remaining three, if six were painted, have disappeared.

Whether the two newspaper announcements were only advanced publicity one does not know but according to one Jonathan Cobb, the prints were not made until 1828.¹

The drawings according to legend were by the French artist Maurin who was considered to be a top lithographic draftsman in his time. Ironically, when the "Five Kings," as this series is designated in the Doggett records, were printed and published they gave no credit to the Pendletons. The Pendleton imprint does not appear on the prints and one wonders if this was the Doggetts' revenge. The prints sold for two dollars each or two-fifty on India paper.

¹The "J." Pendleton referred to in this letter must have been in error and Cobb must have meant "Wm."

John Pendleton brought back "about one ton of prepared lithographic stone, also prepared transfer paper and transfer lithographic ink and crayons to draw directly upon the stone." He imported a man named Bischbou who knew something about the new art. The Pendletons probably brought over at the same time a man named Dubois, who Mr. Taylor has called the first real lithographic pressman in America. Peters, *America on Stone*, pp. 314-315.
The controversy as to the dating of the "Five Kings" goes farther. As proof that Wm. S. Pendleton did know something about lithography by 1825 can be found in Sir Ashley Cooper's Lectures illustrated with plates drawn on stone by Able Bowen, lithographed by Pendleton, which are known to exist and are mentioned in the Boston News Letter of November 5, 1825. It also establishes the connection between the engraver Able Bowen and is the last of his work for the house. In 1826 Bowen is listed in the Boston directory as an engraver with his own plant.

More proof exists in the Boston Magazine of December 1825 which was started by John Pendleton in December of that year when he came home from Europe. This magazine carries illustrations, a vase, by D. C. Johnson and another lithograph by Edwards who was already advertising independently as a lithographer.\(^2\) We know that D. C. Johnson had had experience with lithography even earlier, as we have seen his name mentioned with Anthony Imbert's Press. The magazine prints appear a few months later than Imbert's Canal Book.

As final proof of the lithographic experiences of the Pendleton firm prior to 1828 we find that in 1826 the Franklin Institute awarded its silver medal "for the best specimen of American lithography, executed in the United States

\(^{1}\)Edited by F. Tyrell, published by Wells and Lilly, Boston, 1825.

\(^{2}\)Ann Waite, 'Ams. notes at the American Antiquarian Society.
Neither the subject of the material nor the artist who drew it is mentioned. In 1827 the same institution awarded the silver medal to Rembrandt Peale for his "Portrait of Washington" with the Pendleton imprint on the print.²

It is true that early productions are highly linear and that tonal qualities and chiaroscuro effects are lacking but it is doubtful that the Doggetts were connoisseurs enough to realize the full potentialities of the medium. Later critics were to consider the R. Peale "Portrait of Washington" one of the finest lithographs in the whole of American production. One thing is certain, the copyrighted series of the "Five Kings" became the criterion for all future series on the presidents. The articles in magazines and newspapers of the period about this series plus the extravagant write-up on the art of lithography by Archibald Robinson, Art Editor in the Canal Book³ sent all the local artists, as well as others from New York and Philadelphia, scrambling to the Pendletons for instruction and materials.

"Advertising in the Atheneum, Oct. 31, Pendletons offered stones, and all the necessaries for Lithographic

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¹The Franklin Journal and American Mechanic's Magazine, Published by Judah Dobson, Phil., 1826. "Premium List."

²Ibid., 1827, "Premium List."

Drawing which they could supply to Artists and Amateurs: Instructions furnished without charge. Particular attention paid to the execution of Engraved or Lithographic Copies of Portraits or Miniatures...

Probably at the height of their business success, the Pendletons absorbed the Annin & Smith Lithographic house adding to it the name "Senefelder Lithographic Company" in honor of the inventor. The imprint of the house most generally carries both firm names, Annin & Smith-Senefelder Lithographic Co. The Pendletons seemed to have been well on the road to success when this took place sometime around 1831.

One sees that the Pendletons were business men of the first order. Besides the Boston Magazine which they published, they took advantage of a Massachusetts' Law of 1828 which required all cities, towns, and districts in the Commonwealth to have accurate maps done from surveys of their areas. These maps had definite specifications and were to be deposited with the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The Pendletons made scores of these lithographed maps and when the firm changed hands in 1835, Wm. S. Pendleton gave fifty of them to the Massachusetts Historical Society. A bound edition of these and other maps may be found in the

1 Miss Ann Waite, Mmes. Notes at the American Antiquarian Society.

2 No documents exist to authenticate this fact, yet, it is noted by Miss Waite, Charles H. Taylor, and Harry Peters.
library of the Boston Athenaeum. This kind of work must have been a godsend during their slack periods as only the firms which had a steady source of income could survive in this already competitive field.

The files of the American Antiquarian Society possess material that gives an overview of the production of the firm, piecemeal items that are comparable to the material on the Mavericks. In them is revealed the multitude of diverse productions that came from a printing house of the period and how its craftsmen were jacks-of-all-trades. One bill, dated February 1st, 1833, was to Mr. Stephen Metcalf, for lithographing a map of Bellingham: 100 copies, $44.00, 25 extra copies, $2.50, coloring 125 copies, $6.25. There is a letter dated 1835 about a reduced engraving on copper which was estimated to cost between $120 and $150. An 1832 bill is for coloring 300 copies at nine cents each, or $27. It is further mentioned that additional reprints will cost ten cents apiece. Other correspondence mentions a silver seal which cost $4.33. A letter to a client explains that his work was delayed because Pendleton was being rushed for lithographed plans of estates "which he felt more bound to attend to from being the only lithographer in the city."

After 1831 W. S. Pendleton continued the business alone in Boston until 1834-35 when he sold out to his bookkeeper, Thomas Moore. He then devoted himself to bank-note engraving, having already in 1830 organized the New England Bank
Note Company with Messers. Perkins and Morse. It is said he received two medals from the United States Government for his distinguished work in this field. He subsequently went to Philadelphia and engaged in the hardware business until his retirement when the Civil War began.¹

The Pendleton Brothers' firms are especially important to the history of American graphic arts for two specific reasons. First, they were instrumental in the spread of lithography into the major lithographic centers of the east that came later. It might be said that they were the first important lithographic house in the United States. They made possible the lithographic firms of Moore, Thayer, and Bufford of Boston; Childs & Inman of Philadelphia which later was to become Duval & Co.; and Currier & Ives of New York.

Secondly, the Pendletons, in employing artists or making the reproductions of their work, offered a cosmopolitan school for the artists who used their shop. It is certain the apprentices that they employed had contact with Rembrandt Peale and M. E. D. Brown and in turn some of them became the artists that made the lithographic art of this age. It was not always the accepted art but the art which now is becoming increasingly important. A partial list of the artists who worked with or for them includes Bass Otis, Rembrandt

¹Peters, America on Stone, pp. 318-319.
Peale, Henry Inman, Moses Swett, D. C. Johnson, M. E. D.
Brown, Thomas Badger, Belknap, H. Reinagle, James Kidder,
Harding, S. S. Osgood, H. Walton, L. R. Streeter, T. Cambell,
T. Wageman, A. H. Hoffy, Wm. R. Brown, S. F. B. Morse, J. V.
N. Throop, and A. J. Davis.¹

When John Pendleton left the Boston plant that he had helped to establish and headed for Philadelphia in 1828, he became instrumental in developing the first lithographic house in this city and was to an extent responsible for the position of Philadelphia as the largest lithographic center in the United States by 1850.

David Kennedy and William Lucas had established a kind of lithographic repository by 1828, but it is doubtful that they owned a press and probably sent their stones to Imbert of New York to be printed.²

¹I compiled this list of names from the prints that I found in the various print departments which bore the imprint "Pendleton Lith."

²In 1828 David Kennedy, a gilder, and William B. Lucas, a manufacturer of mirrors, who kept a store at 90 S. Third Street...where paintings, prints, etc., were sold, became interested in the new art, and set up the first lithographic establishment in this city. While few particulars about this business have descended, it is evident that they encouraged artists to do lithographic work in their establishment. It is also evident that they must have sent their drawings to New York to be printed for it is known that several Philadelphia artists had to go to Imbert's press in New York to have their drawings printed.

Among these artists was James R. Lambdin, a well known portrait painter, who, in his journal under the date of 1828 wrote: "During this summer, at the request of Mr. R. H. Hobson, I made a drawing on stone of one of Raphael's
If Kennedy & Lucas had a press it is probable that it passed into the possession of Pendleton, Kearney and Childs, who, in 1829, began business in this city. The firm was composed of John B. Pendleton, Francis Kearney (the Maverick apprentice) and Cephas G. Childs. Kearney and Childs were engravers, and Pendleton found himself a lithographer (sic) was really a promoter. Childs brought Pendleton here to direct the establishment until it got under way, for he never seems to have been a resident of Philadelphia, and was soon out of the firm. Their first book was a little annual entitled "Cabinet," which was copyrighted in November, 1829. The firm furnished two plates for the History of the Schuykill Fishing Company, which was copyrighted in June, 1830. By this time the firm was dissolved, and the imprint of C. G. Childs alone appears on many plates. He induced Henry Inman, the portrait painter, to come over from New York and join him in business as Childs & Inman. This was in 1830, and although the painter was a member of the firm he did not remove to Philadelphia until 1832. The first important work by the firm was the plate for "The Cabinet of Natural History," a publication which was

Madonnas. Mr. Hugh Bridport making another drawing on the same stone, which was afterwards sent to New York to be printed on the first press set up in this country, and my drawing was the first attempt at lithography in this city." Miss Ann Waite, Mss. Notes on Lithography at the American Antiquarian Society.

Commercial lithography in Philadelphia may be dated from the Kennedy & Lucas Press. Certainly, a great amount of work came from their establishment, prominent among the artists who worked in the shop was William L. Breton (q.v.). James Akin also made a number of plates. Kennedy & Lucas printed the plates for the first edition of Watson's "Annals" and for Porter's "Picture of Philadelphia" (1831). Bridport drew a large "camp meeting" scene which Kennedy & Lucas published in 1830. In the absence of data to the contrary, it might be assumed this firm had drawings made here and the actual presswork done in New York, but the chance in 1828 or 1829, of forwarding stones with delicate drawings upon them more than ninety miles to a press, seems to be a very real one. However, Kennedy & Lucas were in business as lithographers until sometime in the year 1829. Joseph Jackson, "Lithography in Philadelphia," Encyclopedia of Philadelphia, Vol. IV, Phil., Adenda, 1933, pp. 1227-1229.
issued in monthly parts. This contained many excellent lithographs colored by hand...¹

We must interrupt Mr. Jackson's report on the development of lithography in that city to interject that Childs & Inman seems to have been a paper arrangement and that Inman lived in Philadelphia for only one year. In New York he seems to have acted as the agent for the firm. Also, the Cabinet of Natural History and Rural Sports was the brain child of Thomas Doughty, the plates were issued from many presses including M. E. D. Brown's. (Of this press nothing is known except that it existed in this city from 1832 to 1835.)

In 1831, Peter S. Duval, a French lithographer joined the House of Childs & Inman. He was one of the first experienced lithographers to come to Philadelphia. About this same time George Lehman,² a landscape painter and engraver joined Colonel Child's forces, and the house was on the road to being one of the most prolific houses in the east in the fifties when P. S. Duval assumed full control.³

¹Ibid.

²This must have been George Lehman, Sr. (1782-1844)

³In 1827, before he had taken up the new art, Col. Childs had brought to him an apprentice in his engraving room...for he was first noted as a line engraver, and pursued that trade until he injured his right hand during his European visit - a bright lad, who was both deaf and dumb, whose name was Albert Newsam. He became eventually the best technical lithographer in the country. His lithographs are greatly prized for their great beauty, for Newsam was a
From 1831 on, the growth of lithographic houses and the spread of lithographic production is swift. Let us look at just a few of the most important ones that developed in the first half of the century. By 1832 M. E. D. Brown was producing some of the finest lithographs of all time in Philadelphia, using the imprint, HIS LITHOGRAPHY, which identifies most of the lithographs coming from his hand. In 1833 Henry Robinson got into the game setting up his plant in New York City. In this same year the plant of D. W. Kellogg was established in Hartford, Conn. The Kelloggs are still operating as a lithographic establishment which gives them the title of the oldest continuously operated lithographic house in this country. In 1834 Stottard was a partner of N. Currier in New York and in 1835 Bufford began his plant in the same city. In 1841 he moved his press to Boston.

The year 1839 becomes very important to the history of lithography because in that year the Daguerreotype was to rear its ugly head, first to assist portrait lithography in

master of the crayon style... Duval and Lehman formed a partnership in 1832 under the firm name Lehman & Duval, and the following year succeeded to the business of Childs & Inman. Joseph Jackson, "Lithography in Philadelphia."

1In my chronological development I have omitted three houses. The first is Chanou & Desobry started in New York in 1824. After much research they remain an enigma to me. There known production consists of about four prints. The second firm is that of Annin & Smith-The Senefelder Lithographic Co. of Boston which had a life span of around three years and whose production is small. The third is the firm of Anthony Fleetwood also of Boston whose main endeavors seem to have been in the mass output of music covers embodying very little art quality.
a subservient way and later to contribute to its death.

By 1840 William Sharp had arrived from England to aid in the development of the chromo-lithograph and to establish his plant in Boston. (By 1845 all the firms were in the race to see who would put out the best chromos for a waiting market.)

The 1840's saw the medium of lithography develop into maturity. Most of the technical problems of black and white printing had been conquered. The heavy influx of foreign artists trained in France, Germany and Switzerland probably contributed greatly to the skill that the Pendletons struggled so painfully to acquire. The linear quality which was used extensively in the formative years and at times became a disturbing, too black line in the wrong spot, now gave way to subtle blacks and greys. The once harsh, brittle, uniform greys bloomed into tones that ranged from velvety blacks, through the possible tonal range to just off white. As the nature of man is never to be satisfied, the next step was logically the application of color to the print. Men like Sharp were brought here to develop the technical aspect of this phase of print making and this is a story complete in itself which comes later in the narrative.

By 1850 lithography was firmly entrenched as a portrait medium and was boldly venturing into all of its commercial phases, into magazine illustrations, books, annals, valentines, and album cards. The demand for book illustrations,
views, and portraits was strong enough to warrant the forming of new firms in the 1840's and 1850's. Some sprang up and like the seeds in the Bible story they withered overnight and died. A few of these firms and individuals are noteworthy enough to merit mention. D'Avignon, the French portrait painter is one. He put on stone the "Gallery of Illustrious Americans, Containing Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Sixteen of the Most Eminent Citizens in the American Republic since the Death of Washington--From Daguerrotypes by Brady, Engr. Engraved (actually lithographed) by D'Avignon." He worked independently and with others and had a partnership with a man named Hoffman. Like many another lithographer he lost his life in the Civil War.

The firms of Ensign; Lane & Scott, who documented the era of the Clipper Ship; the Palmers; Nagel & Weingartner; Wm. H. Rease, whose specialization was in the large commercial cards to the exclusion of everything else; (an excellent draftsman whose work would have been outstanding if it had not been lost to the glorifying of the concern who paid the bill) Sarony, also an artist who worked off and on at lithography; the Kelloggs, previously mentioned, whose work is much like Currier & Ives and whose most noteworthy production was Wm. H. Brown's Portrait Gallery of 1846;¹ J. W. Bufford, who was a superb draftsman and who lost his

¹Prints by these individuals and firms may be seen at the Library of Congress.
establishment in the depression of 1837; P. S. Duval, who continued into the sixties and can best be remembered as the employer of Albert Newsam; Briton & Ray,\(^1\) who started in New York and are thought to have given California and the West its first lithography; and E. Ackerman, who was responsible for the American Edition of George Catlin's "North American Indian Port Folio."\(^2\)

Not to be forgotten is Julius Bien, who, although he started late in the fifties put on stone the Birds and Quadrupeds of Audubon; he also employed John Bachman to do "Views of New York"\(^3\) and put the sketches of the Western material of the artist A. E. Mathews on stone.

By 1850 printing houses started to do specialized work and became known for this or that kind of print. At this time the plain craftsman saw an opportunity to capitalize on a lush demand and the business man saw lithography as an opportunity to line his pockets with gold. Often the work was taken over by a publisher in the true sense of the word. Such a publisher was J. T. Bowen who started out as a colorist and who reissued the works of Wild and built a reputation on them. It was the artist-lithographer Max Rosenthal who wrote this terse statement on one of the prints issued

\(^1\)Peters, *America on Stone*, p. 110.

\(^2\)At New York Public Library, Library of Congress, Boston Athenaeum and Yale University.

\(^3\)Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
by Bowen, "Bowen was no lithographer, he only employed them." (signed) "M.R."

By 1865 the gaudy chromo was taking over with the aid of the steam operated press as seen in the imprints of P. S. Duval of Philadelphia and which will be documented in the Chapter on "Technical Developments." With the advent of the steam press, completely mechanized printing was well on its way. From here on to the death of lithography in the eighties, through advances made by the daguerreotype, photography, offset processes, cheaper and faster process of wood and steel engraving, lithography no longer comes under Weitenkampf's, "Lithography, An Art and a Business" for the total emphasis is on business. No longer was there a place for the Rembrandt Peales who had done so much for the Pendletons or for Cole, Homer, or Eastman Johnson who had worked for Bufford in early lithographic establishments.

As with every new development, the change was not made overnight and many of the houses were slow to adopt the new methods and new commercialism of lithography. A check of some of them reveals that up to the last quarter of the century they were still putting out the kind of prints that become associated with their names. The Kelloggs specialized in the small sentimental prints, Armstrong and Company became known for their horse prints, genre scenes and famous men prints, and in the seventies and eighties J. E. Baker, a very capable draftsman, did much of their work. The late
period of Bufford saw them doing comic and card sheets. Pauli & Beck did a series of views of cities, historical spots and universities up to 1880. Kinney Bros. put out numerous "trotting cracks" (horses) and Gibson & Co. seemed to prefer posters and prints of bareback riders and advertising sheets somewhat like the early trade cards but on a grand scale.

Where did lithography as an art stop? What was the last great lithograph? The answers to these questions probably would be found in the period before 1865 but the lithograph with the greatest popular impact comes in the airing of the story of "Custer's Last Stand."

What painting or its reproduction has been viewed, commented on and discussed by more people in this country than any other? Rosa Bonheur's "The Horse Fair"? Landseer's "The Stag at Bay"? The "September Morn" of Paul Chabas? Willard's "Spirit of '76"? "Washington Crossing the Delaware" by Emanuel Leutze? Hovenden's "Breaking the Home Ties"? Doubtless each amateur connoisseur will have his own candidate for this position of honor but the writer's nomination for the place are two figure paintings of the same subject, John Mulvan's "Custer's Last Rally" and Cassilly Adam's "Custer's Last Fight." Mulvan's painting, completed in 1881, was for ten or a dozen years displayed, known, and admired throughout the country. Chromolithographed in modified version by Otto Becker and published by the Anheuser-Busch Company of St. Louis in 1896, and is still distributed by that concern. Copies can be viewed in barrooms, taverns, hotels, restaurants, museums throughout the country. It is probably safe to say that in the fifty years elapsing since 1896 it has been viewed by a greater number of the lower-browed member of society and fewer art critics than any other picture in American history. To be more specific, the writer on a bus trip to St. Louis in the summer of 1940, stopped for rest and refreshment at a tavern in a small mid-Missouri town.
On one wall of the tavern, a bus rest stop for bus lines traveling east and west, was "Custer's Last Fight." Each bus that came to rest disgorged its passengers, many of whom found their way into the tavern. As each group entered, some one was sure to see the Custer picture with the result that there were always several people - sometimes a crowd - around it, viewing it, commenting on it, and then hurrying on. Probably hundreds of people saw this picture every month. When one considers that 15,000 copies have been published and distributed since the picture was first published in 1896, it is evident that "Custer's Last Fight" has been viewed by an almost countless throng... Since the lithograph, however, is the picture that is better known, the differences (between the lithograph and the original painting) are minor... In 1942, copies were being mailed out to servicemen and others at the rate of two thousand a month.1

Some thirst emporiums may have had their original copies on display for the fifty years of the print's existence; especially if they faithfully followed the instructions reportedly sent out with the early copies of the lithograph, "Keep this picture under fly-netting in the summer time and it will remain bright for years."2

The enormous popularity of "Custer's Last Fight," as it was designated in the lithograph, was a sign of the triumph of subject matter and to this was added the technical excesses of the gaudy chromos put out by Prang and Co. of Boston at the same time. With their imitation of painting as a goal, they are so complete, even to the inclusion of the weave of canvas, that today museums are constantly called upon to inform their possessors that they have neither a valuable old painting nor do they have a valuable lithograph.

2Ibid., p. 146.
The aim of replica is as anti-art as the total emphasis on content to which it is closely allied. With the growth of this dual emphasis starting in the sixties, lithography went into semi-eclipse as an art form in the United States.
PART II
To the novice, like myself, the entry into the world of old and rare books is an investigation never to be forgotten. We are so conditioned today to the well planned and well printed book that what one finds in these books of another day is almost shocking. Publishers of the early lithographic era seemed to be interested in only one thing, the dissemination of printed and illustrative material. That a book contained no numbered pages, no listing of author, editor or publisher, or with data so confused that the lithographer seems to be also the publisher, was of no concern of those who mainly had something to divulge to the world. In many instances the lithographer was indeed the publisher, as will be seen.

The book bearing lithographed illustrations seems to fall into six or seven general categories. I do not mean to imply that lithographic illustrations were not included in the whole field of nineteenth century publishing, but certain types of subject matter were especially adaptable to this medium or a precedent was established that made its use almost mandatory.

The first classification might be called miscellaneous
Mainly they consisted of poetic writings so dear to the lady of that day. Here and there scattered through the book were lithographed ornaments, small vignettes views, and wisps of flowers to which were added watercolor embellishments. The flower and its symbolism seems to have dominated most of these little gems whose aim at times was evidently to see how diminutive they could become. A two and one-half by one and one-half inches book is not unusual for the gem which helped the lady wile away her leisure hours.

In the second category are the books of a technical nature which abound and range in subject matter from the Method of Making Macaroni in Boston, illustrated by D. C. Johnson for publication and distribution in England to the raising of silkworms as seen in the 1838 publication entitled Silkworm Culture, Rural Library (series), New York, Vol. I, with two plates by Charles Risso & W. R. Browne.

From viewing the total production of lithographically illustrated books it would seem that they visually carry the growing pains of the Industrial Revolution. Books on

1Typical of these are: Mrs. Anna Peyre Dinnies, The Floral Year, 1848, Printed by W. Sharp--13 plates; Gems of Art, Published by Adz & P. Bufford Bros., [sic] Print Sellers and Lithographers, New York and Boston, no date.

2Both of these publications can be found at the American Antiquarian Society. There is no publishing data in the Making of Macaroni book and my information comes from the Card File of that organization.
carpentry, the building of boats, and mechanical inventions are seen in the company of books of a scientific nature. The lithograph was an ideal medium to record the finds of the geologist and the bone structure of the swan or horse. The largest single collection of these products, however, lies in the field of botany where the lithographic illustration might have served a dual purpose, acting first as a technical publication on the growing of fruits and flowers and secondly in furnishing pleasure to the gardener in somewhat the same fashion as the seed catalogue functions today. These entertaining publications were enhanced by the luscious reds, greens, and yellows that watercolor could give to the portrait of a peach or apple. Today they are further enhanced by a kind of shining highlight where the gum arabic of the watercolor has dried, as found in the appealing Orchardist Companion. A. Hoffy drew the illustrations and wrote the accompanying letter press text.

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3 The more correct title for this work is: North American Pomologist, Containing numerous finely colored drawings accompanied by letter press descriptions, of Fruits of American Origin, Prepared and published by A. Hoffy, Philadelphia 1860. Book #1, 36 color plates, also later editions.
Not to be ignored is the field of medicine where reports of all kinds are to be found. Typical of these reports is the very early Post Mortem Examination of James Carey with the interesting additional material, "Done to discover what Caused his Curious Behavior." The report bears no date but must have been quite early as the three anatomical plates were drawn by the early engraver and lithographer James Akin. Here is to be found the first of American Medical Art.

A third classification involves the folio publications. Due to the eagerness of Americans for illustrative matter, many of these have survived to our times. Most of them were issued in series with letter press material and were of such a nature that they demanded handling and close observation. Today these items have been bound into book form for the convenience of the librarian and their original purpose has been somewhat defeated. Rambles in Yucatan, by B. M. Norman (published in New York in 1842 with twenty plates) belongs in this classification, as well as George Catlin's Indian Port Folio which will be covered later. Today these works, as bound books, are so large in size that they defy handling.

Of interest to the student of book illustration is the fourth classification, the illustration of books with a wide range of subject matter as distinguished from those of a strictly technical nature. As an example of this group we have the mammoth production of books illustrated by such men as F. O. C. Darley and August Kollner. These men worked as
a team, Darley making an engraving and Kollner transferring the engraving to stone. Darley is considered by Frank Weitenkampf to have been one of the top illustrators of his day. His plate as found in Rip Van Winkle and the Legends of Thomas Ingoldsby are good examples of book illustration around 1840. The former was issued as an award by the American Art Union to its thousands of members and has the quality of a good line drawing done in pen and ink.

Of more importance to the art student and historian are the number of drawing books illustrated with lithographs. These art books which seem to have been directed to teachers and people who did not have the opportunity to attend an art school are mostly copy books. Here are to be found simple everyday objects such as tops, books in fore-shortened perspective, bottles and sundry articles which were to teach one how to draw. The artists who were more closely connected with the publishing industry seemed to have illustrated most of them, as exemplified in the books put out by J. T. Bowen, Wm. Sharp, and B. F. Nutting.

It would be impossible to undertake any kind of study of the nineteenth century lithographed portrait without becoming involved in the book. A good many of what are now

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1John Moore, Drawing Book of Objects, Studies From Still Life, Phil., 1845; John R. Smith, Jr., Drawing Book, Published by W. & J. Pendleton, Graphic Court, Boston. c. 1830.

2See "Check List," under B. F. Nutting, for his drawing books.
free prints were once the frontispieces of books. There was a large production of books containing the sermons of famous clergymen, and quite frequently the book contained the lithographic portrait of the minister, usually in miniature form. Typical of book frontispieces are the "Portraits of the Rev. John Abbot"¹ and the "Portrait of John Warren, M. D." by Rembrandt Peale. (Fig. 9) These prints where mounted still bear the deckled edges showing that they were torn from their original publications. The portrait seems to be the only example where any idea of appropriateness in the lithographic illustration was held sacred. These portraits never appear in connection with any other productions of a commercial nature. They are never seen again on a Music Sheet Cover for instance.

A total coverage of the early nineteenth century book illustrated through lithography is not my aim, but four publications are outstanding and will be discussed in turn.² First, in point of time is the book so frequently referred to as "The Canal Book" because of its unyieldy title, Memoir Prepared at the Request of the City of New York and Presented to the Mayor of the City, at the Celebration of the Completion of the New York Canals, by Cadwallader D. Colden.


²The Fourth, The Cabinet of Natural History and Rural Sports, is so tied up with the production of Thomas Doughty that it will be discussed under his check list.
Printed by Order of the Corporation of New York. Printed by W. A. Davis, 1825. Although antedated by the Grammar of Botany and The Timber Merchant's Guide, it is the first monumental lithographic book. No activity of the celebration was omitted as witnessed by the voluminous appendix which included all kinds of reports, banquet menus, statements, addresses given by notables and the "Report of the Department of Fine Arts" previously referred to. Its production must have been quite an undertaking for it included thirty-seven lithographs, seventeen engravings and 410 pages.

The head of the Department of Fine Arts of the Corporation of the City of New York was Archibald Robinson who took his position with great gravity. In glowing terms and language which could not be misconstrued, he described the badges, the ball tickets, the invitations, etc., and every trifling aspect that could be connected with art and the canal celebration. He notes that it was the Committee of Arrangements who selected Anthony Imbert, the lithographer and marine artist, to do the illustrating of the production, and there can be no doubt that it was a production. He gave a brief summation of the arts of engraving and lithography and in true Barnum style noted that many, many thousands have tried lithography, but have failed through a lack of knowledge of the chemical principles and pointed out that the art of lithography was only six months old in this country when the publication undertook its use. Setting himself
up as a critic he tried to prove that the drawings got better as the artist became more proficient, when he did more than one illustration. His pride in the production overshadowed his knowledge of facts and the history of lithography in his age, but he was right in asserting that this book was the first major lithographic undertaking in this country.¹

This early production's scenic illustrations of the marine life of New York lack much that is to be desired in views and in technical performance of lithography. It does record the names of some of the earliest lithographers in this country. Six plates were by George Catlin, four were by Signore Dominico Canova; and three were by Anthony Imbert, including "Grand Canal Celebration. Plan of the Fleet, the 4th Nov., 1825, Passing the British Sloops of War in the North River." According to Robinson this is supposedly the first lithograph by Imbert done in this country. Of the remaining there is one by F. Duponcel, one by a young lady of New York thought to be the work of Ann Peale, three by W. H. Tuthil, and two by W. P. Morgan Esq. The rest of the lithographs are anonymous works of symbolic designs, seals, facsimiles, signatures, etc.

The work is important also because it records the first use of the woodcut style of lithography which for some unknown reason becomes one of the desirable attributes sought

¹Canal Book, pp. 343-399.
in this medium. The term, woodcut style is a misnomer and what was desired was wood engraving results which could be faked by transfer from copperplate, e.g., "Grand Canal Celebration, Fire Department--In the ink style in imitation of Woodcut by W. P. Morgan, Esq." This print documents the fact that the knowledge of transfer from engraving was known to Imbert and puts an end to the speculation as to who was the first to use this device in American lithography.

The impact of this book on the development of lithography in this country must have been terrific. The implied endorsement of the Corporation of the City of New York was of the utmost value in advancing this infant art.

The second important publication from its use of lithography is The United States Military Magazine and Record of All the Volunteers, together with the Army and Navy. This magazine appeared in Philadelphia from 1839 to 1841. Volume I recorded the activities of the volunteer companies, Volume II glamorized the Army and Navy and Volume III was dedicated to the exploits of the volunteers. Each of the volumes consisted of twelve issues and came with either black and white or hand colored illustrations. The subscription rate was five dollars per year for the issue uncolored and ten dollars per year colored. Single issues were fifty cents and one dollar colored. This magazine catered to the interest which always springs up between wars when the donning of a snappy uniform and playing soldier is considered an enjoyable
pastime.

The magazine was the brain child of Colonel Huddy who also dabbled in lithography and the production was under the supervision of P. S. Duval and issued jointly by them. The concern advertised, "Any Company sending in a correct sketch of their corps, endorsed by the commanding officer, can be inserted in the magazine by taking fifty colored plates at the established price or one hundred plain." The Army and Navy officers were allowed the same privilege and the price was fifty cents colored; plain, twenty-five cents. The firm had agents scattered throughout the larger cities of the East. It is possible that Colonel Childs who had formerly owned the firm may have had a hand in its production, being a member of the militia.

The "Philadelphia Greys" were the darlings of the production and their lithe young officers in their skin tight trousers, tailcoated uniforms and plumed sharker-type hats are seen strutting through the whole series. A good share of what has survived is lithographed in a rather anemic style. The adaptability of the lithograph is seen again as some of these officers or the scenes of their encampments are incorporated into music sheet covers. Additional lettering and ornamentation was supplied to the original print and now the plate issued as a music sheet reads, "The So and So Quick Step dedicated to Captain So and So."1

1"The National Blues Quick Step, Composed and Dedicated to Capt. Middleton" by E. Reiss in a scrapbook, Boston Public Library.
Although some of the prints are anonymous works, many bear the signature of Jas. Queen, Ch. Fenderich, A. Newsam and A. Hoffy. Their ornate interlace decoration and the ingratiating officers give a sentimental appeal. The last recorded sale of one complete volume brought $1,000.

The third and major publication of this time is William H. Brown's Portrait Gallery of Distinguished American Citizens, with Biographical Sketches and Fac-similes of Original Letters, published by B. and E. C. Kellogg of Hartford, Conn., and printed in 1845. This, I believe, has been a much neglected book, especially by those who are interested in early American publications. This is due possibly to the lack of its availability. The only intact copy that I know of is in the Print Department of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. From time to time plates from this book appear in the print shops of the country.

The production, from what one reads in the introduction, was started by Brown but knowing the habits of lithographers and publishers, and that Brown was no lithographer, I believe it to have been a combined business effort which had a successful conclusion.

Brown, the possessor of a marvelous memory, was a silhouette artist who traveled through the country cutting full length silhouette portraits. (See appendix V for a delightful account of these travels.) According to those who knew him, a sitting, as such, took one minute and the cutting
took ten. He had phenomenal retentive powers and ten years later could cut the likeness of a person who had once sat for him. As with any personality with an outstanding capability, the stories about his artistic production are numerous. Supposedly, he would go into a strange town, find out who the leading citizens were, get a look at them, cut their silhouettes from memory and then hold an exhibition of his work. Needless to say, it took the citizens by surprise because they had no knowledge that they had posed for Brown or anyone else. This element of surprise was probably one of the conditions which led to his being successful everywhere. After years of traveling and acquiring a certain amount of fame he returned to Charleston, South Carolina, where he had been born in 1808.

As his fame grew he was called upon to cut the likenesses of all the prominent men of his period including such men as John Calhoun, Henry Clay, DeWitt Clinton, Andrew Jackson, John Marshall and Daniel Webster. It was the latter who is supposed to have written to Brown stating that he did not realize that Brown's silhouette was such a good likeness, but that his friends seemed to think so. Webster said that he could see the likeness in others Brown cut but not in his own.1

Through some arrangement between Brown and the Kelloggsville the book was issued with the profile of the head of Washington as the frontispiece and twenty-six silhouettes of prominent figures of the period around 1840.

This book is unique in many respects. The plates are large, with the silhouettes being over 13 x 9 inches. Each figure is a silhouette standing in a setting of the period, in most instances it is an interior. These interiors are examples of the best type of Greek revival in this country. The wall paper with its huge floral patterns lend a relief and interest to each individual plate. With the severity of the subject matter, one would expect the total production to be monotonous but that is not so. Each velvety-black figure is highlighted through the use of tint stones, and color is also applied through the use of these stones. The background colors range from a buff, to lemon, to pink, and in addition to furnishing warmth, they actually add a luminous quality to the prints. One or two prints use a bluish background. The application of color to the background is not uniform but lightens or is intensified where it will assist the compositional arrangement.

The format, binding, and the overall design of the book give one the feel that the work is a combination of the efforts of lithographer and printer to achieve a work of art in the book. Unfortunately the bulk of the production was destroyed in a warehouse fire shortly after coming from the press.
This is probably the outstanding contribution of the House of Kellogg to the field of lithography but, in keeping with their policy, they do not reveal who put Brown's figures on stone.

Two other publications must be mentioned to complete the story of major lithographed publications. J. W. Audubon's, *Birds of America* was reissued in 1840-1844 in lithographic form and are the last of the true lithographs before the onset of chromo lithography. Illustrated here is the "Broad-winged Buzzard, Drawn from Nature by J. J. Audubon, F.R.S.F. L.S., Lithd., Printed & Colored by J. T. Bowen, Philad."

The print is signed with the initials "R.T." (Ralph Tromley) who put the drawings on stone. (Fig. 10) This print is especially noteworthy because it is one of the few instances where one can get a glimpse into the actual production of a hand colored lithograph. This print is a master pattern for use by the lady colorists of Bowen's establishments only in this case it is a pattern which is to be corrected as indicated by the penciled notations. It is doubtful that the handwriting is Audubon's; it is more likely that of J. C. Bowen.

In 1860 Julius Bien started another reissue of Audubon's *Birds* and this time he used the process of transfer lithography and the outcome is one of the finest productions in chromo lithography. The prints were made from the original engravings transferred to stone. The Civil War is said to
have interrupted the work and how many of the series were
issued is not known.

Quadrupeds by Audubon were reissued twice. The first
time by J. C. Bowen in portfolio form between 1842 and 1848.
The second time by Nagel & Weingartner in 1849.

These two productions write the end of the story of
lithography as a creative printing art and from this period
on printing becomes a copyist art. At the end of the Civil
War conditions were ripe for the advent of mass printing as
could be achieved by mechanical presses. The later chromos
are examples of printing as would be issued from men who had
found a new printing toy and must use its every manipulative
process.
CHAPTER II
CARTOONS AND COMIC SHEETS

The lithographic cartoon of the nineteenth century cannot be overlooked in the total production of this medium but it must be considered from the point of recording American history and graphic humor rather than as a part of the history of form. The importance of subject matter overshadows any quality of personal or pictorial presentation or utilization of the special characteristics of the medium. The incorporation of the balloon line to enclose the spoken word defeats the few attempts of the cartoonist to produce an example of fine art. The pattern of giving prominence to conversation over the idea which might be carried by something akin to pantomime in the illustration took hold early in the development and was never relinquished. (Fig. 11)

The first American lithographic cartoon arrived on the scene almost as fast as the medium. In 1826 we find Imbert putting out cartoons on Andrew Jackson. Four years later D. C. Johnson drew his famous "Scraps" which were etchings but he also drew some lithographic cartoons. He earned the name of the "American Cruikshanks" but his work was so vicious that dealers refused to handle it.2

2His two lithographs that I have seen which were untitled seem to be a jumble of disorganized lines but are highly prized by collectors. One of them portrayed what seemed to be the tar and feathering of a tax collector. The other was of a gentleman being ridden out of town on a pole.
A DEMOCRATIC VOTER
American artists and lithographers lived under the fear of retaliation for attacks on social customs and personalities just as Daumier and Goya before them. Currier & Ives are supposed to have used a false imprint on many of their political cartoons. No trace of the printing houses recorded on certain prints can be found, but the work has the stamp of that which could have been turned out by Currier & Ives.¹ I have found no record of an American Daumier going to prison for drawing his beliefs and convictions.

Much that one finds with a name attached can be assumed to have been done under a pseudonym. One man, John Cameron, drew cartoons of fair art quality but he put into lithographic form the ideas and sketches submitted to him by his employers, Currier & Ives, because Cameron was considered to be only a copyist in the firm.²

Two publications that could have come under the heading of books, except that I have found neither intact, are *Living Made Easy* and the *Comic History of the Human Race*. The former is the forerunner of the Rube Goldberg's cartoons. It was issued with letter press and reads, "Living Made Easy. Dedicated to the Utilitarian Society. Designed by R. Seymour. Published by E. S. Mesier. 28 Wall Street. 1832." Among its humorous subjects are plates designated as


follows: "Body Fanner" which is a complicated machine for keeping one cool, a "Nut Cracker and Wine Helper for the Heats of Summer," an "Apparatus to Undress and Cover one up when Sleepy," a "Duelling Apparatus for Gentlemen with Weak Nerves," and lastly a plate showing a revolving hat with a number of indispensable gadgets, including a cigar, attached to the rim. These hand colored plates could be considered the grandparents of the comic strip.

The Comic History of the Human Race must once have existed as a book but today one finds its plates scattered throughout the various print collections. The work was chromolithographed by Max Rosenthal of Philadelphia c. 1865 and presents the human types as animals or birds; e.g., the cocky individual as a rooster with a human head and wearing a hat, or the shy female as a dove with the face of a timid girl.

One can spend hours going through lithographic collections and be entertained by comic and cartoon material. There are items with surrealist overtones as found in the cartoons utilizing the billboard sign idea whose posters when read downward tell a humorous story; and there are large lithographs where the lithographer must have spent hours putting the drawing on stone for his own amusement or whose meaning is no more clear to us than the hieroglyphics on an Egyptian stele. As noted, however, the overwhelming majority of this material, if entertaining and if illuminat-
ing to the social historian, is lacking in any art or even true lithographic quality. It is as good a case as any in the arts of the end dominating the means.
CHAPTER III
LITHOGRAPHIC SHEET MUSIC COVERS

Senefelder in his quest for the multiplication of his own writings was indirectly searching at the same time for a cheaper method of producing sheet music. One of his first experiments in lithography was an effort to reproduce a musical manuscript so it could be used at a chamber music recital. The experiment was a failure but it only spurred him to greater efforts.¹

The ability of lithography to produce quickly and cheaply almost anything that required multiple copies, was to create a stigma that would haunt the art of lithography throughout its history. Nowhere is this demonstrated more clearly than in the music sheet. At times there is more art quality and less commercial implications in the vignettes on trade cards than in those found on sheet music covers.

It has been said that whole books could be written on this phase of lithography alone, but this opinion is a result of a superficial inspection of the field.² On closer examination it is revealed that little can actually be added to the story of American lithography through a study of sheet music covers which actually only supplement the area of prints. It is true that one of the outstanding city views

²Peters, America on Stone, p. 48.
is "Crescent Circle" in Boston, which was on a music sheet cover bearing the title Return Quick Step (1848).\textsuperscript{1} This is the exception which proves the rule however, for most of the production can only be called hack work. Here, more than in any other field of lithography, one senses the lack of professional standards both in the material presented and in the craft of lithographic printing. A print which was incompletely or partially printed or printed from a stone which was clogged would never be issued by the printing house if it were to be used as a trade card, view print, or portrait but with music covers the important material lay inside in the flats and sharps and the illustrated cover was only an addenda. The illustration was only to narrate on some portion of the song or to furnish some vague connection with the material so that it might attract the attention of the buying public. It's vignette, the form most frequently followed for the subject matter, no matter how perfectly or pleasingly done, could seldom be the reason for which the article was purchased.

We have previously seen that Henry Stone in his advertisement notified the ladies of Washington D. C. that he could supply them with the latest numbers and to him goes the credit of producing the first illustrated sheet music cover. His Soldiers Tired was produced on marble in 1823.\textsuperscript{2}

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item There is no indication of who put it on stone.
\item Josephine Wright, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 16-19.
\end{itemize}}
In 1826 D. C. Johnson drew the cover for The Log House, A Song Presented to the Western Minstrel... In 1827 both Imbert and E. S. Mesier produced copies of Buy a Broom\textsuperscript{1} which attests to its popularity. The ditty must have been much sought after to warrant a simultaneous production. Mesier gave credit to his delineator who was a man named R. C. Long. Sheet music like the above had no art quality in the illustrations but must have launched many a successful lithographic house or been the mainstay of its existence.

The main advantage of lithography over any of the previously used reproductive processes was the fact that practically no adjustment had to be made from the manuscript to the stone. Once the ability to write musical notes and words backwards had been mastered, the craftsman was well on the way. Senefelder in his writings tells in the famous "laundry list" story that he wrote the words on the stone backwards because he was practicing his reverse writing. A pen and tusche was all that was needed to transfer the music copy to the stone. As proof of the popularity of this medium, and to deprecate engraving which it had replaced, Mesier later in 1830 printed a nineteen page pamphlet of music and noted 'at half the price' meaning that plate music (engraved) of the same song could be had but that the lithographic copy cost half the price of one done through engraving.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1}Idem.

\textsuperscript{2}Ann Waite, Notes.
The anonymity of this field, as I have stated, makes it exceedingly difficult to work in. The first edition of the music lithographed for a publisher like Oliver Ditson of Boston, who was one of the largest publishers in the country, might have the name of the artist or his initials on the vignette. Sometimes the local publishers' names for its New York or Cincinnati distribution are noted along with Ditson's but many times an original cover was sent to them and they had their own copies made up by local lithographic firms. The Old Arm Chair illustration drawn by Fritz Hugh Lane follows this pattern. Lane's name is on the first edition as the artist-lithographer but by the twenty-fourth edition his name cannot be found on the print. I have spent much time taking what appeared to be work of more than average quality and trying to follow it back to the first edition only to discover that even there the lithographer was not identified. From around 1835 to the time of Winslow Homer (1855) music sheet covers seem to be signed with initials only. It would appear that a great deal of the work was done by professional copyists.

Homer's experiences with the work he did from 1855 to 1857 for Bufford of Boston gives us a clue as to why this work is inferior to prints in general. Usually copy work was assigned to apprentices as part of their "drawing training" and after they became proficient in this they were allowed to work on portraits, views, or material which was
considered more important artistically and whose financial remuneration was greater to the lithographic house. The monetary and artistic value of a lithograph usually increased with its size. The music cover vignette, one of the smallest items, was apt to get less attention. Judging from the price list issued by such firms as Currier & Ives, this policy seems to have been the rule. The artists, like Homer in his apprenticeship period, labored away putting someone else's drawings on stone or copying daguerreotypes. It has frequently been a letdown to me to find a cover done by an accepted artist and then find that it could have been only the work from his copying period. This is the case with B. F. Nutting's design on "The Huntsman's Chorus and Waltz in Der Tregschutz arranged for Piano Forte, 1830, Senefelder Lith. Co." The three hunters singing in the middle of an operatic woods must date from Nutting's apprenticeship period, and adds little artistically to the total of his lithographic production.

Through the music sheet cover we encounter the name of another outstanding graphic artist, James McNeil Whistler. There has been much controversy over whether Whistler ever produced lithographs in this country but through the music sheet it can be established that he did.1 "The United States Military Cadets, Song of the Graduates," Designed by

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1Peters, America on Stone, p. 400.
Cadet Whistler, Lith. of Sarony & Major, New York, has furnished the material for a diversified opinion. Peters considered that he submitted the design only, and that it was put on stone by one of Sarony's lithographers. In 1855 Sarony published another song dedicated to the class of 1855 which would have been Whistler's class if he had graduated. It is so similar to the 1852 cover that it has always been attributed to Whistler. In 1953 the Print department of the Library of Congress acquired two lithographic designs which are by Whistler and have all the earmarks of a design for a music cover. These identical prints are roundels in form. Their title is "Young Man Singing to His Betrothed." Two young ladies watch at a window while a gentleman outside serenades them. Whistler's name was not scratched in reverse on the stone, so appears in reverse on the prints. One also bears his signature in pencil. This establishes the fact that he knew the technique of drawing on stone before he went to England. It is therefore entirely possible that Whistler himself drew the illustrations for the West Point songs.

It is in such information as the above that the music sheet cover widens our range of the total production of lithography. In these few instances a work of minor importance can be added to the incomplete list of a known artist-lithographer. The music sheet cover might be more revealing

1Idem.
as to what popular taste in illustrative matter was in the age for which it was created. One gains an idea of the extent of this production on viewing the music sheet collections in the music departments of most libraries where in number they are equal to or larger than the regular lithographic print collections.
PART III
CHAPTER I
THE LITHOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT

In an age when the camera had not yet been invented, the need which the lithograph could answer most efficiently was in the area of faithful portraits capable of economical duplication. It was probably a coincidence, but the first work in America on stone was a portrait, that of the "Rev. Abner Kneeland" by Bass Otis which was to start the long procession of the clergy through lithography.

There is in the earliest lithographed portraits something that has the feel of the continuity of American preferences in portrait work that can be traced back to Colonial times. There is more than just the feel of the scissor artist in the silhouette lithographs. The scissor-clipped silhouette was one of the most popular and available types of portraiture and it is not surprising that the type should be imitated lithographically. The printed version resembled its clipped prototype closely and had the advantage of ready duplication. As late as the mid 1830's lithographed silhouettes were still being made. The silhouette "Portrait of Thomas H. Stockton" was done around that time, though undated, and came from the press of Fenderich and Wild.

Colonial patterns and preferences are seen further in the early works through the almost exclusive use of the bust or head and shoulder portrait. This is a continuation of
the tight-fisted eastern method of saving money by paying for only necessary work. The wall behind a person does not help identify him so why pay an artist to spend his time putting it in? People are known and measured through the head and features. The head is what identifies and gives prime meaning to a portrait. Stock bodies were supplied by itinerant limners as late as the nineteenth century and as prominent an artist as Gilbert Stuart never really developed a technique for full length paintings.

Bass Otis's work typifies the type of print closest to Colonial preferences and the kind which will almost disappear in the first third of the century. His bust portrait of the "Rev. Joseph Eastman" is a factual and objective rendering. The Rev. Eastman is seen with striated hair covering his head, a broad generous nose and a puckering of the skin around the mouth which reminds one of the spokes on a wheel. On each side of the nose is a dark furrow running down around the mouth. The background behind the head is a roughed in cloud formation and at the right a small ship is seen at the horizon line. Otis was a competent artist as can be seen in his own self-portrait and here in the lithograph, but he presents the topography of the face without compassion. Otis's portraits were widely copied and lithographed and among them are the "Portrait of Stephan Girard,"

\[At the American Antiquarian Society.\]
on stone by A. Newsam, and the "Portrait of Henry Clay" on stone by Rembrandt Peale. (Fig. 12) The Girard portrait is a head study of the Philadelphia tycoon showing the withered, dried skin on the bald head of this old man; tangled eyebrows that lash out into space and a forehead so furrowed with wrinkles that it reminds one of a plowed field. Albert Newsam who copied it was an able copyist and one can be almost certain that he made no refinements. Peale on the other hand had tendencies to idealize as is seen in his portrait of "Lord Byron" so one cannot be sure how closely his copy of the "Henry Clay" followed Otis's original.

B. F. Nutting's portrait of the "Rev. Hosea Bellows" (Fig. 13) is another example of what seems to be factual rendering. The dark piercing eyes, the solid firm position in the chair, the pen and ink stand, and the books help to establish the character as well as the occupation of this man. The imprint of "Annin & Smith" on the print would date it as before 1833.

The early lithographs vividly demonstrate the demand for exact likeness. Prettiness and embellishments, although written about in advertising and seen in the sentimental genre, do not go into the portraying of individuals. The end result is suggestive of the old nursery rhyme--on the wart, there was a flee and on the flee there was a hair, etc. If wart, furrow, or grimace were the components of the features, then in all truthfulness they were to be shown.
This preference for photographic realism makes American lithography at this time akin to German rather than French or English taste.

The lithographic portrait as a serious study in portraiture is best illustrated in three works by Rembrandt Peale. The first is the vignette type, elephant-sized head and shoulder presentation of George Washington done in 1827. Here Peale abandons the idealized presentation to show the Washington that he knew. The full face of Washington with silvery lighted hair is presented with dignity and restraint. The second portrait of Washington by this artist is known as the "Patriae Pater" version and more commonly referred to as the "Porthole Washington." Using the enframing device of a stone wall, the head and shoulders of Washington are seen through a round hole cut into the wall like a porthole. The area adjacent to the hole is sculptured into garlands. Over the top of the hole is seen a sculptured head of what one takes to be a bearded sage. At the bottom the words, "Patriae Pater," are carved into the stone of the wall. Patches of clouds form the background for the figure. A dark piece of cloth comes from behind the wall at the bottom of the aperture, crosses it, and flows down to the lettering. Stripped of its enframement the portrait is executed in a linear style with crosshatching producing the dark areas. It portrays the man as dignified and sedate and in accordance with the concept which is held in our time.
Peale's three quarter length portrait of "Mrs. Moore" delineates this old lady with her ruffled bonnet, and with book and glasses resting in her lap, and it documents the wisdom that comes with age. The texture of skin weathered by the years is felt in contrast to the white starched quality of her billowing white dress.

Another of the "porthole" portraits is seen in the "Portrait of Henry Clay, on stone from an original sketch made from life by James Queen." Queen demonstrates here that he had the potentials of a good portrait artist if the times had only furnished him with the opportunity to display it. Henry Clay is seen in bust form, in three-quarter profile, through the aperture. As Queen portrayed him, he had dark piercing eyes, huge ears, and full generous lips pressed together. Strands of short hair project straight up from the forehead and their jagged quality adds energetic force in opposition to the curvilinear forms. The scarf-like tie has the quality of heavy silk and the starched bosom-shirt glistens and breaks to conform to the body. The huge collar of a great coat projects to the right and left of the head and emphasizes its verticality. To my way of thinking, this is one of the best character studies in the nineteenth century lithography.

Charles Fenderich, the German-Swiss trained lithographer drew the half length portrait of "Hans Fritz" early in his career (c. 1837) in this country as his imprint was
still Washington City. His production varies between the realistic and semi-idealization. Being of Germanic origin his preference would seem to have been for naturalistic work but it appears he adapted his style to the needs and wishes of the sitter. His "Hans Fritz" portrait with its German script written below becomes a character study. The gentleman is portrayed with hawk like nose and huge eyes which remind one of an owl. Fenderich was a past master in the art of rendering textures and this is illustrated in his portrait of "J. W. Parrot" with a tartan plaid scarf draped around a collar made of fur. Another outstanding Fenderich portrait is that of "G. W. Wall."¹ Later Fenderich is to succumb to American preferences for the "idealized presentations" as seen in some of the prints in his "Portfolio of Living American Statesmen."

The "over-refinement presentation" which quite frequently degenerates into sentimentality was initiated into this country with the Pendleton's "Five Kings." The series copied from Stuart's paintings seems to have set the pattern for the presentation of presidents, government figures and those in the public eye. The "John Adams" of the series is shown with delicate rounded features and graceful positioning of the hands. He is seated, as are the others in the series. The overall presentation could best be described as

¹Weitenkampf, op. cit., p. 158.
feminine in concept. The imitation of this series can be followed through the whole history of the medium and is seen at its worst in what is known in the trade as the "4 t.o." size (7 in. x 12 in.). This size was most commonly purchased by the public. In this type of presentation there is no rumpled hair as is seen in Wm. Sharp's "Portrait of Gen. W. H. Harrison after A. G. Hoit" which is one of the examples of artists working outside the pattern of the preferred type.

The sentimental type portrait to express coyness, and sweetness in women is used extensively in the vignettes on music sheet covers as illustrated in "Thy Hand" (Ta Main) Dedicated to Mme. Sabatier, on stone by A. Newsam. The three-quarter length portrait of the wistful maiden shows her sitting with one hand at her chin in a pensive attitude. No actress was ever presented as a serious study that I have come across but rather in theatrical garb as one sees in the "Portrait of Mrs. Woods as Amina, after a painting by J. Neagle." Thomas Sully did two portraits of "Fanny Kimble" which were put on stone by Newsam. Each of these depends on a long, swan-necked presentation of the famous beauty who seemed to have specialized in elaborate coiffures. These swan-necked beauties are climaxed in the portraits of Jenny Lind. One print connected with this singer's career bears the subtitle, "Jenny Lind, the coming of the second deluge," which adequately describes what her visit did to the print
world. These prints seem to follow the same general format and delineation as used in the "trade sentimentals;" they reveal either simple or over-simplified drawings of features, hands, and elaborately detailed hair, dress and fan. They have the simplified modulation of the features of a Holbein but without his finesse, which gives them the appearance of paper dolls. In the vast amount of prints and sheet music covers on this lady, there is a wide range of draftsmanship ability among the anonymous craftsmen who copied her for posterity.

Not to be overlooked in the lithographed print is the massive anonymous production of what the print trade calls "Sentimental Portraits" which were put out by every lithographic house. These sentimental belles entitled Ellen or Jane with their counterpart of a Dick or James must be classified with portraits but are that only to the extent that they testify as to what the ideal standards were. They do illustrate that feminine pulchritude was slightly on the plump side in opposition to the contemporary lean look. With the male there seems to have been a preference for Greek or aquiline features. The male frequently is shown enjoying the blessings of bachelorhood entitled simply, "Single." The Marriage Prints, with the exception of those involving historic figures, presents matrimony in an unpleasant light. For effectiveness, these prints depended on the hand-applied color. It is possible that the sentimental
portraits were given a name to aid the publisher in finding a given print in his huge stock.

The total output of lithographs presenting the subject of woman is limited to the sentimental presentation. Eastman Johnson did what was intended as a serious study in a print called "Marguerite," and Maurice Hunt did a similar kind of thing with the same title. Eastman Johnson presents woman as the mainstay of the home often seated with her spinning wheel. For Johnson this seems to have been his only surviving print and the imprint indicates that a painting of the subject once existed. Maurice Hunt's "La Marguerite" caters to the preference for pastoral scenes, showing a woman standing in a grain field with head down in a dreamy attitude. It was not put on stone by Hunt himself, as was Johnson's, but was lithographed by Fabronious.

There exists a large mass of lithographic portraits that can best be described as the work of self-taught artists, or in some cases they may be the work of inferior copyists. Alfred Hoffy of Philadelphia best illustrates the primitive lithographer. Hoffy is listed in the Philadelphia directory in the thirties as a painter and we have covered his work in the Orchardist's Companion. At least four of his lithographs that I have seen indicate that he first painted the subject and then turned it into a lithograph. Hoffy's full length portrait of "Colonel Richard M. Johnson" is naive to the point of being a caricature. It bears the
inscription that the subject was painted by Hoffy and the distinctive "Hoffy" signature which he must have used in his paintings is incorporated into the print.

Every element in this portrait is a wiggling, agitated form. Colonel Johnson's hair is a mass of curlique ringlets; the folds of cloth on his sleeves and trousers buckle and protrude like coils in a spring; the drape behind him and the American flag seem to react to the effects of a hidden fan. In contrast to Hoffy's print there is the bust portrait of "Colonel M. Johnson" from a painting by Henry Inman and on stone by A. Newsam. One would hardly recognize that this is a portrait of the same man with Inman's delicate treatment of the curly hair, the deft and over refined treatment of the features and the normal sculpting of clothing.

Hoffy's presentation, typical of the primitives, is seen again in his portrait of "The Siamese Twins - Eng & Yang," also made from a painting. The unfortunate twins are shown full length exhibiting their deformity to its best advantage. Again the trousers hardly follow the normal structure of the legs and the drapery is a mass of disorganized wrinkles.

The reverse of this type of presentation, also found in abundance, is found in the "Portrait of Henry Clay, after a painting by J. Armstrong and on stone by A. Newsam." In this type of print which is another full length portrait of
Clay, all forms are so modulated that a "surrealist flavor" is implied. All tactile quality is reduced and softened and all forms are rounded. This type of print in uniform greys is the approach used by the professional copyist and stamps their work. Sleeves and trousers are reduced to tubular constructions. The cloth on a table makes a long curve as it changes directions from top to side. Prints in this category, although intriguing in their naivete, embody little art quality. Newsam used the "copyist manner" only in his early copy work.

The lithographic portrait of this era followed closely defined presentation and an examination of these is worthwhile. The bust or head and shoulder portrait, the largest, constitutes over seventy-five percent of the portrait area. The half-length seated figure with or without a drape is second in number. Usually some accoutrements of the sitter's trade, if he is a professional man, is seen as in the "Henry Clay" by Rembrandt Peale after Otis.

The male full-length portrait, limited in number, follows two well established patterns. If the figure is shown in an interior, he is generally shown standing next to a table on which paper carrying written matter can be seen. These notes are so placed that the viewer of the print can also read what is on them. To the rear of the figure and in most instances on the right side of the print is a velvet or brocaded drape which hangs from the ceiling and is gathered
at the middle half way down and pulled to one side. To the left are one or two columns of good size. The floor is covered with a rug bearing large massive patterns. In some instances, as in the Johnson print by Hoffy, the figure assumes a theatrical pose as though delivering a speech that is to be given before a legislative body.

The alternative presentation of the full length figure might be called the "Patroon Presentation." Here, as exemplified in the "Portrait of Joseph Ritner, Governor of Pennsylvania" after a painting by J. F. Francis and on stone by A. Newsam, we see a landowner standing with a view of his holdings behind him. His attire is such that he could not be confused with being a farm hand. Newsam's specialty was in this kind of copy work. His "Portrait of Sam Irwin" was done in the late stages of this medium as a creative art. The imprint material informs us that the figure was copied from a Daguerreotype with a farm scene drawn in around Irwin by Newsam. Sam Irwin stands in a relaxed pose with topper in hand while behind him are the numerous buildings of his estate and a laborer plowing the field.

The three-quarter length portraits are limited almost exclusively to the portraits of women. The failure to include legs or feet makes one feel that artists were incapable of copying the extremities of the body. More likely, the exposing of the limbs was considered immodest. The portrait of "Mme. Jenny Lind & Siga. Marietta Alboni" published by
Kellogg & Comstock of New York and Ensign & Thayer of Buffalo gives us the two famous singers in three-quarter length. This kind of presentation is also seen, but is at its best in G. S. Newton's untitled print of a mother and child (Fig. 14). This undated print by the nephew of Gilbert Stuart was printed in black, white and accents of sienna red in the dress and hair. The sensitivity in the handling of line and the mass areas of black and white is one of the few instances of a lithographic portrait utilizing the medium in an approach which is graphic in treatment. It reminds one of the lithographs of the Frenchman Ingres. Only one other lithograph, "Mr. Adams as Hamlet" is known to have been done by Newton. It does not rank with this.

The subdivision of portraits which excells is the Portfolio type issued in series. With the cost involved, in producing the series print, no chance was taken in putting out work that was not of the highest caliber. An inferior draftsman or lithographer could not afford to go into this market or as was frequently the case, he could not find a patron until his reputation had been established. The portrait series was issued in medium or large folio size which required the procurement of large stones, and larger paper, which in itself was quite an expense. Although this type of print was bound to evolve in this country, added impetus was probably given to it by the following article:
A society of artists and men of letters in Paris, have engaged to publish a collection of lithographical portraits of celebrated men and women of that country with a short biographical memoir of each person, and a facsimile of their writing as far as it can be obtained. Two numbers, containing each four portraits with their notices &c. are published monthly at seven francs per number.1

With the attention that this country focused on things Parisian, this idea was soon to be capitalized upon when lithography was to reach its full stride here. The series of Ch. Fenderich are the best as far as I am concerned, (discussed in the Biography of Fenderich) followed by the "United States Ecclesiastical Gallery" published in 1844-46 by Wagner with some plates by Albert Newsam and bearing the imprint of P. S. Duval.

One comes across many individual prints of celebrities of the time and portraits of the presidents which have the outward signs of having once been intended as work for a portfolio which never materialized. There are some portfolio type prints in the stock size but they are anonymous works with their poor drawings and inferior lithography.

The endorsing of prints, the endorsement written and incorporated into the print itself, became almost a tradition in portrait prints. A typical print following this custom is the excellent portrait, "David Crockett, Painted by O. S. Osgood, Lith by Childs & Inman, Phila." and bearing this

attested to endorsement and facsimile signature: "I am happy to acknowledge this to be the only correct likeness that has been taken of me—David Crockett."

One of the most fascinating divisions of portraiture is to be found in the numerous good and bad Indian portraits. Some of these prints and portraits have come down to us through collections built by former Indian fighters or army officers; with them the collection and desire for Indian prints is understandable. The first series was issued in 1835, and entitled, "North American Aboriginal Portfolio" by J. O. Lewis, Philadelphia, Lithographed by Lehman & Duval, with two portraits by Albert Newsam. It is the poorest of the Indian portfolios. Again we find meager delineation. In most prints only the head and a small portion of the shoulders are revealed, the appeal depends on the application of full strength watercolors, especially reds and oranges. The second of the Indian series, "Indian Portfolio," by McKenny & Hall was started by McKenny in 1838 after he retired from government service. It was done from portraits of Indians in the government collections. Of added interest is the fact that George Catlin was invited to work on its production but turned it down, sulking and hurt over the fact that some one was trespassing on his exclusive rights to the portrayal of the American Indian. Although Catlin's "North American Port Folio" was not intended as a portrait production, nevertheless, it does include some good Indian
portraits. Although originally English work through being lithographed by Day & Haige, it becomes American with its reissue by A. J. Ackerman and Currier & Ives.

By 1865 P. S. Duval in his letter to Albert Newsam mentions that people are no longer coming to have portraits made as in his day, referring to the period when Newsam had been Duval's chief portrait draftsman. Newsam did not have long to live and with his death the combination of artist, copyist, and lithographer ended. By this time the Daguerreotype was replacing the lithographic portrait as the popular portrait medium. Artists like D'Avignon worked from daguerreotypes for a few years making cheaper copies of the more costly originals, but, soon even this source of income was dwindling away. The clergyman now went to the Daguerreotype Studio.

The lithographic portrait made less of a contribution to American art than did the view print or genre art. The quality of color that makes a portrait desirable and popular could not be incorporated into it. The warmth of color as seen in the oil paintings of Henry Inman or John Neagle of this period could not be secured. With the exception of Indian portraits and what are sometimes called trade sentimentals, no serious portrait was ever made with hand-applied or chromolithographed color. The acceptance of black, white

and greys to constitute a satisfying portrait seems not to have been within the ken of this age.

In the foregoing material the word after has been consistently used in connection with the lithographic portrait and gives an indication of the position this medium served. The good painted portrait, then as now, was expensive and the lithograph relatively cheap so it was only natural that it was used as a reproductive agent. In this service it made available today a record of many paintings which would otherwise have been lost.

The heart of this field, found in the portraits of B. F. Nutting, Rembrandt Peale, Charles Fenderich, G. S. Newton, and Jas. Queen demonstrates that serious attempts to use the medium in a graphic sense were made but they were a small voice in a world which saw the lithographic medium only in its potentials of satisfying the public demands for cheap copies of material or originals that they could not afford.

Through the lithographic portrait we are able to trace and enlarge upon the development of the portrait in America from Colonial tastes through the political figures of the Jacksonian era and down through the leaders of the Civil War period.
CHAPTER II
THE VIEW PRINT

Within the areas of Art History and Painting there usually are no special categories of views per se and within the category of prints in general one seldom hears of a print being referred to as a view print but lithography has many terms that are exclusively its own and in this art form one of the largest divisions is the category of the view print.

The view print encompasses an extremely wide range of subject matter. It covers all prints that are not portraits and not interiors. In most print departments where prints are catalogued according to type the view print also includes what normally would be classified as genre material.¹

With lithographers keeping abreast of European production, one wonders whether the prototype for the American lithographic view prints issued in series or albums does not lie in the one started by Baron Taylor of Paris in 1820, "Voyage Pittoresque et Romatique dans l'Ancienne France," of which nineteen volumes were completed. The undertaking for the publisher, however, was so vast in scope that he found it would take a century to complete the set and, in addition, its cost would have been around $6,000 so the

¹Typical of these are Maria (Maverick) Townsend's "Excursion" of 1824-25 and "Buffalo Harbor from the Village" by George Catlin, 1828.
Previously mentioned was J. Milbert’s print of the "Coal Mine at Etain" (1822), one of the first views published in this country, but not done by an American. The print establishes that this Frenchman knew the lithographic process before coming to this country. On returning to France he turned out his sketches done in this country through the lithographic medium. In 1825 he published his first series of prints on America entitled, "A Series of Picturesque Views in North America," issued in two parts with seven views in each part. The prints were intended for American consumption as the titles were in both French and English. He is author in part of "Itinéraire Pittoresque du Fleuve Hudson et des Parties Latéral de l'Amérique du Nord" which was issued in 1828-29 with fifty-four views. From the number of these prints found in public collections, the aim of the publisher became a reality.

Curators of Prints and those who have made the lithograph one of their concerns have a strong feeling that these views of Milbert became the prototype for American views to come. There is more than just a similar subject matter to be found in the view, "Waterworks," (Phil.) (Fig. 15) by George Lehman and Milbert's "Water Works on the Schuylkill River." The compositional arrangement in both views is

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almost identical. Later, J. C. Wild was to do his lithograph of the famous "Fairmount Waterworks" but by this time the presentation had become almost a stereotyped pattern, which he followed.

Although the early patterns of American views were to be influenced by European models, soon American tastes and preferences were to predominate as seen in the prints of Currier & Ives.

To return again to the term view print, both the term and the lithographic print may have their roots in early American painting. In Colonial times wealthy landowners were known to have had a view of their country estates painted for their own edification and the term may have come to lithography in this manner in as much as a large percentage of the subject matter contains elements from nature. More than likely this name for the type has been perpetuated through the publishing and print dealer trade. Let us examine a few of the larger divisions within the framework of views.

First is the classification of the city view. Under it will be found the single building print which was to an extent covered in the trade cards in as much as this was

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1George Beck painted two "views" of the Potomac for George Washington in 1797 which makes him one of the first patrons of landscape art in this country. Frederick A. Sweet, The Hudson River School, New York, Whitney Museum of Art, 1945, p. 12.
probably their function at the time that they were commissioned. In most instances the buildings illustrated are academically rendered, show every brick or stone, and present a factual documentation of the facade. Typical of these is H. Walton's "Schylers Store," of Ithaca, N. Y., c. 1835; "Ladds Eating House" in Boston, (undated); "Merchant's Hotel," by J. C. Wild, c. 1831; and "F. Lemming Co.," by George Lehman of Philadelphia, c. 1831.

The next sub-division within the city view would be the buildings in their settings and the institutions around which the life of the community was centered. They may or may not be of an historical nature. "Philadelphia Exchange" represents this type. The building with its huge columns was lithographed by J. C. Wild, George Lehman (Fig. 16) and a host of anonymous artists. "Girard College," looking more like a Greek Temple than a school building, was drawn on stone by both of these artists. Lehman drew his version in 1833 and Wild documented the college in 1838. A. J. Davis drew on stone "Harvard University" in 1828 with its flat figures before the buildings. It will be seen in the biography of A. J. Davis that he toured the Boston area with the deliberate intention of recording its buildings and historical houses. He has left behind examples in "Hancock House," "Tremont Theatre," "Chaponi Seminary," and "View of Christ's Church," to mention a few. Although undated, they must have been done around 1828-30. B. F. Nutting made a long narrow
view of "Yale University" from the Quadrangle around 1832. "Institute at Flushing" must have been a favorite with the citizens of its environs for it was drawn on stone by Anthony Imbert (Fig. 8) not later than 1828 and one of the most interesting presentations is to be found in a lithograph which was drawn by T. K. Wharton and lithographed by Endicott & Co. It presents a broad vista view and is one of the most sensitively drawn of the "institution" prints.

The prints of the homes of important citizens or those having a historical background seemed to be much desired and are found with city views. "Arlington House" by J. H. Bufford presents the concept of what might have been the ideal of the average citizen in this age. Its imprint carries the following material which may given an indication as to why the print was made: "The Seat of James Bennett, Esq., Author of the American System of Practical Bookkeeping, etc. The house is 74 x 80 ft. with three fronts and two greenhouses in the rear, one above the other. There are sixteen columns, each 30 ft. high, with caps invented and the whole designed by the proprietor which invention entitles him to a new order of architecture." With its sweeping lawn, imposing columns and huge iron fence, it must have been an impressive sight to those who desired such a home. Early in the 1830's H. Walton drew "The Hermitage," the home of Andrew Jackson, which is a rather trite view and in the 1850's among 600 homes Edwin Whitefield drew "Sunny Side,
The Residence of Washington Irving," in a linear fashion. (Fig. 43)

In the most of these prints there is enough landscape included to enframe the building or house but in no way does it compete. The home, building, or institution still remains the dominating feature. The figures which are included walk stiffly, ride high-stepping horses, or ride in low-slung carriages. The diminutive size of the figures often allowed for little modeling and give the appearance of flat silhouettes pasted to the view. The two children playing in the front of the house in Bufford's print are not children but dwarfed adults.

This category encompasses almost every facet of city life, its parks, store fronts with horse-drawn vehicles in front of them, parades, horse races in the streets, and quiet residential districts. One of the first men to try to capture the diversity of his city was W. L. Breton of Philadelphia, whose work must rank with some of the first lithography of that city. Around 1830 he drew "Peg's Run" (a creek), "Drawbridge & Blue Anchor Inn," "High Street & Market Shambles" among nineteen known views of his city. Breton's lithographs are lacking in tonal quality and most of his work is lithographed in dark brittle lines. He peopled the world with some of the most delightful figures in the whole of this division. Breton never drew a lean figure in his life, so it would appear. His dumpy figures
waddle, climb and walk like penguins.

An example of well drawn and well organized series from the standpoint of composition are the "Fourteen Views of Burlington, N. J.," (1848) by John Collins. Collins had been the printer for Wild's "Views of Philadelphia" so he is one of the few artists that we definitely know had the knowledge of the technical aspect of lithography to assist him and this knowledge is demonstrated in the series. Tonal ranges can be found from a soft muted grey to the darkest dark that the crayon can produce.

In the 1850's Edwin Whitefield drew and had lithographed among six of his Chicago views, "View of the Illinois & Central Railroad Depot" and "Michigan Terrace." These are examples of the elephant sized prints. Utilizing one point perspective he achieved views which have amazing feel in depth and space. His procedure was to situate the buildings in the middle and background and have a broad uninterrupted foreground.

Two subdivisions of city views are worthy of further comment. The first is the practice of making a summer and a winter view of the same subject matter, as seen in "Central Park, Winter" and "Central Park, Summer" by John Bachman. Evidently they satisfied the desire for contrast in art and the idea of the matched pair in prints for home decoration was not overlooked by the publishers. Currier & Ives more than other lithographic firms specialized in this pairing of
views. Secondly one must take into an account the number of birds-eye-view presentations which constitute so large a portion of the city view prints. This presentation was not limited to city views but there is no doubt that this method facilitated the ease of handling a panoramic scene and was a boon to the artist whose market was the elephant size folio. J. C. Wild included four panoramas in his Philadelphia series, Philadelphia, from the North, East, West, and noted that they were all taken from the steeple of the State House. John Bachman drew "Bird's Eye View of New York," 1850; "Bird's Eye View of the Crystal Palace and Environs," in 1853; and "Bird's Eye View of Philadelphia," in 1857. This method of course presented a much larger portion of the town than could a street or eye-level view. The use of this device also accomplished another purpose. In the extreme of the birds-eye, the print also takes on the aspect of a map and then served a utilitarian as well as decorative purpose. When one looks through the prints in the Stokes Collection of the New York Public Library, it is a safe guess to say that two out of three city-view prints are done with this perspective. Many of these are actually panoramas.

The Marine Print is the second of the largest divisions in view prints and is characterized by anonymity. Typical of these prints is "The Battery" located in the Museum of the City of New York. Its stiff figures viewing the ocean were lithographed in three sections and then pasted together.
VIEW OF GLOUCESTER,
(FROM ROCKY NECK)

Drawn and Published by Fisk & Lane, Tremont Temple, Boston
The print is three feet wide and seven feet long and took three stones to produce. This division occupies a prominent position in the iconography of New York, starting with Anthony Imbert's "Grand Canal Celebration, View of the Fleet" (1825) which is one of the earliest lithographic views of New York Harbor.

Included within this division would be ship portraits because they automatically are marine material. A good representative of this segment is J. T. Cambell's vignette on a music sheet cover entitled "Bird of the Sea." Another and more typical ship portrait is the "Missionary Packet Morning Star," Painted by G. Drew, and on stone by J. P. Newell.

From the broadside presentation of the ship shown in full sail it can be assumed that this was a commission work done for her owner or for the ship's crew. There is no competing background, so one gets an uncontested view of this schooner. As one might expect, the famous U. S. Constitution is the most lithographed ship. Most of the prints are anonymous but one of the best is by Albert Newsam.

Some of the finest marine views are to be found in the works of Fritz Hugh Lane and Jas. Queen. The bulk of Lane's work uses pictorial matter from the Gloucester, Massachusetts area. "Departure of the Jamestown for Cork," "Steam Demi Bark, Antelope," "View of Gloucester," (Fig. 17) and "View of New Bedford" are some of his best. His compositions are always interesting and there is a quality of atmosphere in
all of his work. Later Lane was to establish a reputation as a marine painter and his paintings of similar subject matter can be found in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A comparison of his lithographs and painting establishes that he made no sharp departure from his lithographic style to his painting style. Both are concerned with atmosphere and always portray the insignificance of the human form in landscape.

James Queen, whose background is still unknown, was a superb draftsman. He had a much better understanding of anatomy and the human form than most of his predecessors. Two of his marine lithographs are "Shad Fishing" and "Skating on the Delaware." The latter might also fit into the category of genre as it shows a host of skaters, skating among the brigs which are frozen in the ice. With the exception of Lane no known lithographer seems to have specialized in marine views.

The American view print did not limit itself to the America that was known, but also engaged in illustrating far off exotic places where Americans were engaged in activity. This material along with the documenting of our own wars, brings us to the third division, the historical print. A specific example of this material is found in the widely dispersed series of prints entitled "Conquest of Japan by Admiral Perry." First issued as a government report, these prints must have been open to public purchase, for they can
be found in all collections. Jas. Queen drew some of the better plates in this portfolio from the sketches of the expedition artists. More interesting are the "South American Views by Lt. Walker," and also applied to stone by Queen and Duval employees.

One of the outstanding series in this category is found in the eight views in "Naval Portfolio, Naval Scenes in the Mexican War by Lt. H. Walker."¹ Plate No. 7 entitled "Capture of the City of Tabasco by the U. S. Naval Expedition, Afloat and on Shore, Under Com. M. C. Perry. Sketched and on stone by H. Walker, Lieut. U. S. N., New York," is one of the finest in the whole classification of view prints. Three vessels lob their shells into the city while near hits splash water into the air around them. The wake of the ships creates an interesting pattern in the foreground while smoke belched from the funnels of the ships divides the sky area into an abstract pattern. Walker knew the full potentials of the medium. There are spots scratched out with the scraper, areas that appear to be tusche, plus the full range of the greys of the crayon.

The fourth group to be considered is that of the landscape prints. These prints devoid of humans, or human habitation, occupy a very small corner in the category of the view print in the first half of the nineteenth century. Views like "Bethlehem" (Fig. 18) by George Lehman are more

¹Print Department, Library of Congress.
the rule and would come under the heading of "Landscape with Genre Emphasis." His entire lithographic production that I have seen deals with landscape. His "Tomb of Washington" is the only one which portrays figures of any size in landscape. This illustrates that he was capable of dealing with the human figure but his preference was for almost pure landscape. His small figures which dot the scenes are animated and far surpass those of Doughty and the average lithographer of this time. One must wait until the 1850's to see the "intimate forest scene" where nature rules supreme. August Kollner is one of the earliest lithographers to devote himself to the presentation of landscape almost devoid of humans as illustrated in his "Twenty Views of Fairmount Park" (Phil.) (Fig. 24).

After 1850 the fifth division, the American Bountiful views, come into prominence. I call them this for want of a better name as they imply this in their subject matter, but they are a subdivision of landscape with genre emphasis. Their intent was to show this country as a land of milk and honey, a land where every seed that was planted, germinated. These prints are best illustrated in a vignette, "Harvest Scene," on an Ohio State Fair Certificate which Peters credits to the hand of Thomas Sully.\(^1\) The usual composition

\(^1\)Although Peters credits this lithograph to Thomas Sully he gives no documentation. The print is signed with the initials "TS" but this does not identify it as a work by Sully in a field where initials predominate. Most of Sully's work was put on stone by Albert Newsam.
follows the illustration found here. The crowded view shows fat, sleek, box-like cattle, prancing horses, with other farm animals amid the fields where handsome men and women are working among the shocks of grain, and the activities of the harvest season. Somewhere in the print is a beehive as a symbol of reward for labor and either at one side or at the top is the Goddess of Plenty in a contemplative mood, with pumpkins, a sheaf of wheat, and other fruits of the field at her feet. The farmhouse is no cardboard shanty but looks more like a hotel for the seaside. The over-idealized, sentimental presentation in its worst form is seen today in the posters used to advertise County Fairs.

"The Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Jersey" by J. C. Wild, although actually the portraits of two fat steers, fall into this category of "American Bountiful." J. F. Cole's "Willow Brook" with fat cattle wading in a brook while a farmer waters his fat horse seems to embody more of this idea than the ideals of the Barbizon School whose paintings he emulated.

The American Sporting Print which comes into full bloom in the 1870's also embodies some of these same principles.

The colored view print which is most esthetically satisfying is that done during the time when color was applied through the use of tint stones. The limitations of the medium limited the number of colors that could be used and this demand for simplification produced more satisfying
color. Prints using a blue for the sky, a brown or green for the earth, the mixing of these resulting in a third color or even a fourth where the color was applied one over the other are best illustrated in the government survey reports. (See Appendix VI) Sometimes a small spot of bright color appears as an accent note. Subtle, tasteful color which is applied in this manner or may have been done with a mechanical process appears in the late works of Fritz Hugh Lane, e.g., "View of New Bedford."

One of the factors that psychologically fostered the vast production of views in this country was the nineteenth century desire to identify itself with nature. The pictorial presentation of nature became an escape for the city dweller. It let him become a part of the world which he considered free and uncorrupted and identified him with the forces thought to purify the soul.

Another impulse which gave rise to view production was simply man's interest in the world around him. This was to be achieved successively through the single picture, the series views, and finally the panoramic views. The motion picture and, in our time, the quest for full optical space illusion through the principles of "3D" are modern versions of the same desire.

As this is one of the heaviest periods of migration to the New World, lithographic views also became a propaganda agent. They were used as tools to entice settlers to come
to this country or to the West and if not used directly in
this manner they were an indirect enticement.¹ When the
immigrant arrived here he sent lithographic views back to
Europe as a means of describing what he had found, or what
his city looked like.

The view print covered the everyday activities of
Americans in this age and offered to the people a substitute
for the more expensive paintings. This is illustrated
through the prints distributed by the American Art Union to
its subscribers and it was this distribution of prints that
contributed to the building of modern collections.

The view print documented American life in the nine­
teenth century. No city or village was too distant to be
missed by the traveling lithographic artist. Today the
streets and buildings drawn by him are source material for
historians, writers and artists.

The view print collected by the citizens of this age
gave them a visual delight in the portrayal of their horses
and cows, their waterfalls and parks, their church and
theatre. It sometimes becomes sentimental, but it did not
strip man of his attachment to his world as art of our time
is often accused of doing.

¹John Francis McDermott, "J. C. Wild," in the Ohio
State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Columbus,
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A people clearing the rocks from the not too fertile lands of New England or fighting the Indians in the midwest had little, if any, time to devote to the fine arts. It required easier living and the artificial life of the cities to awaken self-consciousness to art. By the end of the eighteenth century Americans began to record their portion of the world's surface along with the people who lived with them. The portrait gave way in this country to a more itemizing presentation; the possessions around man began to be included and a view of his lands could be seen through a window in a portrait painting. People developed a civic pride in their buildings and monuments and had them painted or engraved. As wealth increased and more time for leisure became available the arts continued to increase proportionately. Genre art began to appear in this country.

Another factor which contributed to the development of American landscape and genre art and, by the twenties, to their lithographed representation, was the absence of the desire for religious art. Where the artist of Europe could look to the church for commissions and for patronage, no such condition existed in this country. To eke out an existence, the artists here had to find other sources and
material that would be at least partially remunerative. In the enormous total production of lithographs of the age, that followed, only a few appear with religious images.¹

This lack of patronage by the church helped channel the artist's production into three main directions—portraits, landscape and genre art.

Concurrent with the favorable sociological conditions of more widespread leisure, security and travel, a landscape art movement was to develop rapidly and to foster an extensive production of lithographic views. The entry of Thomas Doughty on the painting and lithographic scene, about 1825, definitely promoted the production of landscape and view art. Along with being one of the many fathers of the Hudson River School of Painting, he was also one of the earliest lithographers.²

¹Typical of the very few early religious prints is Maria Maverick's, "Madonna and Child" (c. 1825) copied from Guido. This is the subject matter most frequently used in anonymous religious lithographs. I have seen three prints by Nathaniel Currier bearing the imprint "N. Currier Tract House." This is the only attempt in a direction of publishing religious art that I have found. The anonymous religious art follows closely the Post Renaissance paintings. In 1870 Kennedy Brothers issued a number of the "Sacred Heart," "The Three Marys at the Tomb," and "Christ the Good Shepherd." All of these capitalized on sentimentality.

²Doughty's landscape of the "Capitol, Washington D. C." (Fig. 22) and "Mount Vernon" (Fig. 20) are characteristic of the graphic version of the Hudson River School of Painting. Both were lithographed in 1832. Both are broad vista views with the seeming delineation of each blade of grass, each flower, and each leaf on the tree.
In 1800, when Washington Allston painted his first romantic landscape he was to start the glorification of the grandeur aspects of nature and this was to become one of the concerns of the Hudson River School and of many lithographers. One segment of this romanticism was the preoccupation with ruins as seen in Peale's "Residence of Lord Byron" showing Newstead Abbey in the process of decay. (Fig. 19) The love of ruins is to persist to 1870 when the Hudson River School ends and will be found also in the works of such men as J. Foxcroft Cole, in an untitled lithograph of a castle in the moonlight.

Like the painters, the lithographers of this time paid meticulous attention to the rendering of the minutiae of nature. Emphasis and subordination seem to have been unheard of qualities. The facile lithographic crayon facilitated the zealous documentation. It made the rendering of grass, leaves and tree bark equivalent to, or superior to the pencil drawing and achieved effects far beyond anything that work on copper had been able to capture. The lithographic crayon was especially adaptable to the capturing of atmospheric effects; its tonal range could suggest most atmospheric conditions and this capacity probably was its greatest contribution to the graphic arts.

The delight in the romantic presentation of the past and the eroding away that comes with the passage of time are illustrated in Doughty's "Landscape" (The Old Mill) (Fig. 31)
Landscape views were frequently made by wandering artist-lithographers who probably more than any others, are responsible for the tremendous output of American views. I do not mean to imply that there had not been wandering artists and painters in this country before. Colonial art had its share of itinerate silhouette artists and its portrait painters with their pack of stock bodies; but they traveled only limited distances. Artists like Kollner, Wild, Whitefield, Catlin and Gruenwald traveled extensively. There was also the government survey and expedition artist who brought back his sketches to be lithographed. Whitefield, for example, traveled from New York to Canada, to Minnesota, to Illinois and how far south he got is not known, but he did visit the southern states. They were tireless men who walked, rode or went by boat to record what they wanted. Whitefield's journal gives a delightful story of his adventures in securing new material to put on stone.¹

¹Started again today at 8 A.M. and after getting along pretty well for a couple of miles, or so, the beast of a horse took a notion to run away, and after cutting up all sorts of didoes, began kicking; so finding that was his temper, and that there was no stopping him, and having broken some part of the gear by his kicking, I watched my opportunity and jumped into some bushes and let the rascal go to the devil, which he immediately did, by breaking the buggy to smash and going off to parts unknown. Seeing no one about to assist, I sat and made a sketch of the spot, and then took the first opportunity of sending into town for another. After waiting for about an hour, the man owner came along with what proved to be a quiet horse, and away I went determined if possible to get to Dubuque by hook or crook. This feat I accomplished about 12 o'clock. Flora M. Ramsey, (Granddaughter of Edwin Whitefield) manuscript, "Edwin Whitefield," at the Chicago Historical Society.
The absence of patronage of American painting in the first half of the century is decried by most writers in the area of American art, and if this condition did exist it must have been a boon for the graphic arts. From observing the past, it seems that the periods in art in which foreign art has been preferred or the periods in which painting has been less patronized, the graphics have flourished. Hogarth would not have achieved his success in the graphics if the English patrons of his day had been buying English paintings. A few artists like Reynolds and Gainsborough were financially successful but this was not general. Although Mount, Bingham, and others have been rediscovered as painters in our day, they were known at this time through their engravings and lithographs. Several paintings by both of these men that have been lost are known today only because they were lithographed. The prints of these men and others were household items. The print was definitely the answer to the demand for home decoration in this age as well as in our own.

A number of artists of the time permitted their works to be lithographed, doubtless to supplement their scanty income but it is a mistake to suppose that they painted solely to serve as the model for a print.\footnote{The anonymous author of Art in New England, American Assn. of Museums (no author) Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1939, p. 13, states that because of the lack of patronage such men as Krimmel, Mount, and Eastman Johnson produced genre paintings only because they could be reproduced. However, not more than three of Eastman}
possible that the owners of portraits took them to lithographic houses to have the likeness multiplied. This could have been the motive behind the lithographing by M. E. D. Brown of Thos. Sully's "Portrait of Gertrude Meridith."

The lithographic portrait contributed to the nineteenth century the means of faithful, relatively cheap, multiple reproduction. It also illustrates the tendency for individualism and humanism in American art. It is true that many of the lithographic portraits were copies of paintings and were put on stone not by the men who painted them but by professional copyists. The exception to this is found in B. F. Nutting, Ch. Fenderich and A. Hoffy. Rembrandt Peale and Albert Newsam copied the work of other artists and did originals of their own. There is enough original work by these artists so that it cannot be looked upon as a subservient art. In a good many instances the copyist was so proficient, as in the case of Albert Newsam, that a work of lesser quality might have been produced had the artist himself tried to do the lithographic drawing. In some instances the portrait was probably improved upon from the standpoint of design by the copyist. The lithographic portrait generally included a fairly complete background while the painted portrait usually presented only the figure.

Johnson's genre paintings were ever put on stone, only three of Krimmels were printed through lithography; and the ten or so lithographs that Mount contributed were lithographed in France. With this small number of paintings from these men known to have been lithographed, does it seem likely that they painted only to have their paintings reproduced?
WILLIAM COSTIN.

A tribute to worth by his Friends.
Charles Penderich is an example of the portrait artist who understood the full potentials of what lay dormant in the lithographic crayon. His portraits show that he could draw from it every nuance of tone. In all of his work there is a dramatic play between the white of the paper and the grays and blacks of the crayon. In most of his work he stayed within the bounds of the convention of the time. He presented the accepted pictorial pattern of the bust portrait and thus we are not permitted to see what the full range of his draftsmanship ability was. The manner in which Penderich translated the painting of "William Costin, Painted by S. M. Charles, Lithographed by P. S. Duval," demonstrates that it can no longer be considered a faithful copy of the original oil painting but rather as an original work in its own right and on its own merit. (Fig. 21) The original painting could hardly have been limited to elements of line in the background. The distillation of painterly quality transliterated into tonal and line quality puts this into the same category as Van Gogh's copy of Delacroix' "Descent from the Cross."

Besides furnishing some of the best portraits of the political figures who lived in this age done in any medium, the lithograph recorded many portrait paintings that have been lost.¹ The lithographed portrait made possible the

¹The full length portrait of "Andrew Jackson" painted by Ralph Earl and copied by J. H. Bufford disappeared in its
viewing of personages important in their times by the people of the time. Only a limited few could be fortunate enough to see an original painting of the subject.

The American lithograph can also be considered as playing a role in the rise of nationalism in this country. The United States was becoming conscious of its historical past and this interest is graphically illustrated through the lithograph. Many of its leaders, topics of national interest and movements were recorded in the serious print, the cartoon and the comic sheet. American problems and candidates for political office were also seen through the lithographic handbill. Nationalistic feelings may also be linked to the lithograph in that it surely played up what America was and implied larger potentialities. Lithography came to the United States, moreover, just at the time of the rise of Jacksonian democracy. The little man was becoming conscious of his role in a larger framework and aware of a larger landscape than that which he tilled.

The pride of Niagara appears as a preview of this community of feeling. John Trumbull did his painting of Niagara in 1808, William Dunlap, the historian painted the famous falls in 1815 and George Catlin did eight lithographic "Views of Niagara" c.1830. From here on the falls in general time and was only known through the lithographic copy for almost one hundred years until it was re-discovered in Washington D. C. in 1950.
The Capitol, Washington, D.C.
West Front from the City Hall.
Engraved and Drawn by J. Leutze.
Washington, D.C., Engraved by J. Leutze, 1837.
FALLS OF THE GENESEE,
Rochester, N.Y.

Drawn from Nature by R. Whitefield.
Printed by Joseph Newman, N.Y.
become acceptable subject matter.\(^1\)

In 1800 the seat of government was moved to Washington on the muddy flats of the Potomac and thirty years later Thomas Doughty did his lithograph of the Capitol (Fig. 22). About this same time George Lehman also made his, "The Capitol, N. E. View." This starts the recording of the building as a symbol of American life and government.

Mount Vernon and the Tomb of Washington seem to be second only to Niagara Falls as popular lithographic subject matter which undoubtedly contributed to the growing interest in landscape. John Cameron did one of his earliest lithographs, "Mount Vernon," long before he was associated with Currier & Ives. George Lehman lithographed his view in 1832 and from then on one sees the tomb over and over again in lithographs that are signed by initials or not signed at all.

With Nationalism firmly entrenched it is only natural that Sectionalism should not be far behind and to an extent the Hudson River School of Painters were partially responsible from what one reads in the Western Scenery or Land and River, Hill and Dale, in the Mississippi Valley, Superbly Lithographed from Original Sketches, Literary Department by

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\(^1\)This is witnessed in "Ithaca Falls" (1848) by Edwin Whitefield and in "Falls of the Genesee" (Fig. 23) done earlier in his career. "Passaic Falls, Paterson, N. J." was put on stone by John Gildemeister in 1852, to mention just a few.
William Wells.¹

This work was lithographed by Onken of Cincinnati but did not live up to its high claim. The twenty-six lithographs of Cincinnati, Louisville, Lexington, New Orleans, Vicksburgh, and Columbus are poorly done. The drawings were made by unknown artists possibly from the midwest and were put on stone by Onken's draftsmen. A typical print is "State Capitol, Columbus, Ohio, F. V. Lear, Lith."

It must have been in this same spirit that J. C. Wild's "Mississippi Panorama" was produced.

Much of the western scenery and especially that of the Rocky Mountain prints are entertaining material to us today.

¹Advertisement. Land and River, Hill and Dale, in the Atlantic States has long been the subject of the artist's pencil and the tourist's sketch. The romantic Hudson has been the theme of admiration since the discovery of its valley, and genius has paid its tribute to the magnificent scenery and colossal cities east of the Alleghenies.

We believe, that the noble streams and sublime scenery of the Mississippi Valley, together with the hundreds of cities that have sprung up in its bosom, as if by the magician's wand, are highly deserving of the same effort to perpetuate their features, as the fleeting moments bear them on to a future whose importance can hardly be realized. Encouraged by this conviction, and supported by the belief that an intelligent public will extend a hearty welcome and a favorable hand toward our enterprise, we have determined to commence the issue of a series of Lithographic Views of the most important cities, costly and magnificent public buildings, and romantic scenery in the Mississippi Valley, from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. It will be our endeavor to make this undertaking worthy of support, by presenting to the public the finest specimens of the lithographic art that have ever appeared in the West, or the East...

due to the artist's complete lack of knowledge of what the west was really like. Many were drawn from hearsay or in the case of "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way," after the painting of Emanuel Leutze, whose knowledge of the West was less than average. Pioneer material done by Fanny Palmer for Currier & Ives is drawn without the remotest idea as to what the West was like. In both of these prints the pioneers languidly struggle their way over the Alps or the beaten down Appalachian Mountains to reach California.¹

Accurate and good lithographs of the west will not be found until the west sets up her own lithographic plants or until the work of the survey artists is seen.

It is not easy to make a comparison between the lithographs of this period and the painting. Among the prominent painters active between 1820-1865 only a few were ever lithographers like J. G. Clonney, Thomas Doughty, H. Inman, and Fritz Hugh Lane.² Yet, the general quality of the painted

¹Lett's Pictorial Views of California by a Returned Californian, 1853, has much to be desired in accurate presentation of the western scenery and is technically poor lithography. This book illustrates the usual complicated crediting as to who was responsible for the illustrational material. The imprint material reads: Sketches by G. W. Casilear, Del. G. V. Cooper, and on stone by J. Cameron.

²Thomas Cole is to be included in this group of painters with his one lithograph of "The Good Shepherd." It was published after his death by his widow and dedicated to "the American artist." It may have been possible that Cole venturing into lithography at the time of his death.
landscapes and of the lithographic landscape of the period is similar. In both media the content is literary and heavily laden with romantic overtones. However, the unpeopled landscape with its implication of the worship of nature, exists only in the painting. Nature as a terrifying force, on the other hand, can be said to exist in the extreme in the Marine View. Both the painting and the lithograph are meticulous in the rendering of detail.

Lithography had the misfortune early in its formative stage in this country to be considered a kind of extension of painting. This debilitating factor kept it at times from achieving the place it could have established in the history of American graphic arts. The very act of adding watercolor to a black and white lithographic drawing in so much of what could have been satisfactory in its own right indicated that it was hoping to pass for something that it was not.

In our time we are accustomed to thinking of lithography as being done creatively by the artist who readapts the subject matter from one of his paintings to lithographic means but during this time the situation was often reversed, the artist using the lithographic print as a model and re-adapting it for a painting.¹

¹Thanks to the multiplication of landscape imagery through prints, the amateurs worked for their own satisfaction during these years. Few of them were as accomplished as Benjamin Latrobe when he made his charming small water colors; many of them adapted the plates of Shaw's Picturesque Views or the lithographs of Birch and Strickland... Oliver Larkin, Art and Life in America, N. Y., Rinehart & Co., 1949, pp. 140-141.
If one considers the nineteenth century American lithograph as a whole, the early mature period seems to have come around 1830 to 1845. These are the years of greatest artistic achievement. It is probably true that the technical process of printing is better at a later date but the production ten years after its start in this country is of a high calibre. One of the reasons for the superiority of the work of this time is that it is still an artist identified art in comparison with the later phase which becomes a craftsman's art. In this period of the thirties and forties we find the names of recognized artists like M. E. D. Brown, Rembrandt Peale, J. C. Wild, and Thomas Doughty working in lithography. After 1850 the men who will put out the greatest amount of lithographic matter will be the illustrators like Edwin Whitefield, James Queen, August Kollner, and the anonymous craftsmen who will be using the medium chiefly for its reproductive ability. Early in their careers both Kollner and Queen had produced works with graphic quality, e.g., Kollner's series, "Bits of Nature in Fairmount Park" (1840) (Fig. 24) and Queen's "Portrait of Henry Clay" (1840). By 1845 both of these artists were working for the Lithographic House of Thomas Sinclair of Philadelphia and their work takes on an entirely new character. Kollner is now transferring the engravings of F. O. C. Darley to stone as seen in his "Women of '76," executed for Miss Godey's Magazine. Queen's work is now typified by the huge panorama of
"Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon of Philadelphia, J. Queen del. & lith." c.1860. This huge panorama showing crowds of soldiers around a refreshment tent is a beautifully drawn scene but looks more like a pencil drawing with color added by tint stones than the result of drawing with a lithographic crayon. This work and the mass of anonymous work from Sinclair's House have only news value to offer. A comparison of "Jefferson Rock" by Rembrandt Peale and "Genesee Falls" (Fig. 25) by Whitefield shows that the latter is just a drawing that could have been executed in any other drawing medium and have achieved the same effect.

Although Rembrandt Peale has established his reputation on portraits of Washington, his lithographs show that he could have been as much interested in nature as in Washington if the former had been marketable. Another of his views is "The Residence of Lord Byron," a castle in ruins and "Residence of Sir Walter Scott" with its castle, hunters, and mountains illustrating among other things that the use of homes of historic and romantic personages was an excuse for doing landscapes.

A close examination of the work of Peale and the four other artists previously mentioned with him, demonstrates that whereas their portraiture through lithographic means, was only the copying of paintings, their landscape or genre views were usually done from their own original sketches.
The Civil War was to explode at the opportune time as far as the lithograph was concerned. By this date the technical problems had been solved and it was possible to cover almost every phase of the war lithographically. It would seem that every figure, battle, and element was to be lithographed if one views the vast material assembled in the Library of Congress. The Confederacy even printed its postage stamps through the lithographic process. Winslow Homer's Civil War scenes are both journalistic recordings and at the same time examples of the last great lithography. An unknown artist like Corp. Nep. Roesler, of the Color Guard, Co. G. 47th Regt., sketched the war as he saw it and put his record on stone for Ehrgott, Forbriger & Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1862. His two dimensional figures drawn in a self taught style are the equal of Homer in the range of their subject matter. These two war correspondents come at the end of an era, as the war's end was to see the swan song of this art.

With the advent of chromolithography, lithography flowered into forms more elaborately embellished than had previously been known and established corresponding cannons of bad taste. The artistic race between printer and lithographer came at the time when post war conditions were favorable for extravagance and excesses. It used bombastic,

1Charles H. Taylor, Notes.
distorted and over ornamental type faces and pictorial accompaniments. Restraint was thrown to the four winds as advertising pages became a riot of confusion. The compositor, played his part with gusto and egotism, employed at least a dozen type styles in every page, and supplanted the part the illustrator and engraver had previously held.\(^1\) The little art quality that had been left in illustrative matter now ceased to exist at all.

In keeping with the opening of this paper with legends that surrounded the development of the inception of this graphic art in America, we can close with one that is symbolic, tragic and probably the best known of all the lithographic legends. Even if the tale is utterly devoid of truth it bears repeating due to the fact that if the incident is without foundation the idea is important to the death of the lithographic portrait.

P. T. Barnum had prospered partially through the lithographic poster which glamorized his freaks and wonders. Among these was the midget Tom Thumb who was one of the darlings of his age. His exaggerated smallness was emblazoned throughout New York City. One day, so the story goes, Barnum took Tom Thumb to Currier & Ives to have another one of his portraits done through lithography. On entering the establishment they were not given immediate attention as it

\(^1\)Clarence P. Hornung, *op. cit.*, p. xli.
was a busy day for the firm. Thumb, who was used to showered attention was a little annoyed when at last his time to be waited upon had arrived and turning to Barnum he suggested that instead of having one of the "old fashioned" portraits done, that they go up the street to Sarony's where the "big boys" now went and have a Daguerreotype made.¹ The two of them left and with them went, symbolically, the art of the lithographic portrait.

The death of lithography as an art form was not an overnight affair. Occasionally a print with art quality does appear from one of the old lithographic houses, but the majority of the houses in the post Civil War period made an immediate jump into chromolithography.

Nevertheless, the death of lithography as far as the artist being able to draw, etch, and print his own work was final. The mechanics of the production, although written about in the early years in this country, were lost to the artist-lithographer. As the medium became more and more a printing device, the artist knew less and less about the technical aspect of making a lithograph and after 1865 it is doubtful if any artist-lithographers knew how to mix an etch. The door to the printing room had been closed to the artist long before the Civil War, partially because of the tendency toward specialization already evident in American

¹This story was first told by Mr. Ives, the son of Ives of Currier & Ives.
life. The preparation of the stones for printing was a closely guarded trade secret just as photo-lithographic-printing plants today guard their secrets. Through the seventies and eighties lithography practically disappeared and the woodcut took over some of its functions. It is true that Thomas Moran did some excellent work in the fine art area and in 1870 he was the artist attached to a government survey, but here again his drawings were put out in chromolithography by Lewis Prang of Boston. Moran is the exception which proves the rule.

An interesting story of an artist living in the eighties and interested in lithography is told in a kind of autobiography written by Diaz Dodge. In his quest to learn the process of lithography Diaz Dodge says that he made numerous inquiries but to no avail. One day while he was browsing in a print shop he struck up an acquaintance with an old gentleman. In the course of their conversation he discovered that the old man had been a lithographer and printer in Europe in his youth. With the assistance of this old lithographer, Dodge made his first lithographs.

The lithographs of the first half of the nineteenth century illustrate the joys, the diverse accomplishments and the pride in things American. These elements are to be found in such prints as "American Trout," "The Trotting Race

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1Diaz Dodge, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings - 1902, at the New York Public Library.

Its anonymous artist campaigned for justice as illustrated in prints from the Civil War. Its portraitists offer to our age the likenesses of tycoons and unknown men who lived and whose only record that they lived is illustrated in their lithographed portrait.

Through the vignette genre scenes often found on diplomas or certificates we see art incorporated no doubt to associate the event with the persons involved. Thus this art becomes at once practical and art of a very personal nature. In some respects the essence of lithographic art of this age is found on these legal documents so necessary to life.

It is possible that someday someone will make a list of the best fifty or the best one hundred lithographs done in this period. My nominations for this list would be found in such material as "The Portrait of Mother and Child," by Stuart Newton; "The Hudson River Looking North from Fort Putman" by A. J. Davis; the Marine Views, by Fritz Hugh Lane; "The Naval Portfolio" by Lt. Walker; "The Portrait of Washington," by Rembrandt Peale; and the "Portrait Gallery," by Charles Fenderich, just to mention a few. In my opinion these works rank with the best of American art of this period which is now being gathered into collections.
The lithograph had served as a dominant force in American life and added to the literature, poetry, and painting of the nineteenth century, it was to establish a foundation if not a tradition in American culture. It was to lie dormant as a creative force until the twentieth century but not to be entirely forgotten as witnessed by the lithographic works of Thomas Moran, John Singer Sargent, Frank Duveneck, Bolton Brown, Arthur B. Davies and Joseph Pennell.

Artists searching for a technique which is highly autographic in its multiple results, who are challenged by the ability to draw with conviction, and those who are interested in an art form which demands the skill of a scientific craft in addition to a painterly outlook will be enticed into working on stone. For those who see in the black, white and greys of the lithographic print the epitome of all color, the lithograph will always be captivating. To those who see art as the manipulation of color, the colored lithograph offers a challenge equal to anything to be found in the color provences of art.
PART V
Of all the lithographers of the first half of the nineteenth century in this country none reach the brilliance of M. E. D. Brown. He is not to be confused with the mysterious Brown who was a portrait draftsman in New York around 1816, nor with E. Brown, Jr., the lithographer who came later; but in many respects the activities of this artist are more mysterious than the Brown to whom the dubious title has been accorded.

Outside of the one-sentence statement made by Thieme-Becker, no account of him exists in the standard sources. Brown came out of oblivion and after a prolific period covering a few years, he departs again to this same state leaving behind a record of five known paintings and twenty-two lithographs. His lithographs were produced during the era when the artist-lithographer was at his height and when commercialism had not invaded the field; yet, from a printing standpoint they might well have been the product of thirty years later when the technical know-how fostered work which becomes at times a tour-de-force.


Like many of the best lithographers of the period from 1820 to 1850 his first dated works appear with the Pendleton imprint. This concern provided him with the good contacts which are attested to by the lithographing commissions he was to receive at a later date, plus the knowledge of etching and printing from stone. His "Memorial Plate, M. E. D. Brown, Published & Sold at W. & S. Pendletons, No. 1 Graphic Court (Boston), 1829," (American Antiquarian Society) (Fig. 3) is one of the earliest if not "the" earliest of the Mourning Pieces, and more than likely helped establish the style for this reminder of the dear departed with its tombstone and grieving figures.

His record as a painter comes to us through two showings with the National Academy Shows. The first was in 1845, no home address given, when he exhibited "Saturday Afternoon," and again in 1850 when he displayed "Judah's Appeal in Behalf of Benjamin" with his address given as Utica, N. Y.¹

In 1942 the Old Print Shop acquired "Saturday Afternoon" along with a hitherto unknown painting of the "Capture of Major Andre." To quote this shop's researchers, "The painting offered here (the Major Andre) is of particular interest first, because it offers an entirely original concept of the scene often painted from print originals, and second because

the face of André is so similar to his self portrait sketched on the day of his execution. Oil on canvas. 35 x 42 in.\(^1\) The fourth painting is a "Portrait of Miss Laura Wiggins" owned by the Cincinnati Museum of Art. The fifth and last painting is one which was exhibited in a Cincinnati, Ohio, Portrait Show of 1932. Again Louisa Wiggins appears now as the portrait of Mrs. J. Ralston Skinner. The painting was signed by Brown and dated 1869.\(^2\) The sum total of these paintings gave Brown the title of "Portrait and Historical Painter." The more correct title for this man might be "Lithographer Extraordinary and Collaborator with the Good and Popular Artists of his Day." From the number of lithographs bearing the inscription "after," he evidently was much sought out to multiply the works of painters of his time as we often read, "after B. Otis, Brewster, Stewart Newton, T. Sully, J. Neagle, Eichellz, and A. Richie."

By 1831 Brown was in Philadelphia and had established "HIS" LITHOGRAPHIC PRESS. The "His" is always part of his imprint signature. Enough examples of work produced by other artists exists with the imprint, "Brown's Lithography," on them so that we are sure that he operated a press.

\(^1\)The Old Print Shop Portfolio, Vol. XII, No. 6, p. 142.

Brown's usual imprint was, "Drawn from nature or life and on stone by M. E. D. Brown, His Lithography, No. 5 Library St., Phila." From this plant he was associated with or at least worked for Thomas Doughty in the publishing of the Cabinet of Natural History and Rural Sports, and some of the better plates in this publication are from his hand. "The Wild Horses" (Fig. 26) is a typical example of the best of his work and has an affinity with the good English sporting prints. Nevertheless, there is an intangible quality here which gives it a flavor of something American and not English. Like Doughty and Audubon he must have spent much time afield collecting material for this publication for almost all of his prints read, "From Nature."

One seldom appreciates the craftsmanship of some of these men when one handles their small lithographs made after paintings until one discovers the original painting itself. Thos. Sully's "Portrait of Gertrude G. Meridith" (Fig. 27) is a typical example. Brown's lithograph of this painting is 6 11/16 x 7 5/8 in. while the painting itself is approximately 4 ft. x 6 ft., 3 in. The reduction and transfer of its colored surface to a tonal range of black to white on a six inch by seven inch surface is no small feat. Unfortunately, the painting and print are not owned by the

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1See "Thomas Doughty."

2Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
same institution so they cannot be viewed together, but the print is an excellent transliteration of the painting without an attempt to literally copy it. This quality found in good lithographs "after" paintings make them original works of art on their own merits and should be accepted as such. In many instances they are improvements over the painting.

The year 1833 appears to have seen the end of Brown's Lithography for the last plate that he did for Doughty's Cabinet bears the imprint of a New York firm. The seeming pride with which he used the "His" as part of his imprint and to identify that he did own a shop does not let us suppose that one of his lithographs would be printed somewhere else if he still maintained a plant. From this time, his work is rather insignificant in production with one exception. Most of the lithographs of 1834 are illustrations for scientific magazines. In this year Brown produced what Peters calls "Brown's masterpiece," "Portrait of Dr. W. P. Dewees," and then he disappears until his name reappears on paintings done in 1845, 1850, and 1869.

Brown's best tribute can be found in Harry T. Peters' comment which makes an excellent summation to the career of this outstanding painter-lithographer:

It is interesting to note here that just as in the case of the "Lexington" print (by N. Currier) which I have spoken of before as being as fine a piece of work in its field as any subsequently done by the firm, so here, Nathaniel Currier never made a print that surpassed the first known dated portrait from his press; nor
has it been equaled in the annals of lithographic portraiture in this country. This portrait, dated 1834, of Dr. William Potts Dewees (1768-1841), the eminent professor of Obstetrics at the University of Pennsylvania, is a masterpiece of lithographic printing. Its sheer brilliancy of manual dexterity and artistic ability rank it with the foremost lithographic portraits of the past. It was drawn on stone by M. E. D. Brown, a talented draftsman and miniaturist, whose splendid work gives him a place of honor in the list of early American artists. He translated it into the medium of lithography from the superb oil portrait of John Neagle. This imposing portrait, by a pupil of Gilbert Stuart, is owned by the Univ. of Penn. A proof impression of the print exists dated 1833. The published state is 1834, the year that Dr. Dewees was elected to the Faculty of the University. It was made during the short-lived association of Brown and Currier. The knowledge of printing manifested in the print leads us to the belief that Currier was responsible for some of the fine portraits issued by the Pendletons during his association with that firm. During the sixty years following the publication of the Dewees print, N. Currier & Ives produced nearly five hundred portraits. It is to be regretted that the firm, during this long period, never procured the services of an artist with the ability of Brown.

Out of the hundreds of artist-lithographers of the first half of the nineteenth century Brown might be called the typical artist. His limited production available today shows that he was capable of undertaking any lithographic task. In a survey of this known production there is no work that is of inferior quality to another whether it be of the vignette for a music sheet or the copying of a portrait.

1Peters puts emphasis on the fact that N. Currier produced this portrait, emphasis should be placed on the fact that Brown's contribution to the end product was far more important. Also, it is possible that other anonymous work bearing N. Currier's imprint might be from Brown's hand.

CHECK LIST, M. E. D. BROWN


3. Port. Rev. Asbel Green. Vig. 2 1/2 x 2 1/8. Side profile. AAS.

4. Rev. C. R. Livingston. Jacob Eichellz, pinxt. On Stone by M.E.D. Brown. His Lith. No. 5 Library St., Phil. 9½ x 7½. Minister holds a Bible with the left hand and is shown half length. Interior with gothic window on the left. PHIL F.


Book Illustrations.

1. Shells, in Timothy A. Conrad's New Fresh-water Shells of the U.S. Colored. Phil. 1834. AAS.

2. Shells, in Samuel G. Morton's Synopsis of the Organic Remains of the Cretaceous Group of the U.S. Phil. 1834. AAS.

3. Ear Trumpet, in Baron D. J. Larrey's Observation on Wounds and Their Complications Etc. AAS.
M. E. D. Brown

Sheet Music Covers.


Genre Plates.


2. The Sun Glass. M. E. D. Brown, del on stone. Pendleton Lith., Boston. Painted by J. Knight. 8 5/8 x 7. Four children are examining light as it comes through a prism onto the sleeve of a girl. In the background is the exterior of a European type dwelling with a girl drawing water into a pitcher. AAS.

3. Reading the Scriptures. B. B. Haydon, pinxt. M. E. D. Brown, del. 9 9/16 x 11 1/2. A woman seated at a table wearing a high pointed bonnet and a shawl listens while her husband, also seated, reads from an open Bible on the table. A large lamp occupies the center of the table. AAS.

4. The Wife. Stewart Newton, pinxt. M. E. D. Brown, Del. Pendleton's Lith., Boston. Published by J. W. J. Niles for the Amateur and Cabinet. A lady is seated in her bower in a huge highbacked chair. She holds a watch in her left hand. To her left is a rose in a vase and a standing crucifix on a small table. AAS.

Cabinet of Natural History and Rural Sports.

See the Check List for Thomas Doughty for Brown's contribution to this work. AAS.

Frick Collection: Engraved Portrait of Mr. Reisling by Welch from a painting by M. E. D. Brown. Miniature, 2 x 2.
GEORGE CATLIN
1796-1872

The average American schoolboy's knowledge of American Indians is very probably founded in part on the lifetime efforts of a self-taught artist-lithographer by the name of George Catlin. Few men have so completely dedicated their total existence to a cause or ideal as did this man who was to paint, draw, and write in behalf of the American Indian. To narrate only a small portion of his life in connection with his lithographic production is to do an injustice to the complete concept of this man and deny the serious reader the total story.

George Catlin was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania on July 26, 1796.1 As a boy he grew up with Indians and his writings, and art production were always to be from first-hand information although they were questioned and attacked in his age by the skeptics. A good deal of Catlin's literary efforts were to prove that his creative works were correct and drawn from his personal experiences.

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Like many another artist of the early nineteenth century he drifted into painting rather than seeking directly to be a painter. This fact has prejudiced many a critic when viewing his production. His severest critic, and one living in his own times, was William Dunlap who had nothing good to say when he wrote about Catlin in his earliest of American art histories.

Catlin's first occupation was that of a lawyer. He entered this profession through the backdoor as was common in his age. He placed himself under the tutelage of a Judge Tappin Reeve in 1817 and eventually passed the bar examination. His short career as a lawyer opened the way to art. During the dull and tedious proceedings of law he wiled away the time by making sketches and gradually became consumed with a passion for drawing. Without further ado he abandoned law and set off to Philadelphia where he opened a studio and entitled himself "Miniature Painter." In Philadelphia he spent much time in the Charles Wilson Peale Museum where according to his own writings he was to be confronted with the object of his life's work. In 1822-23 at Peale's Museum he saw a group of Prairie Indian Chiefs who were being shown the wonders of Philadelphia and the Museum. Struck by the bearing of these, imposing warriors and the color of their garb, he knew then that this was what he wanted to paint; these noble creatures were to be the focal point of his life and existence.
From 1821-25 much of his time was spent in copying portraits of English and Dutch masters whose work was in this city and he achieved a reputation as a successful miniature painter. His two existing miniatures attest that he was better than the average miniaturist of his time. The Analectic Magazine of 1821 mentions the fact that two of his miniatures at the Pennsylvania Academy Show of that year received much praise. In this branch of painting he was most successful. The miniature portrait owned by the Smithsonian is a competent example.

Through searching for material for a historical painting on the famous Indian Red Jacket, he indirectly entered the field of lithography. In the search for historical data he met the editor of the Commercial Advertiser of New York and he in turn introduced Catlin to DeWitt Clinton whose portrait Catlin painted several times. This introduction to DeWitt Clinton seems to have made possible his place as an artist in the famous Golden Canal Book done to commemorate the completion of Clinton's New York Erie Canal. This was in the year 1825, but Catlin may have had previous experience with lithography through other sources.1 Catlin was one of those men who knew all the artists of his day and in the twenties his work was engraved by J. W. Hill and the

1In chapter II where I have discussed the "Maverick's as Lithographers" it was noted that they engraved one of Catlin's portraits. He may well have seen them producing lithographs at such a time.
The six prints in the Canal Book bearing his signature and the "del.," are not outstanding works but identify him with the earliest production done in this country. One other print exists, the portrait of John A. Graham, L.L.D., which also bears the Anthony Imbert Imprint.

By now the concept of a monumental work entailing the recording of the Prairie Indians was ready to be undertaken. This was to be a joint project with his brother Julian who was a cadet at West Point. George was to be the painter and Julian was to collect the Indian paraphernalia which could be exhibited in a Museum. His brother, however, drowned before their joint effort had started and his death was a great blow to George.

Probably in conjunction with the planning of their great undertaking, Catlin made trips to West Point and on one of these he sketched two views of West Point from Fort Putman and put them on stone. These along with his "Views of Niagara Falls" which are undated, are very, very scarce items in the world of Catlin prints.

By 1832 Catlin had severed all his connections with his family and had arrived in St. Louis to start the life which would lead him to cover most of the West, England, France, and South America. Catlin's next eight years were to be spent in covering the Indian life West of the Mississippi River. He traveled on foot, in canoe, in flatboat, and rode
on horseback to visit the tribes he wanted to record. Sick and well he drew and painted their daily life, their ceremonies, and their outstanding warriors. His recordings of the Mandan Indians are the main sources of our knowledge of this nation as even in Catlin's time they disappeared from the face of the earth. These eight years were punctuated with trips back to the East for various reasons; heath, family, and failure of the government to allow him to go into certain areas of the West because of Indian wars. The end result of this life was the over 600 now existent paintings, and the "North American Indian Port Folio" which, more than any other record, added to the composite knowledge of the Indian for the man in the street. His is the best visual document owned by our society to divulge the ways of these now lost people.

Catlin worked under extreme difficulty, hauling his painting materials wherever he went, and sometimes having only minutes to record a happening or event. This is a factor often ignored by many who see his paintings. The bulk of his output was intended to be used as field sketches which were to be completed in the studio but which never were completed because the artist was always off on new enterprises. Also, he raced against the fear that the government would send the Eastern tribes across the Mississippi and corrupt the ways of his Prairie Indians before he could document their way of life in its original form.
As was previously mentioned, ill health was one of the factors which prompted his returns to the East but that was not the only reason. With his paintings and Indian collection he was now in the position to start his mission in life, the education of the people as to what the Indian was, and to secure a place in society for them. The educational process could best be accomplished by the setting up of Indian Galleries in the so-called civilized centers of population. Thus even today there are broadsides advertising his gallery to be found in the libraries of Philadelphia. At one time or another he set up his gallery in all the major cities from Cincinnati to New York, lecturing, displaying his paintings and such items as wigwams. In each of these cities is to be found advertisements for his show and letters to the newspaper written by Catlin, over various squabbles he became embroiled in while exhibiting. The gallery of this time was one of the favorite and most enjoyed devices for entertainment and education. Starting out with a few paintings and a few relics, his lodges, Cradels and bonnets grew to the point that it took days to hang the pictures and a boxcar to transport the collection. In Europe real Indians were added to the entourage and entranced his wild west show audiences.

The year 1837 produced an event that sent Catlin back to drawing on stone. In that year the Seminole warrior, Osceola, was captured through trickery by the U. S. Army and
Catlin hurried to South Carolina from New York where his gallery was being displayed. There with the famous chief in prison he painted his portrait and tried to aid his cause. This is one of his finest portraits and was produced under the white heat of the incident. Later, Osceola died in prison and Catlin issued his elephant sized, full length lithographic study of the chief. It would appear that this was intended as a kind of memorial to Osceola. The print sold for $1.50 and although it is recorded as having been colored in beautiful "autumnal tones" I have come across only the black and white version. It is one of the few Catlin lithographs bearing his "drawn from life and on stone by George Catlin."

By 1839 Catlin's Gallery was fairly well known to the American public and an invitation was extended to bring it to England. Previous to this date, Catlin had offered to sell his now mammoth collection to the United States Government and several prominent citizens had aided his cause but nothing came of the transactions. Partly to force this issue, partly spite, and partly due to the fact that he had toured this country so thoroughly, Catlin decided to take his collection to Europe and in doing so ended up in a grand tour. The entourage entered England complete with two live grizzly bears in 1839. He rented the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, displayed his collection and lectured on it but by this time the idea of the printed word as a weapon had
begun to emerge. The realization of what writing might do for his depleted treasury, how it might refute the publications which now were appearing and asserting that he was in error on some points about Indian life, and how it might educate the public, prompted him to formulate the *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of the North American Indians*, published in England with an American house handling the distribution for these shores. It contained 300 engravings and the cost was fifty shillings. Because of the cost it did not sell well, even with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert heading the subscription list. This book plus the gallery made him the darling of England even though neither put much money in his pockets.

In true American fashion Catlin rationalized that the failure of this publication was due to the tremendous cost of its production, particularly the cost of the 300 engravings. Probably remembering his earlier experience with lithography and seeking to find a medium which would be within the grasp of the population, he turned to lithography, and in 1844 his second and most important production from the standpoint of distribution and influence appeared. This was the *North American Port Folio* containing twenty-five lithographs and letter press text which was published at Egyptian Hall and sold for five guineas with printed text and eight guineas colored. The subscription list again was headed by Queen Victoria, with King Louis Philippe of France, the King
of the Belgiums, etc. also giving it royal patronage. These twenty-five plates were lithographed by Day and Haghe, "Lithographers to the Queen," from sketches by Catlin.¹

In 1845 through an arrangement with J. A. Ackerman, Lithographer of New York, these plates with thirteen more were reissued by that firm. Ackerman was tremendously proud of his production and his introduction to the new Port Folio swells with pride. An added indication of his pride in the work rests in the "King Size Imprint" which he placed at the bottom of each plate in one edition. Later seven of these same plates were reissued by Currier and Ives and it is doubtful that they made any financial arrangement with Catlin although four of the seven do give him credit as the artist.

This is probably the most influential series of American lithographs ever done, as will be seen. Their impact on Western lithographic genre was equal to what the Pendletons' "The Five Kings" did for lithographic portraiture. I purposely include the English Day and Haghe production with the American production and call it American because this edition seems to exist as abundantly as does the Ackerman

¹As there is no record of what became of the original sketches, one wonders if they could be the same ones referred to in the American Academy & Art Union Records for the exhibition of 1847 which were listed as "Portfolio, 25 drawings, watercolor," which were purchased by a T. Willis Pratt of Providence, R. I. This same listing gives Catlin's address of that time as Paris. Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, American Academy & American Art Union 1816-1852: Vol. II, Exhibition Records, N. Y., 2 Vols. New York Historical Society, 1953.
edition. Then, too it is only when one looks at the imprint
that one knows which one of the editions is English and
which is American. In a comparison of the two editions
owned by the Library of Congress only superficial variations
seem to appear and these are mainly differences in the hand
coloring.

These lithographs in keeping with the "Letters and
Notes, Etc.," are a conundrum to those seeking to document
the work. They follow the unpredictable pattern of Catlin's
life. Around this lithographic series lies an aura of folk­
tales. The most popular story, which I believe to be in
error, is that the folio was drawn and lithographed in
London, the stones shipped to the United States, and rerun
by Ackerman, then sold to Currier and Ives and then shipped
to California and lost. What appears more likely is that a
copy of the Day and Haghe Edition was sent to this country
and used as a model along with the twenty-five sketches and
from it was drawn the American Edition, with the thirteen
new ones added to it.

The second tale is that the American Edition of the
folio is far superior in color. This concept may have gained
its hold if one took seriously Ackerman's introduction, but
the truth seems to be that the Ackerman edition may be
slightly stronger in color but it is not far superior. Most
dealers agree that the Currier and Ives material is not as
well colored as the other two, yet their print of "Chief
Wi-Jun-Jun, the Pigeon's Egg Head," that is owned by the Print Dept. of the Library of Congress is as satisfactory in color as this print in the other editions.

Here again we find the deviation in editions. Catlin was given to producing extra-colored editions as gifts and sometimes with an entirely different format from the main production. This extra-coloring was a habit with almost every lithographer and not a practice found in Catlin alone. There is also an edition which bears no imprint and is mounted on a light cardboard, that I have seen. Assigning material from this production is a risky venture.

Although the North American Indian Port Folio is not "on stone" by Catlin, there can be no doubt but that he supervised its production. The nature of the man was such that he would have made this mandatory. The lithographs when compared to the paintings of the Smithsonian are very faithful translations.1 Catlin no doubt made water color copies of the paintings such as the "Attacking the Grizzly Bear" which were put on stone by J. M. M'Gahey which demonstrate that M'Gahey must have been a skilled copyist. The American editions give no credit to the man who made the transfer.

Another group of lithographs from Catlin's paintings which has received scant attention is the work commissioned

1For example: "Buffalo Hunt on Snowshoes" and "Archery of the Mandans."
by Col. Samuel Colt, the inventor of Colt's revolver, which was to be used by the company as advertising matter. Ten paintings were expressly made for this production but only six were ever put on stone. This work can be dated as being done between 1852 and 1857; again by J. M. M'Gahey, and lithographed by Day and Son of London. "Water Hunting for Deer, A Night Scene on the River Susquehanna, Penn." is an especially appealing lithograph and this is demonstrated through the fact that it was copied by Currier and Ives, (giving no credit to the artist) and by Geo. Stenson & Co. of Portland, Maine. The originals of these prints bear an inscription on the bottom which testifies to the efficiency of the revolver and narrates on the subject matter. This is one of the earliest documentations of an artist being commissioned to execute paintings with the expressed purpose of having them lithographed. Two other lithographs of this series are known through sales catalogues. One is entitled, "Catlin the Artist Shooting Buffalos with Colt's Revolver" and the other is untitled. The former bears this inscription which was to elaborate on the printed scene, "He said, with my two hired men, Ba'tiste and Bogard, I took a position where a numerous herd of Buffalo were crossing a deep ravine and being unobserved, I shot down eight or ten in succession leaving their carcasses."

It seems to have been Catlin's nature to be eternally traveling and writing to enlighten the world on some theme
that he felt would benefit mankind. In this connection there appeared on the market in 1861, a small book bearing the enchanting title *The Breath of Life or Mal-respiration & Its Effects upon Enjoyment of Life* and like his previous works, it appears under various titles including *Shut Your Mouth and Save Your Life*. This time his campaign was not for the Indian cause but against mouth breathing and for sleeping Indian-fashion on one's back to prolong life. This writing came from his hand during the time that he was exploring and painting Indians in South America after he had lost part of his collection through mortgaging it while in dire financial straits in Europe. The book again uses lithography in that its form is Catlin's longhand transferred to stone in a mechanical process called by the book, "Manu­graphy."¹

Although the majority of the prints that have been dis­cussed here do not directly come from Catlin's hand, they are historically more important than a good deal of the original or artist-lithographed material produced in this time. Writers have disagreed on Catlin's ability to draw and to paint. It appears to me that at times he is criti­cised because of the knowledge that he was self-taught. It is true that Catlin needed a drawing teacher, for many of

¹For a complete list of Catlin's writing and works see Lloyd Haberly, *Pursuit of the Horizon* and Bernard DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri.*
his works are not optically lucid. It is frequently difficult to establish where one item leaves off and another begins. Chief Wi-Jun-Jun's legs become entangled and he stands on a mysterious something that are not legs. Catlin possessed a good native sense of composition in landscape scenes, but in figures he became overpowered in the presentation of the full figure, and in half-length portraits he often cut off arms at annoying lengths. His sensuous, tight-lipped Indians become a formula, with all lips drawn in approximately the same manner, but there is no formula for presenting the individual Indian. As with all artists some paintings stemmed from a passion for the subject matter, like the portrait, "Chief Osceola," while others were accomplished as routine with a resulting dull end product. It is true that he paid little attention to the background and the setting of an event as can be witnessed in the landscapes of his lithographs. His rolling hills are always just that, his sky is sky only through color, and the material of nature is only vaguely indicated -- yet, this quality does permit our attention to focus on the main event which is transpiring. In a comparison of "Bear Dance" done by Catlin and by Karl Bodmer, the Swiss artist, who worked at the same time and on the same subject matter as Catlin, and who was a much more skillful draftsman, we find that Bodmer presents the scene in the detailed European historical manner and makes an epic style painting of it. Catlin's
presentation is more crudely done but the dance, with vague indications of the wigwams in the background, is much more the Indian dance in essence. This inability to cope with the entire production gives a distillation of the event not found in the more sophisticated production of Bodmer.

Catlin's paintings and lithographs became the standard of how to present the West. They were copied and recopied. His buffalo which were his forte were never better done. With their uplifted tails they galloped through the works of countless other artists who followed him. Any number of lithographs can be found which bear parts of Catlin drawings or are reminiscent of what one saw in his work. I recall seeing a music sheet cover with a central scene of the West and surrounding it an entwining decoration, each offshoot from the main line curling around a small medalion. Three of the medalions portrayed scenes from the *North American Indian Portfolio* and yet the cover was dated 1871.

Another interesting lithographic item which shows the wide and extensive use of Catlin's work is a print, "St. Louis (1832) from the River." It bears the inscription "From a painting by G.C. in the possession of the Mercantile Library Assn." -- no lithographer and no imprint.

It is fortunate that Catlin's Indian Gallery was never purchased in his lifetime; not till 1912 was the first portion of it to come into the government's collection in the Smithsonian Institute. Had it been a part of it in 1865
when the Smithsonian's Art Gallery burned, Catlin's work would have been lost. The continuing interest in Catlin's Indians is illustrated by the fact that this year, 1954, a collection of his paintings are again to be loaned to Europe for another tour of the continent.
CHECK LIST, GEORGE CATLIN


2. Buffalo from the lighthouse. 8.12 x 6.6. George Catlin, del. A. Imbert's Lith. 1825. Stokes Collection, NYPL.

3. Chief Osceola. On Stone by Geo. Catlin. 26.7 x 19.10. 1838. This elephant sized print shows the Chief standing full length, with a gun in his left hand. Catlin's signature on a rock in the foreground.

4. View of West Point.- United States Military Academy at West Point.

5. View of West Point from Fort Putman.- United States Military Academy at West Point.

6. View of Niagara Falls. (8 plates) 1831.- United States Military Academy at West Point.


Lithographic works "after Catlin."


2. North American Indians. Published at James Ackerman's Lithographic Rooms, 304 Broadway, N.Y. Forty-eight prints. 1845. Editor, Ackerman. R. Graighead Printer, 112 Fulton St., N. Y. LC.

J. FOXCROFT COLE
1837-1892

It is ironic that J. Foxcroft Cole's name is most frequently mentioned in connection with the group of French artists that he helped popularize in this country and not in connection with his own production or the outstanding painters of the nineteenth century. Cole's paintings and lithographs command little attention or interest from the public today, but Corot, Daubigny, Dore and the others that he introduced into this country are still important historically even if their popularity has waned.

Cole's name rarely appears in periodicals and the art that he produced in a kind of "Barbizon School" approach was popular only for a short time in the nineteenth century and is almost completely foreign to twentieth century art taste. Most of his bucolic or pastoral scenes are owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts or are in private collections in that city.

Cole was born in Jay, Maine, in 1837 on the ninth of November but grew up in Boston. After leaving school at the age of fifteen, he entered Bufford's Lithographic House.

1The only comprehensive biography of this artist is in Frank T. Robinson, (Living) New England Artists, Boston, Cassion, 1885, p. 45.

2Cole brought the first Corot to America at the time when a Corot could be bought for sixty dollars. Ibid., p.47.
There he was a fellow apprentice of Winslow Homer and possibly worked there at the same time that Eastman Johnson was also working for Bufford.\(^1\) Cole worked as a lithographer for seven years, going to Europe to study painting in 1859.

During these years as a lithographer he had no desire to be a painter, until, it is said, that he saw a painting by Troyon, the Dutch painter. "Troyon's masterly style and subject matter, struck a tender cord in young Cole's nature, and, at twenty-two years of age he resolved to enter the art world, and study for this profession."\(^2\) From this point on he shuttled back and forth between the United States and Europe.

Cole was a student of Lambinet for three years and then returned home. In 1864 he returned to Paris and this time he became a member of a group composed of Jules Héran, Achard, and the aging landscape painter Auguste Bonheur. Again he returned to America but was back in France by 1865. "This time he commenced his studies in Jacque's studio, Paris. Here he was set to work painting subjects from Jacque's pencil drawings, and carrying out the ideas intended by his master as far as he could, then Jacque would take them, make a few changes, and in a few hours sign the


\(^2\)Robinson, op. cit., p. 46.
pictures. Cole exhibited his first work in the Salon of 1836, and was represented in the International Exposition and in the Salon of 1867. He returned to America again for a brief time and then back to Europe spending almost three years painting on the Normandy coast, exhibiting abroad and sending samples of his work back to America. He also traveled to Belgium and Holland and spent much time studying the works of Paul Potter Cuyp who, from what we find in Cole's paintings, must have been his idol.

"In the fall of 1877, he returned to America, and, after an important sale of his works in the spring of 1878, erected a house and studio at Winchester, Mass., where he lived for nine years, after which he visited California, then Paris, and returned home in the winter of 1887 and opened his present studio on Boylston Street."

Cole presents a new direction in American lithography, for he was one of the first painters to record his most successful painting on stone, "Ewe and Ram." Up to his time artists had drawn original work directly on the stone, made paintings to be used as the basis for lithographs, or copied the works of other artists. Cole takes what critics recognize as his most successful paintings and multiplies them on

1Idem.
2Idem.
3Ibid., p. 48.
stone, an idea that will become increasingly popular in the twentieth century.

One of the fascinating sidelights in the field of lithography from its commercial implications is to be found in Cole's plate of eight lithographic drawings of silver pitchers.¹ From the arrangement on the page and the technique of drawing, this plate has all the earmarks of being a silversmith's sample sheet. It offered the possible shapes and surface decorations that could be supplied by the metal-crafter. The plate bears no imprint and only the initials "J.P.C." and can be assumed to be work from his apprenticeship period. On viewing the plate one becomes conscious of the continuity of history through the graphic arts. The beautiful silvery quality of the drawing reminds one of the same kind of thing which the German and Italian engravers must have shown to their clients during the Renaissance as samples of their craft and what could be applied as decoration for armor.

By 1859 Cole had become a very proficient draftsman, as illustrated by his view, "South Boston," printed in that year. In many ways it is more satisfying than the six prints in the "Pastoral Album."

Like other lithographers he worked for a succession of Boston firms after Bufford. Two of them were Prang & Mayer

¹Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
"Donkey and Goats".
and Troschler Co. Peters calls "'Sperm Whaling, The Conflict, after J. Cole' one of the very finest of all the Whaling Gallery and deserves a very high place indeed."¹ From the two lithographs that I have been able to locate, I should judge that the largest classification of his prints would be views.

The "Album of American Artists - Part I" ("Pastoral - Part I," is the usual title) appears to have been the start of a series which would have included the works of many artists. It never materialized, however, beyond the work of Cole. Another print entitled "Pastoral #2" might indicate that a second part of the production was planned, but the name applies only to this one print since the series did not materialize. The prints were done by Louis Prang or at least in his establishment. Prang, as we discover through the work he did for Homer and his own writings, was a patron of the arts, interested in lithography as a fine art as well as being the owner of a plant which by 1870 was putting out superb lithography from a printing standpoint. In large measure Prang deserves the credit for the album.

The "Pastoral - Part I" (Fig. 28 and 29) is a handsomely lithographed series utilizing the rich blacks, the nuances of greys, and possessing a fine chiaroscure pattern which demonstrates a complete knowledge by the artist of the

¹ Peters, America on Stone, p. 327.
medium. Outstanding lithographic production like this will not appear again on the scene until the happy combination of Bellows and Bolton, the artist and the artist-technician-printer.

The name Cole does not disappear from the art field with his death, for his daughter Adelaide was a popular portrait painter and some biographers list her as one of the famous portrait painters of her day.
CHECK LIST, J. FOXCROFT COLE

1. Castle Ruins. 6 x 4 3/4. Signed "J.F.C." Right portion contains the remains of an arched window and wall. The left is overgrown, ruined portion of a round tower. In center two children look into the valley. Background composed of moonlit trees. Moon is slightly hidden by clouds. AAS, BFA.

2. South Boston. J.F.A. Cole. 19 x 28. 1859. Colored. One large view and five detailed views at the bottom. Enframed with an entwining lattice. Main view: Reservoir on the extreme left, junction of two streets left of center is the point of interest. Carriage and promenading citizens meet at broad fork. City and harbor in the mid distance, town is background. Small views: Residence of Nickerson, Broadway Corner of "G" St., Sailing Ship vignette with signature. Residence of Dr. S. G. Gowen, Residence of S. R. Spinney. "To the Citizens of South Boston this picture is respectfully dedicated by the artist." ATH.

3. New Bedford. 16 1/8 x 32. J.F.A. Cole. Del & lith. 256 Washington St., Boston. Pub by Prang and Mayer 34 Merchants Row, Boston. Chromo Harbor Scene. Pier juts out into water on the right, two men are dragging a boat onto the shore in the center, behind them and to the right another boat is being pulled to shore, at the extreme left a clipper is moored next to a building, in mid ground is a small island. In the distance is the city of New Bedford. ATH.

4. The Birthplace of Franklin, which stood in Milk Street opposite South Church, Boston. Poweres & Willers Lith. Pub by Reading Co., Boston. 4 1/4 x 3 3/4. Small drawing of an old building from the front facade. BFA.

5. Pastoral #2. 8 1/4 x 10 1/2. 1870. J.F.A. Cole. Cows grazing with willow trees in the background. Farm buildings in distance. Two dairy maids in left foreground. One is milking a cow. BFA. This print is also found under the title, "The Shepherdess." SMI.

6. The Willow Brook. 7 1/2 x 10. A flock of sheep in the foreground. Shepherd sits under a tree in the background. Stream and farm buildings in the background. BFA, SMI.

7. The Shepherds Rendezvous. 8 x 10 1/8. Goats and donkey in left foreground. Shepherd leans against stepwall on the right. Barn and large trees in the background. BFA, SMI.
J. F. A. Cole

8. Ram and Ewe. 10 3/8 x 8 1/8. Two sheep in a pasture. BFA, SMI.

9. Cattle Ruminating. 10 1/2 x 8 1/4. Two cows under a large tree. Farm building in the background. Two sheep lying down in the left foreground.

10. Plate of ten silver vessels evidently done as a silversmiths sample sheet. Signed "J.F.C." BFA.


In the field of American Art History, A. J. Davis will most likely be remembered for his contributions to American Architecture of the nineteenth century and not for his contributions to American Graphic Arts but he cannot be overlooked in the story of lithography in this century. Whereas the other men in this survey can be called artist or artist-lithographer, Davis has the distinction of being classified as artist-lithographer-architect and this is the order of his development.

A. J. Davis was born in New York City on July 24, 1803 and although he worked in other cities, it is this city which treasures his production. Davis left school at sixteen to join his brother in various newspaper enterprises in Southern cities -- one biographer mentions Florida in particular.\(^1\) The Davis brothers' enterprises were always in the newspaper publishing field where the ostensible editor was the elder brother and Alexander was the typesetter. His limited education had fostered an extensive interest in

\(^1\)Unless otherwise stated, all biographical material is from Roger Hale Newton, *Town and Davis, Architects*, New York Columbia Univ. Press, 1942.

Additional material can be found in Wm. Dunlap, *op. cit.* Vol. III, pp. 210-212.
reading and soon he started illustrating the material that he had read or building new fantastic ideas around it. Time spent in this manner soon separated the Davis brothers partnership and at twenty Alexander Davis was back in New York City. There he pursued his new interest and sought out the art centers. According to Dunlap, a friend advised him to concentrate on architecture.

This "friend," according to further notes, was both Colonel John Trumbull and Rembrandt Peale. The former had long been active in the New York Academy of Fine Arts, and the Antique School. On becoming settled in the city of his birth, young Davis joined both groups; he got the first part of his training in architecture from Trumbull, who had himself been a student of the subject in London and who, in 1792, had designed the brick row for Yale College. All this took place in 1823,...but in order to increase his income, young Alexander joined the Statesman as compositor, meanwhile mastering the art of lithography, his first view being a "View of Weehawken" now quite rare.1

Actually Davis could not have learned lithography until 1825 at the earliest because his first prints bear the imprint of Anthony Imbert and Imbert's production did not start until that year. Davis's first lithographic print would seem to be the undated New York View of "The American Hotel" which is jointly signed by Canova and Davis; Canova being one of the workers on the Golden Canal Book and probably Davis's instructor at Imbert's plant. The Weehawken print is dated 1828, so comes much later.

1Newton, op. cit., p. 90.
During the same period that he studied at the Antique school he also supported himself by working for A. F. Goodrich, a bookseller of New York, and assisted in the production of a series of guidebooks. One of these was I. T. Hintons, History of Topography of the United States (engraved) and in 1827 to 1829 he rendered sketches of buildings for the New York Mirror. About the same time he lent a hand in the formation of the famous Valentines Manual of the Corporation of New York. Somewhere between 1826 and 1829 he worked on a projected, "Views of The Public Buildings in the City of New York." Only one of these views and the title page has survived. It is a vignette of the "Rotunda," a building erected in 1818 by John Vanderlyn for an art exhibition hall. Davis's production during these years and his various enterprises indicate amazingly hard work for all the lithographs issuing from Imbert's must have been done on the side. When he was twenty-three in 1826 he entered the firm of Josiah R. Brady, where he was employed as a draughtsman and apprentice designer.

Davis's positions must have been on a free-lance basis because he is known to have spent the winters between 1827 and 1829 in Boston. Whether it was the urge to travel or the desire to be exposed to Boston as a culture center is not known, but during these years he did work for Pendletons.

1New-York Historical Society.
He arrived in Boston with the following letter from Ithiel Town.

New York
Oct. 17, 1827

To D. Stebbins and Isaac Damon

Gentlemen: The bearer, Mr. Davis, is an Artist of Talents and is on his way to Boston for the purpose of taking and painting perspective views of some of the best public buildings of the City. He also will probably take a sketch of the School on the hill in Northampton, including Mr. Bowers' house, as I have offered to pay part of the expense of having it engraved or painted on stone. Your aid in rendering him any assistance he may want will confer a very particular favor on me.

Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

Ithiel Town

Out of this venture came at least twenty-five views of local landmarks around Boston. The Pendleton records show that even with all the letters, (one from Trumbull) existence was no path of roses. Pendleton's paid him from ten to sixty dollars for each drawing on stone and in turn deducted money for rent, clothes, and for lithographic supplies that must have been used in his extra curricular activities.

At least by the end of 1829 he was ready to settle down and locate in New York City. He was invited to join Ithiel Town in the formation of an architectural firm. It would appear that their concern at times was as much the publishing of view material as the actual designing of buildings.

1Ibid., p. 93.
Each man had his own pet projects in addition to their joint efforts in Revivalism in architecture. In 1829-30 Davis was working on another series, "Views in America," which were to be engraved. Later the partners were to disagree over policy and in 1837 Davis published his "Rural Residences" which was an architectural concept first appearing in the work of the suburban planner, Downing. "RURAL RESIDENCES ETC./ CONSISTING OF DESIGNS/ ORIGINAL AND SELECTED/ FOR/ COTTAGES, FARMHOUSES, VILLAS, AND VILLAGE CHURCHES:/ WITH BRIEF/ EXPLANATIONS, ESTIMATES AND A SPECIFICATION/ OF/ MATERIALS, CONSTRUCTION, ETC./ BY ALEXANDER JACKSON DAVIS, ESQ./ AND OTHER ARCHITECTS/ PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF SEVERAL/ GENTLEMEN WITH A VIEW TO THE AMERICAN COUNTRY ARCHITECTURE/ NEW YORK. To be had of the Architect, at the New York University and of the Booksellers generally throughout the United States. This work will be issued in ___ numbers each containing four plates. The first number to each City will be ornamented with a title page and a vignette. The Price of Subscription is per number $2.00. Each plate sold separately $0.50. Subscriptions are at the Offices of the Publisher, 97 Murray Street."

The prospectus reads: "Above is the title page of a work to be published periodically, each part to contain four designs with letter press -- the price of each part is $2.00. Six parts will complete the volume to be paid for on delivery."
...Bufford's Litho., 114 Nassau Street, New York." The lithographed edition came colored and uncolored although no mention of coloring was made.

Although Davis did not do the drawing on stone for this production, as will be seen in the check list, he used this medium for the education of the public and to crusade for the cause. From the lithographic illustrations and writing, we may infer that the Greek Revival was now dead and that the Gothic Revival was considered by Davis to be the answer. This publication, like the previous ones started by Davis, lived a short life.

Simultaneously with his architectural interests he found time to exhibit in the National Academy Show of 1829. The catalogue lists, "Lithographic Engraving of the Boston State House, from a drawing by A. J. Davis." In 1828 he had exhibited, "Frame Containing Three Lithographic Prints, -- Amherst College, Boston Market -- Boston Glass House, and Harvard College."

To Davis goes the credit of instigating and issuing one of the largest elephant sized prints. The print shows eleven houses probably designed by him and situated above a seawall. In the foreground is a boat with a crew rowing and three boats and crews in the background. A solitary horseman rides by the houses which are all lined up in a row.

1Philadelphia Free Library.
The print is 15 3/4 inches wide and 51 inches long and took two long stones to produce it. Moses Swett, the artist-lithographer, put it on stone with N. Currier as the probable printer. This long, long panoramic view with the houses, seawall, and activity lower on the water is a device which can be seen over and over again in the lithographs of this time.

This "Architectural Composer," as he frequently referred to himself, would have left a far different New York City behind him and a far different America if his many projected plans had gone through. He and Town frequently published work that was not their own material.

Davis left behind him, through the medium of lithography, the largest collection of early American architecture by any one person. Even Ed Whitefield must bow to him in the documentation of historical buildings and monuments. His thorough covering of early New York gives him a special place in this city which is so concerned with its beginnings. Both the Stokes Collection in the New York City Public Library and the New-York Historical Society have done a thorough job of collecting his material.

One can only regret that Davis appeared so early on the American lithographic scene. Due to the lack of technical know-how, much of his work is dark and brittle, but one print gives indication that if he had decided that lithography and not architecture was to have been his first love, he could
have attained a rank second to none. In a print called "Hudson River, Looking North from Fort Putman," there is a striking feel of the lighting of a Rembrandt. Whether Davis knew of Rembrandt's etching of "The Three Trees" so similar to this print is not known. Town owned a large collection of prints. This one print is equal to any of the landscapes produced in this age and of far more value artistically than the much sought after New York views.
CHECK LIST, A. J. DAVIS


5. Landscape. A. J. Davis, Del. 4 3/4 x 6 1/2. Wooded terrain with three trees on the right. Small lake in the background. Diagonal lines indicating rain and turbulent sky. AAS.


7. Nos. 1 & 2 South Market St., Boston. A. J. Davis del. Pendleton's Lith. 4 x 6 1/2. Sailing boat in foreground. Horses and carts on the seawall. Three rows of buildings vanish to one point perspective. AAS.


A. J. Davis

11. West, South-West View of Christ's Church, Gardnier, M. E. A. J. Davis del on stone from E. Furber. Pendleton's Lithography, Boston. Colored. 11 x 12½. A large neo-gothic church covers the left portion of the pictorial surface. A fence projects out from the right side. River and building in and to the rear of the church. Very low horizon line. AAS.


Lithographs after Davis. All at Athenaeum, Boston.

1. Design for Astor Hotel. 1832. Pub by Stodart & Currier, N. Y.

2. Birdseye View of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum, Currier Lith.

3. White Hall, Bristol College, Pa. (with plans) N. Currier.


Rural Residences Etc. Consisting of Designs, Original and Selected for Cottages, Farm-Houses, Villas and Village Churches with brief Explanations, Estimates, and a Specification of Material, Construction, etc. By Alexander Jackson Davis, Esq. and other Architects. Published under the superintendence of Several Gentlemen with a View to the Improvement of American Country Architecture. (issued colored and uncolored.) PHIL F, ATH.

1. Villa, Designed for Dav. Codwise Esq. or Cottage Orme.


3. Farmers House #2. (Stone)

A. J. Davis

5. American Cottage #1. Currier Lith.


THOMAS DOUGHTY
1793-1856

Both the artist and the art historian are interested in the backgrounds of a new art technique. What is the artistic climate which brings forth the new form or technique? Always there potentially, the technique lies dormant until such time as the climate is ripe for its appearance on the artistic scene. The development of lithography was especially important to the painter Thomas Doughty. It could enlarge and expand the art of landscape as he conceived it and desired to present it.

Thomas Doughty was born in 1793 and at fourteen he became very much interested in drawing. Nevertheless, his family apprenticed him to a leather merchant and he grew up in this trade. Later he and a brother set up a business as leather couriers.

In 1820 with a well established business behind him, he threw away its security and entered the field of painting. The Philadelphia Directory of that year lists him as a landscape painter. Doughty's early production as typified by

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1Unless otherwise noted the biographical material presented here was taken from Frederick A. Sweet, The Hudson River School, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art, 1945, p. 38.

two untitled paintings discovered by Mr. Edwin Dwight in Cincinnati in 1953 reveal that his early work had more leather than paint quality. In later years Doughty was plagued by the memories of his early production. Outside of a few night-school lessons in India ink drawing, he was never involved in academy training.

Doughty was an enthusiastic hunter and fisherman and these interests influenced his choice of subject matter both for his paintings and for his lithographs. His love of the out-of-doors could have become profitable through lithography in the production of the Cabinet of Natural History and Rural Sports. He probably rationalized that such a production would put him into the outdoor world and the material that he drew would be desired by others which could be made available in a periodical. (Fig. 30)

Doughty is the first artist of the group which may properly be called Hudson River School painters. Actually no school per se existed but his attitude toward nature was in keeping with those who were to make up this group -- the men who broke with the portrait and historical painting tradition to devote their lives to the painting of landscape in its natural state. The school as such is said to stem from the date (1825) when Thomas Cole first worked in the Catskills.

Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, wealthy men had been in the habit of commissioning artists to paint their estates, generally referred
to as "country seats." Francis Guy and various others executed a number of such pictures, usually in the topographical style of an earlier period. Doughty appears to have done paintings of this sort at the outset of his career, for one of his first patrons, Robert Gilmore of Baltimore, wrote in 1821, "Thomas Doughty was a landscape painter of Philadelphia--self-taught. I have bought several of his pictures, especially his studies from Nature on the spot, which are his best performances--he painted two views of my country seat."

In 1822 Doughty exhibited the first of his paintings at the Pennsylvania Academy of Art. By 1824, he was well represented in the Academy show of that year with eight oil paintings. Like his colleagues he also illustrated the works of James Fenimore Cooper and two of the above paintings were illustrations of material in The Pioneer, which was published in that year. No other American group of painters was to be so much in accord with the writers, poets, and novelists of their period as the landscapists of this age.

Doughty by nature was a rover and the subjects of his paintings indicate to us the various places of the East that he visited. On one of his trips to Boston in 1827 he exhibited six landscapes. It may have been here that Doughty first came in contact with lithography through the Pendletons, but I have found no work of his that bears their imprint. There was no lithographic plant in his home city of Philadelphia at this time. From 1827 to 1833 Doughty made

1Fredrick A. Sweet, op. cit., p. 36.
frequent trips between Philadelphia and Boston with stopovers in New York.

In 1831 Doughty was to enter a new field, that of publisher, and his short career here is to leave a valuable and intriguing document in the history of early American periodicals. Actually the undertaking was a failure in that, after a year, Doughty parted company with the magazine and in three years the enterprise was terminated. The Cabinet of Natural History and Rural Sports is one of the first major productions of this country to attempt to familiarize the public with American wild life and it is the first to produce the American Sporting Print. Audubon had preceded him with his engravings of native American birds and quadrupeds but had not included any sporting prints. One of the oddities of the publication is the wild turkey by M. E. D. Brown which is considered to be a steal from Audubon's version of the same subject.

The Cabinet first appeared on the market in late 1830 and bears the notice that the publishers were John and Thomas Doughty. Evidently John was to be the actual editor and Thomas was to produce the illustrative matter. Twenty of the twenty-two lithographs in the first volume were done by Thomas -- one was "after T. R. Peale." Starting with the second volume in 1832, the illustrative material was farmed out to M. E. D. Brown to be lithographed and printed by him. The choice of material must also have been his because they
all note that the material was "Drawn from Nature and on Stone by M. E. D. Brown." With the dissolution of the partnership which is noted in the second volume, there is an indication that the publication, like most others at this time, was having trouble financially. With the usual number of activities that the artist-lithographer of this period was engaged in, Thomas probably had new money-making ideas, and so in May of 1832 he turned his share of the partnership over to his brother as indicated in a note in volume two. It may be that he was more interested in doing the lithographic landscapes that were printed by Childs and Inman at this time, but more probably it was because he had decided to move to Boston where the artistic climate was supposed to be better. At any rate, M. E. D. Brown drew and lithographed the plates until the termination of his plant and from then on to the death of the publication in 1833 the plates are lithographed by Childs & Inman, Pendleton and Mesiers of New York.

This nature publication is also important because it gives us, besides the works of Thomas Doughty and Brown, work from Geo. Lehman and J. G. Clonney, later to be a recognized genre painter. It included engravings after Charles and Rembrandt Peale. The plate, "Wild Horses," by Brown is one of the finest animal reproductions ever put out in this country in this medium.
LITHOGRAPHY
American.
"Landscape". Original crayon lithograph by Thomas Doughty (1793-1856).
Gift of L. Prang & Co.
By 1832 Childs & Inman's lithographic plant was well established and they printed most of Doughty's landscape prints in addition to their work in The Cabinet.

Doughty is the first of the well known artist-lithographers to give us a range of material. His seven known lithographed landscapes plus the wild life material allow us to see a certain amount of growth in the development of the artist. Much of his material in the Cabinet is the work of a man fumbling with the tools. The copy of T. R. Peale's "Bears" is poorly done, but with prints like "Landscape," ("Old Mill") (Fig. 31) and the "Lake George Scenery," he begins to grasp the medium. Here in the "Lake George" lie the beginnings of illusionistic, atmospheric, silvery tones so desired by the Hudson River painters translated into lithographic means. This medium's outstanding characteristics lay in its ability to capture atmosphere and above all the silveriness of the unsullied landscape. Although these lithographs are not the fulfillment of Doughty's late style, they do show us the direction it is to take. In some of the works like "Capitol, Washington D. C. West Front from the City Hall" (Fig. 22) there is the frank presentation of a naturalistic scene.

By the end of 1832 Doughty had moved to Boston from Philadelphia and this move was partially undertaken because of the success of his first showings in that city. In 1833 the Athenaeum exhibit, in which twelve of Doughty's canvasses
were displayed, had an attendance of 8,000 paid admissions. In this city Doughty was to join the processions of art instructors as seen in the June fifth Transcript of 1833 wherein he notified the public that he would be available for instruction in watercolor, oil, and drawing.1

In 1837 Doughty visited England and on his return he settled down in New York and another side of his connections with the graphic arts began to unfold. Although the National Academy of Design never honored him with a membership, the American Art Union purchased at least fifty of his paintings from 1839 to 1845 and this must have been a great source of comfort to him.2 In 1845 he again went to Europe but by the time he returned in 1849 the popular taste for art had changed to preferences for foreign work and especially for the Düsseldorf school. From then on his sale of paintings fell off and the Union failed to purchase any of his work. Being blind to the fact that the mode of the day was for things foreign, he publicly blamed the Art Union for his predicament. He blamed the Union's high handed jury methods and in his campaign he indirectly was responsible for the dissolution of the Art Union. In 1854 an investigation of the Art Union was made and it was dissolved under the New York State's anti-gambling act due to the fact that its awarding

1Ibid., p. 38.
2Ibid., p. 39.
of paintings to members was determined by a lottery. The Art Union had done much to foster American art through its distribution of prints. Doughty had cut off his nose to spite his face and with no strong American opposition the Düsseldorf importation became even greater.

Doughty was ill during the last phase of his life and his paintings sold slowly. Early biographers lead one to believe that his late years were spent in abject poverty but investigations of records seems to disprove this. He died in 1856.

Through The Cabinet, Doughty pioneered the field of animal and sporting prints that were to see their culmination with the production of Currier and Ives. His "Quail," "Woodcock," and "Summer Duck," drawn from Nature, became source material for hundreds of like productions done later by anonymous lithographers. His "Washington's Tomb" after the drawing by J. B. Smith is an enlightening shock when one sees the tomb as it looked in his time. It too must have been not only a favorite judging from the wide distribution of the print in collections today but is one of the earliest lithographs of this historic site which is to be repeated over and over again both in lithography and in painting.
LIST OF PRINTS AND NOTES IN DOUGHTY'S CABINET OF NATURAL
HISTORY AND AMERICAN RURAL SPORTS - VOLS. I-III, 1830-1834, 
PHIL., HAS SOME ETCHED PLATES AFTER DOUGHTY - A MONTHLY 
PUBLICATION. VOL. I PUBLISHED BY J. & T. DOUGHTY - $8 PER 
YEAR.

1830 - 1. Common Deer - Doughty, pinxt - Sartain Sc.
2. Ruffed Grouse - From Nature by T.D. on stone - 
   C. G. Childs direx.

1831 - 3. Red Fox - From Nature & on stone T. D. - Childs 
   Lith.
4. Quail - From Nature & on stone T. D. - Childs & 
   Inman.
5. Newfoundland dog - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
6. Pelican - From Nature & on stone T. D. - Childs & 
   Inman.
7. Prairie Wolves - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
8. Woodcock Shooting - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
9. Meadow Lark & Snow Bird - From Nature & on stone 
   T. D. - Childs and Inman.
10. No print.

11. Grizzly Bear - From a drawing by T.R. Peale - 
   Childs & Inman.
12. Blue Bird, Robin - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
13. Male Brook Trout - From a drawing by a lady - 
   Childs & Inman.
   Inman.
15. Ground Squirrel - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
16. Argali - From Nature & on stone T. D. - Childs & 
   Inman.
17. Rail - From Nature & on stone T. D. - Childs & 
   Inman.
18. Varying Hare - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
19. Red Tailed Hawk & American Sparrow Hawk - From 
   Nature and on stone T. D. - Childs & Inman.
20. American Porcupine - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
21. Summer Duck - From Nature & on stone T. D. - 
   Childs & Inman.
22. Great Tailed Squirrel - From Nature & on stone 
   T. D. - Childs & Inman.

Extra - Biographical Sketch of C. W. Peale & engraving by 
J. B. Longacre from the original painting by 
Rembrandt Peale.
VOL. II
2. Great Horned Owl - M. E. D. Brown - His Lithography
3. Cougar

Issue No. 3 - The copartnership heretofore existing between the Subscribers, was dissolved by mutual consent on the 16th inst. The work will be continued by John Doughty, who is duly authorized to settle all accounts of the late firm/John Doughty/Thomas Doughty/Phil., May 17, 1832. "With much pleasure we refer our readers to the elegant Engraving of 'Breaking Cover,' which accompanies the present number. It is the second effort of a young and talented artist, (Humphrey-etching), who has just commenced business."

10. Hummingbirds (Gold paint was applied to the design of the feather formation) M. E. D. Brown - His Lithography.

11. No print.
14. Gray Fox - J. G. Clonney from Lanseer - Mesier, N. Y.
15. Blue Crane, Hudsonian Godwit (no lithographer) Childs & Inman.
17. Skunk - " " " "
18. Ganne (Young & Adult) - J. G. Clonney - Mesier, N. Y.
19. Polar Bear (no lithographer) " "
20. Snipe - J. G. Clonney - " "

1833
21. Grey Squirrel - J. G. Clonney - " "
22. Pine Finch & Purple Finch - J. G. Clonney - " "
23. Black Wolf - (no lithographer) - Childs & Inman
24. Belled Kingfisher - M. E. D. Brown - His Lith. & Buffel Headed Duck

Extra - Biographical sketch and engraving of Wm. Bartram by T. B. Welch from a painting by C. W. Peale.

Notice to the subscribers on back wrapper explains delay on account of a five months trip to the south where the editor secured new materials for the work and
enough new subscribers to warrant its continuance for another volume.

VOL. III
   2. Wild Turkey - " " "
   3. Golden winged warbler & Indigo Bird - M. E. D.
      Brown - Childs & Inman.
   6. Chestnut Sided Warbler - M. E. D. Brown -
      Pendletons Boston.
   7. Baltimore Oriole - no lithographer - no imprint.

Engraving - Death of a Fox, pinxt by Sawry Gelpin, R. A.,
engraved by Francis Humphreys.
CHECK LIST, THOMAS DOUGHTY

1. The Capitol, Washington D. C. West Front from the City Hall. Sketched and Drawn by T. Doughty. Childs and Inman. 5 1/2 x 8. SMI., Illustrated.

2. Friends Asylum for Insane Near Frankfort. T. Doughty del. Childs and Inman. 2 1/8 x 6 1/4. Front facade of building with tress, lawn and a few figures. LC. AAS.

3. Lake George Scenery. T. Doughty del. From Childs and Inmans Press. 4 1/8 x 5 3/8. Lake in the mountains. Fisherman in a boat in the center middleground. Trees enframe the lake on the right and left. Mountains in the middle and rear ground. Clouds billow above the mountains. AAS.

4. Landscape (The Old Mill). Doughty, Childs and Inman. Vig. 3 5/8 x 4 3/4. SMI., Illustrated.

5. Mount Vernon. Thos. Doughty del. from a Drawing by H. Reinagle, 1832. 5 5/8 x 8 1/2. Vast lawn in the foreground with two figures under a tree. Washington's home in the center. Potomac River, boat and two figures on the left. Childs and Inman. PHIL F.


For additional lithographs check the listings in The Cabinet Natural History and Rural Sports.
CHARLES PENDERICH
American Period 1831-1873

Thieme and Becker, whose genius lay in ferreting out little-known artists, have this to say about Charles Penderich: "A sketcher and lithographer who produced around 1841 in Washington a series of good bust portraits of important people which show the German influence. He is apparently identical with a Penderick who reproduced, lithographically, several paintings of the Zurich lithographer Lud. Vogel."¹

The first portion of this brief comment is a masterpiece of understatement as Charles Penderich produced more original lithographic portraits than any other American of this or any other time. His ninety-eight portraits outstrip his rival, Albert Newsam, by quite a few but the primary difference lies in the fact that the major portion of Newsam's portraits are not original works.

Through the pronounced tendency of artists of this period to copy each other, and with lithographers this trend assumes the proportions of an epidemic, we can further verify and extend the Thieme-Becker statement. In 1831 Penderich executed a series of nine cat studies drawn and published by him and lithographed by Childs & Inman of Philadelphia whose address at that time dates them as being

¹Thieme-Becker, op. cit., Vol. XV, p. 381.

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done in 1831 although the prints bear no date. There is nothing particularly outstanding about the group but it indicates this trend to copy. B. F. Nutting copied one of the cat studies and in a coy fashion in the imprint material gives credit to Fenderich without mentioning his name and establishes the fact that he was a Swiss or German. This imprint material on Nutting's print reads as follows: "Mind, of Switzerland, Inv. Inventor/ Pendletons Lith./ B. F. Nutting, del." By this credit, one could assume that if he was not Swiss, he was a German who had migrated to one of the great lithographic centers of Europe, at Zurich perhaps. At any rate one of his fellow lithographers named the country of his origin as far as his lithography was concerned. The Print Division of the Library of Congress owns about ten of these examples of his European production and among them are three copies of the paintings of Ludwig Vogel.

Fenderich, like most Europeans who came to this country, changed the spelling of his name and his total production can be found under Fenderich, Fenderick or Feuderich. The last two spellings can be found on his European prints which can be divided into two categories. The first, which includes examples like "Perser," a Persian horse, and "Akropolis zu Athens," appears to be early or student work typically German in presentation and style while the "Louis Phillippe I Roi de Francais, Etc., Lithographed by Delaport Sr." is a more mature and sophisticated production with a French
refinement as well as French subject matter.

Wanderlust seems not to be a trait common only to lithographers of this country and it is possible that he worked for more lithographic firms than those known through the imprints on extant prints. We know through these imprints that he worked for Brodtmann of Zurich and Engleman and Delaport of Paris. Although we know that his cat studies were done in 1831 and are his first American work which can be dated, it is possible that the "Louis Phillippe" was done in Paris while on his way to America in that same year.

In 1833 Penderich and Wild established their own lithographic establishment at 8 N. 3rd St., Philadelphia. As Wild seems to have been Swiss by birth, one wonders if the two did not know each other in Switzerland or, if not there, they must have met in France. Both men have prints bearing the imprint of the same French lithographic house. (See J. C. Wild) One could also speculate that Penderich was instrumental in Wild's coming to this country and to Philadelphia in particular and that the establishment of a lithographic firm was in the background. The production of their house is almost negligible, so one wonders if the address was only their place of doing personal business and if the firm existed only on paper. The production of the firm of Fenderich & Wild that I have found consists of eight sentimental prints, one after the French artist Grevedon, and a silhouette of Thomas H. Stockton. Since all the prints are
unsigned and all are outside of the specialties of both men, it is difficult to assign authorship.

Between the years 1834 to 1837 when Fenderich established his Lithographic Repository on Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City (D.C.), his name disappears from all print collections. But, from 1837 to 1845 there is an almost constant flow of his bust portraits which finally culminate in the *Port Folio of Living American Statesmen* (Library of Congress). A reprint of its introduction will give a small insight into how the work was justified and the salesmanship used to put it across:

> It requires but a bare mention of the character of this work, to secure a due appreciation of its merit, and to enlist the support of the patriotic lover of the arts.

> Those, who exercise an influence on the social destinies and political welfare of a people, most deserve to be consigned to the gratitude of posterity.

> Among the many events of this interesting epoch, which will at some future day constitute the elements of our general history, the services of such great men, in the cause of freedom, will no doubt occupy the highest rank; and to hold which, the full splendor, which they have reflected on the country will not be the least of their titles.

> Consulting that laudable desire which leads us to associate the features of the great and good with the record of their deeds; the Artist has undertaken the publication of a Gallery of Portraits, from life, of such of our Statesmen and Legislators as have stamped this stirring period of our annals with the impress of their minds; and whose genius is, to the present generation, at once a source of honorable boast and an earnest of the admiration of after days. No individual
worthy of figuring in this collection will be ex­cluded from its compass, either by the bias of party or the spirit of favoritism; the Port Folio is intended to be a Pantheon of the great men, to whom the general interests of the land are confided.

In as much as the execution is concerned, to give the spirit of the features, and to represent the character of the man, as indicated by the face, will be the study of the artist in this publication; and care will be taken, in every instance, to produce a portrait which will give to the public a life-like representation of each individual. As a guaranty for his continued accuracy, the projector appeals to the general approval which has been given to the already published portraits of the gallery; the spirited and faithful execution of a portion of it, he trusts, will not be belied in those, with which it is intended to complete the collection.

The extraordinary expenses with which its publication will be connected, and the pains necessary to be taken, in order to give it a high value as a work of art, require that a sufficient number of subscribers should be obtained, in order by its reasonable price to ensure its popularity.

The above work will be published quarterly, each number containing four Portraits -- size 19 by 24 inches -- and will be forwarded to subscribers at $2.50, printed on white or India paper. The store price for each number will be $3.

Subscriptions are taken for forty-eight portraits, or twelve numbers, making one volume, at the Lithographic Repository of Charles Fenderich, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City. Each of these portraits may be had separately at $1.

All communications will be addressed (post paid) to the undersigned.

CHARLES FENDERICH

Fenderich's Port Folio of Living American Statesmen:

Embracing the Executive Officers of Government, Distinguished Members of Both Houses of Congress, and Others of all
Parties. Drawn from Life & on Stone by Ch. Fenderich; Issued in Parts, was a grandiose project which met the same fate as many another of this period. Of the contemplated forty-eight, starting with His Excellency Martin Van Buren, only thirty-one were ever to be published as an integral part of the portfolio.

Two of his prints were to occupy a place in Huddy & Duval's *The United States Military Magazine and Record of All Volunteers*, together with the Army and Navy, Vol. III. The Volunteers. These will be discussed with this publication.

Like other lithographers of his time, he was called upon to make drawings or he himself solicited the commission of drawings for illustrated publications. An example of this kind can be found in the three plates of "Swan Bones" which he did for the second Bulletin of the Proceedings of the Natural Institute for the Promotion of Science, published in Philadelphia in 1842.¹ This kind of thing, like the Military Magazine production, must have been bread and butter work, although both show his capable draftsmanship. There is probably a great store of this kind of material if one could locate it.

As late as 1864 we know that his portraits were still popular and being copied. This is evidenced by an engraving

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¹Lithographed by P. S. Duval, American Antiquarian Society.
done by Wm. G. Armstrong from a drawing by C. F., copyrighted in that year. The engraving is a faithful and exact lifting of Fenderich's 1837 lithograph of Thomas H. Benton.

Fenderich's "Lithographic Repository" is unique in the field. It is a term or title which was used by no other lithographer and seems to have been only a studio where his charcoal sketches of sitters were made in preparation for the actual lithographs. One music sheet cover, "The National Blues Quick Step, Ch. Fenderich's Lithogr. Press, E. Weber, Sc.,"\(^1\) gives the only indication that a press might have been in the establishment. His imprint as owner of a lithographic house is always missing from his work and in its place is the imprint of one of the large houses, usually that of P. S. Duval of Philadelphia. In two instances I have found the inscription "drawn and lithographed by C. F." but the imprint of the large firm was still there to claim the credit for having supplied the technical facilities.

For a man who drew from life so many notables of his time -- presidents, congressmen, ambassadors and famous preachers -- it is surprising how well he kept his own name out of print. In 1837 when his famous *Port Folio* came onto the market, not one notice appears in the Washington newspapers. His only break into public print is his listing in the Washington Directory of 1843 as a lithographer.

The American Academy Records list him as an exhibitor in 1838 in the October Appollo Association Show with,

\(^1\)See Glossary under "Sc."
"Portrait, in crayon, of Hon. L. F. Linn, U. S. Senator from Missouri and Portrait of Hon. Thomas H. Benton, U. S. Senator from Missouri." His address at that time was Washington D. C. The catalogue of this show also states, "Portrait of the Hon. N. P. Fellmage, U.S. Senator from New York. This portrait is to be lithographed in Mr. Fenderich's best style and published with a biographical sketch in the course of the ensuing winter -- Artist, Geo. Cook." (1793-1849) Among this same organization's transactions for the year 1840 is the sales note, "Landscape Composition, $50.00 To: Ch. Fenderich, Washington D. C." These records give but slight insight into the man. Whether the landscape was purchased to be lithographed is doubtful and more likely stamps him as a patron of the arts. He did produce one lithographic landscape, "Railroad Bridge Over the Wissahickon," which is a superb small landscape.

Charles Fenderich's last Eastern lithograph appears to be the portrait of President John Tyler which was printed by a New York establishment in 1845. (The illustration, Fig. 32, is a previous study made in 1841.) Again he disappears. Did he become a part of the anonymous production

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2Ibid., p. 86.

3Ibid., p. 25.
John Tyler

JOSIAH QUINCY,
PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, 1841.
Born 25th of March, 1790.

Published by G. R. Fiske & Co.

Published in 1841.
of some large firm? It is possible that like Henry Walton and many another lithographer he was bitten by the gold bug in 1849 because by 1856 he is listed in the Business Directory of the city of San Francisco and could have arrived in California many years previous to this date. Also, we know of his portrait of James King, the only extant lithograph of his emanating from the West which bears the date 1856. It bears the imprint, "After A Diag. by W. H. Oakes, Lithograph of Britton & Ray. San Francisco. 1856." This may be one of his last lithographs and in it he too succumbs like the rest to the use of the daguerreotype as a crutch, or he was commissioned to multiply the daguerreotype, but in either case one would like to think that rather than prostitute himself to this tool, he went into another field for livelihood. He is listed in the San Francisco City Directories from 1858 to 1872 with no indication as to how his livelihood was gained. In as much as 1872 is his last listing one can assume that he died in 1873.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts owns a 10 x 9½ charcoal drawing heightened with Chinese white. It is a head study of a Major Brush and it is dated 1840. Most likely the work is a preparatory drawing for a lithograph. The use of the Chinese white would indicate to the printer where the white of the paper was to have been retained in case the tint stone process was to have been used, or it may have been just a note to himself if he had not fully developed the shading.
This preparatory sketch plus three very finished charcoal drawings, a Captain Benjamin Folsom, a General Vallejo, and a Baron Pava de la Guerra, the latter dated 1855, show him to have been a most proficient draftsman in this medium as well. The drawings are three-quarter length, a pleasant relief from his bust portraits, and it is comforting to know that Fenderich could cope with the full figure if he so desired.

The lithographs of Fenderich, although seldom discussed in print, were once criticized as being "too dark and somber." Since he did not himself do the technical lithographing except in rare instances, this would have been beyond his control even if the statement were true. The bust portraits show a distinct ability to capture physical individualities and his portrait of President Polk, in my view, is one of the best portraits of the much-drawn president. It is only after pouring over the mass of portraits of the same people, and Polk in particular, that one can appreciate the dexterity of this lithographer.

His knack of transferring tactile quality to stone is well beyond the average. Starched white shirt fronts against silky vests, against the quality of skin can be felt as well as seen.

1Photographs at the Frick Gallery, New York City.
Others have nominated what they believe to be the most outstanding lithographic portrait of this age -- mine would be Fenderich's portrait of Wm. Costin (Fig. 21) after a painting by S. Charles. It seems to be the distillation of a painting readapted to the lithographic medium. His blacks have deep mellowness and the tonal gradations culminate in silvery lights.
CHECK LIST, CHARLES FENDERICH

Note: All prints are at the Library of Congress Print Department, and all are bust portraits unless otherwise stated. All imprint data is given. Most have facsimile signatures.

I. Portraits


5. Thomas H. Benton. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich, 1837. Full length drawing of the large Mr. Benton seated on a chair with a wall map for a background. He holds an open letter in his right hand.


Ch. Penderich

14. J. J. Chittenden, Senator from Kentucky. Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 10. 1841. P. S. Duval, Phil.


16. C. C. Clay, Senator from Kentucky. Ch. Fenderich. 10 x 10\(\frac{1}{4}\). 1837. Lehman and Duval, Phil.

17. H. Clay, Senator from Kentucky. 10 x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1837. Lehman and Duval, Phil.

18. Henry Clay. From Life on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1844. Weber & Co.

19. Mark A. Cooper. Representative from Georgia. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 8\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1843. P. S. Duval.


21. C. Dawning. Del to Congress from the Territory of Florida. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich, Washington City. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 10\(\frac{1}{4}\). P. S. Duval, Phil.

22. John D. Dickinson, Representative from New York. Drawn on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1841.


26. Wm. Forsyth. Sec. of State. From Life and "printed" by C.F. 11 x 11. 1840.

27. Richard France, Capt. Washington Light Infantry. Drawn from Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). P. S. Duval, Phil. 1841.

28. Hans Fritz. Inscription in German. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 10\(\frac{1}{4}\). P. S. Duval.
Ch. Fenderich


30. Felix Grundy. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 1/2 x 10. P. S. Duval, Phil.


36. Richard M. Johnson. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 12 x 10 1/2. 1840.

37. Amos Kendall, Postmaster General. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 x 10. 1837. P. S. Duval, Phil.

38. Paul Kinchy. From Life on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. Gebornen in der Schweitz in Davos C. Drubnten den 8ten August 1785. 8 x 8 1/2. 1844.


40. Wm. R. King. Sen. sic from Alabama. (Colored print) From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 1/2 x 10 1/2. 1840. Lehman and Duval.


42. B. H. L. Klimkiewicz as a Prisoner of State (Russia). From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 1/2 x 9 1/2.

Ch. Fenderich

44. L. F. Linn. Senator from Mississippi. Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 9\(\frac{3}{4}\). 1837. Lehman & Duval.

45. Richard M. Long. From Life on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 9\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1840.

46. Wilson Lumpkin, Governor of Georgia. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 3/4 x 10. 1838.

47. Very Rev. Wm. Matthews. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 10. 1941. P. S. Duval, Phil.


49. James J. McKay. Representative from North Carolina. From life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 10. 1840. Weber & Co.

50. Mrs. James T. McKay. Drawn from Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 8 3/4. 1844. Weber & Co.

51. A. Mouton, Senator from Louisiana. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich, Washington City. 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 10. P. S. Duval.

52. A. Mouton, Senator from Louisiana. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 x 11. 1840. Printed by P. S. Duval, Phil.

53. Eli K. Moore. Representative from New York. Ch. Fenderich. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 9\(\frac{1}{4}\). Lehman and Duval.

54. Charles Muller. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 6. 1841. Attributed to Ch. Fenderich.

55. Wm. Stuart Parrott. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 9\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1845. Weber & Co.


57. P. P. Pitchlynn. Speaker of the National Council of the Chactaw Nation. 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\). 1842. P. S. Duval.

59. James K. Polk, Governor of Tenn. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 x 9 3/4. 1838.

60. James K. Polk, President of the United States. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 1/2 x 10 1/2. 1845. N. Nagel's Lith., N.Y.


63. W. C. Reeves, Senator from Virginia. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 x 10. c. 1839. P. S. Duval.


66. John Spencer, Secretary of the Treasury. Drawn from Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 1/2 x 10 1/2. Duval.

67. Sam G. Southard, Sen. from New Jersey. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 1/2 x 10. 1838.


69. Charles S. Todd. Inspector General & Aid de Camp to General Harrison. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 11 x 10 1/2. 1841.


71. John Tyler, President of the United States. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 12 1/4 x 10. 1841.

72. A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 1844. Weber & Co.

73. Martin Van Buren. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 1/2 x 10. 1839.
74. Harris D. Wall. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. Washington City c. 1837. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10. P. S. Duval, Phil.
75. Sergeant Ands sic Wallace. Age 104. Fenderich del. 1833. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$. Phil. published and sold for the benefit of Mr. Wallace.
76. Daniel Webster, Sec. of War. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. 1843. P. S. Duval, Phil.
77. Richard Hanson Weightman (probable frontispiece) Ch. Fenderich, 1848.
78. Henry A. Wise. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$. 1840.
80. W. J. Worth, Brig. Gen. U. S. Army. From Life and on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10. Weber & Co.
82. Portrait of an Unknown Man. Ch. Fenderich. 12 x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.
83. Unknown Minister. Ch. Fenderich. 12 x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$.
84. Unknown Girl. (Attributed to Fenderich) 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10.
85. Judge Wm. Wilkins. From Life and on Stone, Ch. Fenderich. 1844. Peachy Collection. Frick Art Reference Library, N.Y.

II. Miscellaneous.

2. Medalion Head. Ch. Fenderich. 6 x 6 2/3.

3. Design of the National Washington Monument. Lithographed from the original Design of the archt. Ch. Fenderich. 19 1/4 x 15. 1846.


5. Emilus N. Sherr's Patent Harp Guitar. Ch. Fenderich's Lithography, Corner of Vine & 3rd St., Phil. 7 1/4 x 8 1/2.


7. Railroad Bridge Over the Wissahickon. (Colored) From Nature on Stone by Ch. Fenderich. (1832?)

8. Nine Cat Studies. All vignettes. Drawn and Pub by Ch. Fenderich, 37 North 4th St., Phil. From Childs & Inman's Lithographic Press. 6 x 3 1/2. c. 1831.

9. New Invention No. II. Lith by Ch. Fenderich, No. 95 North 3rd St., Phil. "A Steamplow which will plough an acre of land within three minutes." Vignette 5 x 8 3/4. A young man sits astride a mechanical contraption, smoking a pipe with a bottle of wine and a book for company while the steam contraption plows. The date 1834 is on the firebox.


EUROPEAN LITHOGRAPHIC PRODUCTION

I. Swiss

1. Arabische Stute Mit Fohlen. I. Brodtman. 10 x 6.

2. Akropolis zu Athen. 9 1/2 x 6.

3. Araber. (Horse) I. Brodtmann. 10 3/4 x 7 1/2.

5. La Carbeill Des Amours. Lith de Brodttmann. 6\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 10. Cupids playing.

6. Deutsche Bauernpferde. Boy on horseback with a basket of berries. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 7.

7. Englisches Jagdpferd. Lith de Brodttmann. 1824. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 6\(\frac{1}{2}\).


9. Englisches Steinkohlenpferd. 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\).


12. Habitans du lac de Wallenst adt. aft. Lud Vogel. I Brodttmann 9 x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\).

13. B. Henry Lubiz Klimkien. 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 9\(\frac{1}{2}\).

14. Ludwig Adolph Hess. I Brodttmann. 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 5\(\frac{1}{2}\).


16. La Priere. Costume du Cant de Berne. Lud. Vogel, pinx. Lith de I Brodttmann Zurich chez H. Festi. (Peasant family seated at the dinner table.) 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\).

17. Mecklenburger. Man, horse, and dog. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 7.

18. Russische u. Polnishch Pferde. Vign. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\).


20. Spanier. (Horseman mounted with a hunter and dog.) I. Brodttmann. 11 x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\).

21. Turke. (Horse) I. Brodttmann. Vign. 9 x 6\(\frac{1}{2}\).

22. Tauromenium. (Ruins with boys, sheep and sightseers.)
II. French


4. Louis Philippe I etc. #2. Same as above except for signature.


7. Louis Philippe I. Roi des Francais. Lith de Delaporte St. de Langlume. 5½ x 5.

GUSTAVUS GRUENWALD (GRUENWALD)  
(____ d. 1878)  
American period, 1831-1866

Gustavus Gruenwald was probably born in Gnadenburg, Germany. According to the records of the Archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Gruenwald was married at the International Headquarters of the Church in Herruhecet, Germany in 1831 and took his new bride to America in November of the same year. By 1836 he was in Bethlehem and was Professor of Drawing and Painting in the Moravian Seminary for Girls (now the Moravian College for Women). He held this position from 1836 to 1866.\textsuperscript{1} Sometime between 1866 and 1870 Gruenwald returned to his native city of Gnadenburg where he died in 1878.

Little is known about this German painter-lithographer. He was a graduate of the Düsseldorf Academy.\textsuperscript{2} He served in the Prussian army and according to contemporaries was once the art consultant to the King of Prussia. These same contemporaries describe him as a handsome man with a bushy white beard and thick white hair. His carriage was distinctly military. He was an eccentric, high tempered and aristocratic, according to some, while others said that he was highly educated and a friend to all. From these contradictory opinions, it would appear that he was the common mortal

\textsuperscript{1}Bethlehem Daily Times, Jan. 28, 1878.  
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid.
with friends and enemies. He could not have been too formidable because he was the treasurer of the local lodge of the I.O.O.F. Later he designed and built his own house in Bethlehem.

Like the other German immigrants of this time he traveled extensively painting throughout Pennsylvania and up to the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. His water color sketches were the basis for his studio oils. His travels can be gathered from the titles of his paintings as listed in the shows he entered; e.g., "Delaware Gap to Niagara Falls from the Canadian Side."

Gruenwald exhibited his paintings in the Academy and local shows. In 1851 he entered five oils in the Pennsylvania Academy Show and contributed almost every year up to 1864. In 1836, 1840, and 1841 he exhibited with the Philadelphia Artist Fund Show and with the National Academy Show in 1836, 1837, 1847, and 1848. From the frequency that the same titles appear in the catalogues, it can be assumed that some paintings did not sell. He also exhibited paintings of European subject matter such as a "View of Mt. Blanc" and a "View of Scotland."

The few lithographs of Gruenwald that have come to light show him to have been well versed on the adaptation of lithographic crayon to landscape views. Since he does not appear in any of the present lists of American lithographers, I am including him because of the quality of the five that
are known. I would think that a man who did this many, did more. There are no imprints on his views and it seems possible, therefore, that he ran his own press and worked outside of the copyright law.

In his two major known lithographic landscape efforts he illustrates two concepts of landscape. An intimate forest scene is to be found, despite its title, in the print: "Boarding School for Young Gentlemen at Nazareth Hall, Penn." This kind of view will be found later in the lithographs of Thomas Moran. In "Bethlehem" (Fig. 33) he presents the more Americanized concept of landscape which presents the panoramic view. Neither of these views is from a known painting.

Gruenwald's place in lithography is important for these several reasons. First, as a teacher over a good many years, he must have exerted considerable influence with his classes through the sketching and painting trips along the "tow paths;" secondly, through his students, he becomes an instrument in the rise of the American landscape school; thirdly, he is typical of the influx of German landscape painters of the 1830's and 1840's who left their marks on American art and caused succeeding generations to seek art instruction abroad. In returning to Germany after his productive years he also follows a well set pattern. His landscape view of Bethlehem is scattered throughout the East in print collections from Pennsylvania to New York.


5. Centennial Celebration Plate. (Bethlehem) G. Gruenwald. Bethlehem, Pa. The bust portrait of Washington is drawn on what appears to be a lithographer's stone in the center, with two flags beneath it. An inscription appears under the flags. A sword and shield lie out ahead of the stone. On top of the stone is the eagle with outstretched wings and stars above it. LC.
Either through sentimental attachment or through undetermined circumstances artists often prefer their inferior works. This seems to have been the case with Winslow Homer\(^1\) who frequently made the statement that such and such a painting was almost as good as his etching.\(^2\) Neither Homer's contemporaries nor posterity has placed much emphasis on Homer's etchings. In regard to his lithographs, only the correspondence between him and Louis Prang, the Boston lithographer, sheds any light on how he evaluated any of his lithographic production. Homer was born in 1836 in Boston and upon completion of high school, at nineteen, he was apprenticed to the Bufford Lithographic house.

Homer's mother had been a Sunday painter up to two years before she died. Homer's interest in drawing was neither encouraged nor discouraged until the fateful day that Bufford's "boy wanted" advertisement appeared in the local paper.\(^3\)

\(^1\)Biographical data about Homer used in this paper is taken from: Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer*, Whitney Museum of American Art, 1945.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 100.

\(^3\)"One morning his father saw a newspaper advertisement to this effect: 'Boy wanted; apply to Bufford lithographer; must have a taste for drawing; no other wanted.' John H. Bufford, head of Boston's leading lithographic house, was a friend of the elder Homer and a member of the fire company.
Homer actually entered lithography in its declining period and it is to be regretted that he could not have seen an era like that of twenty years earlier. Like all apprentices, he was given the task of copying, and his first assignment was for a music sheet cover entitled "Katy Darling, A Favorite Song," done in 1855. There was to follow a long procession of hundreds of music sheet covers and like material typified by such items as "Annie Laurie," 1855; "National Songs of America," 1856; "Minnie Clyde," 1857; "Near the Broken Stile," 1857; and "The Wheel Barrow Polka."

The latter was drawn from a photograph by Turner & Culling showing a man paying off a debt by giving the loser a ride in a wheelbarrow. Homer had nothing good to say about his two years of bondage at Buffords. This daily hack work would have been abhorred by any creative artist. His memories of this period probably lost for American art what could have been one of her best lithographers.

One phase of Homer's lithographic career that seems to be neglected concerns the production of hundreds of small album cards. These album cards (of which a few were actually

of which the latter was foreman — 'in those days,' Sheldon hastens to add, 'the fire department in New England towns was conducted by gentlemen.' 'There's a chance for Winslow!' exclaimed his father, and application was made to Bufford. The boy was accepted on trial for two weeks. He suited, and was apprenticed until he should come of age. The usual terms were $300 to be paid the master for learning the trade; after a year the apprentice was to receive five dollars a week. But in view of the boy's aptitude the bonus was reduced to $100." Ibid., p. 5.
trade cards with a design on one side and the name of a firm on the other) were still enjoying a wide popularity at this time and Homer must have spent a good many hours drawing out these Currier & Ives-like scenes. The cards measured approximately two by three and one-half inches. A good many were the popular nostalgic genre scenes. The best collection is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Homer's first monumental production was the "Massachusetts Senate." This is a collection of forty-two heads probably done from photographs in 1856. It is monumental only in that it was a gigantic undertaking for a youth of twenty years.

Homer's fellow apprentices at Buffords were J. E. Baker and J. Foxcroft Cole both of whom were to achieve minor successes in painting. Together they toured the few picture galleries and art shows that were to be seen in Boston at this time and discussed what they were going to do when they were painters.

At twenty-one, on completion of his apprenticeship, Homer struck out on his own intending to be an illustrator and his first job was with the Ballou Publishing House. It was here that his works were first made into wood engravings although Homer did not do the engraving himself. In 1857 he sent his first drawing to Harper's Weekly but continued to draw and paint on his own. He intended to keep his promise of never again being chained to a desk. He traveled and
worked in and around Boston recording the life that he saw. By 1859 he decided to leave there and go to New York which would put him in the main publishing center of the country. He did not break all ties with Boston and in 1860 Bufford lithographed his "Ladies' Skating Pond in the Central Park, New York" and the painting was his first to be shown at the National Academy in 1861.

With the outbreak of the Civil War there was a terrific demand for material covering the struggle between the states, and Homer became a special artist for Harpers in the field. His first visit to the front was in October of 1861 when he was detailed to cover the army of the Potomac. Off and on during the entire war Homer spent time following the Union Army. His production of sketches is very large during this period. When one views the Civil War sketches at Cooper Union and his lithographic production, there is no depiction of any of the gruesome aspects of war. Whether he evaded trips into the battle lines and skirmishes or merely thought the brutality of war inappropriate or uninteresting is not known, but at any rate there is little of the horror of war in any of this sketch material. Both the sketches and lithographs are of army life outside of combat areas, such as life in an army camp, the Negro followers whose comic aspect was capitalized on and the horseplay of soldiers off duty.

1Ibid., p. 14.
Such comprise the bulk of the subject matter. Here and there are scenes relating to warfare such as the cavalry resting, the baggage train, and soldiers foraging for food.

Considering that Homer's position was secured through his ability as a watercolorist -- of what value is this production? Frank Weitenkampf who took more than usual interest in Homer's sketches (his lithographs can be considered in a like manner as they are less removed from the original source than painted matter is) has this to say:

Not so much attention has been paid to the sketches made by Homer, whether per se or as studies for illustration for paintings. Yet it is a fairly common experience that in such sketches we often get into an intimacy of contact with the artist which his other work may not give in quite the same manner. His manner of attacking a first impression -- often removed, certainly to some extent from too close consideration of ultimate adaptation to the public -- his shorthand or elaboration in drawing; his approach to the final purpose in mind; his use of or avoidance of, habitual motions (his own or acquired through outside influences) in setting down observed facts -- all this and more appears in such more or less free intercourse with nature. The sidelight thrown on an artistic personality by such first-hand recording can be illustrated by Durer whose engravings and woodcuts cannot be fully understood without consideration of his drawings and watercolors. 1

The "Campaign Sketches," according to Downes, were put on stone in Homer's New York Studio in 1863. 2 They were scenes fresh to his memory and not like many of his war

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2Goodrich, op. cit., p. 130.
paintings that were executed some years after the end of the conflict. These lithographs are to be considered as in the realm of original work and the cartoons of the Camp Life series have the quality of original sketches and often the quick staccato stroke that would be used as shorthand in the field. The date of these lithographs can further be established in that this period saw little of his illustrations appearing in periodicals of the time. Also this is the period when Homer was doing his first serious oil painting. To this end the lithographs sometimes appear to be further clarification of presentations to be used in later paintings as in the cartoons there is a card entitled "Guard House" with the same subject matter appearing in an 1863 painting entitled "Punishment for Intoxication."

The "Campaign Sketches" are serious lithographs and the one called "Pass Time--Cavalry Rest" (Fig. 34) has the same compositional quality in many respects to be found in his first successful oil, "Prisoners From the Front," done in 1866. Both have crisp forms, which are almost silhouette figures in the way most of them do not fuse with the background. Both have an officer in the plane closest to the observer who seems to dominate the scene.

Less known and less important artistically is the Camp Life series. This series of 24 album-like cards were printed as chromos by Louis Prang, as were the "Campaign Sketches," but the former, judging from the subject matter which
consists of the horseplay in the rear areas, were intended for the lower strata of popular consumption. Although these cards have never been given any official title, the subject matter with but two exceptions, is about camp life. One of these is a card entitled, "Hard Tack" and is Homer's only attempt at cartooning. The other is a "sentimental" as shown in its title "The Girl He Left Behind Him." Evidently Homer was not too proud of this production, for he reverted to his old signature of "W.H." which he had used in his copyist days at Bufford's. When these chromos were put on stone is not known but it must have been in the neighborhood of 1863-65, because this material would not have sold so well with the cessation of hostilities. In all of these and the "Campaign Sketches" there is no attempt to glamorize the individual soldier or the military life but instead he portrays the hardships and the privations and life in the mud.

From this period until 1895 Homer's name is not connected with lithography -- painting and the selling of his work occupied the time of this semi-recluse.

In 1895 through some arrangement with Louis Prang, two of Homer's paintings were chromolithographed. Prang was one of the few lithographic plant owners who was engaged in supplying commercial demands and still retained an interest in lithography as a fine art. The friendship of Homer and Prang had by this date extended over 30 years. Of the two chromolithographs, "The North Woods" and "Eastern Shore,"
the latter is the more satisfying. An exchange of letters must have taken place between Homer and Prang concerning "Eastern Shore." The following letter sent by Homer, is on file at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Scarboro, Maine
Oct. 8, 1895

Dear Friend Prang:

The proof of that water color is so fine that I do not dare to criticize it. It is fine from the fact that every part of it is in keeping with the whole and directly one part of it is changed, it must all be gone over again and never will it look better to me than it is at present. This is to be looked at as a water color framed and hanging up.

There are two things only that I would suggest if they agree with my original of this print. One is that there should be a high light on some part of the hat, another, and the only positive fault as the picture now stands, is that a line must be drawn on the outside of the line of the wrist of the figure, a very short line that is there now but is not quite strong enough. I have returned proof by express today; make no change in this unless what I have written agrees with my original drawing. I will make the drawing for the catalogue. Send the stone.

Your publication MODERN ART is very fine.

Personal. You mention again my "solitude," now you are quite mistaken. I am working with a gang of men on a road I am building. I shall blast tomorrow; in fact, I have little time to attend to my painting.

Yours very truly,
Winslow Homer

Although the watercolor drawing was not put on stone by Homer and was printed by the chromolithographic process, some authorities consider this to be one of the finest specimens
of ink-colored lithography ever done. It is true that its aim was to capture water color effect but nevertheless the graininess of lithographic printing still shows through and takes the upper hand. As proof of the high regard for it, recently a sales catalogue listed its price at $300. An even greater value than its quality as a work of art, rests in the above correspondence where an artist and craftsman are seen working to produce a work of art. There is no record, however, of a lithograph ever being done for the catalogue referred to in Homer's letter.

These few lithographs by Homer furnish us with good journalistic recordings of some aspects of the Civil War -- his soldiers riding a log, the jolly cook, the Zouaves (the soldiers who went to war in their home parade dress uniform which looks like the native dress of a Turk, complete with turban) are aesthetically more satisfying than his dull oils. Homer has been called a graphic artist. A good deal of his end product depended on his synoptic vision which was trained through lithography to achieve the crispness of forms which are established more through contour than through color. If these lithographs serve no other purpose, they complete and round out the production of this American painter of the realist school.
All prints are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts unless otherwise noted.

I. Sheet Music Covers.


5. Annie Laurie. 1855. Bufford. W.H.


II. Camp Life. Cartoons. Chromos. All approximately 4 1/8 x 2 3/8. All signed W.H.

1. Tossing in a Blanket. Soldier being tossed in a blanket.

2. Late For Roll Call. Man emerges from a pup tent with shoes in hand. Others are running to the formation.

3. Hard Tack. A cracker as large as a newspaper being held by a soldier with an exaggerated head size.

4. Stuck in the Mud. Two soldiers struggling to get out of a mud hole.

5. Riding a Rail. Two soldiers carry a rail on which is perched another astride it.

6. A Shell is Coming. Two soldiers drawn up tight against a tree.

7. Home on Furlough. Soldier on a box applauds dancers on a stage.
Winslow Homer

8. The Rifle Pit. Zouave (soldier) in pantaloons stands "at ready position" with his weapon.

9. The Field Barber. A soldier gets a hair cut while another watches.

10. Teamster. Man astride a mule holding a whip.


12. The Girl He Left Behind. Girl sitting in elaborate flowered gown reading a letter with the album open on the table.


15. Fording. Three men cross a stream with shoes tied high on their rifles. One carries a pair of trousers above the water to keep them dry.

16. Our Special. Soldier in huge hat sits on cannon and writes a letter.

17. In the Trenches. Negro puts up wicker parapet.


19. The Guard House. Two soldiers stand on barrels and hold logs in rifle position over their shoulders.

20. Watercall. Horse in dash to the river for a drink, throws rider into the water.

21. An Unwelcomed Visit. Mule invades tent where two soldiers are sleeping.


23. Surgeons sic Call. Soldier seated on a box with tongue extended while doctor places hand on his head and looks at his tongue. In back is a gaunt soldier and one with his face swollen on one side.

Winslow Homer


Title Plate. Soldier in full battlegear carrying a rifle across his shoulders. 11 x 8 5/8.

1. The Letter For Home. A woman writes a letter for a hospitalized soldier while seated on the edge of his bed. In the background is a standing woman and a soldier with one leg missing, learning to walk on crutches. Interior is that of an old warehouse. H.

2. The Coffee Call. Seven soldiers are gathered around a camp fire where two pots of coffee are brewing, they hold cups. One seated figure with a raised cup. In the background left is a covered wagon, wash line and mules, right is a group of pyramidal tents with U.S. flag over one. W.H.

3. The Baggage Train. A covered wagon scene from the rear with two negroes riding the end gate. One holds a pipe and the other a bull whip. Homer.

4. Our Jolly Cook. A dancing negro occupies the center foreground. Campfire on right. Fife player to the fire's rear. Group of pitched tents with pole between them holds blankets. Homer Del.

5. Foraging. A frightened cow with a rope around her horns pulls two soldiers after her. In background center, straw stack with a mounted horseman and another horse. Left, a frightened negro boy throws up his hands at seeing the cow being taken away. W. Homer Del.

6. A Pass Time - Cavalry Rest. Four soldiers foreground seated on the ground playing cards. Another stands at the right with drawn sword. In back of them another leans against a tree while another is bent over tending the campfire. W.H.

IV. Portraits.

Winslow Homer

V. Chromolithographs (after Homer). All at MET.

1. The North Woods. 1895.
2. Eastern Shore. 1895.
HENRY INMAN
1801-1846

From a survey of Henry Inman's output one could almost
discount him as being of any significance in the total story
of American lithography, but from the standpoint of an
artist and as part owner of a lithographic establishment he
can not be ignored.

In 1814 Inman started his apprenticeship under the
artist and writer John Wesley Jarvis. Coming into maturity
under this influential teacher and being a brilliant wit and
conversationalist in his own right, he soon gained entrance
into the circle of celebrities of his time. Although trained
as a miniaturist and portrait painter, his interest lay
in the field of landscape. The poets Bryant and Wordsworth
are supposed to have encouraged this branch of his painting. ¹

In an age where public acceptance of painting was only in
the area of portraits and the pure landscape had not come
into its own, Inman seems to have resolved the conflict by
entering into genre painting where, according to most author-
ities, his best production is to be found.

In recognition of his ability as a painter he was
appointed Vice President of the National Academy of Design
in 1820, but resigned in 1830, probably because of ill

¹Marcia Winn, "When American Art Came of Age" Reprint
from The Chicago Sunday Tribune, Graphic Section, Feb. 11,
1945, p. 6.
health. Inman suffered from asthmatic attacks all of his life and, later, from a heart condition which caused his early death. In his quest to support a large family in a way that would be less taxing to his health he entered the lithographic business with the historical and marine painter Cephas G. Childs of Philadelphia in 1831, forming a partnership with the imprint of Childs & Inman. In 1832 Inman moved his family to Philadelphia from New York. I have previously stated in the section dealing with the artist and the printing house, that Inman's connection with the graphic arts can be traced as far back as his work bearing the imprint of the Mavericks. From one print we can also establish that he had worked with Anthony Imbert of New York, so he was not a novice in graphic reproduction. From the short time that the partnership of Childs & Inman existed it would seem that the firm intended to capitalize on the name and output of Inman, but either Inman's name did not entice business or Inman was too ill to put out painted material which could be lithographed. There is only one print that I have been able to locate bearing the mark "after Inman."

This is Inman's "Portrait of Judge Marshall," on stone by A. Newsam, the famous copyist of the firm.

The existing few but widely scattered lithographic works of Inman are generally signed with the initials "H.I." and only two seemed to have achieved any wide distribution; these are the curious "Mt. Vernon" (a "tomb and shade" of
Washington) (Fig. 1) and the "Portrait of Mrs. Inman" after Sully. The rest of his production is trivia, typified by "Scraps," a series of female portraits copied from the works of Deverial. All of his production from the earliest "Man in a Cog" (Imbert) on appears to be the results of a man toying with a new art form or the private art of an artist which was intended never to be seen by the public. With the exception of "Man in a Cog,"¹ all of his work was done in 1831.

One can not censure Inman for the lack of quality in his lithographic production. Other artists in the history of graphic arts also have found a medium which was not for them. A survey of the field shows that many artists produced only one or two lithographs. Mary Cassatt wrote on her first of two known lithographs exhibited in the Grolier Club "Centenary of Lithography Show" in 1896, "One of five prints -- stone effaced" which would lead one to believe that this famous etcher found lithography not to her taste.

The strictly business venture of Childs & Inman was dissolved in 1833 and Inman moved back to New York. Later he went to England to make a group of commission portraits, but his health was failing fast and he died in 1846 after returning to America. A pathetic record exists today in the catalogue put out by the Art Union when it held a memorial

¹This plate bears the Imbert imprint but is undated. It could be as early as 1826.
exhibit of his works. The title reveals the sad consequences of his ending so similar to many other early American artists. "Catalogue of Works of the Late H. Inman with Biographical Sketch, Exhibition for the Benefit of his Widow and Family -- New York, Van Norden & King, 1846."
CHECK LIST, HENRY INMAN

1. The Old Man. Vig. 3 x 4½. An old man standing with hat and staff held in his left hand. Indefinite background of small plants, shrubs, etc. Signed, "Henry Inman". Pennsylvania Academy of Art.

2. Mount Vernon. Signed "H.I.". 7 x 6. Vig. Childs and Inman. This is a "Shade and Tomb Piece." Washington's head and shoulders can be seen outlined between the two large trees in the center. PHIL F.

3. Portrait of the Artist's Wife. (print has no title). "H.I.". 2½ x 3. 1831. Bust portrait of Mrs. Inman in profile wearing a large hat. NYPL.

4. Portrait of Mrs. H. Inman. Drawn by H. Inman from a design by T. Sully Esq. 1831. Childs and Inman. 10 x 8. Mrs. Inman sits under a tree holding gloves in her left hand and a large hat. What appears to be a cloak is on the ground next to her. Hills and lake in the background. Child's Gallery, Boston.

5. Scraps. (after Deverial) Plate with six miniatures. All are vignettes and measuring approximately 2½ x 2. 1831. AAS. Woman reading a book.
   Bust portrait of a young girl wearing a ruffled dress. Half length. Young woman with her arms crossed.
   Bust profile of a young girl reading a book. A turbaned male head and a female head, one placed behind the other and seen in profile.
   Young girl with long hair seated at a window.

6. Traveling in a Cog. Inscription: "This is the Time to Try Men's Souls." Two comic figures inside of a cog. Imberts Lith. 3 x 4. AAS.
Once again we must consult Thieme-Becker to find the origin of another American lithographer. This man who was to produce the most sought after views of North American Cities from the viewpoint of the print collector and dealers, was born in Germany. "A Draftsman and Engraver, born in Düsseldorf in 1813, he came to America in 1839 or 1840; made himself known as a Horse draftsman through a series of views of North American Cities. Kollner studied art in Düsseldorf and lithography under Dorndorf at Frankfort.\(^1\) Kollner himself seems to have used the German and American spelling of his name in an inconsistent fashion but the Kollнер spelling is the one most frequently used in connection with the cataloguing of his prints.

The Germans seem to be indoctrinated from birth with a love of horses as illustrated by Kollner and Adolph Schreier. It is said that Kollner's earliest ambition was to be the best draftsman in this line but to my way of thinking he was surpassed by an obscure lithographer, also of Philadelphia, by the name of A. E. Rease.\(^2\)

\(^1\)Thieme-Becker, op. cit., Vol. XXI, p. 254.

\(^2\)A. E. Rease is not listed in Peter's America on Stone. His production is mainly large commercial views of factories etc. of Philadelphia. The commercial aspect of his prints destroys them as satisfying lithographs but sections of the whole make ideal compositions and his horses are superb.
"As early as 1841 Kollner drew for or lithographed twenty plates for the U. S. Military Magazine comprised of military subjects in or near Philadelphia, which were lithographed by P. S. Duval."¹ In 1842 Kollner was still working for P. S. Duval as shown by the imprints of the four plates in the Life of Washington done in that year and issued by the American Sunday School Union.

Like many artists he has two arts; best known probably is that of a commercial nature, that which put bread in his mouth and in this respect he can be classified as an illustrator. This work is also composed of two parts, that which he drew and lithographed or engraved for transfer to stone and illustrative matter which he drew or applied to the stone for other artists because of his recognized technical ability as a skilled engraver and proficient lithographer. He did considerable work for the popular artists of his day such as F. O. C. Darley. It would be a safe guess to estimate that over twenty-five percent of what one sees with the name F. O. C. Darley on it also has Kollner's name as the one who made its multiplication possible -- "Drawn by F. O. C. Darley and on Stone by A. Kollner."²

¹Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860.

²At this point I want to reiterate a point made earlier that in the full sense of lithography, Darley was no lithographer. He only utilized the reproductive aspect of lithography. Its superiority in producing many copies over what an engraving could do and the speed of operation was all that he seemed to be interested in. The pressing of an inked engraving to the stone capitalized on only one possibility; the line; thus all tonal possibilities in the medium are ignored.
The second side of Kollner is the side which struggled to produce art as he understood it and this can be seen in his own self-portrait and through the voluminous number of water colors, wash drawings, and pen and ink studies that seem to have no relation to any of his work executed for popular consumption. In the choice of subject matter and in his treatment of it one is reminded of the German Romantic, Caspar David Friedrich. There is always an aspect of contemplation; his people are never engaged in any physical activity but are usually sitting and absorbing the view they contemplate. After pouring over just the water colors owned by the Philadelphia Free Public Library, his drawings, his few etchings, and then comparing them with the bulk of his lithographs which are mostly commercial in nature, one feels that either he was a very versatile fellow or the hardships of life must have required this dualistic art.

Still another side of this lithographer is revealed to us through two of his pen and ink sketches owned by the Holman Gallery of Boston. Here we find two similar landscapes drawn with pen and ink on buff paper. The first contains a rural scene of a small farmhouse in the distance, forest, farm animals grazing, fences, a wandering country road and other signs that the area has been inhabited by man. The second shows the same scene with all signs of human habitation removed. Where the cows grazed there is now a herd of deer. The space occupied by the house is now
occupied by an elk. The fences have disappeared, as has the road, and the forest has grown in size. In very small writing at the bottom of the page is the single word "Cooperized." It is one of the few instances where one gets a faint glimpse of the workings of an artist's mind. It illustrates that he was not ignorant of American literature and also that he possessed a sense of humor.

"In 1878 Kollner issued a small broadside advertising four volumes of original drawings and water colors, $3,200. These volumes have recently appeared (1931) and the contents have been widely distributed. They form a large corpus of historical source material of the utmost value."¹ No doubt these two sketches are from one of the sketchbooks whose contents have been widely scattered.

Kollner was no less a vagabond and wanderer than any of the men previously discussed. Armed with his painting materials he traveled through parts of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia.²

One wonders on seeing his water colors whether his palette often became upset and scumbled in his traveling as his water colors are anything but clean and transparent and indeed are the opposite of the English Manner. To be

¹Harry T. Peters, America on Stone, p. 254.

LITHOGRAPHY, ENGRAVING AND PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT

AUG. KOLLNER
Designer

HENRY CAMP
Copperplate & Lithographer

Phoenix Block, owner of SECOND & DOCK STREETS
PHILADELPHIA.

The public are respectfully informed that this establishment offers every facility for the execution of the finest engravings in the different branches of the business, which is also superior to any other establishment. Orders will be promptly executed and promptly executed with accuracy, and all manner of engravings, maps, etc., in every style of execution, as well as copies of any description, in any manner, upon paper, etchings, &c., or any other material, also publishing engravings from any description, or engraved, engraved or printed, engraved upon any material, &c., in the different branches of the business.
truthful, the majority are plain dirty watercolors. It is almost a shock to see his lithographs in the "North American City Series" with their antiseptic cleanliness and vibrating reds and greens and to know that they were probably made from his watercolors.¹ Goupil & Vibert's French draftsmen surely transferred a great deal of sanitation into them.²

Kollner was at his best as an etcher. Here, where line quality was of paramount importance, he was in his medium. The two etchings that I have seen are excellent pieces of work.³ It is too bad that times had changed and that he was called upon to work in a medium the artistic qualities of which he was never able to cope with.

Like the Swiss lithographers, Fenderich and Wild, he must have spent some time in Paris before coming to America. I think it no happenstance that so much of his work was drawn here and shipped abroad to Goupil to be lithographed. Peters says, "Kollner also issued several quatro drawing books and children's books, with illustrations lithographed in Paris."⁴

Kollner's Lithographic Press remains a puzzling phenomenon. From the elaborate trade card he issued, (Fig. 35) we

¹There is no record of these watercolors ever returning to America.

²This series was supposedly printed under the supervision of Delroy who had the distinction of being the best journeyman lithographer of the mid-nineteenth century in France.

³Phil. Free Public Library.

⁴Harry T. Peters, America on Stone, p. 254.
infer that a plant run by him once existed. The "Bits of Nature Etc." state that they were lithographed by him but were without a definite imprint. In 1851 Kollner & Camp & Co. lithographed a "Map of the City of New York Extending North to Fiftieth St." called the "Dripps' Map," after the publisher but this firm was short lived. Some of his prints bear the imprint of A. Camp but whether these were done before or after the firm of Kollner & Camp was dissolved is unknown.

Kollner's best American lithographs seem to be his publication, "Bits of Nature and some Art Products in Fairmount Park at Philadelphia From Nature and Lithographed by A. Kollner - 20 Plates, 1843." (Fig. 24) This work was probably issued to be made into a bound album. Although they lack the subtle gradations of tone from white to black as found in the best lithographs such as those done by M. E. D. Brown, they show his ability as a draftsman in portraying architecture, nature, horses, and an alert sense of interesting detail. If he accomplished nothing else he thoroughly recorded Philadelphia from 1840 to 1850. His "54 Views of American Cities," although strictly not American, are the body of many a public and private collection of prints. Because of the general interest in the material, the complete volume of fifty-four prints does not exist anywhere that I know of, for more was to be gained financially by the seller if the book was torn up and the prints sold individ-
ually. Contrary to the oft-written statement, it does not exist in the Library of Congress.
CHECK LIST, AUGUST KOLLNER


1. Sweet Briar Mansion. In tints. 1843. Rock formations in the foreground. Four running horses. Two large houses, one in the center. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.

2. East of Columbia Bridge. A large boulder occupies the major part of the surface. A man reclines on the ground at the right. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.

3. At South Laurel Hill (1847). Rock and tree formation. Water and boats at the left. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.

4. West of Wire Bridge. Rock formation and small cascading springs. Building and bridge behind the springs. Three figures and two mules at the left. 6 x 9.

5. Above Columbia Bridge. Rock formation with a hiker on top left. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9.

6. Belmont Prospect. Mounted horseman center foreground. House and tree on left. River and distant city on left. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.


8. Below Girard Bridge East. Huge rock in the center. Two viewers on the right looking out over the river and boatmen on the left. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9.

9. Ravine, Near Resevoir East. Two children on the left. Distant horsemen on the right. 6 x 9\frac{1}{2}.

10. East of Girard Bridge. Huge rock formation. Bridge in the middle distance with riders and carriages on top. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.

11. Peters Island, Fairmount Park, Phil. Two horsemen on the left. Trees in center. Canal barge being pulled by mules on the right. 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.

12. Schuylkill River, Fairmount Park, Phil. Columbia Bridge. People in a boat at the right. Bridge in the mid distance. Rocks and tree left. (1845) 6\frac{1}{2} x 9\frac{1}{2}.
August Kollner

13. Prospect Park from Ridgeland, Fairmount Park, Phil. House with woman on steps left. Man center. Two children left of center. 6 1/2 x 9 1/2.

14. In Roberts Hollow Opposite Laurel Hill. Two men high in the background watch the waterfalls. Rabbit in the left foreground. 10 x 7 1/4.

15. In Ravine Near Sweet Briar Fairmount Park, Phil. Water from waterfalls flows down around a small island in the center. Rabbit on the right. 6 x 9.

16. Schuylkill River Below the Falls, Fairmount Park, Phil. Huge out cropping rock left with seated man and dog. River, tree and boatmen right.

17. In Wissahickon Valley, Fairmount Park, Phil. Woods interior with two men contemplating the forest scene. 6 1/2 x 9 1/2.


19. Schuylkill River above Fairmount Dam, Phil. 1843. Seated man, center foreground, looks down on a barge being pulled from the tow path. House and wooded area background. 6 x 9.


II. In Philadelphia Park, Four Views. (Part of the Bits of Nature, Etc.)


August Kollner

III. Additional Prints.

1. Four small miniature vignettes of Girard College, State House, Fairmount, Exchange. All are 1 3/4 x 3. All are lithographic transfer from copper engravings. HSP.


3. Capitol of the U.S. at Washington. From Nature & Engr. P. S. Duval. Fig. 3 5/8 x 5 1/8. PHIL F.


IV. Illustrations for Books and Periodicals.

   1. The Wood Cart
   2. The Village Store
   3. Sunday in the Country
   4. Stagecoach on the Mountains
   5. Scenes in the Country
   6. A ride in the City
   7. The Oysterman
   8. Idle Talk
   9. The Farmer at Market
  10. The Drayman
  11. The Coal Cart
  12. The Canal Driver

2. Eight Views of the Holyland. For the American Sunday School Union on Stone by A. Kollner. P. S.
August Kollner

Duval's Lith., Phil. All approximately 3 13/16 x 6 5/8. AAS, PHIL F.
1. Bethesda
2. Bethany
3. The Valley of Jehoshaphet
4. The Brook Kedron
5. Mt. Tabor
6. Sea of Tiberias
7. The Mount of Olives
8. Nazareth


4. Thomas Ingoldsby's Legends. Frontispiece and 5 plates. 1844. P. S. Duval, Phil. AAS.

5. Indian Life and Travels among the Indians. Four Views after F. O. C. Darley. 1846. AAS.

6. The Horse...by Wm. Youarts. "Extraordinary Trotting Match Against Time." 45 Miles in Two Hours and 55½ Minutes. Painted by J. F. Herring. Sinclair's Lith. A. Kollner engr. on stone. Two horses, one ahead of the other and both pulling high wheeled gigs. Observers and mounted horses in rear. Trees and high in background. Pub by Lea & Blanchard, Phil. 1850. 4½ x 6¼. AAS.

V. Panorama Prints.

1. East View of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 1856. 13 x 30. Foreground of houses and trees. Streets run diagonally from right side into the middle ground. Background is far side of shore with houses, boats, piers, etc. LIB CO.

VI. Lithographs "after" Kollner.

The painter Fritz Hugh Lane has come to the foreground in the last few years partially through the championing of his cause by Mr. Charles D. Childs, the Boston Art Dealer. Mr. Childs has found, verified and restored many Lane paintings and has been responsible for Lane's inclusion in more than one museum. Lane's paintings which five years ago were undesired by collectors have been sold recently for as much as $5,000. His lithographs command prices upwards from $75. The museums which were once reluctant to purchase his paintings are now anxious to secure his work. The inclusion of Lane's marine paintings in the Karolik Collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has brought this artist into the limelight. The catalogue of this collection, however, has practically no information to offer on the artist himself.

Lane painted outside of the preferences of the Victorian age. There is no glamour in his work nor is there any moral implication. He is exclusively a tonal realist painter. Due to the large number of marine painters in this period he became lost in the crowd.

A citizen of Boston who knows his weather and atmosphere can tell the time of day in a Lane painting through the recorded light and atmosphere. This is an interesting facet in the makeup of this artist as in commission paintings of the same subject material he always changed the light in
each one so there is no routine copying and no series of repetitious paintings. At times he painted thinly but always with a sense of planes and an eye to New England atmospheric effects.

Fritz Hugh Lane was born on December 18, 1804 into an old New England family. He was the son of Sally and Jonathan Lane who christened him with the illustrious name of Nathaniel Roger,¹ for some unknown reason he despised this name and officially changed it to Fritz Hugh. Somewhere between the ages of sixteen and eighteen he lost the use of his lower limbs - today it is surmised that he was a victim of Infantile Paralysis which left him permanently crippled.² As a youth he worked for various firms in Gloucester where he showed interest in drawing and gained some recognition as a draftsman. While working for the firm of Clegg & Dodge on Sea Street, a Mr. W. E. Rogers showed one of his drawings to one of the Pendleton brothers and he was taken into the firm as an apprentice.³ Here he was to associate with some of the outstanding artists and lithographers of his time and also became a friend of John W. Scott with whom he was later to establish his own lithographic establishment. Sometime around 1837 Pendletons of Boston closed shop and Lane went

¹Thomas Bolton, Workers in Line and Color, Manuscript Division, Boston Athenæum.
²Ibid.
³Harry T. Peters, America on Stone, p. 261.
to work for various lithographers of the city including Thayer, successor to Pendletons, Thos. Moore and J. W. Sharp.

By 1841 he had achieved enough recognition to be listed in the Boston Business Directory as a marine painter. In 1844 he could be found at Tremont Temple and a year later John Scott's address is given as the same as Lane's but the firm of Scott & Lane, Lithographers, is not listed until 1847. Like Winslow Homer, even when he received some recognition as a painter, he never abandoned lithography but used this medium as a source of income for the rest of his life.

In the forties and fifties Lane exhibited frequently. From 1841 until his death his works were shown almost continuously at the Boston Athenaeum. Here at the Athenaeum Shows he could see what the cosmopolitan art world was doing. He exhibited with the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic's Association in 1841 and 1844, at the Harding Gallery in 1844, at the New England Art Union in 1851, the Leonard Gallery in 1859, and at the National Academy of Design Show in 1859. He was made an honorary member of the Albany Gallery of Fine Arts in 1848 and exhibited there in 1850. Even though much of his work was on a commission basis, W. Y. Balch of Williams and Everett of Boston represented him as dealers.¹

By 1849 Lane was back in Gloucester and there he passed the rest of his bachelor days. The first mention of him after leaving Boston we find in the Gloucester Telegraph in its issue of 7 July, of that year which describes his contributions to the fourth of July parade (banners) ... and by August of that year Lane had a studio on Elm Street open to the public, while his home address shifted frequently until he and his brother-in-law Ignatius Winters built his unusual stone house in 1850.\(^1\)

Lane's constant companion through the years was Joseph L. Stevens. Realizing that his physical disabilities would make it impossible for him to provide for his needs, he always had a companion on his sketching and painting expeditions and Stevens was the person he seemed to prefer. Later, after Lane's death, his sketches were given to him and much that is known about Lane comes from the notations that Stevens affixed to these drawings. He even indicated at times who received the finished painting from the sketch. During the years from 1850 (the earliest dated drawings are from this time although some could have been earlier) to 1863 Lane and Stevens and a small circle of friends went on sailing trips up the Maine coast exploring and enjoying life.

\(^1\)One gains an interesting insight into Lane through the house he designed and had built. It was designed from a functional standpoint and took into account the fact that he was an artist and a cripple. Alfred M. Brooks, "The Fritz Hugh Lane House in Gloucester," in Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. LXXVIII, (1942) pp. 261-283.
From his paintings it can be established that they sailed to Penobscot Bay, Owls Head, Mt. Desert, Castine, and Blue Hill. These trips were always made in August except in 1855 when the journey was made in September, and seemed to have been elaborately planned. From one of these trips came a drawing, "Our Encampment" showing the pitched tents and the sloop General Gates riding at anchor in the bay. Stevens assisted Lane in selecting sketching spots or Lane would sketch from the stern of the moving boat as they sailed along. The elaborate planning of these excursions, the inconveniences and the discomforts Lane must have undergone illustrates how important he felt it was for him to take this yearly outing. Here he was alone with his friends and surrounded by an environment that accepted him. The extreme delicacy and spaciousness in his drawings reveal a sensitivity that could only come in peace and contentment.\(^1\) From those who contributed to our composite knowledge of Lane, his friends and acquaintances, it was gathered that sketching from a boat, isolated from the world and prying eyes, gave him the greatest contentment. Also a boat could be directed to the ideal spot for sketching and alleviated the need for him to move about.

One of these friends of Lane has left us the only account of Lane as a man -- this friend, a John Trask, gave

this description to Emma Todd in 1885. Trask said that Lane was a small man, five feet four inches tall, and weighed about 120 pounds. He had a light complexion and deep set intense eyes. His disposition was "nervous, quick, and dyspeptic" and was given to moodiness with his close friends. Further, he says, that Lane was a neat and tasteful dresser, and also that he was fond of evening parties with his friends and enjoyed getting up tableaux with them. To this account an unidentified hand added in writing that Lane was a strong spiritualist.¹

In 1947 the Old Print Shop offered for sale a "San Juan? Porto Rico" (painting) by Fritz Hugh Lane, painted in 1358-59, oil on canvas, 24 x 36 in.² Gene E. McCormick in his article on Lane made an investigation on the speculative trip that Lane took to this tropical city and has this to say:

An interesting facet of Lane's biography is the possibility that he may have gone to the West Indies. There is no evidence to prove this, but a painting entitled "St. John's Porto Rico," in the Mariner's Museum at Newport News, Virginia, appears to be an authentic Lane, and therefore suggests such a trip. The painting was done for Sidney Mason, a famous trader of Gloucester, who owned a mahogany plantation in the Indies. Lane's affiliation with the Mason family was very close, as a letter to Lane from Mason's daughter Harriet explicitly states. In this letter she profusely thanks the artist for a still-life he painted for

²The Old Printshop Portfolio, Jan. 1947.
the family and his offer to instruct her in drawing. Therefore it is possible that Lane was offered a voyage aboard one of Mason's ships bound for the Indies. Once aboard, the sea was as much his as anyones. Of course it is also possible Lane could have made the painting from an engraving, but the exactitude with which he rendered this city portrait and imbued it with his usual "atmosphere of place" would definitely suggest that the painting came from his personal experience. So far, no drawing has been found for this picture, and just when Lane made this hypothetical trip cannot be said, although the style of the painting is similar to that of the early or mid-fifties.¹

In the spring of 1865 Lane fell ill, but upon recovering he returned to painting. However, he was forced to stop again because of a serious fall from which he never recovered. He died August 13, 1865. Contrary to common belief Lane did not die a poor man, for his executors valued his total estate at a fraction under $4,900, no mean sum in those days. Considering that Lane drew from commissions for about thirty years, it would seem he did well as an artist.²

I disagree with Lane's biographer, Gene McCormick, in his statement that "although Lane was a prolific painter, it is lithography that he is best known for today."³ Lane may have been known first by the few people interested in nineteenth century American lithography but even here no writer stressed his importance to the area. The people that I have

²Ibid.
³Ibid., p. 295.
contacted knew only of his paintings in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Karolik Collection, and the Mariners Museum of Newport News, Va. I do agree with him in that "Lane should be recognized as one of our finest lithographers." In reference to the latter statement, Lane's lithographs are difficult to locate outside of the Boston area in public collections. (Peters in his book treats only the firm of Lane and Scott and says "I have been told that they did a very considerable amount of work, but it seems extremely difficult to locate much of it. What I have seen is important." The Boston Athenaeum has probably the largest collection of his late works which are his best.

"An interesting and tragic event was the 1864 burning of Gloucester. During the winter of that year the whole of Main Street burned including the Printing Shop of J. S. E. Rogers. Lane lost over 200 lithographs in this catastrophe."

Lane's major production for the Pendletons seems to have been trade cards and music sheet covers. The first dated one that I can find is dated 1833 on the cover of "Love Among the Roses." If Lane's painting is without Victorian overtones, and it is, his early lithography makes up for it. On the other hand it would have been extremely

1Idem.
2Peters, America on Stone, p. 261.
difficult to make a rational drawing to fit the titles of such songs as "The Mad Girl's Song" and "The Maniac." Both of them bear Lane lithographic illustrations.

An interesting sidelight in connection with Lane's sheet music cover illustrating is seen in "The Old Arm Chair" of 1840. The illustration portrays a Mrs. Eliza Cook who was a famous singer in this period. She is seen standing next to a highbacked arm chair. Her figure can best be described as dumpy and she holds a white handkerchief in one hand. Lane executed this lithographic drawing for the first edition of the song only. Evidently the public took the song to its heart because in the twenty-fourth edition of this heartbreaker, the drawing was by another hand. Mrs. Cook has now become a transformed figure. The position of figure and chair are reversed, Mrs. Cook is now on the left side and instead of having a dumpy little figure, she is now represented as thin as a string bean but still wearing the same sad expression.

There is nothing to set Lane apart in his early lithographs as they pretty well follow the established pattern for sheet music and trade cards. He drew what was needed for illustrative material and material for popular consumption. There is at least one done for the temperance movement of the forties. A plate called "Alcohol Rocks" shows a group of ships in a storm. Each ship carries a pendant -- those which bear the banner "Temperance" sail past the reef
labeled "Alcohol Rocks" but one, a large ship in the foreground carrying the sign of a drinker, dashes hopelessly against the rocky crag.

Lane must have done a great many ship portraits, since this kind of material would be much in demand. The few that I have seen bear the stamp that they were either done as commissions or portrayed to please and that they might have been done differently if they had not been executed according to the instructions of the prospective buyer. Views of Gloucester out number the rest of the material two to one. (Fig. 17) Lane seldom troubled to date his work so one cannot refer to his lithographs by date. The late works like the "View of Gloucester" indicate that they were published by Lane himself and that he was no longer dependent upon a publishing house. Like the rest of the lithographers, the later in his career that he produced lithographs, the larger they became, until like the rest, he was working in the elephant sized folio. Some, like the "View of Gloucester, L. H. Bradford & Co." indicate that there was a painting as well as a lithograph, because of the use of the well known pinxt. although in this case the lithograph is after Lane. Like most lithographers of his time he was commissioned to put on stone the work of other artists, an example of this is his "View of New Bedford From the Fort near Fairhaven."1

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1The publisher was A. Conant who was also the artist and evidently popular as a great deal of his work was lithographed by other men. From the prints of his that I have
After 1845 Lane's work sometimes is printed in color. One can date his prints that are chromolithographs as being after this date because this is the earliest that printing-applied-color could have been done in this country. All that I have seen have been tastefully colored and do not overplay its use.

There is one pictorial factor which carries over from his painting into his lithographs -- this is the reduction of the human to a very minor role, almost to insignificance, in his compositions. To be sure, humans are presented, but at times they seem to indicate that they are used only to establish scale and when placed in the foreground the eye seems to leap over them to get to the heart of the composition which is the portraying of nature.

Early lithographers like Lane probably used darker and more ominous cloud formations than would have been necessary because the three dimensional cloud was so easy to build if one knew how to use the crayon but they always carry the implication of turbulent atmospheric conditions.

In most instances in American lithography at this time it is difficult to make a comparison or find an equivalent lithographer in the European field. Fritz Hugh Lane is one of the few that could favorably be compared to a European. seen bearing Conant's name, I should say that he was more of a sharp business man than a successful artist. Lane's presentation was most likely a considerable improvement over the original sketch.
At his best he is comparable to the English lithographer Richard Park Bonington who was working in the same medium at approximately the same time.
CHECK LIST, FRITZ HUGH LANE

1. Alcohol Rocks. F. H. Lane del. 10¼ x 8. (Temperance Print) The ship "Temperance" sails in the background past the reefs. The ship "Intemperance" crashes into the reef. Its victims are seen struggling in the turbulent waters. Men in a boat row out to save them. LC.

2. Bowdin College, Brunswick, Me. Published by J. Griffin, Lane & Scott Lith. Tremont Temple, Boston. 6 x 11. Attributed to Lane. Old Print Shop, N.Y.

3. Burbanville to Blackstone River. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Moore's Lith., successor to Pendleton. Rural Scene. Two cows at the left and a stone wall. Behind cows are rolling hills and the city nestled between the hills. Large tree right of center. 10 9/16 x 16. ATH.

4. Byron's Dungeon. F. H. Lane. 3 3/4 x 3/4. Figure (Byron) huddled in the corner of a gothic dungeon. Column has "Byron" scratched into it. AAS.


6. Departure of the "Jamestown" for Cork. Lane & Scott. Attributed to Lane. In Voyage of the Jamestown on Her Errand of Mercy, Boston. 1848. AAS.

7. Millbury Village. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Moore's Lith., successor to Pendleton. 10 5/8 x 15. Foreground, stone wall runs from right three-quarter of the distance to the left. Two sheep near gate in wall. Mid ground, rolling hills and trees. Background, hills, trees, village, AAS.

8. A View of Newton Corner As seen from Fiske Hill. Lane & Scott. From a Sketch by A. Conant. Tint color. Attributed to Lane. 9 x 14¾. Foreground, three cows on left, horse and a figure in the center. Two teams on the road. Houses and train in the mid ground. Hill, fields, and sky background. AAS., ATH.


14. Steam Pack Ship "Massachusetts" In a Squall, Nov. 10, 1845. F. H. Lane, del. Lane & Scott Lith. Tremont Temple. A three masted schooner in a boiling sea. 10 1/2 x 12. AAS.

15. View of New Bedford. From the Fort near Fairhaven. F. H. Lane, del. From a Sketch by A. Conant. Lane & Scott Lith. Tremont Temple, Boston. Pub by A. Conant, 1845. Colored. 16 3/8 x 24 3/8. Foreground, pasture land and beach, rail fence, cow lying left of center. Two boys at fence. Midground, water, on right a two masted sloop with two men pulling a sailboat to shore. In center is the steampacked "Massachusetts." To the left are two large sailboats and a clippership. Background city and clouds, lightly indicated. ATH.


17. View of Gloucester, From Rocky Neck. Drawn and pub by Fritz Hugh Lane, Tremont Temple, Boston. Lith of Lane & Scott. 15 7/8 x 23 3/4. Rock strewn foreground with three sailors, one holding a telescope. Midground, water with eight sailing vessels and the steamboat "Yacht." Background, city of Gloucester with vast clouded sky. ATH.

dogs and two figures on right. Midground, two trains drawing up next to a long warehouse building, to the left are more railroad buildings. AAS.


20. View of the Old Building at the Corner of Ann St., Boston, Mass. Drawn by F. H. Lane. 1835. Pendleton's Lith., Boston. 5 1/16 x 7 7/8. Street scene. On right a man with umbrella, in center a horse pulling a two wheeled gig with casks on it. On left a man crossing the street and two dogs. Behind the figures are two large buildings with a smaller one seen in the background. AAS.


Music Sheet Covers.

1. On Ellen's Bloom Blushed a Rose. 1840. Thayer Lith. LC.
2. The Mad Girls Song. Thayer Lith. 1840. LC.
3. The Maniac. Thayer Lith. 1840. LC.
5. Love Among the Roses. Pendleton's Lith., 1833. AAS.

Portraits.

1. John W. Hawkins. From the original by T. M. Burnham. J. C. Sharp. On Stone by F. H. Lane. 1842. 9 x 10½. LC.
GEORGE LEHMAN
(____d.1870)

George Lehman was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and this fact along with the date of his death seems to be the only material on this prolific lithographer that can be established through a dozen or more books listing his name.  

The Philadelphia Directory listed Lehman as a painter in 1830, 1831, and 1833 but in the listings of 1837, 1843, and 1844 he is carried as a lithographer. Of his paintings only one is recorded as having been exhibited. This was "Peasant Overtaken by a Storm" which appeared at the Boston Athenaeum Show of 1829.  


2Gilbert S. McClintock in his book Valley Views of North Eastern Pennsylvania, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Wyoming Historical Society, states: Lehman worked in many media; ... he became a landscape painter, and later than 1820 became interested in lithography and engraving, and before his death in 1870 was working with his son as a lithographer. It is difficult to state which Lehman drew each of the lithographs. 

3From the prints in existence in etching, aquatint and in the lithographic medium which bear this name as compared with the production of other artists it is very possible that this is the case of a father and son using a common name. One finds a great many prints bearing the signature Geo. Lehman scattered throughout the large print collections of this country -- all collections have a high percentage of the same prints plus one or two not found in any of the other collections. 

4"Smith" dictionary of Early American Artists in manuscript at the Frick Gallery in New York City.

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About this same time, dates vary, Lehman published what could be called his masterpiece: "Four Aquatint Views of the Fairmount Waterworks of Philadelphia." Thus he, like most other Philadelphia artists contributed to the dissemination of views on this pride of the city. Lehman's views sold for seventy-five cents plain and one dollar and twenty-five cents colored. Unfortunately as in the case of J. C. Wild, credit has been given to the publisher C. G. Childs,\(^1\) for the series and not to the etcher, Lehman. This early experience in aquatinting is important in the story of the development of color printed lithography, as is shown in the chapter on Technical Development. Lehman's earliest lithographs carry the _fecit_ of the etcher when actually they could and should have used the _del_ of the lithographer. This further complicated the documenting of Lehman's prints and error resulted from writers not knowing the technical terms and calling his lithographs, etchings. Also, Lehman's first lithographic prints were executed in the stipple or dotted manner of the worker on copperplate, a technique which is perfectly legitimate but shows his strong attachment to the earlier processes and the reluctance to venture into uses of the crayon and scraper that gave effects of a wider range artistically.

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\(^1\)Legend says that Childs went to France to learn the lithographic processes but on the way he injured his hand and from then on was not able to paint or draw. He must have taught the process to Lehman and prints which were considered important items issuing from the shop carry the word _Dirxt_, meaning that Childs had supervised their production. Charles H. Taylor, _Notes_.
The Pennsylvania Historical Society has the largest extant collection of his drawings, graphics, and watercolors.

It is possible that Lehman, having been born in Pennsylvania, spent his apprenticeship and journeyman periods with C. G. Childs working with the various copperplate medias and as a lithographer when Childs introduced this new graphic form into his shop. Then, when Childs and the artist Henry Inman formed their short-lived association, around 1831, he continued working for them. The bulk of his lithographs bear the imprint of this house. This was his most prolific period, and the time when he drew some of his best black and white lithographs. From this house comes his "Tomb of George Washington," which is the outstanding lithograph of this subject done during a period when the "Tomb and Shade of Washington" was very popular. Probably to add to his never-too-full purse, he, with a man named Thompson published in Washington a "N.E. View of the Capitol" printed at Childs & Inmans Lith. As the print was for consumption in Washington and would not compete with the firm's local market, such a venture would not have been frowned upon by his employers. A survey of prints of this time shows that all kinds of enterprises like this one were the order of the day.

After the Childs & Inman association dissolved, Lehman became a full fledged partner of Childs and the firm's imprint now became Childs & Lehman. From the time that Lehman
became a partner in the lithographic house, his signature disappears from the prints produced by the firm. His time must have been consumed in the running of the plant and the actual drawing on stone was left to employees and apprentices. Around 1835-36 or later, Childs dropped out of the firm and another employee, P. S. Duval took his place and the firm became Lehman & Duval. This partnership lasted only a short time, and Duval became the sole owner, eventually. Evidently Lehman did not give up his lithographic activities entirely as he produced a signed plate of "Swathmore Hall, near Ulverstone, The Residence of George Fox - P. S. Duval's Lith., Phil." This could have been done as late as 1857 as Duval was a lithographer up to this date. We also know that Lehman did not abandon lithography until a late date because we know of two colored plates, one of which is after Krimmel and is a true chromolithograph. This print is so expertly colored that the institution which owned it called it "hand colored" but closer examination proved it to be a fine chromolithograph. So skillfully and subtly colored is it that it becomes one of the prize pieces of early color printing in this country.

To what trade or occupation Lehman went after giving up lithography is not known but the records show that he resided in Philadelphia until his death in 1870. The firm which he helped to found and which proved to be one of the most important in the story of lithography lasted until 1893.
when it met the sad fate of being disposed of through a sheriff's sale.¹

Lehman's lithographs cover every type of subject matter from coal mines to cadet monuments. They all show a sure hand as a draftsman and an ability to cope with the devious requests that came to the lithographer of the nineteen hundreds.

¹Peters, America on Stone, p. 163.
CHECK LIST, GEORGE LEHMAN


2. Bethlehem. c. 1830. Lith of C. G. Childs. 9 x 13 7/8. Illustrated. HSP.

3. Cadet's Monument at West Point. G. Lehman on Stone. Childs & Inman, Phil. 6 3/8 x 9 11/16. Monument with square stone base and column rising above it. Surmounted on the top by 4 flags and topped by a vase. At lower left of print are two headstones. Background of trees, hills and buildings of West Point. AAS.


5. Coal Mine at Mauch Chunk. On Stone Geo. Lehman, Fecit. Lith by C. G. Childs, Phil. 4 x 6 3/4. Miners working at the left. In the center is the excavated pit. To the rear of this is a railroad for coal cars. Tree covered hills occupy background. Sillimans Journal Vol. 19, 1831. AAS.


9. Friends Asylum for the Insane Near Frankfort. 1836. 3 1/2 x 7 1/8. HSP.

George Lehman

11. Gray's Ferry. On stone by G. Lehman. Childs & Inman. 7 1/2 x 11. A bridge leads from the right foreground to near center middleground. A man and boy fish from the bridge. River to left with house on rocky tree covered cliff. Two buildings occupy bridge termination. HSP.


13. F. Leming Co. (Trade Card) Building done in stipple technique. 1831. Childs & Inman. 5 3/8 x 3 1/2. AAS.

14. Manayunk. Geo. Lehman, Fecit. C. G. Childs Lith. 7 1/4 x 11 1/8. Two figures in a vast landscape. Large tree on the left whose branches fill upper half of the plate. Church building center. Rock on extreme left with diagonal path leading up to the figures. River runs from lower left to center. AAS.

15. Oberlin's Residence at Waldock. 3 x 5 3/4. (In Life of John Frederick Oberlin) After a sketch by Mrs. Cunningham. 1830. AAS.


17. St. Augustine's Church. G. Lehman, fecit on stone. C. G. Childs. 1830. 7 3/4 x 7. Church with congregation chatting in the front. House on the left and house of the church. PHIL F.

18. Pottsville. G. Lehman. 1830. 9 x 13 5/8. HSP.


20. The Tomb of Washington. G. Lehman on stone from a drawing by J. R. Smith. Childs & Inman. 1832. 10 3/8 x 8 1/2. Tomb surrounded by a fence in the center with a padlocked gate. A man leans against a tree in the left foreground. Large trees occupy the background. PHIL F.
21. Swathmore Hall Near Ulverstone. The Residence of Geo. Fox. P. S. Duval Lith, Ph. On Stone by G. Lehman. 5 7/16 x 9 7/16. A rural European type house surrounded by a stone wall. A ladder is leaning against the side of the house. At the left a man and woman are talking over a wall. Holman's Gallery, Boston.

Throughout history come various personalities who, although they may or may not be directly connected with an art form, act as important instruments or agents for its broad-casting and acceptance. Such was the case of Vasari who made known the lives of the men of the Italian Renaissance and Guillaume Apollinaire who verbalized the Cubist doctrine.

Albert Newsam's name cannot be linked with the outstanding original lithographs of his period in America but his name is associated, nevertheless, with this art form.

Only two sources exist today which assist in disclosing the life and aspirations of the man; the over laudatory book, The Memoirs of Albert Newsam published in 1868 by Mr. Joseph D. Pyott,¹ and the letters of Albert Newsam to Mr. John A. McAllister which are on file in the manuscript division of the Philadelphia Library Co.

Albert Newsam was born in 1809 at Stubenville, Ohio, the deaf mute son of William Newsam. The elder Newsam was an Ohio River boatman and was drowned when his son was very young. Upon the death of the father, young Albert was

¹The only printed source material on Albert Newsam is Mr. Joseph Pyott's, The Memoirs of Albert Newsam. Daniel McNeil Stauffer extracted this material and it appeared as a reprint in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Oct. 1900, Jan. and April 1901. Published in Philadelphia, 1901. The title was "The Lithographic Portraits of Albert Newsam."
placed in the home of a local innkeeper by the name of William Hamilton.

Seeking a means of overcoming his handicap and to communicate with the world, he resorted to the logical means, that of making his ideas and wants known through drawings. Local tradition says that by the age of ten he had progressed to the point that he attracted considerable attention -- his expediency had become the impetus for developing skillful representation.

From this point, Newsam's life reads like the novel of his age except that it embodies an East Lynn ending which the nineteenth century American novel would not have tolerated. At this time there appeared on the scene in Stubenville a William P. Davis who was also a deaf mute and who also stayed with the innkeeper. Observing the proficient drawings of the young Newsam and knowing the ways of the world, he decided to capitalize on the happy combination of the boy's physical handicap and an unusual native ability. Like the nineteenth century villain that he was, he professed a great interest in the boy's welfare and in the boy on the grounds of their common affliction and finally succeeded in convincing the guardian that he would educate him and see that he was well cared for if put in his hands. Finally gaining possession of young Newsam, the two set out for the East, ostensibly to start Albert's education. One can see the plot developing -- the scoundrel put the boy on exhibition in the public places of the towns they toured and
Albert amused the curious crowds by making chalk drawings. Davis conveyed to the crowd of curious and sympathetic on-watchers that he was collecting money to educate his talented "little brother," but the charity of the on-watchers went into Davis's pocket.

By 1820 Davis and his "little brother" had toured their way as far as Philadelphia. One day while making drawings on the side of one of Philadelphia's famous watch boxes (small circular stations where the policemen on their beats could be sheltered from the elements) it happened that Bishop White, one of the famous clergy of the age, happened to pass by. This was a happy coincidence for Newsam and an ironic one for Davis, as Bishop White was the first president of the newly founded Institution for the Deaf and Dumb of Philadelphia. Bishop White sent one of the personnel from this institution to see if the two deaf mutes needed assistance. Davis recited a pathetic tale of misfortunes that had befallen him and "his brother" and that they were on their way to Richmond, Virginia, to find relatives. Davis was given money to assist in locating the relatives and was persuaded to leave young Newsam at the institution until he returned. This was the end of the association of protege and manager, and Davis never returned. On May 15, 1820, Davis (Newsam) was admitted to the school.

By another equally fantastic happenstance Newsam's name and true identity was discovered. Some years later a Mr.
Wright of Stubenville visited the school. After attracting the attention of the visitor by starting a commotion, he drew a picture of Wright's home in Stubenville. Then by drawing a plan of the city street he established the house in Stubenville that he had once lived in. Wright remembered the deaf mute boy that had disappeared and recalled Newsam's true name.

In 1827, Newsam left the school to be apprenticed to the engraver, C. G. Childs of Philadelphia, and a few of his engravings are extant. Previous to this the managers of the school had sent him to George Catlin for "instruction in drawing" and he received some lessons from Hugh Bridport, the miniature painter. When Childs undertook the addition of lithography to his printing processes and with the importation of P. S. Duval from Europe to work for him, Newsam was taught the art of lithography. As early as 1831 he had produced two lithographic portraits; one was of De Witt Clinton. During his early years of apprenticeship, by arrangement with the Institution, he was to be allowed to attend the evening classes of the Pennsylvania Academy of Art.

Newsam's entire lithographic production was done for this one firm -- first for Childs and then under the various house names which continued the business after the departure of Childs. The majority of his over 600 portraits and genre pieces are lithographic copies of the daguerreotypes and
paintings of accepted artists of his period, especially the portraits of Thomas Sully.

In 1857 Newsam's health began to fail. First he became partially blind in one eye and after recovering from this, in 1859, one side of his body became paralyzed. He was taken to the Pennsylvania Hospital but after a year he had to be removed when his case was diagnosed as incurable and the hospital rules would not permit him to stay longer. The money that he had earned was gone so he was sent to the Blockey Almshouse. Here he remained until 1862 when a group of his old friends headed by John A. McAllister raised funds for his transfer from the public charity institution to a private one, the Living Home, in Wilmington, Delaware. Newsam died on Nov. 20, 1864 and his funeral was held in the home of his faithful friend McAllister. He was buried in Laurel Hill cemetery which had appeared so often in his lithographs.

Evaluating Newsam's work for his contemporaries P. S. Duval, who had been his employer for a good many years, had this to say:

Newsam was a faithful copyist (See Fig. 36 for an example of his copy work) rather than an artist; and this opinion is borne out by the fact that the merit of Newsam's portraits depend largely upon the character and excellence of the painting or daguerreotype used as copy. The prints signed by him as "drawn from life" are not, as a rule, examples of his best work, and his biographer explains this as follows: "As Newsam could neither speak nor hear others speak, he was unable to engage his sitter in conversation, and thus impart
some animation to the face. \(\text{See Fig. 37 for an original work}\) The enforced silence on the part of the model was apt to be reflected in a semi-bored expression, and this expression Newsam faithfully copied. This same disability affected his success as a portrait-painter when he attempted that branch of art in 1855 under the tuition of Mr. Lambdin; but he signally failed in producing acceptable portraits.

According to his contemporaries, Mr. Newsam had an exceptionally correct eye for form, and a memory of such remarkable power that he could always draw whatever he had once seen. Personally, he had good sense and pleasing manners and made many warm friends. Though in receipt of an income considered large at that time, he was careless of acquiring wealth, and he spent his money about as fast as he made it in buying fine illustrated books, expensive engravings, and especially the lithographic work of the French and English masters of the art. The collection of books and prints thus accumulated was partly lost through a false friend and partly destroyed in the burning of the Duval establishment wherein Newsam had his studio.\(^1\)

The letters of Newsam to his friend and benefactor, John A. McAllister are as touching and pathetic as the writings of Vincent Van Gogh to his brother Theo. One senses his deep gratitude to McAllister for making his comfortable quarters in the Living Home possible. He requests, in a very gracious manner, such small items as a magnifying glass to aid his failing eyesight. He tells how the one he had was stolen at the Almshouse and how this will assist his drawing and keep his hand in practice. He asks for paper and crayons giving elaborate descriptions of what the sellers have to offer and what he wants -- all of this to be purchased

\(^1\)Daniel McNeil Stauffer, "Lithographic Portraits of Albert Newsam," no page.
only if McAllister can spare the time. He regrets that fate did not allow him to marry and lead a life as normal as possible. He states that his loneliness has been a worse curse than his afflictions. He makes reference over and over again to his print collection in a trunk in storage and how McAllister would be pleased with this or that print and that he wants him to have it. One gathers that this collection was the one joy of his life.

It is true that Newsam was only a skilled copyist, yet he set a standard for lithographs of quality and his name became a symbol of craftsmanship in the trade. I recall seeing a print in the Library of Congress collection bearing the name of an unknown lithographer and bearing the added information that the artist was "Deaf and Dumb." The inscription was to stamp it as having an affinity to a Newsam print through the fact that this physical handicap could give superordinary power to the practitioners of this art as illustrated in the works of Newsam.

In addition to the hundreds of portraits, Newsam deserves to be in the lithographic hall of fame for one set of portraits alone. The United States Ecclesiastical Gallery is almost a one-man-production of Newsam portraits which merits this copyist's place in the story of lithography.

For a complete checklist of the works of Albert Newsam see Daniel McNeil Stauffer's article which includes a checklist in the revised edition, which can be found at the Library of Congress.
Benjamin Nutting represents the typically-American little-master, painter-lithographer of the first half of the nineteenth century. He plugged away at his painting and lithographing almost unknown and unrecognized in his lifetime and only with the recent interest in early and primitive painters has his name come into any prominence.

Whereas a high percentage of the lithographers of the early period of American lithography were born, educated, and trained in Europe, Nutting was born in New Hampshire and his work appears to have no European influences. His center of activity was Boston where he painted landscapes, portraits, worked for the Pendleton's Lithographic House and became the author of four drawing aids. He is listed in the Boston Directories as a portrait painter in the Hub from 1826 to 1874.

1826 was probably not his first year in this city but it is his first listing in the directory, and the Boston News Letter of Aug. 12, 1826 gives this publicity notice, "Benjamin F. Nutting has for sale some elegant lithographic delineations of his own copying. It would be well for the lover of the fine arts to examine them and award to native

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genius that patronage which it so richly merited."

"Young artists will find a good guide in his imitiatory-
\[\text{sic}\] drawing book and derive great pleasure in viewing his-
natural sketches."

Two recent publications which include Nutting, list his-
birth at 1813. It is evident that they accepted the date as-
given in the Dictionary of American Artists by Mantel Field-
ing but in the light and date of the quoted article, this-
must be an error. Even granting that Nutting was a preco-
cious genius, it does not seem possible that he was writing-
books at the age of thirteen.

We do know that he was one of Pendleton's first appren-
tices along with N. Currier. Currier, however, went to work-
for the firm when he was only thirteen years of age in 1826,
the year that the Pendletons first undertook the production-
of the new art of lithography. Previous to this date they-
had been in partnership with Able Bowen in the engraving-
business. As Nutting's early lithographs are executed in-
the stipple technique, it would seem to verify his connec-
tion with the firm while they were still engravers. Later-
he was to work for the lithographic houses of Oakley, T.-
Moore, Annin & Smith, Jenkins & Colburn, C. D. Strong,
Sonrel, and W. & S. Pendleton.

The only source material collected on this man seems to-
be found in the writings of Thomas K. Bolton:
Through the kindness of Thomas F. O'Malley of Waltham, and his daughter Miss Helen Patricia O'Malley of Cambridge I have complete papers of the settlement of Nutting's estate. He never married and left sisters Mary A. Philbrook, widow, of Watertown, Mass., and Emily L. Burruss of Shreveport, La. He had business relations with William Everett, art dealer. He left a number of paintings valued at $400, probably in his cottage on the westerly side of Fayette Street in Watertown. By persuading Mrs. Philbrook to accept half her charge for services, in paintings, the administrator made the assets balance the debts, from which we might infer that Mr. Nutting was a true artist.

Little seems to have survived of Nutting's lithographic production and what does, can definitely be classified as scarce. Of the prints that I have been able to locate, his "Warehouse of J. Bumstead & Sons, No. 113 Washington St., Boston, B. F. Nutting del, Pendletons Lithog.," undated, is one of the most interesting of the interiors that exist in the whole field of American lithography. It was evidently done to be used as a trade card and records the interior of a store of the period around 1830. There is no attempt to glamourize and no attempt to overplay the selling aspect and the resultant lithograph is a wonderful piece of American genre. What is presented is the activity of a provisions store with its accoutrements - goods scattered around and women customers with their high waisted skirts, shawls, and huge bonnets capture this remote world which is now almost beyond our ken, a world which can never be reentered. The

coloring is subdued and lacks the intensity which gets so overpowering in later Currier & Ives prints. It also lacks the picturesqueness that takes over later lithographs of comparable scenes.

Nutting's name does not appear as an exhibitor in the shows of his time. He probably preferred to spend his time writing his numerous drawing aids. The first appears in 1842, a four volume set called "Imitory /sic/ Drawing Cards," published in Boston. The second was called Boys and Girls Self Instructing Drawing Book, 1862, also published in Boston. The third carries the title, Teacher's Aid Drawing Cards put out in 1866 or 67. It too had four volumes with plates, the last with the exciting title, The Only Right Method of Drawing (2nd series) New York c.1883.¹

There is no indication that like many others he was an off and on artist and a survey of his extant production merits for him a classification better than "early primitive painter." If he died leaving four hundred dollars worth of painting, this would indicate quite a few paintings, considering the value of a dollar in that period. He died in Watertown, Mass., Dec. 21, 1878 more fortunate than most if he departed having his assets balance his debts.

¹Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860. The last of the four books would appear to be a reissue published after his death.
CHECK LIST, B. F. NUTTING


7. First Methodist Episcopal Church, Roxbury. Erected in 1840. Vig. Church has a shed roofed cupola, high foundation with steps leading up from both sides and railing leading up to the platform. B. F. Nutting. 5 x 7 3/4. ATH.

8. Providence Conference Seminary, East Greenwich, R. I. Bufford Lith. B. F. Nutting. 11 9/16 x 16 1/4. Two large buildings. One has a square cupola. Three men and a woman mounted on horseback in the foreground and two men and two women spectators. ATH.


11. Yale College, New Haven. From Nature and on Stone by B. F. Nutting. 19 3/4 x 15 3/4. c. 1832. The foreground is an open quadrangle with a large tree in the middle. Seven figures are standing on or walking across the open area. To the rear of them is a street of buildings. Low horizon line. LC.
In an inconspicuous hallway in the building of the Pennsylvania Historical Society hangs a portrait of George Washington with this note attached, "In September of 1795 Washington gave Peale, then only seventeen years old, three sittings for this study. Peale's subsequent seventy-six paintings of Washington were all based on this work."

This portrait of Washington in its labored-over state was to be the start of Rembrandt Peale's long procession of Washington portraits and hundreds of lithographs of our first President. Peale must rank second only to Gilbert Stewart in this respect.

Rembrandt Peale was born on February 22, 1778 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania and lived far enough into the nineteenth century to have his portrait sketched by Winslow Homer and executed as a woodcut for a Philadelphia newspaper. Peale died in 1860.¹ His lifespan covered one of the greatest periods of change in American art. His own early painting with its forthright frankness was to be succeeded by the soft, almost feminine quality of Sully, and before he died Peale sat for the Daguerreotype artist and firmly believed


For added material see Isham, op. cit., pp. 72, 89, 119, 125, 126, 138, 185, 193, 200, and 203.
that this new medium would not only aid the artist but would further create a stronger demand for painted portraits.

Rembrandt Peale was the son of the painter, Charles Wilson Peale, and like his brothers, he was given the name of a famous painter of the past. Of all the children of Charles Wilson Peale and his relatives who went into painting, his son Rembrandt is considered to be the most outstanding. Like the rest of his family he learned to draw and paint at an early age and in 1795, at the age of seventeen, he sat down with the assembled family to paint the portrait of Washington.

The quoted paragraph is a little misleading as it implies that of the seventy-six portraits of Washington by Peale, all were based on this one study but from the writings of Tuckerman we know that "He always worked with a Houdon bust of Washington before him."

In 1802 Peale went to London and studied under Benjamin West. Later he went to Paris and made portraits of celebrities for his father's Museum.

Rembrandt accompanied his father, assisted him in the museum, and was like him in that he substantiated his artistic production with copious writings and explanations.

Rembrandt Peale is important to the field of American lithography not only for his portraits of Washington but because he was one of the first who set out deliberately to learn the process. He is the first of American artists of
established reputation to undertake the study of lithography and one of the earliest lithographers in the country.

Peale was no youngster when he set out to establish himself with the Pendletons. He must have been at least thirty-seven years of age and could hardly be called an apprentice. Peale wrote to Dunlap that he was among the first of the artists who employed this admirable method of multiplying original drawings.¹ His first attempts, he stated, were the head of Lord Byron, and a female head from a work of Titian. In 1826, he went to Boston, and devoted himself for some time to lithographic studies and executed a number of portraits and other subjects, and finally a large drawing from his portrait of Washington for which he obtained the silver medal from the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia in 1827. Unfortunately, the workmen, by some neglect, destroyed this drawing on the stone when but a few impressions were taken.

Due to the fact that artists of this period frequently misdated their work and Peale seems to have been no exception, what appears to be his second Washington lithograph may well be the first. The portrait of Washington known as the "Patriae Pater" copyrighted in 1827 is so common that most people in the print world have discounted that this could be the first one, the one whose stone was destroyed.

¹Wm. Dunlap, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 188.
after a few prints were pulled. Yet, the second portrait, a vignette head of Washington which bears the Pendleton imprint of 9 Wall Street, would date it as being done in 1832-33 and, strange as it may seem, this is the scarce portrait. A member of the Peale family (who can not be named) and who has done some research on the subject has come to the conclusion that his illustrious ancestor stretched the truth when he stated that only a few of the porthole prints were issued before the stone was destroyed by the workmen. It may well be that Peale expected a large production and was disappointed with the seemingly small number that came from the stone. It is also possible that the portrait may have been redrawn and the date, 1827, put on the new print.

Peale's first published lithograph was the "Head of Lord Byron" (Fig. 38) that he mentioned to Dunlap. He lost no time in putting this into circulation, as was seen in the Boston News Letter of Sept. 2, 1826:

"Mr. Peale has just published a Lithographic bust of Lord Byron which is the counterpart of likenesses said to be correct ones and are for sale at the Bookstores in this city."

By 1825 Peale was taking advantage of the commercial possibilities of the new-found medium as seen in the book mentioned below. The date of the publication can be questioned but it is one of the first of the lithographed frontispieces that were to accompany the majority of

One of the most curious items in the collection of Peale's works and indeed, in the whole of lithography of this time is a little paper bound booklet 4 x 5½ inches entitled, Memoranda of Form and Character by Rembrandt Peale, Pendletons Lithogr., Boston. It has the look of being a sample book and at the same time a kind of experimental work. As there is no connection between the works and the inscriptions, one is led to believe that it was a visual production of material sketched on his European tour that he never got around to use in any other way. One of the small plates is entitled "Gerard's Cupid - From Gerard's picture of Cupid & Psyche." "The low forehead, straight nose and round chin belong to Greece. How mild and unaffected the expression! The eyes cast down with modesty -- the lips full but silent, betray a felt emotion which the swelling throat seems ready to pour out into music -- the utterance of love!" Another is, "Anylayes [sic] Cherries -- not infested with worms -- with bread an ideal meal for breakfast

1The only complete edition that I have seen is owned by the Old Print Shop, New York City.
Peale's life had spanned an enormous amount of time and artistic change. His rather formalized portraits had still the qualities of colonial portrait art. There is never any of the illusionistic effects in any of his lithographic work that is extant though he must have known that the quality was inherent within the medium. Durand's and Thomas Cole's

1In an age which readily admits of wild publicity to capture the attention of the public, one of the most unusual advertising schemes in the whole of American lithography is to be found in Peale's booklet, Portrait of Washington, and no contemporary publicity agent could have put together a better set of papers and testimonials than did Peale when he published this booklet. The tentative dating of the little gem is 1857, three years before the artist's death. Most print makers of this age advertised their wares as widely as possible to inform the public about their latest production but none went to the length of producing a booklet, as here. The whole career of Peale and his association with Washington is dealt with and elaborately documented, but the gigantic effort seems to have produced no new lithographed head of Washington. The booklet appears to have been printed with the idea of exciting a new public interest in Washington and the punch line is to be found on the last page where Peale offers to make possible the owning of a print from the hand of the only artist alive who had ever seen Washington. Evidently with the problems and new interests of the fifties, the public no longer was interested in Washington portraits or the old fashioned head portraits. The booklet seems to indicate that a first distribution came out without the added half-sheet which is found pasted to the back sheet in some copies. Evidently, there were not enough subscribers to underwrite a new lithographic portrait like the ones done in 1827 and 1832. Peale must have waited some time and then redistributed the booklet hoping that the time was then ripe. The reference to an engraving is not clear as no mention of it is made in the first distribution.

The New York Public Library owns a copy of this booklet without the inserted half-sheet and the Library of Congress owns one with it. It is possible that the former once possessed this insertion too. See Appendix VII for "Portrait of Washington," Phil., 1857?
landscapes had come into prominence in Peale's lifetime and the formal bust portrait was slowly being displaced in popularity. The age which saw his blunt lithographic copy of the "Henry Clay" after Bass Otis,\(^1\) his copies of the portraits by Stuart, his romantic material surrounding the life of Lord Byron, or porthole portraits; was giving way to less severe portraits and the beginnings of landscape.

Peale's contribution to American lithography and American art lies in the fact that he was the first accepted artist to enter the profession of artist-lithographer. With his success at the Franklin Institute Show, other artists were to seek out the technique. Peale made possible the hundreds of lithographic portraits which were to be done by artists and lithographers of important personages from the time of Washington up to the last commercial stone lithographs of Teddy Roosevelt.

\(^1\)It may have been Bass Otis who first introduced Peale to lithography. In a letter to Charles H. Taylor the American Antiquarian Society from an interview with an old servant of Bass Otis, there is mention that Peale was a frequent visitor at the Otis home. Also being a student of West, he may have been in London at the time West was making his first experiments for the \textit{Specimen Book of Polyautography}. 
CHECK LIST, REMBRANDT PEALE


10. Washington. From the Original Portrait painted by Rembrandt Peale. 1827. Drawn on Stone by Rembrandt Peale. Bust portrait of Washington shown through a stone enframement. The title, "Patriae Pater" is inscribed on the bottom of the plate. This is known as the "Porthole" portrait. LC, NYPL, BFA.
Rembt. Peale

   1. Damon, Dog's head with bird in his mouth.
   2. The Little Corporal. Three children wearing war gear.
   5. Anylayes sic Cherries. A bunch of cherries.
   6. The Soldiers Birthright. An old soldier whose wooden leg is being examined by three children.
   8. Pier Head. Boat sailing with giant waves breaking against it during a storm. Evidently copied from the artist Gudin.


13. Jeffersons' Rock. From Nature & on Stone by R. Peale. Lith of Pendleton, Boston. On this spot the Magnificent Scenery of the Potomac and Shenandoah near Harpers' Ferry was described in the "Notes on Virginia." MET. Illustrated.

Any investigation of American lithography soon involves the problem of colored lithographic printing by applying the color directly on stone, instead of by the laborious and expensive method of hand coloring. In this quest is found the name of William Sharp, whose contributions to American art go deeper than this association, but whose name generally appears in this connection only.

It is assumed that William Sharp was a member of the English family of artists and came to this country sometime in the late 1830's. At this time he was both a trained artist and a skilled lithographer in the crayon portrait manner, as can be seen in a scrapbook collection in the Boston Public Library. This collection of heads is reminiscent of the fashionable works of Romney and Lawrence. A high percentage are sentimental children's heads with simple lithotint coloring. The coloring is so sparingly applied, mainly to brighten up a cheek, that it could almost be colored ink put on by hand. Through these we see the first embryonic color plates.

The only biographical material on W. Sharp appears in the notes of Miss Ann Waite at the American Antiquarian Society and in Peters' America on Stone, p. 363-65.
Lithographic legend says that Sharp had worked with "chromo" lithography in England as early as 1832\(^1\) and as proof of this very early experimentation there is a lithotinted dog's head dated 1835.\(^2\) Sharp's first American print was a portrait of the "(Rev.) F. W. P. Greenwood, Drawn from Nature and on Stone by Wm. Sharp and Printed in Colors." For many years this was considered to be a true chromolithograph but when it became known that the technique of lithotinting existed before that of true color printing, it was reclassified as a lithotint, since all the color had been applied from one stone. It is a handsome, colored reproduction with an English sense of restraint. As proof of its popularity, it was redrawn and relithographed at a later date.

Little is known about Sharp's paintings or his work as an artist. One of his paintings is in the Karolick Collection\(^3\) and the other known painting is owned by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.\(^4\) His painting style is in keeping with his lithographed music sheet cover. (Fig. 39) These three items would indicate that outside of portraits, he seemed to specialize in a kind of poor-mans-epic painting.

\(^1\)At the American Antiquarian Society.
\(^2\)Peters, America on Stone, p. 363.
\(^3\)"Railroad Jubilee on Boston Commons," 39 x 58 in., 1851.
\(^4\)"Camellia," 12 x 15 in., 1847.
By this, I mean that they follow the style of such painters as the Frenchman Gros -- displaying some momentous local historical event or celebration where masses of people are engaged in some activity. Sharp's are not wall size but are about four feet in their longest dimension, a kind of miniature of the usual epic painting, as compared with the epic or historical painting of Europe.

One can only speculate as to whether Sharp was conscious of his place in history, or whether he knew that this kind of presentation was popular, but the printed inscription on the music cover (Fig. 39) is informative and could be related to similar material done in this age:

"Freeman's Quickstep - As Performed on the Glorious 10th of September" composed and dedicated to the Delegates to the Bunker Hill Whig Convention of 1840. Sketched on the spot, by W. Sharp. As this print will remain long after all who beheld the brilliant spectacle shall have passed away, it may not be amiss to stamp upon it the interesting fact that on this same "10th of September" a Fair was held by Ladies in the City of Boston for the purpose of obtaining funds for the completion of the Monument (which is here presented in its unfinished state). The object was entirely successful. This drawing was taken from Mr. Phipps house, South East of the Monument, and represents the moment of time when the Cavalcade having counter-marched are about returning to the city; while a portion only of the Delegates on foot have yet reached the hill." Printed by Sharp Michelin & Co., Boston.

There is no doubt that Sharp came to this country to advance the cause of the color print commercially, and in doing so he overlooked nothing in which there was a connection between commerce and art. This may be one reason for
the scarceness of his paintings, since other phases of art were much more lucrative. For at least two years Sharp ran a drawing academy; an undated lithograph thought to have been done in the forties is proof of its existence. This print includes not only the children but a noticeable sign of "Sharps Drawing Academy." The inscription says that it was published for the proprietor. Probably trying to kill two birds with one stone, he also issued a drawing book some time in the forties.

Beginning to subjugate his career as a creative artist he is listed as a lithographer (printer) along with a man named Michelin in 1841. From this time on he has only intermittent connections with a lithographic house. His name appears with Bouve and James C. Sharp in 1843-44 but by 1845 only the name of William C. Sharp is seen on imprints bearing the name Sharp.¹ (The latter may have been a son or relative who took over the plant.) Later however, many publications appear bearing the imprint of Wm. Sharp's Press; indicating that he was now a publisher as well as lithographer.

One of the most interesting of his color attempts which demonstrates the trials and tribulations connected with its perfection is in the Bulletin of the Transactions of the

¹Peters, America on Stone, p. 363.
The Committee of Publication of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, feels itself obligated to apologize for the delay which has taken place in the issue of the first number, the sheets of which have long been ready.

This delay has arisen from an anxious desire to have plates in a style of excellence much superior to that of those which now accompany it. After infinite trouble and disappointment, the Committee feels satisfied that the process of Chromo-lithing, in its present state, is not adapted for a work of the character which it is determined to stamp on the transactions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, or to give even a faint idea of the beautiful drawings made by their artist, Mr. Sharp.

While, therefore, the Committee regrets extremely that it is obliged to issue the present number with the Chromolithographed plates, it has resolved not only that the plates of the future numbers shall appear in a very different style, but that if possible, those of this first number shall be reproduced in a uniform manner.

It was Sharp who is supposed to have made the term "Chromolithography" popular but he did not coin it; the term was used as early as 1842. After 1842 Sharp seems to have directed his energy to the illustrating of periodicals or books. Probably there was more to be gained through this than the running of a shop. He seems to have been in great demand as an illustrator for "Annals and Gems" and to do the portraits for the frontispiece of books. Many of his illustrations for sentimental

1Editor's Note, p. 2.
2Ann Waite, Notes.
GEN'W.H. HARRISON.

Drawn on Stone by W. Sharp

Printed by Sharp, Nichols & Co. 12 Tremont Row.

Published by Weeks, Jordan & Co, Boston.
publications use gold leaf and are the earliest specimens of this kind of decorative embellishment which is so soon to get out of hand and run amuck.

The sad experience of colored printing as found in the Massachusetts Horticultural publication prints was however brought to a successful end in Sharps production of the Victoria Regia (The Giant Water Lily) in 1854. The six large plates measuring $15\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$ inches are successful chromo plates. In their depiction of the growth, development, and stages of the giant water lily they rank with Homer's chromolithographs done by Prang at a much later date. The design, color and printing make them one of the masterpieces of chromolithography. Let us hope that this was the culmination of chromolithography as Sharp saw and searched for it. At any rate it is his last work that can be dated and his name, thereafter, disappears from lithography.

Sharp was in many ways to fulfill the demands of the period that were honest and sincere. One feels that even in his "bread and butter work," Sharp the artist has the upper hand over Sharp, the illustrator. (See Fig. 40 for his portrait copy work.)
CHECK LIST, WM. SHARP

I. Original Prints.


3. The Rev. Dr. F. W. P. Greenwood. Fac. Sig. Drawn from Nature and on Stone and Printed in Colors by Wm. Sharp. This Plate executed at the request of the Congregation of King's Chapel, is respectfully dedicated to them by their obliged and obedient servant Wm. Sharp. "W. Sharp." 1840. Large size. Half length seated. Portrait of the minister in clerical robe (executed in lithotint). AAS, LC, SMI, BPA.

4. Plate with text below announcing the First Exhibition of the Worcester County Mechanic's Assn. Tinted. Wm. Sharp, Boston. Design, 10 1/4 x 12. Outdoor scene showing a background of hills, classical buildings, etc. In the foreground a woman with horn of plenty and a wreath, which she offers to three men in working dress. AAS.

5. Portrait of Daniel E. Eddy. Wm. Sharp. Bust Portrait. 3 1/2 x 4. AAS.

II. Lithographs After Other Artists.


2. Little Louisa L. Lear Derby. On Stone by W. Sharp, from a drawing by Johnson. Tinted. 6 1/2 x 6 1/2. Head study of a girl wearing large ribbons in her hair. AAS.

Wm. Sharp


III. Prints for Publications.


2. Biographical Memoirs of James Oglethorpe, Founder of the Georgia Colony. Thaddeus Mason Harris. 1841. Frontispiece, 5½ x 3½. W. & J. C. Sharps Lith., Boston. Inscription: This sketch was taken preceding his disease when he was reading without Spectacles at the sale of the library of Dr. S. Johnson. An old man seen in profile. Seated on a bench and wearing a tricornered hat, sword, lace cuffs and buckle shoes. He holds a book and a walking stick in his right hand. AAS.

3. Miss Inversarity. Drawn on Stone by W. Sharp. From the Original by Wm. Booth. In the Musical Gem, 1832. Pub by Mori & Lavenu, 28 Bond St. Printed by W. Sharp. 4 13/16 x 4. A half-length female figure seen from the front. Curtain back­drop. She wears a veil over her head, a pearl broach at her breast. AAS.

Wm. Sharp

5. Double Portrait. Vig. Two female heads; one in elaborate eastern headdress, the other in a nun's costume with rosary. Wm. Sharp. AAS.


IV. Sheet Music Covers.


HENRY WALTON
American Period 1829-1857

The name Walton first appears in lithography among the papers of Rudolph Ackerman, the English patron of the arts, where it is noted that "in 1830 he transferred his business to his sons and a Mr. Walton."\(^1\) It is highly improbable that this is the Mr. H. Walton with whom we are concerned as it can be established that he was in this country at least by 1829, but it connects him with lithography which in the beginning was most frequently a family affair. It also proves that most likely his provenance is English in origin.

Those who have been most interested in this little-known artist have always insisted that he was English by birth. They are constituted of a small group of collectors around Ithaca, New York who have been gathering his work for years. They have quietly fought for his paintings and prints, have gone to great lengths to retrieve anything that had slipped from their town by accident, and have tried their best to keep his name out of publications and out of the print collecting trade.

It is strange that this man, whose production was not limited, should have escaped being included in the books on early American painters. Neither is he included in any of

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the present dictionaries of American artists. This oversight comes, no doubt, from the fact that he never exhibited with any of the Academies nor in large shows, nor was his work ever copyrighted. My research indicates that his name has appeared three times in print. First, in America on Stone\(^1\) in 1931 where he is covered by the terse statement, "Walton, H., Drew buildings for Pendleton -- unknown." The second advent into print comes with his watercolor portrait of F. P. Fenks on the cover of The Magazine Antiques for Nov., 1937, accompanied by a short description of the painting.\(^2\) The third comes with the first offer to sell three of Walton's lithographs in the May issue of The Old Print Shop Portfolio of 1940.

My interest and curiosity in this artist was aroused when Miss Una Johnson, Curator of Prints, Brooklyn Museum of Art, first showed me a Walton "View of Ithaca, Tompkins Co., New York, Taken from South Hill in November, 1838." Both she and I recognized that this print embodied the best qualities of nineteenth century American art and lithography. It contained enough of naivete and lack of sophistication to stamp it as outside the realm of the print mass of this era and acceptable even to present-day standards of taste. Later I was to discover that there was much of him that was

\(^1\)Harry T. Peters, America on Stone, p. 396.

\(^2\)The Magazine Antiques, Vol. 32, (Nov.) (1937) p. 227. (Editor's Note)
almost colonial in appearance rather than nineteenth century.

It would seem logical that in coming to this country he would seek out the place where an artist without a reputation could secure employment; at this time the lithographic houses were just springing into being and they supplied such an opening. If he entered this country through another port, he must have arrived at the Pendletons in Boston in short order for this was then the largest lithographic firm in America.

His first dated appearance is through the work of another lithographer, for in 1829 the American Journal of Science & Art\(^1\) was to carry a plate entitled, "View of the Celebrated Springs at Sarasota -- H. Walton, pinxt, M. Swett, del." The print has no great artistic merit but establishes Walton as a painter even at this early date.

His first lithographic production seems to have been linked to a book containing views of historic buildings, houses and monuments which ranged geographically from New York to Georgia. This compilation may have been the work of a group of traveling recorders sent out by the Pendletons to collect views such as Walton's "View of the City Hall, Augusta, Georgia" in which we find two artists in the foreground sketching the building. One of these sketchers may be A. A. Hoffay whose name is on at least four of the prints which

\(^{1}\)The American Journal of Science & Art, Vol. II (1829) (Unnumbered plate)
appear to belong to this series. All the plates are approximately $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, printed on the same size and same weight paper. They are rather toneless and at times the lines are brittle, as were many prints of this period, when much had yet to be learned about the technical processes. The completed sketches most likely were drawn on the stone back at Pendleton's for the carrying of stones around the country would be impractical and there is no indication at this time of the use of transfer paper by the firm.

Joseph Jackson, the Philadelphia historian, dated the Waltons in his collection as 1827, but this would be six years too early if one knows of the one print by Hoffay dated 1834 and therefore accepts the starting date of the series as having been 1833. Among his prints is the "Portrait of the Rev. Roland Hill" (Phil. Free Library) done as the frontispiece for the first American printing of the life of this famous preacher. The American edition is dated

1"The President's House, Washington;" the only print bearing the date 1834. Other prints in the series are: State House, Raleigh; Dartmough College, N.H.; Kenyon College, Ohio; Capitol of Virginia. All are at the American Antiquarian Society.


3J. Thomas, Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology, Vol. I, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phil., 1871, p. 1188 states: "Hill, Rev. Rowland - a popular preacher and disciple of Whitefield, was born at Hawkstone, England, in 1744. He was the son of Sir Rowland Hill, and an uncle of General Lord Hill. After leaving college he was
1834. This seems to reinforce his chain of English connections. Whether Walton was given the assignment to draw or redraw this portrait because he knew the man, is probably beyond the realm of historical demonstration but it is a tempting speculation.

How many years Walton worked for the Pendletons is unknown, for none of his prints are dated until his first Ithaca view in 1838. During this period of traveling and sketching he saw the Finger Lakes region of New York State and decided to settle down there using Ithaca as his base for operations.

From here Walton's story is accounted for by Mr. Joseph Barr of Ithaca who has made a long time study of the artist and is the authority on Walton. Mr. Barr says that Walton arrived in Ithaca in 1835 and disappears from that city around 1846.\(^1\) In 1849 Walton followed the gold rush to

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ordained a deacon of the Anglican Church, but soon became a zealous and eloquent preacher among the Calvinistic Methodists. Addressing the people in the streets, the open air, or wherever he could gain audience, he made many converts in various parts of the kingdom. In 1783 he built Surrey Chapel, London, in which he preached about fifty winters. He was the author of Village Dialogues and other works. Santhley, in reference to a particular occasion says, 'His manner was animated and striking, sometimes dignified and impressive. The purport of his sermon was good, nothing fanatical, nothing enthusiastic.' Died 1833."

\(^1\)According to a letter sent to the DeWitt Historical Society of Ithaca, by Dr. Arthur Woodward Booth of Elmira, New York, the buildings in the undated print of "Elmira from the East," were those which were constructed in 1848 or 1849 and thus we may account for this two year gap (from 1846 to 1848), the time of Walton's leaving Ithaca and the time that
California together with Mr. Barr's grandfather, sailing down to the Isthmus of Panama, crossing it on foot, re-embarking and continuing on to California. Mr. Barr's grandfather eventually returned to Ithaca and the story became part of the family tradition. We can further verify this episode through Walton's one Western print "View of Grass Valley, Nevada Co. Cal. From the N.East, 1857," no imprint. (Fig. 41)

The idea has firm foundation that Walton came to Ithaca to work as an artist for Stone & Clark who had a large established printing house which specialized in the publishing of maps such as the two editions of *Burrs Atlas*, a large volume containing two maps of every county in New York State as prepared from surveys. The maps are lithographed in black and white and the towns are designated by hand-colored washes. Walton may have been one of their artists. Perhaps the Ithaca Printing House, itinerary work with firms in Elmira and Binghamton, plus his free-lance work on portraits could offer a more secure livelihood than that earned as an employee of the Pendletons. The *Ithaca Journal* of Oct. 12, 1836 carries an article with reference to a series of views of Ithaca "from a point near Eddys Factory" which were done in September for subscribers. These may well have been done he went West, by speculating that he was again an itinerant artist plying his trade in the small towns and villages in the Central New York area.
by Walton. This same paper in 1838 gives the first concrete material on the man in its Editors Note for May 23:

Perhaps it is generally not known to the citizens of Ithaca and its vicinity that we have residing in our village an artist who though unpretending is proficient in the use of pencil. We speak of Mr. H. Walton who for several months past has been engaged in his professional business in this place, and we understand that if sufficient encouragement is given, he intends to locate himself permanently in this village. We feel proud to number among our citizens a young man whose talents as an artist bid fair to raise him to eminence.

We called on Mr. Walton a few days ago and were shown some of his pictures, and in our humble opinion, their design and execution display genius and skill worthy of liberal patronage. Among them were two portraits of which the beauty of design was only equaled by the neatness and elegance of execution. We saw a number of miniatures which were also well executed. We were shown several other pictures of different descriptions, drawn and penciled in a superior taste and style. In a word his specimens speak for themselves, and they plainly show that he is master of his profession, and we unhesitatingly say, that Mr. Walton ought to be patronized by every lover and patron of the fine arts. All who wish to get portrait, miniature, landscape or other paintings, executed in oil or watercolors can have it done, in a superior style by Mr. Walton. His room is at Mr. R. P. Clarks, East Hill, Ithaca.

On Aug. 1st, 1838, he ran an advertisement in the Ithaca Journal soliciting patronage and on Dec. 4, 1839 he advertised in the same paper as a painter, miniaturist and landscape painter. His room was now over the post office. In 1840 he again offers to execute miniatures and in that same year the paper carries the note that he had completed a painting of the "Great Fire of May 28th." This paper also carried the notice that at the Tompkins County Agricultural
Fair of Oct. 1st 1843 he had exhibited "a watercolor painting of Ithaca which was much admired by all." This same note states that his collaborator in some projects, the engraver J. H. Felch received a diploma for engraved visiting cards at the same fair. Felch, who this newspaper says was self-taught also did on letterhead, a "View of Ithaca -- Drawn by H. Walton and Engraved by Felch," which sold for twenty-five cents. In 1846 this newspaper carries a woodcut "Scenery of Ithaca #1" drawn for the Ithaca Journal for February 17, 1846, by H. Walton. There is no indication that he also was the cutter.

One newspaper does not have a monopoly on Walton as the Ithaca Chronicle on Apr. 17, 1840, carried a note in reference to a "full length portrait of Henry Clay painted by H. Walton for the Henry Clay Club." Like artists throughout the history of painting, he didn't always please the citizenry and his work became a controversial subject. This is indicated in the notes of Cynthia Morgan St. John, an early citizen of Ithaca who wrote this item attacking the Journal: "Does the Journal mean to depreciate the skill of Mr. Walton, who painted the handsome transparency of General Harrison for the Whigs by claiming it as 'an illuminated picture of General Jackson with the name of Wm. Harrison stuck on the top of it'.'

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1This penciled note probably was in reference to an article of 11 March, 1840, in the Ithaca Journal. The manuscript is in the possession of the DeWitt Historical Society, Ithaca, N. Y.
MONUMENT BUNKER'S HILL

HEIGHT 200 FT DIAMETER OF BASE 50 FT TOP 15
Walton must have arrived in this country as a trained painter but within the total range of his production there is a great disparity of ability which shows a growth made through the years. A comparison of his lithographs shows an increasing ability to judge proportion. A comparison of his two lithographic views of "The Bunker Hill Monument" shows that one must have been an early work with its dumpy figures and so intertwined that one must struggle to unscramble them when they are placed in groups, whereas in the second the figures are optically clear. (Fig. 42) The reissuing of the second print of the same subject matter at a much later date illustrates the popularity of the monument to Americans of that era.

His one extant oil painting of Mrs. Issac Day, 1846, immediately calls to mind Pieter Vanderlyn's "Ann Pollard." It is so much like a caricature that it must amuse the beholder, and it illustrates either the wit of the artist or his inability to cope with the overstuffed Mrs. Day. One wonders how the sausage-fingered, grapefruit-cheeked portrait of Mrs. Day was ever accepted by the family unless, like the patrons of Goya, they never understood the humorous innuendos painted about them. Even in a period when stark realism was to be desired, this should have been a little too stark. The darkened painting shows spots of very thin oil and reveals that it was executed in the watercolor style, the technique Walton knew best. It is to be regretted that this
is his only extant oil painting and that all others have disappeared.

Walton as a watercolorist seems to demonstrate the limner's technique which suggests his own possible origin in the art field. His watercolor portraits are built up by juxtaposed strokes and one can see where the term lining a portrait comes from. His colors are fresh, clean, and not of the fugitive varieties and appear to be as bright as the day they were laid down, but still they are watercolors only in the sense that they utilize the medium and not in what the medium can perform beyond other media.

Like most men of this period, his few miniatures or locket paintings are superb and this field was definitely his forte. One of them still has a strand of hair from the subject enclosed in the back. The painstaking detail shown in these miniatures also is carried over to the small watercolor portraits which give a primitive stamp to them. Interest in wall paper and rug patterning at times overpowers the sitters.

His lithographs of the Ithaca period are far better than those done for the Pendletons. The miniature lithograph of "Sarasota Springs" seems to capture the quality of lithography and compares through its charm with any landscape of this century. In composing he seems to have preferred to sit at the center of a road junction and record what went into the distance, to the right and left. This
device is used throughout the nineteenth century panorama scenes. His figures are more natural and animated than his animal forms and his favorite hound who leaps through at least two of his prints has a stoic look as though resigned to his inflexibility. The terrain around Ithaca furnished the ideal setting for panoramic prints. Everywhere one goes there is a hill to offer a bird's-eye-view to the artist. Only one watercolor which was used as the model for a lithograph has survived. It is the "View of Ithaca from the South." The print exists in both black and white and in colored versions. Mr. Barr says that a close examination has shown him that there are enough differences in the prints to indicate that it was redrawn at least three times, which would attest to its popularity.

Walton must have known the technical aspect of lithography and it is possible that he did the lithographing where the imprint is missing from the bottom of the print such as the "Schuyler's Store" which actually is untitled and bears only his name and date. His works which were to run to large editions were sent to J. H. Bufford of Boston or Sarony in New York to be printed.

The charm of Walton's lithographs lies in his ability to combine figures and detailed topographical landscape without the result becoming, as many later landscapes

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1Joseph Barr Collection.
appear, an example of flora and fauna with people added. Also, it does not give the impression of people as part of perspective studies, as the work of Whitefield will suggest when he both sketches and lithographs this same locale some ten years later.

It is ironic that the path of these lithographers all lead to a dead end when one traces them along the gold rush trail. It is to be hoped that more than the "Grass Valley" print will materialize in the years to come. To date a search through the usual channels of the West has produced nothing. Since this one California print bears no imprint, it can be assumed that he was again working outside of the main stream and probably was engaged in lithography as only a sideline activity.
First six, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. None dated.

1. Hermitage (Jackson's) Tennessee. Lith of Pendleton, N.Y. No date. H. Walton Delt. 3 7/8 x 5 1/2. House in center. Fence leads from left corner up to the house. Trees and two horses in the foreground. Sheep dot the pasture in the left midground.


3. Saratoga Springs. Pendleton's Lithog. H. Walton del. 2 5/8 x 3 1/4. No date. Two figures in left foreground. Composition has middle of the road view with road leading into the background. Large signpost in foreground with figure sitting under it. Houses line either side of the road. Mounted horseman in rear of signpost.


5. Battle Monument, Baltimore. Lith of Pendleton, N. Y. H. Walton. 5 3/8 x 4 1/4. Monument occupies central space with two figures seated on the base at left. Road on left leads into the distance. A packmule on this road. On right woman walks past the large buildings which are in the foreground and which diminish into the interior of the print.

6. Columbia College. Pendleton Lith., N. Y. H. Walton del. 3 7/8 x 5 1/2. Trees in left foreground, three figures and dog in central foreground. Building is seen at an angle. Six figures walk past the facade.


8. Monument Bunker Hill #2. Lith of Pendleton, N. Y. Same inscription at the bottom of the print. H. Walton delt. In this print three children in lower right foreground with wheelbarrows. Woman in midground walking on the
H. Walton

path. Man in left foreground walking to the right. Row of buildings to the back of the monument. Dark clouds overhead. AAS.


10. Capitol Albany. Lith of Pendleton, N. Y. H. Walton del. 4 7/8 x 5 3/8. Capitol building with four figures at the left. Dark clouds over the building and in the background. AAS & BFA.


12. View of Geneva, Ontario, Co. N. Y. Taken from the foot of Seneca Lake in July 1836. From Nature by H. Walton. Lithographed by E. Brown, Jr. Bufford's Press. Pub by Wynkoop, Geneva, N. Y. 8 3/8 x 16 1/2. In the foreground is a man and child walking along the edge of the lake while a road extends from the edge of the water to a bridge on the extreme right. A man rides a prancing horse on the road while another carries a sack across the bridge. In the middle ground are two side-paddling ships and a horse and cart on the shore. In the background is the city of Geneva. Col Jos. Barr.


H. Walton

15. View of Ithaca, Tompkins Co., N. Y. Taken from South Hill in November 1838. Drawn from Nature by H. Walton. J. H. Bufford Lith., 134 Nassau St., N. Y. 3 states. Colored and uncolored. 11 3/4 x 24. Panoramic view. A horse-drawn carriage drawn by a team in the center foreground. In back of it is a soldier carrying a gun. In back of them a woman and man and three more soldiers. To the right of them is a large tree in an open area with a cow lying under it. On the extreme left is a pair of horseback riders with a figure walking in the opposite direction. In the midground is a farm with a cow and five grazing sheep enclosed in its fence. In the midground the city spreads to the right and left of the farm. In the background are tree-covered hills and lake Cayuga with boats on it (to show the completion of the Sodus Canal which was never completed.) Brooklyn Museum of Art.

16. East View of Ithaca, Tompkins Co., N. Y. Taken in September, 1836. Drawn by H. Walton. J. H. Bufford's Lith. 9 1/2 x 17. Birds-eye-view taken from the middle of a road junction. A horse-drawn carriage occupied by a man and lady are coming up the hill in the foreground. To their right is a man going down the hill. At the front of the print surface is a man on horseback going to the left and before him gallops a stoic hound. On the opposite side a man walks carrying a sack on his back and behind him is a boy. To the right of the carriage is a hunter with gun. Below the hill, the village spreads out to the right and left and in the background stretching out for a long distance are the tree-covered hills. Rolling clouds in the sky. DeWitt Historical Society, Ithaca, N. Y.


H. Walton

Other Graphics - After Walton


2. Woodcut and watercolor. 6 x 3½. Eastern View of Tompkins Co., N. Y.

EDWIN WHITEFIELD
1816-1892

Just four years after H. Walton had departed from Ithaca and Central New York for the gold-lined hills of the West, this dispatch appeared in the *Ithaca Chronicle* of 12 October, 1853, "Ed Whitefield, an artist of some reputation is at the Clinton House proposing to get up pictures of Ithaca Falls if he can find enough subscribers." Another lithographer had arrived to cover Ithaca, or the parts that Walton had missed. From the evidence in the DeWitt Historical Society, we know that the pictures referred to actually were hand-colored lithographs.

Edwin Whitefield was born in England in 1816 and died in Bedham, Mass. in 1892. Up to this date the best notes on Whitefield's life are to be found in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *American Historical Prints*. Mr. Stokes corresponded with members of the family and preserved some facts that would have been lost.

Whitefield was born in East Lulworth in the south of England.¹ His wife was a girl from the Highlands whom he met in Canada. She had come to this country with an elderly member of her family in a fruitless pursuit of a defaulting estate agent. The Whitefields met while she was a student...

¹Miss Flora M. Ramsey, (granddaughter of Ed. Whitefield) manuscript at the Chicago Historical Society.
in the Adeline Academy, location unknown, and he at the time was thought to be a teacher at the school. He taught off and on all of his life.\(^1\)

From the records of those who knew him, he was a slight man of middle height who in later life wore an imposing spade beard. Meticulous in all his doings as his sketchbooks and lithographs testify, he kept a journal which is in the possession of the descendants of the family and in which he recorded his minor doings, the weather and his reaction to the Sunday sermons. This diary however, shed little light on his artistic enterprises.

Whitefield was to record the outward physical appearance of America at the mid-point of the nineteenth century as indefatigably as Audubon recorded the birds and quadrupeds. The men had much in common temperamentally but there is far less art quality and feeling in Whitefield's work. Whitefield is best described as a recorder of America. Whitefield cannot be classified as an outstanding artist for at times he is just a craftsman, at other times just an illustrator. I am sure that he never adjusted a twig or blade of grass in any scene which he sketched. This was the way it was, this is the way it is to be shown and compositional concern was for other men.

\(^1\)Notes from manuscript at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts on "Ed Whitefield."
The Annual Cyclopaedia for 1892 has a note on Whitefield. Here it says that his chief ambition had been to leave a pictorial record of the most historically important cities and towns in North America. From the mass of lithographs now in existence which bear his name, there is no doubt that what he set out to do, he accomplished. His views of towns and cities are in constant demand and are snapped up by civic minded citizens for themselves or for local historical societies as soon as the view of their town is put on the market.

Whitefield started his recording with Troy and Albany, New York, and in the next ten years he traveled and worked New York, (Fig. 23) Ohio, Massachusetts and Canada. Three years after he was in Ithaca, N. Y., he could be found in Illinois (1856) and in 1858 he was in Minnesota. His six views of Chicago were issued in 1861. The first products of his "Original Views of North American Cities," more than fifty views, were issued in 1845. I am doubtful that this was ever intended to be issued as a bound volume because of the disparity of the size of the known prints that could

1 Ibid.

2 Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860.

3 Peters says that "View of Poughkeepsie" is #27 in the series. How he arrives at this is puzzling as there are no numbers or keys on these prints that I have seen. America on Stone, p. 40.

4 Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860.
make up such an edition. It does not exist in any of the libraries or print rooms that I have worked in. Rather, one finds it piece by piece when one travels from one city to another. To locate the exact spot from which he took many of his views one would have had to dangle from a cloud in his time. He must have spent a good bit of his life in church steeples, judging from the number of bird's-eye-views that he drew.

The bulk of Whitefield's lithographs were never put on stone by him. In most instances it appears that he advertised in the local newspaper and if the prospects seemed good for the sale of a large edition of prints through subscribers, he went ahead and made the sketches taking them to a local lithographer, if there was one, to be printed. The sum total of his lithographic imprints reads like a dictionary of the lithographers of his time. Frequently the printer was also a co-publisher along with Whitefield which would lead one to believe that he operated on a shoe string and that the local lithographer was taken into the publishing because he could supply the paper and facilities.

Whitefield's Sketchbooks\(^1\) are esthetically much more satisfying than a large percent of the end products. If time permitted, each sketch was painstakingly completed down to the inscription, "Drawn from Nature by E. Whitefield," and the copyright material was inscribed on the surface of a

\(^1\)Ibid.
rock in the foreground. If time did not permit, the sketch is hastily drawn with numerous notes as guides to the draftsman or to himself as to what should be there. Many of them are incomplete and in this state are very satisfying, as though his guardian angel had arrested his arm before he had time to ruin it. Others appear to be studies in perspective rather than sketches for lithographs.

In 1856 he displayed a set of Minnesota landscapes at the Territorial Fair.¹ This showing was an outgrowth of his organizing early in the fifties the "Whitefield Minnesota Expedition," a land promotion deal. In the territory, Whitefield bought land with the intention of developing it. Unfortunately, the land was not well chosen from a farming standpoint but rather with an eye for its scenic qualities. Some of it is still owned by the descendents, particularly a body of water named by him, "Fairy Lake," which appears in some of his prints and drawings. In this era the Indian troubles were far from being over. Minnesota was a pioneer land, and his land proved not to be very productive so in the sixties he is found working in Chicago.

Many of the lithographers of this time were tramps going from city to city plying their trade. If they had families they were never with them. Whitefield was not of this breed. His family moved with him from one semi-permanent abode to the next. Tradition says that he and his

¹Ibid.
family were in the great Chicago fire, losing not only their belongings but a great part of Whitefield's stock in trade, unsold prints which he moved from city to city.

At the end of his life he lived in two Massachusetts towns for extended periods, Reading and Dedham where he died in 1892. As a biographer for nineteenth century Annals might have said, "He died in an old house overlooking the Commons, leaving no accumulation of wealth but a reputation as a solid citizen."

As could be expected of such an energetic person, he undertook any project wherein he could engage his talents, and his sideline occupations are never ending. Even while traveling he managed to exhibit his wares. In 1842 he exhibited two watercolors and two pencil drawings at the 15th Annual Fair of the American Institute and five colored lithographs at the 17th Fair of the American Institute at New York in 1844. At that time he was preparing for his Minnesota expedition or already there. He exhibited, "A View of Hook (Mountain near Nyack, N. Y.); part of Fort Ticonderoga; and Falls of Chaudiere, Canada East" at the National Academy Show in 1853. His address was then given as Yonkers, N. Y.

1Ibid.

SUNNY SIDE,
Residence of Washington Irving, Esq.
Like many another lithographer he drew at least one map, "a new map of the City of Buffalo -- Distributed by H. Stillman & Co., Mfgs. & Wholesale dealers in Hats, Caps, Furs & Raw Furs, Buffalo and Fancy Robes."

Whitefield's lithographs are most generally produced with tint stones and range in size, printed surface, from 6 x 9 to the elephant size, 24 x 37. The later in his career that he produced them, the larger they became. Most public collections have these vast elephant-size panoramas stored away in some dark corner or attic. Add to the printed surface three inches of mat and three inches of frame and they do become rather overpowering. In most print rooms, a request to see them is met with anything but a joyful reception.

In general, all that can be said of his lithographs is that they are technically proficient, factually rendered, making them the examples of truthfulness of the period. This factual documenting of a spot, a street, or a town sometimes utterly devoid of humans or human habitation and therefore lacking in a sense of scale, are at times as cold as yesterday's potatoes. If one includes the plates of houses drawn for his four books, Whitefield must have had at least 600 or more of his drawings put on stone by himself and others. (Fig. 43) His books have been purchased at later dates, the plates torn from them, and today they exist as free prints, which further complicates the compiling of a check list.
After settling down in Massachusetts, or settling down as much as it was possible for him to do, he turned author and publisher, putting out four books on the historical houses of the East. So profusely illustrated are they that one contains 119 lithographed plates but they must have been well received as one of the books goes to three editions. The last was published three years before his death at the age of seventy-six. Whitefield made several trips back to his native England and on his last trip made the sketches for what would have been his fourth book, *Old Homes in England and Scotland*, but he died before this work was accomplished.

From 1846 on, when Whitefield drew his first flower illustrations, he must have achieved some reputation as a botanical artist for there follows a long list of annals, illustrated botany books, and publications with flower illustrations bearing the stamp, "From Nature by E. W." They follow his rather unimaginative style and in the period after 1850 they are usually chromolithographs.

There is no doubt that this man made a definite contribution to the field of American lithography and to our composite knowledge of the past. His sketchbook of the Minnesota period is of more than historical interest. The

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1See Check List for Whitefield's books and illustrations. Typical of these house portraits is the "Sunny Side, The Home of Washington Irving." (Fig. 43)

studies are in raw watercolor which contribute to the coarseness of the subject matter and gives them an affinity to the times they portray when the procuring of water from a distant pond was itself no simple task. His lithographs such as "Kandotta M. T.," (Minnesota Territory) from this sketchbook and translated into a lithograph, is a view of this age touched by few other lithographers or artists.
CHECK LIST, ED WHITEFIELD

1. West Point & Fort Putman from the East. Tinted. 6 1/8 x 9 1/8. Drawn from nature by E. Whitefield. A grove of trees occupies the foreground. Three cows on the left. In the mid ground six boats ply the river. In the background are the hills and buildings of West Point. AAS.


5. View of the Public Garden & Boston Commons. From Nature by E. Whitefield. 16 1/4 x 29. Lagoon surrounded by paths and fountain with wooded city in the background. Paths give an allover pattern effect. Tinted. Published by P. R. Stewart & Co. 1865. BFA.


7. Falls of the Lacawanna. Near Tunkhannock. Drawn from Nature by E. Whitefield. Printed by F. Michelin. 6 9/16 x 9 1/2. Falls with two hunters and a dog who are dwarfed by the falls. NYPL.


Ed Whitefield


11. Boston in 1848. From East Boston. 19 x 43.4. 1848. From Nature by E. Whitefield. NYPL.

12. View of Galena, Ill. From nature by E. Whitefield. 1856. 19 x 35. Endicot, N.Y. Colored. Cut into 8 sections and mounted on linen for folding. LIB CO.

13. View of Worcester, Mass. From the Insane Asylum, N.Y. Pub. by E. Whitefield. 1849. 18 3/4 x 37. Tinted. With four small views of the Insane Asylum, the Commons, Summer St., Main Street. Drawn from Nature and Engraved by E. Whitefield. Path leads into the composition from the exact center with three figures walking inward. The city in the background. AAS.

14. View of Newark, N. J. From the North. Drawn from Nature and on Stone by E. Whitefield. Pub by E. Whitefield. One large, 13 x 36½, view and four small views. View of Upper Park, View in Market St., View in Broad St., and View of Lower Park. Large view: pond in the foreground with grazing cattle, mid ground has river, bridge, and two side wheeler, background is the city. Newark Public Library.

15. Otsego Lake, N.Y. Drawn from Nature by E. Whitefield. Tinted. 6 1/8 x 9 1/8. A man and woman on a hill in the foreground look down on the valley and river below. A large log lies parallel to the picture plane. Five small boats dot the river. Hills in the background. A flock of small birds in the sky. AAS.

Books Illustrations


Ed Whitefield


4. The Illustrated Botany. Medicinal Herbs. J. B. Newans, M.D., New York, 1846. 46 plates, many signed "E.W."

5. American Wild Flowers in Their Native Hanuts, Emma C. Embery, Twenty plates carefully colored after nature; and landscape views of their locations from drawings on the Spot by E. Whitefield. New York, Appleton & Co., 1845. AAS.
JOHN CASPAR WILD
American Period - 183- to 1846

Within the last few years there has come into prominence one of the most interesting and productive lithographers of the nineteenth century. J. C. Wild, as he usually signed his name on stone, has been the subject of error, speculation, and controversy. Two major investigations have been made concerning his life, lithographs and paintings. The first was made by John Francis McDermott whose interests were centered around Wild's St. Louis production and the second came from the pen of Martin P. Snyder,¹ a lawyer, whose interest is in early art of Philadelphia. There remains one short, illusive period of creativity to be investigated to complete a reasonable picture of the total American output of this wandering artist-lithographer. The latter would be a search into Wild's life in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the resultant six paintings owned by the Historical Society of that City.

In the mid-thirties of the last century, this man appeared in Philadelphia after spending fifteen years in Paris.² We know that he was in Philadelphia in the early thirties because there is extant a small genre print on


²John F. McDermott, op. cit., p. lll.
stone entitled, "A Bunch of Grapes, by Wild, Childs & Inman's Press, Phil.," no date, (See Check List) but the records show that Childs and Inman's imprint appears only from 1831 to 1834 at the latest so this could establish his entry into that city. Although his customary initials are missing from the signature, I have seen no other traces of another Wild and Peters lists only J. C. Wild in his writings. P. S. Duval also worked for Childs & Inman and ultimately took over their plant. The print, "Merchant's Hotel," signed "J" Wild with Duval's imprint could be as early as 1835 because Peters suggests that this was the year the firm changed hands.

In my coverage of Charles Fenderich I noted that there is a tangible connection between Fenderich and Wild through their jointly signed sentimental print, "The Little Scots." To make a complete conundrum, the print is inscribed with both English and French titles and the imprint of the printery seems to be both in French and English, "Chez Bitter & Goupil -- Fenderich & Wild." There is no way of knowing whether the print was drawn by Fenderich and Wild for Goupil here in America to be run off here and abroad or whether the print was done in France for American and French consumption. Does the Fenderich and Wild mean that they were publishers or does it mean that they had started a lithographic house with Goupil as their European outlet? In any case, it establishes the fact that the two artists knew each other through
this European lithographic house and that Fenderich might have been instrumental in Wild's coming to Philadelphia and suggests that he did not just drift into that city.

Wild seems to have disappeared and it is probably at this time that he makes his first western excursion. In 1836 his name is listed in the Cincinnati directory as a landscape painter with a studio at 133 Main Street. By 1838 Wild was back again in Philadelphia but the unaccounted-for time would have given him the chance to wander as far as St. Louis and back to the city of brotherly love. He will again return to St. Louis to follow in the path of Bodmer, Catlin and the others who were to graphically record its history.

On his return to Philadelphia it is a matter of coincidence that the *Saturday Courier* was just then announcing that it was going to bring out a series of views of Philadelphia and vicinity.

It would appear that Wild was determined to produce the set of views that the *Courier* was about to publish. The paper gave him no help at first but finally came to recognize his ability and ultimately endorsed his production.

The original plan called for a set of twenty views and the description of them is further elaborated upon and explained in the first cover sheet where one reads:

> These Views will be published in five monthly numbers beginning with January, and will be on fine paper, of the size of the New York Mirror.
Each number will contain four Views, printed on Chinese paper, and embellished with a beautiful cover.

The fifth number will be accompanied with a royal quarto sheet, giving the statistic and historical description of each View, derived from the best sources, by a talented Editor of this city.

The subscription price is $2.50 in advance, after the issuing of the first number; or fifty cents for each number, payable on delivery, which will be less than half the price of any view of the kind that has ever been given to the public, and will form an object of attraction for every centre table, or for the ladies' album.

All letters and communications must be sent, postpaid, to J. C. Wild and J. B. Chevalier, office of the Saturday Courier, care of Messrs. M'Makin & Holden, Philadelphia.

The completed work bore the title: Views of Philadelphia, and its Vicinity. Embracing a Collection of Twenty Views Drawn on Stone, by J. C. Wild, from his own sketches and paintings. With poetical illustrations of each subject, by Andrew M'Makin.

At least some of the twenty lithographs were made from water colors for the original of "Fairmount" now hangs in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Like other lithographers, he probably used the watercolors in his plant as salesman samples to show prospective customers what the finished product would look like. Wild never intended that they were to be issued colored and his editions are in black and white. (Fig. 44)

Before the Courier had endorsed Wild's views he had offered the first of them to the public at twenty-five cents
per view as a promotion scheme. This must have achieved its desired effect, for when the newspaper took over his production we find this notice on the cover sheet of the fourth issue:

In consequence of the delay and confusion incident to the establishment of a new office, some of our patrons may be disappointed in not receiving their copies with the same punctuality as heretofore, for which we solicit their indulgence.

The subscribers take pleasure in informing the public that they are now fully prepared to execute every description of Lithography: such as Drawings, Writings, Maps, Bills, Cards &c. on stone, in the fine style of the art; and respectfully solicit a share of public patronage. They are determined, by moderate charges, superior workmanship and prompt attention, to give satisfaction to those who may oblige us with their orders.

Very Respectfully,
J. C. Wild & J. B. Chevalier,
No. 72 Dock Street, opposite the Exchange, Philadelphia.

The Courier had used Wild's views as a premium in securing new subscriptions. To attract new interest and new subscribers four panoramic views were added to the production. These views, so the newspaper said, were to be taken from the state house steeple and will be four feet long, divided into four parts: North, East, South and West. Each would be double the size of the view of Philadelphia, or 12 x 6, executed and printed in the same style and form. A title page would be furnished, and the whole would be enclosed in a neat cover.

Through the years there were to be four editions of the set of views and only a Philadelphia lawyer could unravel
them. The most readily available edition is the fourth which actually has no connection with Wild. This edition was put out by J. T. Bowen and is known as the Bowen edition. By what manner Bowen came by Wild's stones after he had departed for the West is not known. In addition to the two editions distributed by Wild and the Courier, Bowen also put out a black and white edition which still gave credit to Wild as the artist. Probably realizing that the market was saturated with these prints and being a sharp publisher and business man, Bowen decided to issue a colored edition in 1848, ten years after the first and two years after the death of Wild. In this edition he re-copyrighted the work in his name, removed Wild's imprint and substituted, "Published at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic and Print Colouring Establishment." Just as today a colored print will sell over a black and white one, the addition of color spurred new interest and, from the number of these colored prints extant in Philadelphia and elsewhere, this edition must have sold very well indeed. This is the best known of all the editions, so well known in fact that early writings on these views gave authorship to Bowen and not to Wild.

Either Wild had come to the conclusion that he had exhausted the print market in Philadelphia or the old wanderlust was upon him again, for in 1839 he suddenly appeared in St. Louis. Again Wild busied himself making watercolors of the historic spots and important buildings of St. Louis. He
displayed his wares in a local print shop to set the stage for a new set of views. Again he secured the backing and publicity of the local newspapers and started a series of "Views of St. Louis." Ultimately this publication grew beyond its original intent and finally embraced the whole of the Mississippi Valley. Its final form was entitled: Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated. Like the Philadelphia work, it too carried a letter press text.

The first portion of this new series reached the market in 1840 and occupied Wild's attention for the next three years. The completed work on the "Valley Illustrated" contained thirty-four views. In addition to this series he published five additional lithographs of the St. Louis area. From written records we find that, like all artists engaged in this kind of activity, he worked on other publishing enterprises which seem to have been fruitless.

In 1844 Wild's health was failing and he decided that taking to the field might improve it. Although he had worked in the area of the Mississippi around St. Louis and the Missouri River (he was to have covered the Ohio River, so the introduction to the "Valley Illustrated" noted) he seems to have wanted to portray the whole and started first to cover the course of the northern territory of the Mississippi. He traveled and sketched his way as far north as Fort Snelling, Minnesota; but from what is evident today little of this sketch material was ever put on canvass or
lithographed. During the course of his travels he painted and made lithographs of Davenport, Bloomington, (Fig. 45) Rock Island, and Muscatine in Iowa; Moline and Galena in Illinois.

Eventually Wild settled in Davenport, Iowa, and died there in August of 1846.

Add H. Sanders is the only written source on the life of Wild from a personal standpoint. He describes Wild in his late years as being, "a tall, spare man of about forty years, with long raven-black hair, whiskers and moustache, and restless eyes. He had at times a worn and haggard look, the result, doubtless, of ill-health, and a life-long battle with the world for the bare means of subsistence. He was a man who had neither humor of his own nor an appreciation of humor in others. He looked tragedy, thought tragedy, and his conversation outside of business and art, was never more cheerful than tragedy... His dying wish was that he could have returned to his native Switzerland before his death."\(^1\)

In a comparison of the Philadelphia lithographic series and that of the Mississippi Valley, there is a wide difference in print quality. The Philadelphia Views are clean cut, and even in the Bowen edition when thousands must have been run from the stones, the impressions taken at this time show the fragile lines to be still printing. The Mississippi

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\(^1\)Add H. Sanders, Sketch of Wild's life in Franc B. Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, Davenport, 1858, pp. 307-310.
series are much darker and at times the stones appear to be clogging. This muddy appearance in some prints is what the devotees of engravings find so distasteful. Then too, in Philadelphia, Wild's health was better and he probably supervised the printing much more closely. As noted on the imprint of this series, John Collins was the printer. He evidently knew how to etch and ink a stone.

Wild has a good sense of pictorial composition. Those who know Philadelphia and the previous art production of that city say that his views although made of the accepted material, were not the trite and usual presentations. It is true that in the Philadelphia views, the figures are not as skillfully delineated as the buildings but on a small surface the minute figures present a problem due to inability of the lithographic crayon to hold a fine point. It would not be fair to judge Wild's Mississippi views on the production bearing the imprint of George Wooll. Wooll secured the Mississippi stones in the same unknown fashion as Bowen got his. Like Bowen he secured the stones in some mysterious way, copyrighted them and produced his overinked copies.

Poor Wild's lithographs apparently had not sold too rapidly. Still in his possession at the time of his death were ten plain lithos of St. Louis, eighty plain of Galena and Dubuque (that is, separate views of the two towns), nine colored of Galena, thirty-two colored of Dubuque, twenty-eight plain and eight colored of Moline, and forty-five plain and two colored of Bloomington. These were appraised at one dollar plain and two dollars colored; in the several records of sales they generally brought fifty cents or a dollar more. In
addition there were several "lots" of lithographs and apparently ten "Miss. Valleys." No record of purchasers was made, however, and one can only wonder today what became of this great lot. Few indeed of either lithos or original paintings can now be located.  

Now that Wild has been discovered, more of his work is coming to light. In the last five years one of his paintings of Fort Snelling has been uncovered along with a second painting of Cincinnati, Ohio. His lithographs of the Mississippi are still very scarce but can be found in their entirety in a facsimile edition of the original work edited by Joseph Garnier and published in St. Louis in 1948. The original prints are scattered through the St. Louis Museums and Missouri Historical Societies with a few at the Chicago Historical Society.

In as much as Wild's work was check listed in the two writings that I have previously referred to, I am check listing only those prints not recorded in them or those whose location was not given.

1J. F. McDermott, op. cit., p. 125.

2. The Bunch of Grapes. On stone by Wild. Childs and Inman's Press. A woman in Harem costume reclining on pillows and holding up a bunch of grapes. 5 1/2 x 8 1/2. LC.


5. Christ's Church, St. Louis. Pub by George Wooll, No. 71 Market St., St. Louis. Copyright secured. 9 5/8 x 18. AAS.


APPENDIX
APPENDIX I
GLOSSARY

Cover Sheet: Generally a thin sheet of paper which protected prints when they were issued in folio form. They may or may not have a design on them.

Del., del: From delineavit. Drew or drawn by. The term used to designate the person who put the drawing on stone. It may also be used to indicate that the work was copied and that this is the person who did the original work.

Etch: The combination of gum arabic and acid which when applied to the stone "fixed" the drawing to the stone.

Clogged Stone: This generally results from improper etching. The stone absorbs too much ink and the resultant prints are dark and muddy.

Extra Colored: Prints which were hand colored and given special treatment. It refers to extra fine coloring. In many instances the so called "extra coloring" was done by the artist or lithographer instead of one of the "lady colorists."

Facit: Made or drawn. This term is found only on the earliest lithographs. It was first used in painting and then used to denote the artists on etchings.

Front.: Frontispiece from a book. Generally a portrait of the author or the subject of the book if it is a person.

Fac. Sig: Facsimile Signature. A reproduction of the signature of a person generally placed underneath a portrait.

Imprint, Imp: The printed material at the bottom of the print. It may state who drew the original sketch or made the painting, the lithographic shop that produced it, the man who put it on stone, sometimes who the publisher was, and sometimes it contained the date the lithograph was made. In rare cases the printer's name appears.

Inven: Invented by, the artist or designer of the subject matter. He may or may not have been the one who put the work on stone.
Letter Press: The printed text which accompanied lithographs which were put out as folios (loose plates). This is the sense in which the term was used in this paper. This term is also used as a name for a small press which was operated by hand.

Pinx. or Pinxt.: Painter of the original from which the lithograph was made.

Plumbotype: Plumb was a lithographer who called his lithographs "Plumbotypes."

Proof or Proof before letters: The imprint material was usually added to the print after several copies had been pulled from the stone which showed that the stone was printing correctly. Some collectors value prints which are "Proofs before letters," feeling that they are superior to later prints.

Pub.: Publisher.

Sentimentals: This is a large group of prints which appeal to the emotions rather than having any aesthetic qualities. This name has been applied to prints which are "over sweet" in the subject matter they portray.

Restrike: A print pulled from the stone at a date much later than the period when the print was originally run.

Sculp. or Sc.: The artist who made the drawing on the stone. Used only on very early American lithographs and on French lithographs.

Sig: The signature of the artist.

State: In rare cases in lithography the drawing is changed or corrected. Each change from the original is designated as a "state."

Stipple Technique: Sometimes this is referred to as the dotted manner. The lights and darks of the composition are built up through dots. The closer the dots are, the darker the appearance of that area.
Tusche: Usually dissolved crayon suspended in water. It enabled the artist to use a pen in making his drawings on stone. Tusche drawings are generally black and white in character and are linear like pen and ink drawings.

Vig. or vign.: Vignette, a drawing without a definite bounding line. A design which is irregular in shape and which often seems to fade into the white background of the paper.
Many publications and collections of prints use the decimal system to designate the size of the print. In the print trade the size is usually given to the nearest sixteenth of an inch. The vertical dimension is always given first. Thus in reading that a print is 4.3 x 6.11 inches; it means that the print is four and three-sixteenths inches vertically and six and eleven-sixteenths inches horizontally.

Prints put out by the larger publishing houses generally had what is known as "stock sizes. These were given trade names as follows:

12 m.o., about 2.8 x 4.8 or 2½ x 4½.
4 t.o., about 9 x 12.
Small, 7.8 x 12.8, referred to as "small folio" size.
Med., medium folio, about 13 x 20.
Large, about 18 x 27.
Elephant, anything larger than the above.
APPENDIX III. ABBREVIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF PRINT DEPARTMENTS

The following is a list of abbreviations of the names of the institutions owning the prints in the Check Lists:

1. AAS - American Antiquarian Society.
2. ATH - Boston Athenaeum.
5. NYHS - New York Historical Society in New York City.
6. NYPL - New York Public Library.
7. MET - Metropolitan Museum of Art.
8. LC - Library of Congress.
9. PHIL F - Philadelphia Free Public Library.
10. LIE CO - Philadelphia Library Co.
11. SMI - Smithsonian Institute.
APPENDIX IV.

LITHOGRAPHIC PRINT COLLECTIONS IN THE EAST

The largest lithographic print collection in the United States is housed in the Print Department of the Library of Congress. The prints are catalogued and a microfilm print-off is attached to each catalogue card. Facilities for working are superb. The Smithsonian Institution has a small print collection and now owns the Fuchs & Lang Collection. This is one of the best representative collections of both American and European lithographs of the past century. The National Gallery has no American lithographs from the nineteenth century.

In Philadelphia, a large lithographic collection is to be found in Pepper Hall in the Philadelphia Free Public Library. It is uncatalogued and one must dig to obtain the wealth of material that it contains. The Atwater Kent Museum of this city has some lithographs but it is not open to research. The Library Company of Philadelphia possesses a collection of scrapbooks that contain some unique lithographic material. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a small but important lithographic collection which is well catalogued. The Print Division of the Philadelphia Museum of Fine Arts has a few important prints in this field. The Pennsylvania Academy of Art lithographic collection is small and incompletely catalogued.

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In New York the Print Department of the Public Library has a large collection which is well catalogued. It contains almost the total production of Thomas Moran. The Brooklyn Museum of Art has a small collection of quality prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art has a moderate collection, well catalogued, of important material. The collection of the Museum of the City of New York has prints only on its favorite subject, New York, but it has an unusual group of marine views.

At the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass. is to be found the second largest collection of lithographic material in this country. It is catalogued and contains the best of the very early lithographs. The rare book section of this library is a veritable fount of lithography in its connection with the publishing industry.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has a large collection which is well catalogued and readily available to the researcher. The Athenaeum of the same city contains a small catalogued collection and some work by Fritz Hugh Lane. The Boston Public Library contains some interesting scrapbooks of lithographic sheet music covers.

The Chicago Historical Society collection is large and has much material by Ed Whitefield. It is in the process of recataloguing its collection.

The Newark Public Library of Newark, New Jersey, has the only collection of the output of the Maverick Family and
a very small collection of other lithographic material.

There are a good many private collections of lithographs such as the one owned by the Philadelphia National Bank. Most of these private collections are geared to local history.
During the author's travels throughout the United States, for the last fifteen years, in the exercise of his peculiar talent, of taking full length likenesses, from the observation of a few moments; he has had the good fortune to obtain the most liberal and extensive patronage, not only from his fellow countrymen at large, but from many of the most prominent and distinguished men of the day. For many years, for his own personal gratification, he has sought out, and procured the sittings of such of the great statesmen of the country, as chance, or his visits to Washington City enabled him to obtain. These sketches have been exhibited from place to place, and the strong manifestations of interest elicited from all who have inspected them, together with the unceasing demand for copies of the same, have suggested to the author, the arrangement of exact copies, in such a compact and agreeable form, as would constitute a work of national interest, at once unique and elegant.

The author originally designed to embody in the work, double the number of portraits now presented, but the advice of several gentlemen highly distinguished for taste and judgement, caused a deviation from the first conception; the number of portraits has been diminished, and accompanying each, is a biographical sketch, with a fac-simile of the chirography of the original of the portrait.

This arrangement, the author trusts, will meet with the approbation of his patrons and the public:—for, not only will the portrait exhibit its original with all the peculiarities of face and person, dress, attitude and manner; but the corresponding sketches, which have been compiled from the highest sources of information, will furnish a brief, but authentic history of the illustrious citizens portrayed, and the leading events of their distinguished career, presenting to the growing youth of this mighty republic a graphic picture of a host of the exalted men, and the great events of their age.

In selecting the subjects for the present work, the author has in no instance been controlled by political or personal preference, but has merely availed himself of the best opportunities which offered, for carrying out his views. In many cases, every effort within the author's power, was employed in vain to secure a likeness, and he is compelled,
for the present, at least, to dispense with many, who otherwise would have appeared in this volume. But, should this trial meet with the warm support of his fellow citizens, it is his intention to persevere, and in succeeding volumes, to depict those others of our illustrious countrymen, who enlighten the age by the lustre of their genius.

In every portrait gallery published in this country, the early patriots and statesmen of our Revolutionary struggle, occupy a conspicuous place; the object now, is to present to the American public characters of the last few years.

In doing this, the author begs to say, that he is indebted to other sources than his own, for the biographical notices, save in those instances where they appear original in the work. In tendering his acknowledgements to those from whom he has derived his information, some may have been omitted, not from design, but forgetfulness of the sources. To the editor of the Democratic Review, he is largely indebted for some of the most interesting sketches contained in the volume. To the Philadelphia Saturday Courier, the Casket, and New World, he is under many obligations; and those who may recognize their own productions without a proper acknowledgment, he tenders his warmest thanks, and can only apologize by declaring his ignorance of the paternity. To those who so kindly aided him in any department of the undertaking, he tenders his sincere regards.

The author would also observe, that the "well beloved features" in the frontispiece, of the Father of his country, is an exact copy of an original in his possession. The latter was presented to him under peculiar circumstance,* by one who was present when it was taken in 1798, and who received it from Washington's own hands. In this instance alone, has the author varied from the design to compose his work exclusively of originals. But the authenticity of the likeness, and the veneration that hallows the name of that glorious patriot, "in every land, by every tongue," caused the author to precede the likenesses of the great and prominent of our day, by the semblance of that "godlike man," who commanded the admiration and respect of his foes, and enjoyed in their greatest fullness, the undying love and veneration of his countrymen.

With these remarks, the work is respectfully submitted by

THE AUTHOR.
I received it from an old lady whose son was drowned, and of whom I took a likeness after his body was found, which was so striking, that it gave great satisfaction to the mother, who, in return, presented me with the profile of Washington. It was taken by a machine in Alexandria, on the General's visit to that city to deposit his vote at an election, and was given to her, then a girl, by the General's own hand, and has been highly prized by her, and never would be parted with, but in return for the great favor I had done in bringing to her mind the image of her dead son. (Registration holes are on all sheets.)
APPENDIX VI. RAILROAD SURVEY AND EXPEDITION REPORT LITHOGRAPHS.

History would seem to record that early in the 1850's this country became cognizant of the much neglected area west of the Mississippi River. This vast area of land had been settled by trappers, traders and some adventurous home­steaders. The gold rush of 1849 had really awakened the nation to the potentialities of this wilderness and to the fact that the boundaries of the nation were not at the Allegheny Mountains. Gradually with thoughts of settling this area, the need for communication and a supply line developed. More than from a humanitarian desire to help these settlers was the cry by business men of the East to open the area as it would mean a new outlet for their manu­factured goods. Before any kind of legislation or develop­ment could be made, congress had to be informed as to what the territory was like and thus the various survey expedi­tions and railroad survey reports came into being.

...When Congress convened in 1853, practically the entire session was devoted to heated debate on legislation which would make possible the construc­tion of a railroad to the Pacific. At least four bills were considered all of which were amended or substituted, but none of which could secure sufficient support to insure its passage. As a result of the extended and partisan debates in Congress, interest in a Pacific railway throughout the country reached a fever heat, and Congress, no doubt pain­fully aware that some progress on the quest must be made, finally approved a measure which appropriated $150,000 for a survey of possible routes that a railroad could successfully follow to the Pacific...
To further these ends, each survey part included among its group, in addition to surveyors and civil engineers, geologists, botanists, zoologists, naturalists, astronomers, meteorologists, artists, physicians, and topographers.

Preliminary reports of all surveys were published from time to time but the complete reports with revisions and additions of the work's subsequent surveys were published in a magnificent and comprehensive twelve volume work with the imposing title, "Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean."

These volumes, published by the Federal Government between 1855 and 1861, constitute probably the most important single contemporary source of knowledge on Western geography and history and their value is greatly enhanced by the many beautiful plates in color of scenery, native inhabitants, fauna and flora of the Western country. Ironically enough the publication of the monumental work cost the government over $1,000,000; the surveys themselves $455,000.1

Typical of these reports are "Isaac I. Stevens, Narrative and Final Report of Explorations for a Route for a Pacific Railroad... from St. Paul to Puget Sound." U. S. War Dept., Reports of Explorations and Surveys, Vol. 12, Book I (Washington D. C. 1860). One plate from the report, "Mount Rainier Viewed from Steilacoom," is a drawing by John M. Stanley based upon an original sketch by Dr. J. G. Cooper, who assisted Stevens in preparing the text. The print was lithographed by Sarony, Major and Knapp, N. Y. Steven's narrative was based upon extensive exploration and exhaustive

1Roger Taft, Artists and Illustrators of the Old West: 1850-1900, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1953, pp. 4-5.
MILITARY POST & CITY OF WALLA-WALLA, W.T. IN 1862.
gathering of graphical information including much obtained from the Indians. He brought his notes to Washington D.C. in 1857, dictated the work to a secretary, and submitted it to the Secretary of War in Feb. 1859.

"Eastern Washington as Mapped by the Steven's Survey, 1857" contains the work of two of the best artist-explorers. A map and plates of the Northwest Territory and a portion of the Nebraska Territory were drawn by Gustave Sohon, a soldier artist who drew many of the detailed prints including Yakima, Snake, and Palous Rivers, the Grand Coulee, etc. Sohon, a German born draftsman and bookbinder came to the United States in 1852 at the age of seventeen, enlisted in the Army and spent much of his service in Oregon and Washington, including assignment to Steven's exploring expedition. From 1858 to 1862 he served with Lt. John Mullan on the wagon road from Fort Benton to Fort Walla Walla. After leaving the Army he lived in Vancouver, San Francisco and Washington D.C. where he died in 1903.

"Old Fort Walla Walla," drawn by Gustave Sohon (Fig. 46) presents the material which is typical of survey lithographs.

Most of the survey prints were done from two or three tint stones -- blue for the sky and water, a yellow for some portion of the earth and the blending of the two making a grassy green, a red or orange was used for accents and its blending with the other colors produced an earth brown. The number of stones used can be ascertained from the edges of
the print where the stone failed to register properly. Some of the views used only a blue and the black and white of the design.

No one printing house had a monopoly on the production as the imprints display the names of J. Bien of New York; Sarony & Co., Sarony & Major, and Major and Kamp, also of that city; P. S. Duval of Philadelphia; and A. Hoen of Baltimore; all of whom did sections of these reports. Due to the staggering amount of work to be done, parts of each report were farmed out to more than one house; sometimes the same plate was done by more than one firm and there is considerable variation in quality and in the total production of each of the reports.

Men like John M. Stanley gave the east its first true recording of the physical appearance of the West in the lithographs done after his sketches. He is important, moreover, because of the fact that he did more plates than any of the other artists from knowledge gained first hand from personal experience. Where George Catlin had documented the Indian life and almost ignored the terrain and structure of the West, Stanley actually presents what Fanny Palmer and the Düsseldorf school had drawn from conjured dreams.
APPENDIX VII.

PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

Philadelphia 1857?

Cities may be founded bearing the Name of Washington -- Columns may be erected -- and his Memory be cherished in the bosoms of a grateful people; there would, nevertheless, be something wanting. Had his features been more ordinary, and his expression less distinguished, the rising generation would still wish to know his own peculiar look. But when it is known and recollected that his Aspect was as noble as his Conduct, and that his countenance corresponded with his character, it is impossible to suppress a patriotic and natural desire to behold an impressive Image of that Countenance.

The first Portrait of Washington, at the age of forty-one, was painted at Mount Vernon, 1772, by Charles Wilson Peale; who also executed others in 1778, 1781, 1783, 1786, and 1795. Various Likenesses have been made by Houdon, Trumball, Pine, Cerschi, Westmuller, Stuart; and again by C. W. Peale and Rembrandt Peale, to whom, jointly, Washington gave sittings in the Autumn of 1795.

A Portrait, in Senatorial Costume, intended to combine the merits of these studies from the life (chiefly his own and his father's), was executed by Rembrandt Peale, under peculiar excitement, entirely for his own gratification, and without any view to emolument. It, however, received the unexpected approbation of his father, who had so often painted the venerated whom he had known so long, and so well, and elicited the spontaneous applause of Washington's Relatives and most intimate friends; and after having been an object of interest in his Painting Rooms in England, France, and Italy, was bought in 1832 by a unanimous Resolution of the Senate and of the United States for $2,000. Portrait, in Military Costume -- the study for an Equestrian Picture to commemorate the Siege of Yorktown -- was simultaneously painted, and remains in R. Peale's possession; from this he has executed careful Copies; with the conviction, that as he is the only Painter living who ever saw Washington, the reduplication of his work, by his own hand, should be esteemed the most reliable.

At the first exposure of R. Peale's Portrait in Philadelphia, Paul Beck, Esq. on leaving the Artist's Painting Room, met Mr. John Vaughan, who he accosted with this strong expression -- "I have just been looking at Washington -- he is risen from the dead!" On Judge Washington's first visit he exclaimed "I am rejoiced that at last a Portrait is painted worthy of Washington."
Lawrence Lewis, the oldest Nephew of Washington, who most resembled him and was most with him, earnestly said to Major Wm. Jackson, on seeing this Portrait in the Artist's Painting Room, that "It was the only Portrait of his uncle he would wish to look at a second time, but on this he could gaze continually!" When Chief Justice Marshall, first saw it at the Capitol, he exclaimed, "It seems as if I were looking at the living man!" and recommended the Artist to procure, in regard to this Portrait, the written testimonies of those who were intimate with Washington -- himself commencing the example. This was accordingly done, to limited extent, not as a Certificate, as has erroneously been asserted, but in LETTERS, expressive of the judgments, they had already pronounced in public, and published during their lifetime.

Everyone who personally knew Washington will claim the privilege, and will exercise the right of judging for himself; but all others will rely on the decision made by his Relatives, Friends, and Contemporaries; nor can they reasonably withhold conviction from such force of evidence given by their own impulse, and each in his own peculiar language.

It is singular in the history of this Picture, and perhaps worthy of being recorded, that it was scarcely finished, when, from the reports of Judges Peters and Tilghman, during five days that the Artist's Room was open, no less than three thousand persons, without invitation or any public notice, crowded to see it -- people who knew the Original in the Army, in Congress, in Church, or in business for him -- Their universal approbation surprised and could not but gratify the Artist.

Testimonials of letters on Peale's Washington. Written by the Relatives, Friends, and Contemporaries of Washington, at the suggestion of Judge Marshall, expressive of the Sentiments they had already pronounced in public...

It also contains this inscription and a poem: "The following Monumental Composition was written by an English Gentleman on the back of a small Profile Crayon Portrait of Washington, belonging to Jonathan Bayard Smith. Probably J. B. Smith the artist, J. C."

Daniel Udree, George Washington Custis, Rufus King, Gen. R. G. Harper, Gov. Oliver Wolcott, and Charles Wilson Peale...

PRINT OF WASHINGTON

A CAREFULLY EXECUTED LITHOGRAPH OF THE FULL SIZE DRAWN BY REMBRANDT PEALE FROM HIS ORIGINAL PORTRAIT

In executing this Work himself (instead of confiding it to the hand of another, who had never seen the living Original), he has endeavoured to meet the public expectation; as the essential traits of character have become familiar to him, by having made many Copies of this portrait; Each possessor of a Print, therefore, will own, at a moderate cost, what is effectively equivalent to an Original Drawing.

Impressions of the Print may be had on application to him, No. 502 Vine Street, Philadelphia.

N. B. It is his intention (life permitting) to make a few fac-simile Copies in Oil from his Original Portrait.
The design for an Engraving from "Peale's Washington," as announced by the author, not being realized according to his intention, all thought of it, for a time, was suspended. As "the object could not be accomplished by confiding the task to another hand, he has been induced to undertake, a limited extent /sic/, a more effective substitute. The Head, Full Size, finished in Crayon, on a Lithographic ground. These Monocromes, by himself, from his original Portrait, he trusts will be favorably appreciated.

In consequence of the labour bestowed on them, individually, and the limited number that can be produced, the price is fixed at Twenty-five Dollars.

They may be obtained by application to the subscriber, or at Earles's Gallery, 816 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia; or Williams & Stevens, 353 Broadway, New York.

REMBRANDT PEALE

No. 1506 Vine Street

Philadelphia.

The reference made to the "limited number" which could be produced illustrates that Peale was still an old fox at seventy-nine and was capitalizing on the American preference for the exclusive.
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, John Thomas Carey, was born in Wilmont, Minnesota, August 23, 1917. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Wausau, Wisconsin. My undergraduate training was obtained at the Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, from which I received the degree of Bachelor of Science in 1946. From the University of Wisconsin, I received the degree Master of Science in 1947. I returned to this school for a year of Post-Masters, specializing in creative lithography and art history. During both of these years I was a part-time instructor in the Department of Art Education. In 1948 I went to Janesville, Wisconsin to be Supervisor of Art Education in the public school system. In 1949 I was appointed Asst. Prof. in the Division of Art Education at Illinois State Normal University at Normal, Illinois. I held this position until coming to Ohio State to complete the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy. I was an instructor in the School of Fine Arts here at Ohio State during the Winter Quarter of 1953.