

# CAPE ANN Museum

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### LAID DOWN ON PAPER: PRINTMAKING IN AMERICA, 1800 TO 1865- FITZ HENRY LANE SYMPOSIUM, MORNING SESSION LECTURE FINDING AID & TRANSCRIPT

- Speaker:** Lecture 57a: Helena Wright; Lecture 57b: Marie-Stephanie Delamaire and Joan Irving; Lecture 57c: Rebecca Szantyr
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## Video Description

This symposium was hosted by the Cape Ann Museum in conjunction with its exhibition, *Drawn from Nature and on Stone: The Lithographs of Fitz Henry Lane*, which was on view at the museum from October 7 through March 4, 2018. With this series of six lectures divided between morning and afternoon sessions, further scholarship on 19th century printmaking in America is presented for discussion. This video includes the three morning lectures that were moderated by Cape Ann Museum Curator Martha Oaks and museum Board Member Sam Holdsworth and look at Fitz Henry Lane's early non-maritime lithographs, the career of a 19th century female lithographer, Fanny Palmer, and a collection of early 19th century geological prints at the New York Lyceum of Natural History. These three presentations are followed by a panel discussion with all four speakers.

### **Lecture 57a: Fitz Henry Lane in Lowell (1:49-28:12)**

In the first lecture of the symposium, National Museum of American History Curator Helena Wright focuses on Lane's early career as a lithographer within the context of the development of the planned industrial community of Lowell, Massachusetts. During this time, lithography was often used as a marketing and promotional tool to circulate positive images of industrialization in New England, and Wright speaks about the sometimes complicated relationship between commerce and art. As these images could be reprinted many times and were relatively inexpensive, several copies of a single work have often survived.

### **Lecture 57b: Fine or Commercial Lithography: A Cultural and Material Reappraisal of Fanny Palmer's Prints Published by Currier & Ives (28:28-52:19)**

The second lecture of the symposium features contributions from two individuals from the Winterthur Museum, Associate Curator Marie-Stephanie Delamaire and Paper Conservator Joan Irving, who both speak about the 19th century lithographer Fanny Palmer. Delamaire focuses upon the previously overlooked cultural aspects of this artist's work and the emergence of lithography as both an art form and a business and examines the partnership between Palmer and her husband, who acted as her printer. Irving looks closely at the materials that were used in lithography and considers how their development as the field progressed affected the quality of the works that could be produced. In particular, Irving shows how adept Palmer was in her use of different drawing tools in order to create desired artistic effects.

### **Lecture 57c: Rock, Paper, Press: Collecting Prints and Geological Knowledge in the 1820s (52:30-1:15:22)**

In the third lecture, Brown University Ph.D. candidate Rebecca Szantyr explores four prints from the Issachar Cozzens Portfolio Print Collection at the New York Historical Society Museum and Library that were originally owned by the physician and naturalist Samuel L. Mitchell and include some of the earliest examples of lithography produced in New York City. Szantyr presents the historical significance of the prints as well as what they might have meant personally to Mitchell and Cozzens, particularly in regard to their interest in mineralogy and geology. Her discussion considers these works as tools for communication that go beyond the

realistic representation of specimens and thereby demonstrate the ways that lithography was used to reach a variety of audiences.

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## Subject list

### Lecture 57a

Fitz Henry Lane	The Lowell Experiment
John W. A. Scott	19th century American industrialization
Albert Conant	Pendleton's Lithography
Abbott Lawrence	E. A. Rice & Co.
Helena Wright	lithography

### Lecture 57b

Francis Flora Bond "Fanny" Palmer	Day & Haghe
Edmund Seymour Palmer	Currier & Ives
Alois Senefelder	Fourdrinier machine
Marie-Stephanie Delamaire	lithography
Joan Irving	

### Lecture 57c

Issachar Cozzens	New York Lyceum of Natural History
Samuel L. Mitchill	19th century geological study
Arthur James Stansbury	lithography
James Hutton	Jacques Callot
Rebecca Szantyr	Alexander Jackson Davis

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## Transcript

00:24 Ronda Faloon

Good morning everyone. I'm Ronda Faloon. I'm the Director of the Museum and I'd like to welcome you all here this morning. The Cape Ann Museum has been collecting, documenting and preserving the work of Fitz Henry Lane for nearly a century. And we feel extremely

privileged to currently have two galleries totally devoted to Lane upstairs and to have a room full of Lane and print aficionados here downstairs. This is the first time that the museum has held a symposium, and as our maritime curator EriK Ronnberg would say, it was all hands on deck. We are grateful to the visiting scholars who are here today for your research on Lane and on his craft and on his times, and we look forward to assembling your research, the final products, in a publication next year. And now I'd like to welcome the Museum's Curator and this morning's moderator, Martha Oaks.

01:21 Martha Oaks

This morning we are having three twenty-minute presentations. And we ask that you hold your questions until all three presenters have gone, at which time we will put up the screen and ask the presenters to take a seat on the—actually there's four women this morning for three presentations—ask them to have a seat on the stage and that will be a good time for questions and answers and conversation. And then we will break for lunch and then do it again in the afternoon. The first speaker is Helena Wright, who began her career here in Essex County at the Merrimack Valley Textile Museum up in North Andover, which sadly just closed. But in 1983, Helena moved to the position of Curator of Graphic Arts at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History. And she has been there since then organizing exhibitions, publishing essays on various aspects of visual culture, mostly in the 19th century. She has just written a book, as you know from your handout, called *The First Smithsonian Collection*, which details the European engraving collection at the Smithsonian. And today, she's going to be speaking about Fitz Henry Lane and his connections to Lowell, Massachusetts, just north of here, and the rise of industrialism during the early 19th century. So, Helena.

02:53 Helena Wright

Thank you very much. And as the first speaker, I'd like to add my thanks to Ronda, Martha, Courtney, and their colleagues here at the Cape Ann Museum for organizing this symposium and giving us a chance to present, and also to Georgia, Gigi Barnhill, for her insightful curation of the exhibition which enables us to see Lane's body of work in new ways. This morning, I will discuss one aspect of his art, looking inland from his more familiar maritime subjects, some thirty miles west as the crow flies. And while it's a little dark, and I can't really see your hands, I'd just like to know how many people have actually been to Lowell. Oh, good. Okay, a fair number of you.

03:38

So you will then know that today, Lowell is home to the National Historical Park established in 1976 as the first urban designation within the National Park Service system, and it is set in what has become a post-industrial landscape. We know it as a planned industrial community developed by Boston merchant capitalists in the 1820s to expand on their earlier investment at Waltham, the Boston Manufacturing Company. In Lane's day, it was a brand-new city, a novelty called the "Lowell Experiment," touted as a must-see destination. The Boston and Lowell Railroad, which opened in 1835, connected the two cities and facilitated tourism as well as the

shipment of goods. Charles Dickens visited in 1842, just around the time that Lane was there working on his two Lowell prints, and by 1845, Lowell had grown to be the second largest city in Massachusetts. Eventually more than five miles of canals channeled the power of the Merrimack River to some forty textile mills operated by ten separate but interlocking corporations. Artists and the investors known collectively as the Boston Associates were eager to take advantage of the possibilities for picturing these new sites and structures. A succession of images documented its growth. Changes were recorded in numerous paintings, printed views, book and periodical illustrations, and as details on advertising and printed ephemera of all kinds, images which promoted the city and its products. From the 1820s, Annin, Smith and Company engraved and printed cloth labels and mill views for the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, the first of Lowell's major corporations. George Girdler Smith was also a principal in the Senefelder Lithographic Company, a Boston firm named for the inventor of the process that later was absorbed by the Pendleton Brothers. The Pendleton name and the Senefelder imprint appear on many early Lowell images.

06:10

In the beginning, the fledgling community was shown as a rural environment surrounding the nucleus of a new concept, an entire town created expressly for textile manufacturing. Benjamin Mather, a local artist, painted the earliest known view of Lowell in 1825 as it emerged from forest and farmland. In his composition, the setting is still pastoral. There are only a few buildings to interrupt the rural simplicity of what could be any factory village. But the meadows and pastures at the river's edge were giving ground to clusters of red brick and frame buildings, changing the vista forever from an agrarian to an industrial landscape. How these changes were perceived was due in no small part to their depiction in graphic art, and the development of the lithograph process in the United States was contemporary with Lowell's growth. Lithography was introduced in America just as ventures and industrial capitalism were taking root in New England. The medium was rapidly adopted for views of towns and individual factories, such as the Senefelder view of the Crown and Eagle Mill in North Uxbridge, Massachusetts, one of the earliest and finest of this genre. Lithography contributed to the expansion of visual culture and it was itself invigorated by the growing market for depicting industrial sites and structures, among other topics. Boston's first lithographic firm, that of the Pendleton Brothers, was established in 1825, the year that Mather painted his view of Lowell. Let me review a brief history of the Pendleton shop because Lane apprenticed there, and the firm produced many of the prints that I'm going to discuss. The Pendleton brothers, William and John, had worked with the Peales in Philadelphia where many lithographic experiments were underway in the 18 teens and '20s and later they collaborated with Rembrandt Peale in Boston. Initially, William worked as a copper engraver in Boston, while his brother John was in Paris learning about lithography and acquiring the necessary materials. In 1825, John set up the lithography business and William joined him as a partner. And putting aside the further peregrinations of these brothers, which you can see was pretty extensive, the firm absorbed its early competitor, the Senefelder Lithographic Company, which was in operation only between 1828 and 1831, just before Lane arrived in 1832.

08:42

Lane's later partner, John W. A. Scott, apprenticed there at the same time and also went on to a career as a marine painter. Over the next few years, the shop was under the direction of Robert Cooke, its chief artist, and the bookkeeper Thomas Moore, who acquired the firm in 1836 and ran it as T. Moore, Successor to Pendleton, until 1840 when the business was sold to B. W. Thayer. Additional partnerships carried on from Thayer's arrangement with John Bufford to S. W. Chandler and Brother into the 1850s. These successor firms continued to print from existing stones for nearly two decades, so Lane's draftsmanship had legs long after he left the shop, and you'll see one example of this upstairs in the exhibition. David Tatum describes these early lithography workshops as "job shops, where draftsman drew pictorial matter to order." Through on-the-job instruction, the shops developed the drawing skills of talented beginners in a direction that would serve lithographic production. From about 1825 to 1855, these workshops helped launch the career of several men who became distinguished American painters, including Fitz Henry Lane. Tatum suggests that they learned well how to be artists, especially by adopting the qualities of drafting that best suited fluent tonal work. This later illustration of the Prang shop shows the division of labor between the draftsman and the printer. And if you can ignore this post-Civil War facial hair, and that cylinder press at the upper right, the division of labor is pretty much as it would have been in Lane's day. One of Pendleton's major commissions in the early 1830s was a series of maps produced in response to a resolution of the Massachusetts General Court that towns in the Commonwealth be required to make accurate plans. Several hundred town plans were produced in manuscript, 84 of those were published, of which 63 were printed by Pendleton and Moore. Benjamin Mather, who painted that first image of Lowell, drew the 1832 Lowell plan which was lithographed by Pendleton. It occurs to me that Lane, Scott, and the other apprentices who joined the firm around 1832 may have been hired to help with the production of these maps, and to take on work related to the absorption of the Senefelder Company, which occurred around the same time. And this is a good opportunity to do a little orientation for the views of Lowell that I'm just about to show you. The Merrimack River is at the top, this is the Concord River. And in 1832, you'll notice that this portion has not yet been built with with factories, although here is the location of the Middlesex Mill that we'll be looking at later. And the early views of Lowell are taken from this direction, and the later ones come down looking at that wall of mills.

11:49

The presence of these Boston lithographers has made it possible to express Lowell's dramatic growth in a series of prints. An 1830 view drawn by James Kidder was lithographed by Senefelder. Kidder, like Mather, pictured the city from Tewksbury, a neighboring town on the southeast side of the Concord River. With the 1834 view drawn by Eliza Farrar and lithographed by Pendleton, the artist's perspective shifted to the opposite shore, the north shore of the Merrimack from Dracut on the northeast. Portions of the city retained a peaceful tranquility but that would soon show more development in the prints to follow, including Fitz Henry Lane's view of about 1840, lithographed by Moore. His drawing is the first to show a solid wall of mills

along the river. The Boott and Massachusetts Mills were built after Farrar's view had been taken, but they show clearly in Lane's rendering, information which helps date the print, along with the Moore imprint which was used until 1840, between 1836 and 1840. John Wilmerding, in assessing Lane's work, mentions his characteristic feeling for tonal values, with contrast of light and shadow and attention to accuracy of detail. These features are noticeable in his treatment of the mill buildings and the foreground foliage in the Lowell view. Lane's use of opposite tonalities is especially effective in the crayon shading of the mills, leaving white space for the windows in some, while in others, he outlined the structure and the windows, leaving the walls as white space. He very ably alternated patterns of shade in the foreground meadow as well, producing a work which is nicely balanced with distinctive variations in the detail. A succession of city views like these examples from Lowell helped to popularize industrial capitalism in the 1840s and '50s. As John Reys noted, land speculators, town site promoters, and civic leaders all used urban views to attract people and industry to their communities, often subsidizing the publication of the views. The Boston Associates, who funded many of the regions and industrial ventures, used such images to promote their system, to market their cloth, to sell house lots in the new cities and shares of stock in their corporations. A variant of the 1834 Farrar/Pendleton view of Lowell was over-printed for use as a sample folder for marketing cotton fabric from the Merrimack Company. This view has been trimmed down and the folder portion with the textile samples is missing. Although we don't know as much as we would like about either the production or the reception of most 19th century prints, we do know that typically, they were produced either as commissions for advertising images, or by subscription, the town views.

14:41

Lithographers like the Pendleton Shop and its successors depended on these commercial products for their livelihood. Many were commissions from local businesses or corporate clients like the Lowell companies. Some artists and independent publishers tried to market prints themselves. Lane drew about a dozen town views between 1835 and 1855, often employing the subscription method as he did for this early 1836 view of Gloucester. The artist or publisher made known his intention to produce a view and invited subscriptions through ads in newspapers, or by placing sample drawings in shops to attract prospective customers. Publication was contingent upon enlisting the number of subscribers sufficient to pay the cost of printing. Lane's view of Lowell was published by E. A. Rice and Company, a bookseller and stationer doing business on the city's main commercial street, which suggests that Rice opted for the subscription model as he easily could have attracted the subscribers necessary to support publication of the view. Rice also published temperance sermons, so perhaps he knew Lane through his prints on temperance subjects. The experience of an artist who produced a view of nearby Lawrence, Massachusetts, another city developed by the Boston Associates, provides some evidence of how the system worked, or didn't. Albert Conant drew a view of Lawrence published in 1848 by the Boston lithographic firm of John W. A. Scott. Conant, Lane, and Scott worked together on several prints during the 1840s.

16:19

Lane drew on stone from sketches made by Conant for these views of New Bedford and Newburyport that were published by Lane and Scott's lithographic firm about 1845. Conant worked with the Essex Company, the land and waterpark corporation that developed Lawrence, a new city incorporated in 1847. His correspondence with the treasurer Charles Storrow details the arrangements for marketing his view of the town of Lawrence from the east, as depicted in April, 1848. By mid-July he complained that the print was not selling well, either in Lawrence or up river in Lowell. "The time you mentioned regarding the sale of my view of Lawrence has expired. I left fifty copies with Mr. Bixby of Lowell (another bookseller) and received a letter from him tonight saying he had not sold one. The sale in Lawrence, too, has been small, as large however in either place as I should have expected had it not been a view of so new a town. I'm certain there have not been more than forty sold. The remainder of the three hundred shall be delivered to you as soon as you say and I can collect them from the different places they are now in." A few days later, Conant asked Storrow to pay him \$231 to cover the expense of making the views, some 232 colored by hand, at ninety cents, and thirty uncolored, at seventy-five cents. It's easy to imagine why the Essex Company would get involved in this commission. They knew that Conant had drawn views of other Massachusetts towns, their new city was beginning to take shape, and there were tangible results of building to show prospective buyers of land and investors in the manufacturing company. What better way to indicate the nature of investment possibility than to produce and distribute a lithographic view. Photography was still in its infancy, especially for such a panoramic composition. A handsome lithograph, which could be colored to show the use of brick in the new city, was just the thing to attract additional capital and to provide a positive impression of the value of industrialism. This correspondence provides us with information on the edition size, 300, the cost of plain and colored views, and something of the distribution system. It does not say however, who might have purchased copies or reveal any of the discussion that set the project in motion.

18:48

Given their various collaborations, Lane probably knew about Conant's problems with the Lawrence view, but his two Lowell prints seem to have had more success. The patron for Lane's other Lowell lithograph is presumed to have been the Boston merchant Samuel Lawrence, a member of a prominent family for whom the city of Lawrence was named. His two elder brothers, Amos and Abbot Lawrence, founded their commission house, A. and A. Lawrence, in 1814. And they were powerful influences in the region. Samuel Lawrence's Middlesex Company Woolen Mill in Lowell, where he served as agent and treasurer from the 1830s until the Panic of 1847 forced the mill into restructuring. Lane delineated the factory buildings and the lithograph was printed by J. Sharp in the mid-1840s. James Clement Sharp was active as a lithographer for only a few years between about 1842 and 1845, which indicates a date for this print. Lane worked with Sharp on other commercial images during the period, such as the one for William Ladd's Eating House in Boston, and Lane's partnership with John W. A. Scott between 1844 and 1848 produced several advertising views that represented Boston buildings such as the famous Oak Hall clothing establishment, as well as sheet music and book illustrations, in addition to



those town views they made with Conant. Lane's view of the Middlesex Mills raises some questions about patronage and reception for this genre of prints situated at the intersection of commerce and art. Were they intended simply to advertise the manufacturer, to depict the city's growing concerns in an artistic way, or to connote a positive image of industrialization? A later stereograph of the Middlesex factory was taken from the riverside showing the building in a more aesthetic setting, especially when it would have been viewed in 3D through the stereoscope.

20:48

Lane's view depicts the mill from the street side if you will, with the product prominently displayed amid a busy scene of workers and managers. This vantage point would indicate a commercial purpose for the print, dictated by the owner of the property. Or, could it have been pitched by the artist who hope to capture the owners interest as a patron? The company completed a new building in 1846, and so there's still some dating issues to resolve. But in any case, this print records the company's growing success. And how does the print relate to this unsigned oil painting of the factory that shares many compositional elements with the lithograph? Did Lane have a role in this work? The sky and the figures in the foreground resemble some similar details in his paintings, and the date coincides with the beginning of his work in oils. As shown in oil colors, the company's famous blue coatings are the dominant feature stretched out on tenter frames to dry, but the rendering of the buildings does not demonstrate Lane's usual skill with vernacular architecture in terms of perspective and detail. The two works may be connected but attribution of the painting remains uncertain.

22:06

And I can just give a little provenance note, this painting was for many years in the collection at the Textile Museum, beginning in North Andover, and donated in the 1960s by a Lowell wool scouring firm which occupied the premises, the Middlesex Company premises, after Middlesex went out of business and from the 19 teens and '20s. The building itself, the buildings razed in the 1950s, but presumably the donor had saved this from, the painting from his occupancy of the mill and fortunately it is now part of the Cape Ann collection, and you will see it in the exhibition upstairs. Also during my tenure at the Textile Museum, the lithograph of the mill that was signed by Lane was unknown. And so we had no idea that the painting had any connection compositionally or otherwise. But once an impression of the print appeared in Lowell in the early 1980s, the possibility of a Lane connection began to be considered. And Catharina Slautterback has recently acquired another impression of this print for the Boston Athenaeum, which is only the second copy of the lithograph that we know about.

23:19

A third image of the factory, a small line cut, appeared on Samuel Lawrence's business stationery, featured on several items of correspondence also dating to the 1840s. This image is rather early for an illustrated letterhead, and it suggests his interest in visual representations of his business and may indicate that he had a wider interest in the arts. As you saw, both of his

brothers had themselves painted by Chester Harding, but I've been unable to locate any image of Samuel Lawrence. An 1854 view of the city of Lawrence, drawn by Edward Hoffman and lithographed by Chandler and Brother was dedicated to Samuel Lawrence, Esquire, implying that he was known for artistic patronage, or perhaps hoping that he might be so inclined. In 1851, Lane painted a vessel which was named the *Samuel Lawrence*, a ship portrait that's now in the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum. It was not commissioned by Samuel Lawrence, nor did he own the ship. He may have been an investor in some way, but the painting seems to connect Lane and Lawrence once again, almost a decade after the Middlesex Mill lithograph. The details are as yet unclear. With so little evidence, how do we triangulate these relationships among the artist, the potential patron or honoree, and these artworks? Further research is definitely needed to sort this out. Many of the firms discussed here, lithographers and manufacturers, shippers and merchants, experienced economic volatility as new relationships of industrial capitalism and credit sources developed. Financial panics in 1837 and 1857 had a profound effect on the economy of New England, and the lithographic artists who produced work for commercial interests were especially vulnerable during these cycles of boom and bust. As Georgia Barnhill has noted, the lithographic trade was both speculative and entrepreneurial. While eagerly adopting the new process, some firms continued to offer the slower more labor-intensive traditional copper and wood engraving. They also needed a combination of artistic work and job printing commissions to survive. As these works demonstrate, distinctions between art and commerce were not yet as firmly fixed as they later would become. Some firms like Lane's brief partnership with J. W. A. Scott lasted only a few years. Lane and Scott may well have organized themselves to produce commercial lithographs that would take advantage of this new industrial market, but then fell victim to its uncertainties. There was a slightly less severe downturn in 1847-48 that would have directly affected their prospects, and that recession may be the thing that sank their partnership. Lane's Lowell lithographs are representative of the period when popular prints helped spread positive images of industrialization. As New England's rural agricultural society expanded to include urban industrial sectors, images of towns and factories, initially presented like traditional landscape views, reached a wide audience and influenced the acceptance of the factory system.

26:35

Lithography in particular, with its basis in drawing, was a favored graphic medium. The speed and economy of lithographic production, especially by comparison with the more labored copper engraving, made it an important element in bringing these images of rapid change to the public in a timely way. The town and factory views produced by Lane and others made significant contributions to the agency of graphic art and enlarging the scope of visual culture in the antebellum years. With his city views and advertising images like those of Lowell and other New England subjects, Lane contributed to the rising production of commercial lithographs with some worthy exponents of the genre that performed the cultural work of industrial capitalism. He was an active member of a group of young artists who trained initially in the new graph medium of lithography and went on to gain renown as painters in oil. The only portrait of Lane, a pencil drawing by Robert Cooke, the chief draftsman for the Pendleton Moore shop during

the period Lane was there, suggests the camaraderie of the lithographic profession and its important influence on aspiring artists. Through his lithographs, Lane demonstrated his growing proficiency in rendering the American landscape and its built environment. As a harbinger of his future work, Cooke's drawing, as David Tatum notes, places Lane by the sea, a convivial and successful habitat for him as his career moved on and he settled down here in his home port of Gloucester. Thank you.

(Applause)

28:26 Martha Oaks

Thank you very much, Helena. That was wonderful. We're going to move right on, our next presentation is by two scholars, Stephanie Delamaire and Joan Irving. They are going to be taking a look at the work of an artist named Fanny Palmer who worked with Currier and Ives. Stephanie is the Associate Curator of Fine Arts at Winterthur Museum, and she's also an affiliated Assistant Professor at the Winterthur program in American Material Culture at the University of Delaware, and she holds a PhD from Columbia. And Joan Irving is also associated with Winterthur as a paper conservator there, and an affiliated Assistant Professor for the Winterthur University of Delaware program in Art Conservation. And I'm not sure how the logistics of this work, are you, is somebody going first? Are you speaking together? But whoever is first, Stephanie? Wonderful. Thank you.

29:32 Stephanie Delamaire

Thank you. And I want to add our thanks to Martha and Courtney for organizing this symposium and to Gigi for organizing, curating the exhibition.

29:50

Born in Leicester, England in 1812, Fanny Palmer, as she was known from her childhood, is primarily associated with Currier and Ives, the famous prolific lithographic firm of the 19th century United States. Palmer's association with these great publishers of cheap and popular prints has had a profound impact on the reception of her work by art and cultural historians. Largely seen as the staff artist of a commercial firm, Palmer and her work have primarily been examined for the images' iconographic content. Seen as representations of American Victorian values and beliefs, they have not received the kind of sustained attention usually reserved for fine artists and their prints. Building on the research and technical analysis of Palmer's lithographs conducted at Winterthur Museum in 2016 in preparation for an exhibition of Currier and Ives prints, this paper reconsiders Palmer's lithographic art and her status as an artist in the early Victorian era. We look at the context in which she emerged and worked both in London and New York, and I would say Leicester as well, and at the artistic materials that she used in the making of Currier and Ives prints. Beyond the need for employment, how can we understand Palmer's choice of lithography as a medium of artistic creation? What were the circumstances of her employment for Currier and Ives and did she operate an independent workshop in her home in Brooklyn? Created within the cultural and material framework of the

fine arts, we argue, Palmer's iconic lithographs prompt us to reconsider the status of some of Currier and Ives' prints.

31:31

This is the only portrait known of Fanny Palmer and it was probably taken in the 1860s towards the end of her career. So you have to imagine her a little bit younger and less tired. Fanny Palmer grew up in Leicester, in England, in an upper middleclass family. She received her education at Mary Linwood's Academy for Girls. The Academy's Headmistress, Mary Linwood, was an internationally known artist of needlework pictures. Linwood specialized in the full-scale copies of old master paintings made with irregular stitches evoking brushstrokes. By the late 18th century, Linwood's work was in high demand among the Royal Courts of Europe, and she had a permanent exhibition on Leicester Square in London. As a student of the Academy, Palmer benefited from a much better than average artistic education. She could observe the professional career of successful female artists. She had access to great paintings brought to Linwood's studio for their translation to another medium. And finally, she received excellent instruction in drawing, perspective, and watercolor, three artistic disciplines which were critical to the development of the lithography in England.

32:50

Palmer expressed professional ambitions early. Following in her Headmistress's footsteps, she first opened a drawing school in Leicester sometime between her marriage to Edmund Seymour Palmer in 1832 and the death of her father in 1839. As her family weathered the economic hardship at that time, Fanny and her husband decided to establish themselves in the lithographic trade. In an interview with Virginia Penny around 1860 and '61, Fanny mentioned she trained in London with Louis Haghe, a distinguished artist of London, she said, who executed entirely with his left hand, having lost three fingers on his right when he was a child. Considering that her husband became a lithographic printer, and that he had received a small inheritance to set himself up in a trade, it is likely that Fanny and Seymour moved to London together to learn the art and craft of making lithographs. The firm of William Day and Louis Haghe was no ordinary workshop. It was a leading lithographic firm of early Victorian London, recently appointed lithographers to the Queen, and specialists of the new tint technique seen as the *ne plus ultra* in art lithography. Fanny and Seymour's decision to train with a firm like Day and Haghe reveals Fanny's artistic ambitions. The couple's training together with the prints they produced later in Leicester and New York situate her and her husband as the inheritor of art lithography as it was conceptualized by the founding figures of the medium, Charles Joseph Hullmandel and Godefroy Engelmann. Lithography was practiced in England before the 1820s

34:34

although it was only in the 1820s that true lithographic trade emerged. First called polyautography, the medium was compared to soft-ground etching or crayon manner engravings. But in contrast to these intaglio prints however, the direct transfer of the drawing on stone on to the sheet of paper was conceptualized as the creation of a multiple original

rather than a reproductive medium. As a result, the most important early lithographic printers, Engelmann and Hullmandel, understood the creative possibilities of lithography as well as its challenge, getting fine artists interested in exploiting this new drawing technique. So they wrote treatises designed to encourage and entice artists to become creators of lithographic images. In 1839, Fanny and husband decided to get trained in lithography. It was a growing business. Among the seventy lithographic firms in London in 1839, most were small workshops which focused on commercial job printing. A few were recognized for their art lithography. Day and Haghe was the most prominent in the later category.

35:48

A most influential and innovative firm, Day and Haghe were well known for their mastery of the new tinted lithographic technique, which could only be achieved by a combination of excellence in printing technique and artistic talent. Major figures in the field considered this lithographic method superior to any others because it gave artists the greatest freedom of expression. Hullmandel, who claimed to have invented it, argued that this method, “restored lithography to its most important feature, that is giving the original works of great masters combined with that richness of effect and variety of tint which suited the taste of the public at present.” It's a quote from *The Art Journal*, 1843. In other words, the tinted technique brought back the essence of what crayon lithography had been at its beginnings, an art that produced multiple original works of art. At the same time, it expanded expressive possibilities by giving artists such as Haghe, who was a famous water colorist, the means to make painterly statements similar to watercolors, and the possibility to print them successfully by an accomplished lithographic printer. Lithography was a growing trade. It was also an art form which depended on a close collaboration between highly skilled lithographic printers and talented artists interested in experimenting with this still relatively new medium. In London, Seymour Palmer learned to be a very skilled lithographic printer. Fanny mastered the crayon and tinted lithographic techniques. Back in Leicester in 1842, and later in New York, where they settled toward the end of 1843, the couple established their own workshop that emulated their teacher's artistic model, not only offering lithographic job printing services, but also publishing Fanny's original drawing and sketches using a combination of drawing and wash techniques. *Church of the Holy Trinity*, one of the early prints designed by Palmer and printed by her husband, which you see on the right, shows Fanny's sophisticated use of the tint stone and the skill and judgment with which Seymour printed the three stones and their delicate wash and crayon drawings in register. The British firm was particularly well known for its use of tint stone in the printing of architectural drawings which evoked the effect of watercolor wash in the background, as you see in *The New Church, at Lee in Kent*.

38:29

In this print, two lithographic stones were prepared, one with a crayon drawing and one with a broad expanse of solid tone for the background and small areas removed to create white highlights. For *Church of the Holy Trinity*, Palmer prepared one tint stone printed with blue transparent ink for the sky with a small area removed or gummed out to create the white

clouds. Instead of limiting her use of secondary stones to tint, she created two crayon drawings on two separate stones. One of them was printed in black to thinly delineate the contours of the architectural details of the church, and the second one was printed in brown ink, highlighting the texture of the church stonework and enhancing the dramatic effect of the sunlight on the ornate facade of the Gothic Revival architecture.

39:19 Joan Irving

Close inspection of the material aspects may also lead to a renewed appreciation of Palmer's chalk lithographs in terms of her drawing technique, the printing papers, and watercolor palette used by some of the colorist. So first look at the drawing, "the ease, freedom, and softness of the drawing and the bold, spirited strokes of the pen." These are the words of London print seller and publisher Rudolph Ackermann in 1817, two years before the first English translation of Senefelder's famous treatise. Ackermann lauds lithography for not being the copy of a design but the design itself, of being the original work of the draftsman repeated in every impression. It was this freedom of expression that attracted English watercolorists such as Samuel Prout, you see Prout on the far left. This is an 1817 lithographic specimen published in Ackermann's *Repository* showing the very basic use of one drafting tool, the chalk, or litho crayon, on one stone. At center, as Stephanie mentioned, is a work in the tint style by Day and Haghe again echoing the English watercolors. And I think that sepia tone of that tint stone is evocative of that neutral tone espoused by the watercolorists, the neutral tint, in fact, as they called it. And on the right is Palmer's Trinity Church, a developed style, almost thirty years after Prout, utilizing a variety of lithographic drawing techniques on stone.

40:51

(So the page is there. Okay.)

40:54

So why was lithography called the "painters engraving" in some literary and artistic circles, and that's because artists could make beautiful marks on the stone. Upon close inspection, these are sixteen times, and of course, conservators have microscopes and we like to use them, we can see details of various lithographic drawing techniques from several of Palmer's prints. And many of you are familiar with these techniques. In the upper left is the use of a very hard formulation of a litho crayon. Artists would have had them in a variety of hardnesses. Ackermann suggested using, having a dozen or so sharpened crayons ready for use, so Palmer's use of that hard litho crayon to create the pointed blades of grass. In the upper right is brushwork, and I was surprised to learn from the early manuals, Hullmandel, Engelmann, Senefelder, that the finest lines in a chalk lithograph were not the pen. They were often the single filament of a hair pencil, or the historic term for the brush, so you see some of Palmer's brushwork. In the lower left is a detail of Palmer's scratching with an etching needle and here she has scratched right down to the stone which would then print white. And the lower right, in the highlights of the deer, you see her use of another intaglio tool, the mezzotint scraper, again to create a reserve of white. Here she has scraped through the black greasy chalk and through

the blue overall bluish gray tint to achieve an effect reminiscent of black and white chalk drawing on blue paper. So a very draftsman-like technique. So even in these few examples, you can see some very specialized materials, her techniques in using intaglio tools in new ways, and her skill in manipulating all of these.

42:35  
(Page.)

42:40  
So we see Palmer's assertion of authorship in drafting from nature and onto stone with the printed inscription in the lower left. And while the draftsmanship we think we can ascribe to Palmer, there were studio practices of the firm which also offer consideration of these prints as works of art. Choices of printing papers and hand coloring were likely the product of specialists and contractors in this highly collaborative and innovative environment of the Currier and Ives firm.

43:09  
As a paper conservator, of course, I'd like to say a little bit more about paper, because paper is part of the picture yet is often little discussed. There is scant information in the technical literature of lithographic paper manufacture before the 1880s. By the early 1900s, however, printing manuals give specific specifications on the qualities of papers for successful lithographs made directly from the stone. Paper must be perfectly smooth, and this is obtained by calendaring, and in the machine age that is passing the paper through smooth steel rollers. Fluffy papers, and that's actually a quote, "fluffy papers are impossible for lithography." Loose textures would have a tendency to shed fibers and clog the pores of the stone and also get picked up by the inks. Papers need to be free of active chemicals, bleaches, acids, alkali that would interfere with this chemical printing. They had to be liberally sized. They needed a good hefty coating of gelatin or alum rosin, sort of waterproofing, and quote, "an all rag fiber litho paper is the first quality." And all of these qualities we see in Palmer's lithographs with Currier and Ives.

44:21  
Printing papers before lithography were called plate papers or chart papers. These were handmade, soft, yielding papers intended for intaglio copper plate printing. The paper, when dampened, needed to be soft and yielding so it could be pressed into the fine cut lines of the copper plate, absorbing the fluid viscous inks. For printing directly from the stone, inks needed to be cooked very long, and in the manuals, even said to catch on fire, to become stiff and tacky, almost like an adhesive to stay in place on the planar surface of the stone. The early printing manuals suggested a thick, well-sized plate paper might suffice. However, the problems of achieving a consistent good quality lithographic paper were not easily solved, especially since the nascent art form of lithography met the developing technology of the paper machine in the early decades of the 19th century.

45:20

(There it is. Thank you.)

45:23

Senefelder called lithography chemical printing, he warned against the presence of chemicals in the paper such as vitriol, uric, and muriatic acids, all residues of bleaching. In the paper, acids would react with the alkalyn lithographic limestone, destroying its carefully prepared surface. This apparently took a while to solve. Since whiteness in the paper was synonymous with high quality printing papers, bleaching would have to continue. An entry in the 1832 journal of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, this is decades after the first lithographs appear and the first machine papers for that matter, we see this quote suggesting a remedy was found in France. “A Monsieur Joumar remedies this acidity in a very simple way. He passes the paper intended to receive the lithographic impression through weak lime water which neutralizes the acidity. And for this he received a medal worth 200 francs.” So 1832, we’re still working at it. Mechanical stability of the paper, in addition to chemical stability, was also necessary for successful lithographic printing. In 1841, in the *New York Tribune*, the Curtis Paper Company advertised, “Printing, lithographic,” and notice this is a separate entity from printing papers, “and colored papers made on the finest machines.” Well, in 1841, arguably the finest paper machine was the Fourdrinier. Fourdrinier and its rival cylinder machine had mechanized drawing sections by 1820, and importantly after about 1830, fully mechanized calendaring sections, so that's that term for smoothing paper. These tandem drying and calendaring sections created a tough-surfaced, smooth paper to meet the emerging technologies of the day, the steel faced engrave plates, the steel writing pen, and the emerging lithograph.

47:17

By 1859, the paper manufacturers have revised the nomenclature to include litho paper or lithographic plate paper. It describes this as another “class” of paper, which though a species of plate paper, is termed from, “expressly being adapted for printing from the stone. Lithographic paper is neither so soft as plate paper nor so hard as writing paper. They are made with great nicety in differing degrees,” this from the manual, “to adapt them more perfectly to the different branches of this art.” And these are the papers we see in Palmer's lithographs. Lower quality lithographic paper of this time, which we could see in jam jar labels or posters, could include inorganic fillers such as China clay or coarse fibers or colored fibers. Microscopic samples taken from many of Palmer's prints, close to twenty, indicate rag papers were used. This includes primarily linen and cotton fibers associated with the best quality artists' printing papers. The fibers are unusually short, possibly from extra beading. Shorter fibers would yield a smooth paper desirable for chalk autography. Shorter fibers would also yield a weaker paper, and this may explain the presence of starch in some of these fibers. And this would be a great area for further material research. So in Palmer's printing papers, we see a paper industry in transition, manufacturing papers for this new lithographic technology, but still using the rag



paper content in use in paper making in the west for centuries, but now with specific properties highly engineered for lithography.

48:53

So in addition to new papers, we see new colors emerging in the early years of lithography. These were identified in Palmer's prints by Winterthur scientists using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy. Most interesting is one color shown in the lower left, viridian, a vibrant, transparent, synthetic green. Though first synthesized in 1838 by Pannetier in Paris, the hydrated, more transparent form was generally more available after 1850. Also, a less expensive method was patented for viridian in 1859. Still, viridian was not extremely popular because of its high price. The Osborne company price list shown on the left of 1868 does not even list viridian, and in the Winsor and Newton price list on the right of 1880, we see a viridian in the third tier of pricing of watercolor cakes, those costing three shillings, with the first two tiers being one or two shillings. So again, we have a not so very cheap material in Palmer's prints with the firm.

49:59

So, in concluding, it's possible that the career in Ives' firm was a bane and a boon to Palmer's printmaking. When Fanny and Seymour's new firm failed in the late 1840s, Nathaniel Currier bought the firm's stones and employed Fanny Palmer. If we are to trust the evidence from existing prints, it seems that from then on, Palmer worked almost exclusively for Currier and Ives. The detailed conditions of her employment remain elusive. However, Virginia Penny's 1860 account of the Currier establishment as well as her interview with Palmer suggested that Palmer worked more independently than previously thought, based in Brooklyn, and employing other lithographers in a workshop fashion. Quote, "Mrs. P, Brooklyn, an English lady, has spent twenty-two years lithographing, seventeen of them in this country. She has given instruction to several youths. She had one to learn from her who, after four years time, received \$7 a week from her for his work," end quote. Working for Currier and Ives may have limited Palmer's artistic expression, restricting her work to some prescribed subjects and formats. At the same time, the full weight of the firm may have supported her technologically, with materials, printers, and colorist, allowing her to play a role in training the next generation of lithographers. Palmer's work further reveals layers of collaboration and subtle aspects of skill and quality that have their roots in the early Victorian art lithography workshop. We have in her work the full lexicon of tinted lithography as well as chalk lithography drafting techniques, though only a sample were shown here today, on rag lithographic plate papers pulled from a hand press, colored with, even from our limited sampling, new and sometimes expensive pigments, and finished with highlights of gum arabic. And so we ask, are these cheap and ordinary? Like Ackermann, we would argue that Palmer's works are not facsimiles of works of art, but works of art. Fanny Palmer would surely agree, earning almost constantly, she reported lithography was, quote, "very lucrative to a skillful artist. But one needed to have the talent of an artist and great practice with the pencil to succeed." Thank you.  
(Applause)

52:28 Martha Oaks  
Thank you very much.

52:31

Our third presenter and the final presentation of the morning is Rebecca Szantyr. She is a graduate of Vassar and holds a Master's in Art History from Case Western Reserve University. She's currently pursuing her doctoral studies at Brown, where her research focuses on transatlantic print culture of the 18th and 19th century. For the 2015 to 2018 academic year, Rebecca holds the Florence B. Selden fellowship in the Department of Prints and Drawings at Yale. And she has held previous positions in curatorial departments at a number of museums and schools, including the Rhode Island School of Design, the Yale Center for British Art, and the Cleveland Museum of Art. Today, Rebecca is going to present a paper called "Rock Paper Press: Collecting Prints and Geological Knowledge in the 1820s."

53:38 Rebecca Szantyr

I'd like to echo the sentiments that others have made. Thank you to the museum for organizing this great conference and for Gigi for doing a beautiful exhibition, and I'm just so honored to be here with so many wonderful people and a great knowledgeable audience. It's wonderful, thanks. Okay. My paper today focuses on a subset of prints from the portfolio of Issachar Cozzens, Jr., who was a geologist and served as a librarian and keeper of fossils, minerals, and shells for the New York Lyceum of Natural History. The New York Historical Society acquired Cozzens' portfolio by purchase in 1866, shortly after Cozzens' own death the previous year. Comprised of over one hundred prints and drawings, Cozzens organized his collection in a scrapbook, mounting or collaging these works onto pink paper, and included handwritten numbered descriptive captions. However, Cozzens did not acquire his portfolio contents entirely on his own. In the early 1830s, he came into possession of the print collection of Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, a polymath of the early republic. A generation older than Cozzens, Mitchill received a medical degree from Edinburgh, was Professor of the Sciences at Columbia, represented New York and the state in national legislatures, and published extensively on geology and ichthyology, the study of fish. Prints previously owned by Mitchill are clearly identified by either his signature or his initials, and in his notes, Cozzens made further provenance identifications. Given their shared professional interest in geology and mineralogy, and their respective extensive personal collections of rock specimens, it is not surprising that Cozzens' portfolio contained a preponderance of materials related to stone. Rock formations, geological cross-sections, caves, fossils, mountains, sculptures and other other natural history subjects are all represented.

55:36

How did Mitchill and Cozzens use these prints in relation to their specimens? One may suspect that the actual rock specimens would be of primary importance in their study of mineralogy and geology, but I will argue that these prints filled a lacuna in the study of mineralogical

matters and offered supplemental information on the physicality of stone that the specimens themselves could not reveal. This paper examines four prints that all take stone as their subject, or rather the materiality efficacy of stone. By efficacy I mean to invoke that these prints have a purpose beyond an initial function of presenting an image. Through questioning to what ends do the specimens serve and for whom, I will show that the prints discussed herein uniquely expressed a deeper knowledge of the stone's properties. Moreover, we will see that the intervention that these stones introduce, that of the translation of stone into print, is necessarily activated by a variety of human stakeholders via the interest of geologists, publishers, collectors, or other audiences. The stakeholders ultimately interpreted and found great potency and, importantly, truth in these printed stone subjects, often underscoring that they are much more than the passive reproductions of real-life specimens. It is my goal to suggest that neither these prints nor their counterparts can be understood exclusively on their surfaces.

56:50

Of the three case studies I'll present today, this pair of early lithographs most straightforwardly encapsulates the potential for the stone subject and various interests of stakeholders. These renderings of cherries and fourteen beggars were drawn by Arthur James Stansbury for Mitchill circa 1821 or 22. However, I would argue that contemporary viewers did not necessarily apprehend the subject of these prints to be the entities they seemingly represent, but rather that the true subject is the lithographic process itself. Consequently, the lithographic stone is the rock specimen at the genesis of this print. In the first decade of the 19th century, and this is a later representation we've already seen, lithography was a relatively new medium. Discovered at the end of the 18th century by Alois Senefelder in Germany, lithography used a smooth limestone matrix upon which designs were directly drawn and chemically stabilized. The impervious interaction between an oily ink and water enabled clear images to be printed. Scholars Philip Weimerskirch, Sally Pierce, Catharina Slautterback, and Georgia Barnhill have all written on the development of lithography in the United States, which in the late 18 teens and early 1820s was still becoming established. The primacy of the lithographic stone and process of the subject of these prints is indicated by a series of handwritten inscriptions. One is presumably by the artist and reads, quote, "These are the first specimens of American lithography, are respectfully presented to Dr. Mitchill by his friend A. J. Stansbury," end quote. However, Stansbury was mistaken, the first lithograph had been drawn and printed in 1819 in Philadelphia. Cozzens corrected this in his own notes, citing that these prints were the first made in New York.

58:31

Mitchill undoubtedly knew that these impressions were not the first lithographs printed in the United States, but he still would have valued these specimens, not for the sake of owning the first lithographs made in New York, but because these impressions represent the achievement of a domestic development in lithography, a topic that had long held interest for Mitchill. As the founder and the first president of the short-lived American Mineralogical Society, Mitchill had a

vested interest in quote, “obtaining and diffusing a correct and extensive knowledge of the mineral species of information,” end quote. According to their mission statement, the Society was actively seeking to identify, develop, and promote domestic stone and mineralogical resources, such as gun flint, sulfur, saltpeter, mines, and ores. Although Mitchill may not have sought out domestic sources for lithographic stones with the same zeal as Dr. Samuel Brown of Alabama, his interest in geology, chemistry, and the national promotion of industry led him to be an early proponent with lithography. Mitchill owned the first lithographic stone in America, which had been sent to him along with some ink from Paris in 1807, although these materials did not result in any lithographs. And in the following year, Mitchill would publish the first description of the lithographic process in his journal *Medical Repository*. The scientific community, who viewed lithography’s potential as a means to illustrate their research and enable the clear communication of their ideas, excitedly anticipated this medium. The physicality of the lithographic printing process arguably extended this promise. If intaglio mediums required a great force and pressure to literally squeeze an image out of the groove lines of a plate, then lithography, who’s planographic process required only that the image be laid bare on the stone and could support a larger print run, was a harbinger for an open dissemination of knowledge in the early 19th century.

60:10

Cozzens, in his role as the keeper for the New York Lyceum and as an author who illustrated his own later text with lithographs, would have shared Mitchill's appreciation for Stansbury’s specimens and for their historical significance and importance to the field of science publication. However, in my study of these prints, I argue that it was Stansbury, who was the lithographer, that had perhaps the most personally invested. Like his patron and friend Mitchill, Stansbury was a native New Yorker and a man of many interests. Ordained as a minister in 1810, the church may have been his calling, but he practiced as a draftsman and printmaker throughout his adult life as evidenced in these prints that pre and post-date his lithographs for Mitchill. Listed as an active Reverend in Albany in 1820, Stansbury would be in New York City by the following year. Aside from the prints he made for Mitchill, Stansbury engaged in some of the first lithographic projects in New York, contributing to the first two published books with lithographic plates. Sensing the importance of this new medium, Stansbury sought employment with the Philadelphia-based publisher Matthew Carey, sending Carey examples of these lithographic projects along with a description of the advances of the new medium. At the time, Carey was skeptical of the potentials of lithography and passed on Stansbury’s offer. Carey was likely apprehensive about the cost of integrating a new medium into his print shop, and as a draftsman, Stansbury would have been motivated to promote lithography, because in this new medium, it allowed him to serve as both delineator and printmaker, cutting out an intermediary of an engraver to translate his designs.

61:42

An increased role would have permitted Stansbury more control over these designs, but also perhaps justify raising his own fee structure with publishers. Even if Mitchill determined the

printed subject of these two lithographs, these selections would have been perfect for the range of skills that Stansbury would have been trying to promote. The two hanging cherries framed by four leaves and two perpendicular twigs are the very image of a natural history botanical illustration. Isolated from a larger bow, the vignette style of the lithograph image supports approaching this work as a scientific specimen and not just a mere depiction. The inscriptions on the lower edge of the sheet further orient the composition. It is not that these cherries are to defy gravity by hanging upward, but it's more likely that the viewer is to understand that this is a specimen that is lying flat, as if in a botanical cabinet ready for study. The intersecting twigs suggest a depth of the specimen that one would only experience in examining the cherries in the round. And Stansbury also paid great attention to the cherries surface. The shine of the surface of the small stone fruits and the textures of the recto and verso side of the leaves provide the viewer with the necessary details for appreciating the specimen.

62:51

It is not known whether Stansbury drew these cherries from life or copied an existing botanical plate, but there's no question about the source material for his lithographic beggars. For this print, Stansbury has looked to the work of 17th century French etcher Jacques Callot. It is believed that Michill hadn't owned a set of Callot's *The Beggars*. Most of Callot's prints from this twenty-five plate series are single figures. In his lithograph, Stansbury creates an assemblage of fourteen beggars from twelve of the original prints, and all are in the reverse image of Callot's etchings. If Stansbury permitted the single image of the cherries on a lithographic stone, then his crowding of Callot's beggars requires further examination.

63:31

I put forth that Stansbury in his composition is also showcasing lithography's potential as a medium for reproductive prints, and that this multi-image format would have been well suited for the growing market of art publications, or even in the trade of single sheet reproductive prints as a quicker and less expensive alternative to mezzotints or stipple engraving. At the same time, by reproducing such a well-known artist, Stansbury self-consciously compares himself to Callot. In doing this, Stansbury asks the viewer to consider both himself and the lithographic medium in the more distinguished arena of fine art rather than the more lowly but still still lucrative genres of reproductive prints or illustration. The lithographic medium was closer to drawing and therefore the hand of the artist, more so than etching even, because it allowed the artist to draw directly on the matrix rather than scratch through the wax. Unfortunately for Stansbury, these truthful specimens did not advance his full-time career as a practicing lithographer.

64:27

It is unknown whether these two prints were printed from different sides of the same stone, or whether the lithographic stone remained in the possession of Stansbury or Mitchill. However, there is no doubt regarding the owner of the stone specimen in my second case study, an

engraving of a stone tablet. Unlike the newly quarried lithostone, the tablet seen here had long been extracted from the earth, hewn to size, and its surfaces finished and further embellished. The title at top reveals that the specimens depicted were, “Antiquities from Asia brought to New York in January 1817 by Captain Henry Austin and now at Dr. Mitchill's.” This impression was originally in Cozzens collection and had been presented to him directly by Mitchill in 1830 on behalf of Henry Meigs, the print’s publisher, albeit more than a decade after the original publication date. Captions at the bottom of the plate indicate that the top stone is a brick fragment from the mosque at the tomb of the prophet Daniel. Further captions provide geo-locating and site description, noting that the specimen was found in a desert climb some forty miles north of Basra in present day Iraq, but at that point a part of the Ottoman Empire and under the control of the Mamluk officers.

65:35

The lower image is a recreation of some of the characters that were distinguishable on the bricks found in the ruins of ancient Babylon, also in Iraq. Since the second image is a composite, the caption also includes a physical description of the specimens from which this image was sourced, noting that the original bricks were thirteen inches square and three inches thick, and that both illustrations are of actual size. But that's not how they are, they're not thirteen inches. A stone specimen from abroad would have delighted Michill, but I argue that the doctor likely valued these examples for two reasons. Firstly, the tablets’ antique properties and use of language, and secondly for the tablets’ capacity to link historical and geological phenomena. Furthermore, I will show how the engraving of the tablet promoted these properties. Michill lectured at the New York Public School for Sculpture on ancient history and mythology. He was also a fluent linguist, translating texts from Spanish, German, Latin and Dutch, reading Greek, and made attempts at deciphering Ancient Near Eastern languages like the one seen here. Even though Mitchill and other audiences would have been unable to read the hieroglyphics or pictograms on these bricks, the captions of these prints still place a priority on the marks of the specimens over the stones themselves.

66:46

The top stone is described as, and I quote, “a copy of an inscription on a fragment of a brick,” and not a fragment or stone brick that had a curious inscription. Similarly, the lower image is not of a tablet at all, but is a diagrammatic representation of the marks that the scholars and their observations had recognized to be discreet characters in this ancient language system. This stylized mark making, whether carved into the actual brick or seen in the printed reproduction, is strikingly similar to another geological specimen that Mitchill, Cozzens, and others in their circle would have been familiar, a stone called graphic granite. An igneous rock, its distinctive markings resulted from the intergrowth of quartz and feldspar mineral grains crystallizing as they cooled. Early geologists and mineralogist reverted to textual conventions in describing the green pattern of the rock surface, recognizing letter-type forms emerging from the crystals. These scientists likened the grain patterns of these rocks to the primitive writings, citing Norse runes, Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the Hebrew alphabet as comparative forms. Yet

in likening the patterns of these mineral specimens to the inscriptions that had been carved laboriously by hand onto stone tablets, the geologists misplaced the idea that the crystal formation of the dark quartz was a natural phenomena.

68:02

The introduction of Mitchill's tablets to New York and their subsequent further credence through this print would prove significant beyond the interest of linguists, mineralogists, and historians. In the early 19th century, artifacts from the Middle East were becoming more common in Europe and in the United States through conquest, travel, empire, and archaeology. For Christians, and especially American Protestants, such objects became talismans, connecting the historical Middle East with contemporary textual study of the Bible. Mitchill's tablets, with their association of the Tomb of Daniel, would have been understood as relics, never mind that six cities claimed to be the site of the prophet's interment. The public's interest in these objects as historical antiquities and possible religious relics of great import went far beyond the immediate life of these tablets or Anderson's print of them.

68:51

In seeking to stay competitive in the growing Bible market and entice readers through his experimental illustrations, John Holbrook updated his 1818 Brattleboro edition to incorporate the components of Anderson's print, both images and captions, to his plate for the Tower of Babel. Flipped on its side and flanking the tower, the tablets offer not only visual interest, but importantly, physical proof in the support of the Bible story, serving to bolster conventional if imaginary representation of the tower. The Old Testament story of the Tower of Babel served as an ideology for different languages. Seeking to reach the heavens to avoid another Noachian flood, a group of people built a vertical city. Interpreting their will and architecture as blasphemy, God knocked down the tower and scattered the people, assigning them different languages and thereby confounding communication. Holbrook's inclusion of the printed version of Mitchill's tablets, and moreover their then indecipherable characters, underscored for Holbrook's Bible readers the legacy of Babel, that language barriers and cultural differences existed to their present day, whether in the 19th century's readers and ability to understand the past as seen in these tablets, or as encountered in their own increasingly global 19th century world.

70:08

For learned men such as Mitchill and Cozzens, the relationship between the world of faith and religious beliefs was not in an entirely different realm from the rational world of science. For Mitchill, the notions of biblical and geological history could complement each other. As a geologist, he subscribed to Abraham Gottlob Werner's theory of rock formation, which hypothesized that rocks had aqueous origins. Werner believed that the geological features of the earth's surface were the precipitates of a primordial earth ocean, and that as this ocean moved or evaporated, it left accretions of these precipitates or rocks. This was in contrast to the ideas forwarded by Scottish geologist James Hutton, who argued that the earth's surface

was formed by forces of subterranean heat. Mitchill also eschewed Hutton's long held view, or long-view approach, of geological time, namely that the earth's surface continued to change and did so at a slow speed, in favor of the catastrophism argued by George Cuvier, whose text Mitchill helped bring into publication in the United States. Cuvier believed that the earth's surface was shaped by relatively brief, large-scale changes such as floods. And Mitchill's own catastrophic argument centered on his theory of a large ocean within the interior of the Continental North American landmass that cataclysmically breached its barrier and flowed into the present day oceans and left behind the fossils we see now.

71:28

Although Werner's and Cuvier's ideas have since been disproved, during Mitchill's career diluvial theories offered a position that could reconcile both scientific and biblical history. For Mitchill, his stone tablets may have served as a link that connected and bolstered his ideas about geology, language, and history. And then the printed reproductions of these tablets served to further ascribe a patina of truth and authority to his ideas.

71:52

As part of my conclusion, I'll introduce one last print in Dr. Mitchill's collection. The examples I've introduced thus far have been of prints that advanced knowledge of stone specimens and their properties. These prints culminated in a greater veracity for the prints' stakeholders than the object they represent. In this last example, I will examine a print in which this premise is flipped. What is achieved if the stone specimen is not in fact stone and the goal of representation is not truth, but artifice and deception? This broad-sized print is an advertisement for imitation marble cement. A descriptive text by the proprietor appeals to the potential customers and dominates the lower half of the sheet, which is crowned by an airy lithographic drawing of a new classical Doric order structure. Alexander Jackson Davis drew this image for Anthony Imbert's lithography firm. The print is undated, but the inventor and proprietor Benjamin Trembley applied for a patent for this cement in November 1827, suggesting this advertisement likely dates between the late 1820s and the death of Mitchill in 1831.

72:58

In a press he submitted to *The American Journal of the Improvement in the Useful Arts* in early 1828, Trembley outlined his process and materials. His technique consisted of applying and polishing a series of layers of paint and other mixtures to interior and exterior walls. Although his material was faux marble, Trembley's proprietary mixture did contain mineralogical components such as pulverized hulk, lime, plaster, salt, alum, gums, sand, and gum arabic. Mitchill, as a geologist and booster of the domestic economy, would have appreciated a regional invention that capitalized readily on natural resources. Yet this description is absent from Trembley's text, which makes no mention of stone. Rather, this product's chief beneficial property was that it purported not to be stone while still economically offering the same beauty and permanence as the real thing.



73:51

The price of transporting stone would have been perceived as expensive, although less so after the opening of the Erie Canal. But this building material would still necessitate the quarrying and grinding of stones and minerals. Trembley's advertisement prevaricates through omission the true projected savings that this new building material could pass on to consumers, nor does he disclose what his decorative process entails. But Davis's lithographic drawing further belies Trembley's final product. At the same time, this image still provides a compelling depiction of what Trembley and his potential customers hope this faux marble cement could be, in no small part thanks to the lithographic medium. Much like Trembley creating his faux finish, Davis would have drawn and painted the veins, whorls, and stratified patterns of marble in creating the design upon a limestone matrix. The fine grain of the limestone is echoed in the texture of the faux marble building on the print.

74:45

The lithographic printing process is not unlike the transformation of limestone into marble in which the former is re-crystallized into the latter with the application of great pressure. In the instance of the print, the limestone matrix with the added pressure of the press and some paper has been transformed to create something entirely new, and yet an exact facsimile, but not of stone. The same could not be attributed to Trembley's proprietary mixture, which with its pulverized minerals was designed to reconstitute its ingredients as a faux marble. But even with the right materials, it could not offer the same verisimilitude. Thank you.

(Applause)

75:32 Martha Oaks

Thank you, Rebecca.

75:35

So we are going to put the screen up and ask for presenters to come up the ramp here onto the stage and take a seat, and we'll entertain a few questions, and then we will break for lunch.

Okay, thank you, ladies. Do we have any questions? And I will repeat your question so that we can capture it on the film. Yes?

76:13

Let me just repeat it. It's a question for Stephanie, as to whether there are any works of art by Fanny Palmer other than prints that are still in existence today. Okay.

76:28 Stephanie Delamaire

Yes, there are. There are some at the MFA in Boston, at the Museum of the City of New York, watercolors and pencil drawings. And there was a painting that just went out at auction a

couple of weeks ago, but that was not, I'm not sure. It's actually, you know, like, the attribution I'd say is uncertain.

76:53 Martha Oaks

And the question is, how do the prints and Fanny Palmer's works in other medium compare?

76:58 Stephanie Delamaire

Turning it into another question, in what way, like what?

77:02 Audience member

(Inaudible)

77:11 Stephanie Delamaire

Well, it's a different medium because they are more, the ones I've seen are pencil drawing. So a pencil drawing and a crayon lithograph look quite different. For me the, the crayon, like if you look at the drawing, makes me think more of a charcoal drawing, you know, whereas the pencil, her pencil drawings are really fine. And, and the watercolors, so some of her Currier and Ives prints are printed partly with two tints, let's say, or sometimes three. And so, they will, they look quite different, I would say, to me they're more preparatory drawings for composition rather than it's a composition transferred on the stone.

77:59 Martha Oaks

Do we have another question or two? Yes?

78:24

So, the question is for an explanation of how the color is applied to the print. And Joan, I guess.

78:32 Joan Irving

And I welcome others who may have more technical knowledge of chromolithography, but it would be two ways, one would be using colored printing inks on multiple stones and each color would get its own stone, and the print would have to be carefully registered to transfer from stone to stone to stone. What we saw today, in the *Church of the Trinity*, was three stones, there was a neutral tint of blue and then the black of the chalk lithograph would be its own stone. And in other examples that I showed during my talk we also saw watercolor, which would have been applied to the print itself by by colorists. Does that answer?

79:21 Martha Oaks

Yes, in the front row.

79:24 Audience member

Would they, to make more prints, would they keep painting the same stone and registering it so exactly?

79:30 Joan Irving

I believe so, that each, they would have to re-ink that stone with each print, in the hand lithographic studio, such as we were taught, mid-century.

79:47 Stephanie Delamaire

It's also about, all about the printer, in that particular case. You really do need to have a skillful printer to create that continuity.

79:58 Martha Oaks

Yes?

80:00 Audience member

You didn't generally have to redraw the entire thing for each color, you could do offset with a wet print onto the stone again, and it would register. It was a matter of taking care. But I do have a question.

80:14 Martha Oaks

Okay.

80:17 Audience member

The lovely commercial lithographs like the Oak Hill tailoring and the Lowell mills, were these framed in people's houses? (Inaudible)

80:34 Martha Oaks

So the question is, were commercial prints like the ones Lane produced and Fanny Palmer produced framed for the home or commercial buildings? What was their use?

80:49 Helena Wright

Wouldn't we love to know! My sense is that they, some of them might have been framed and placed in the place of business. The Oak Hall clothing image, clothing establishment image, I believe was published in a directory. So it was it was actually folded in thirds, an advertising pamphlet. Gigi is the expert on this. So they might have had an afterlife as things that were saved, people liked the image so they would keep it around. But the original purpose I think was more for the individual buildings, and advertising was for commercial use, but the town views, the city views, could go either way. And I think many of those would have been framed and used in homes as well as in businesses. A bank or a hotel might have a city view or a collection of city views.

81:47

Is that hotel in Amherst still filled with lithographs? Or Northampton? The Hotel Northampton, is that, that was a wonderful installation years ago in the '60s and '70s. It was filled with Currier

and Ives prints, and that to me was always the sort of evocative installation of what it must have been like.

82:09 Audience member

Actually, Johnny's Tavern in Amherst has some lovely Currier and Ives racing prints (inaudible).

82:19 Martha Oaks

Yes, question in the back. Yes?

82:21 Audience member

This question is for Rebecca, although it may pertain to some of the other talks today. I'm always curious how scholars make their way to the topics. So the eclecticism of your imagery, was that represented in that portfolio overall, and just more on that, please.

82:44 Rebecca Szantyr

No, yeah, thanks for the question. I'm sorry.

82:46 Martha Oaks

So the question is, how did you come across this?

82:51 Rebecca Szantyr

So it's actually, really it's probably like Helena's interest. I was at an open house during last year's print week to see this, and "Oh, we're putting out prints from the collection," and they had those out. And at the time, I was really interested about print collecting in New York. And so I saw these reproductions of Callots, I was like, oh, well, that means there was some there. And so I went back to see the whole portfolio. And just, what I found there was completely different. There was nothing else like those two, it's a lot of types of ephemeral objects. The second slide I showed, you know that those are all drawings, those are all by Cozzens, maybe for a publication, all his sea creatures, there's a bunch of whales. But then there's all these other things. Mitchill was influential with the funding in the project of building the canal, which opened in 1825. And so they had made a big presentation volume about that. And so a lot of the prints that have been extracted from that are in that portfolio, including some portraits, things like that. I mean, they're both interested in printing, but mostly natural history.

83:52 Martha Oaks

Bill?

83:56 Audience member

A question for Helena prompted by the invoice, which was early in your presentation, which showed that in addition to a manufacturing role for the firm, there were also dealership activities. Can you, so a double-headed question prompted by the invoice. To what extent was the distribution arm of the business relevant to the manufacturing arm? And second, to what

extent were the lithographers significant in the distribution of works of art into the United States.

84:46 Martha Oaks

So the request is for Helena to talk about the distribution of lithographs in the United States and the role of the lithographer in the distribution process?

84:55 Audience member

Right. How important were the lithographers in importing, and how important was the importing to the lithographer's business model?

85:07 Helena Wright

Okay, I hear your question coming from slightly different directions. To talk about the production of the firms themselves, beyond importing, are you only interested in things that are imported from elsewhere or also in what they are producing?

85:25 Audience member

I'm just trying to understand how important to the business were the importing versus the manufacture?

85:33 Helena Wright

Oh, okay. Well, some of them, I think the smaller firms like say Lane and Scott's partnership, probably were not involved in importing foreign prints or selling anything other than what they themselves produced. And remember that we're talking about two different kinds of production here. Commissions mainly for the commercial work and then the subscription model. So those are the two models on the production end. Some of the firms, the larger firms, would have been dealers as well, they would have done some importing. Firms that handled framing materials, looking glasses, and other kinds of furnishing and decorative goods also imported prints. And that's, in fact, their advertisements are where we find a lot of the information about the kinds of prints that were being imported. But as to analyzing what portion of the business was imports versus production, I don't know that we have statistical information on that. Again, Gigi may have something else to offer.

86:45 Georgia Barnhill

In terms of importing prints, Lauren Hewes of the American Antiquarian Society published a lovely essay on just that topic, in a publication called *With a French Accent*, French in American lithography. She found hundreds of newspaper articles over probably a two-decade period, knowing the importation of prints. Sadly, the custom records for Boston were destroyed by fire in the late, I believe, 19th century. The customs records for Philadelphia, however, are actually quite largely intact. And I don't know, Joan and Stephanie, have you ever looked at those? Okay. I looked at some. I spent one whole day, which is not enough, in the national records office in Philadelphia. But there were numerous instances of the importation of paper, or I think

lithography, I'd have to go back and look at my notes. But certainly, prints were imported into Boston, sold by Benjamin F. Nutting, who worked for the Pendleton workshop. Philadelphia print sellers, booksellers, it was a, the Doggetts in Boston, they were framers, but they published the first series of the first five presidents, beautiful portraits that were actually drawn on stone in France, and then printed in Boston. So there were many mixtures.

88:40 Audience member

So there was quite a domain plane of manufacturing and distribution models, is that what you're saying?

88:46 Georgia Barnhill

Yeah, I mean, there aren't nearly enough trade cards or billheads, but I mean, Currier, believe it or not, was also importing prints.

88:58 Helena Wright

And they would have been importing them for their own use to copy as well. So they wanted to keep up with trends in European art so they would know what to make for the next round of their own production.

89:13 Audience member

And it sounds like they were significant in the market versus (inaudible).

89:22 Georgia Barnhill

Yeah. Well, lithographers were importing, in terms of distributing not only their own but also European prints.

89:30 Martha Oaks

Do we have any other questions? Gigi?

89:32 Georgia Barnhill

I just have a question for Helena. Do you know anything more about Eliza Farrar?

89:38 Helena Wright

No, I wish I did. Years ago when I was working on Lowell views when I was still in the textile field, it was long before Ancestry, and it occurred to me actually coming back to this material after thirty years that there probably would be a lot more we could find out today, and someone in Lowell may have done some work on her, but I don't know. I've also been struck by the fact that it was her print that was used for that overprinting for the sample folder for the Merrimack, and whether she got any compensation for that or not, I have no idea, but that's another avenue to explore.

90:20 Martha Oaks

Courtney?

90:21 Audience member

Joan and Stephanie, I might have missed this, but what happened to Seymour Palmer?

90:26 Martha Oaks

The question is, what happened to Seymour Palmer?

90:29 Stephanie Delamaire

Seymour has a bad reputation as a drunkard, and so I must say that he, so I feel like, ambivalent in a way. I mean, basically he abandoned the lithographic business around 1845, '46 I think, and then, or is it 1849, Currier buys the stock of stones and material from the Palmers. And then he's listed as a tavern keeper in Brooklyn, and then he dies in 1859 of a fall in the staircase that, everybody says he was drunk. But I'm thinking, looking at the material that he actually printed, when he was sober I believe, he was a talented printer.

91:30 Martha Oaks

Yes, Gail?

91:46

So the question is, how many prints of Lane's Gloucester views were actually created?

91:56 Helena Wright

I don't have that figure. It's in John Reps's book. Gigi may be more familiar with it, too, the different town views are—

92:08 Georgia Barnhill

Well, go upstairs and count. They're all there. Sadly the one view that he said Lane did that's not there is the view of Lowell, but it's reproduced in the catalog. And it was just not possible to find that impression in good shape.

92:33 Audience member

And is there any way to figure out whether he went to all of these places?

92:43 Martha Oaks

So the question is, did Lane actually travel to the towns and cities that he captured?

92:50 Georgia Barnhill

One thing about Lane that I think people here in Gloucester know, he was crippled at a very early age, and he relied on crutches for the rest of his life, which complicated travel, but that doesn't mean it wasn't possible for him to get to the towns like Norwich, Connecticut, or even to Baltimore, but we just don't know the answer completely. Sometimes he worked from

sketches by other people, and that's usually stated on the print. One of the big questions would be Norwich, for which there is a painting as well as a print. And I think he signed the painting, am I right?

93:40 Martha Oaks

I don't know.

93:44 Georgia Barnhill

He could have gone to Norwich, he obviously could get to New Bedford, and I assume that he knew most of these places firsthand.

93:55 Martha Oaks

Perhaps one more question? Two more, Ingrid and then Margaret.

94:02 Audience member

I have a question about the stones. Number one, where they come from? And how was the surface prepared?

94:17 Martha Oaks

So the question is for a description of the size and where stones came from, and I don't know, maybe Rebecca?

94:23 Rebecca Szantyr

Yeah, of course. So the ones that, so the ones I mentioned in my talk, so Mitchill was sent one in 1807 from Charles de Lasteyries in Paris. I think it was a little bit too thin. They found it unsuitable for printing, and there's no known impressions. There had been a big search to find domestic stones. They were really, really trying to find them, and they couldn't. So for most of the 19th century, a lot of them were imported. There's some good numbers somewhere, but then that kind of falls off just at the turn of the 20th century. And then World War One comes and they're hardly importing anymore. It's hard to judge the size of litho stones, because you don't get a plate mark. So just for economic and strength reasons, you're going to still try to make the stone as big as the image, you're going to kind of economize just on the left because they're very, very heavy. So for example, like that last broadside that I showed, you know, it's not a stone that was the size of the whole sheet. It was really just the image up top and maybe a separate one for, I still don't know about the bottom part as much. But certainly that top image by Imbert's firm is only the size of that image or another inch on the other side. And they were ground. I don't know quite as much about that process as someone else here might be able to handle that a little bit better.

95:47 Joan Irving

I could just add the vast majority of the stones came from Germany from the mines at Solnhofen. But there was a huge search for stones in Europe, and competitions in France and



alerts of stones in Utah, but importation of the stones from Germany was the biggest source, and they were generally two to three inches. The mines in Solnhofen were considered superior because they delaminated naturally in these hunks of two to three inches, so perfect for lithography, and perfect in terms of hardness and purity of the Sonus limestone, and very pure surfaces. So does that, and the preparation of them, they were ground, and with either sand or a levigator to polish the stone in varying degrees of hardness depending on if it was pen and ink or if it was chalk lithography, and then the design made on the stone with a greasy material, and then fixed with an acidic etch which chemically created a salt of calcium nitrate in the plain parts of the stone, and where the design was in grease, sort of fixed that as well. So you had water loving parts of the stone and the greasy parts, which were fat loving, and which took up the printing ink successfully.

97:14 Martha Oaks

How many prints could be made from one stone?

97:18 Georgia Barnhill

Thousands.

97:21 Martha Oaks

So we'll let Margaret Bernier have the last question. And we'd like to again thank Margaret who worked as a volunteer with the museum for several months to help us with all the logistics of today's program. So, Margaret, you get the last question.

97:37 Margaret Bernier

For any of the panelists, to discuss the activities that an apprentice in a lithography shop during Lane's time would have done. And then the follow up is, given Lane's physical challenges, would he have been able to perform many or all of the same tasks that his co-apprentices in occupation would have done.

98:00 Martha Oaks

So the question is, what did it mean to be an apprentice in a lithography workshop during Lane's early years? And it's a hard question, how much of that work could Lane have accomplished? And I'm not sure we know the answer to the second one. So perhaps someone could talk about what it meant to be an apprentice. Gigi, if you're going to, come to the microphone then.

98:33 Georgia Barnhill

There was a lithographic memoir written in the 1880s by Charles Hart, who was a lithographic printer for the Endicott firm, which was one of the competitors of Nathaniel Currier and later Currier and Ives. And Hart described what he had to do as an apprentice. He started working for Endicott in 1839. And he did things that, you know, obviously the owners of the firm wouldn't want to do, sweep out the shop, bring in the firewood, light the stoves. They had to keep the

atmosphere rather dry so that prints would dry and so that, you know, the drawings wouldn't become fuzzy on the stone. They, the apprentices were the ones who ground the stones, they often made crayons. The materials were at hand, and they weren't commercially available in New York until Charles Currier, Nathaniel's brother, sold them. And eventually they were allowed to draw. They would have been sketching all the time, maybe even taking lessons from established painters. Charles Parsons, who worked alongside Charles Hart, took lessons from Casilear, for example. His account book is at the American Antiquarian Society and has never been deeply delved into. So it was really a mixed bag, you know, for these apprentices. And but basically, they were watching the established artists work, the established artists would become mentors. And so people like Lane, like Champney, would grow and develop as artists, if they were lucky. And if they had that innate talent, I mean, they had to have brilliant, innate talent to do it. But I hope that helps out, the scut work.

100:42 Martha Oaks

Thank you, and thank you all. So I think that we'll stop our conversation now, have lunch, and then reconvene here. If you need to feed your parking meters or any of that thing, this is the time. Thank you.

(Applause)