

CAPE ANN Museum

Library & Archives

1+ 978-283-0455 x19

library@capeannmuseum.org

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

- Speaker:** Lecture 58a: Christine Garnier; Lecture 58b: Ellen Sondag;
Lecture 58c: Margareta Lovell
- Date:** 10/28/2017
- Runtime:** 2:01:51
- Camera Operator:** Unknown
- Identification:** VL58a; VL58b; VL58c ; Video Lecture #58a; #58b; #58c
- Citation:** Garnier, Christine, et al. "Laid Down on Paper: Printmaking in America, 1800 to 1865-Fitz Henry Lane Symposium, Afternoon Session." CAM Video Lecture Series, 10/28/2017. VL58, Cape Ann Museum Library & Archives, Gloucester, MA.
- Copyright:** Requests for permission to publish material from this collection should be addressed to the Librarian/Archivist.
- Language:** English
- Finding Aid:** Description: Karla Kaneb, 6/23/2020.
Transcript: Karla Kaneb, 8/4/2020.
-

27 Pleasant Street, Gloucester, Massachusetts 01930 USA

+1 978-283-0455

capeannmuseum.org

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 a series of six lectures held throughout the day, further scholarship on 19th century printmaking in America is presented and discussed. This video includes the three afternoon lectures that were moderated by Georgia Barnhill, Guest Curator for the exhibition and Curator Emeritus at the American Antiquarian Society, and examine the portrayal of race in printing, the use and effect of lithography in popular media, and Fitz Henry Lane's ship portraits. These three lectures are followed by a group question and answer session with all of the presenters.

Lecture 58a: Assembling the Runaway: Self-Liberation and Visual Games of the American Civil War (2:45-25:12)

In the first afternoon lecture of the symposium, Harvard University Ph. D. candidate Christine Garnier focuses upon a set of trading cards titled *Journey of the Slave from the Plantation to the Battlefield* that were printed in 1863 to encourage African Americans to join the Union Army. Using these cards as the basis for her analysis, Garnier suggests that the development of chromolithography, with its allowance for subtle differences in both black and white skin tones, may have contributed to the changes in perspective on slavery and greater democracy that occurred around the time of the Civil War. Garnier supports her position with examples from several popular sources that were produced during this period.

Lecture 58b: Representing Firefighters: Conflagration of the Masonic Hall, Philadelphia (25:19-46:52)

The second lecture of the afternoon session features Ellen Sondag, an adjunct faculty member at the Academy of Art University in San Francisco, who examines the relationship between firefighting companies and popular opinion in the 19th century by comparing a painting from 1819 by Samuel Jones and John Lewis Krimmel titled *Conflagration of the Masonic Hall, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia* with a print of the same name by Krimmel and John Hill. Sondag relates the pivotal role that firefighters played in combatting one of the more catastrophic threats to American cities in the 19th century while at the same time suffering criticism for their lapses in good conduct. Her presentation looks at the emerging role that lithographs played in characterizing and potentially shaping public opinion through their ability to more immediately capture visual representation of current events than other available forms of media.

Lecture 58c: Fitz Henry Lane's Maritime Lithographs, Robert Bennet Forbes, Pirates of the South China Sea (47:24-1:30:14)

In this final lecture of the afternoon, cultural historian and Professor of American Art at the University of California, Berkeley, Margaretta Lovell, studies three maritime lithographs by Fitz Henry Lane that were commissioned by the highly successful China trade merchant Robert Bennet Forbes. Lovell considers the role that ship portraits played in general in the 19th century as well as the special significance of these three vessels to Forbes and his business interests.

She also theorizes about the relationship between Lane and Forbes as artist and patron as it may have related to Lane's progression from the medium of lithography to painting with the advancement of his career.

Subject list

Lecture 58a

Henry Louis Stephens	Slavery
James Fuller Queen	U. S. Civil War
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	chromolithography
<i>Vanity Fair</i>	trading cards
Christine Garnier	

Lecture 58b

Samuel Jones	19th c. American firefighting
John Lewis Krimmel	chromolithography
John Hill	John Ritto Penniman
Peter Atall	<i>The Hermit in Philadelphia</i>
Ellen Sondag	

Lecture 58c

Fitz Henry Lane	ship portraits
Robert Bennet Forbes	19th century China trade
<i>Jamestown</i>	steam demi-bark
<i>Massachusetts</i>	opium trade
<i>Antelope</i>	piracy
Margaretta Lovell	lithography

Transcript

00:22 Martha Oaks

This afternoon's session will follow the same format as this morning's with three speakers with the question and answers at the conclusion. And it's my pleasure to introduce, and she obviously needs no introduction to this group, Gigi Barnhill, who is extraordinarily helpful with the exhibition upstairs, with the exhibition catalog, with organizing the symposium, and with the rest of the programming that goes along with the exhibition. Gigi is the Andrew Mellon Curator of Graphic Arts Emeritus at the American Antiquarian Society, and she will be the moderator for the afternoon session.

(Applause)

01:02 Georgia Barnhill

Thank you all. Before I introduce our first speaker, I just want to say a word or two about Melissa Trafton who couldn't be with us today. And she's the senior researcher on the Fitz Henry Lane Online catalog. And she and colleagues here at the museum have just assembled such a wealth of material, and I hope you will all go home and explore it, just to see what a great model it might be for other collections at other institutions. Or just to delve more deeply into some of the issues we've been talking about. And I want to thank Ronda Faloon and her entire staff for making this exhibition possible. People say to me, what a stunning exhibition. Well, guess what? I had nothing to do about the installation, nor did I make one of the prints. So it's really due to, I think, the extraordinary efforts of a small, very hard working staff, and the amount of programming they're doing around this exhibition, Courtney says, well, this is all very normal and standard, but I think it puts a lot of other institutions to shame. They have such a rich, rich program. So I want to thank them for what has been just a wonderful experience, and it will keep going on for a few more months, but

02:30

I've really had a wonderful time. Retirement can be very boring, but believe me, it doesn't have to be. And it's also wonderful to see so many good friends here today, and I love it. So, onto the afternoon program. Our first speaker is Christine Garnier. And she's a PhD student in the History of Art and Architecture at Harvard University. Her research examines how material processes shape the construction of national and racial identities in the United States. Currently she's working on a dissertation project tentatively called "Machining Light" that examines the interesting histories, or the intersecting histories, of sculptural photographic and print reproductive technologies in the 19th century. She's tackling a lot. This includes photo mechanical halftone processes, figural busts automated by photography in the round, map making based on sculpture, and anthropological composites. Christine holds a BS in Mathematics from the Catholic University in America and an MA in Art History from Tufts University. She's a recipient of the Rhonda Saad Graduate Prize in Art History from Tufts University and the 2015 Robert C. and Ann Peterson Vose Scholar Prize from the Copley Society of Art. In her spare time, which I'm sure is abundant, she is an adjunct lecturer at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, focusing on the Arts of the Americas Collection. Today, Christine will

present “Assembling the Runaway: Self-Liberation and Visual Games of the American Civil War.” So please welcome Christine.

(Applause)

04:23 Christine Garnier

Thank you, Gigi, for that introduction, and also for the wonderful exhibition that you curated as well as many thanks to the Cape Ann Museum for all the hard work that you've done, particularly Ronda, Martha. and Courtney, for not only assembling this wonderful symposium, but also for inviting me. All right. In the era of the Emancipation Proclamation, the cartoonists Henry Louis Stephens and the printer James Fuller Queen were commissioned to design and print the *Journey of a Slave from the Plantation to the Battlefields*, a set of chromolithographic trade cards that show the narrative of a self-liberated slave turned soldier.

05:05

The story begins with two contrasting scenes. As the protagonist strains to pick the white tufts of cotton, we noticed his red bare feet that emphasize the strain and brutality of his labor. In contrast, the following scene shows a hall filled with merriment as various tones individuate the dancing bodies. Yet the first time we encounter his face is in the Auction Hall. The story builds on the established narratives of famous fugitive slaves promoted by abolitionists, particularly of Frederick Douglass, who liberated himself from his cruel master and escaped through southern waterways to freedom. Upon arrival, this self-liberated man falls to the feet of his new master, the flag, a symbol tying citizenship to service, for which he gives his life on the battlefield, side by side with his white brethren.

05:58

While more than 479 million different sequence combinations can be made from these twelve cards, there's the math degree right there, only one reveals how a life can become a symbol of justice, freedom, and liberty. The set is unique in relation to other constructions of the runaway, or contraband, the army classification given to self-liberated slaves to evade the terms of the Fugitive Slave Act from the 1850s. When compared with this Civil War envelope, it becomes clear that the protagonist is different from established characters of the contraband. Instead of running from bondage, he is shown as a soldier running toward liberty through service to country. Unlike this single frame narrative that communicates agency through the repetition of stereotypical bodies, these detached scenes enforce the agency of one character, highlighting the toil and thus heroism. His transformation from runaway to soldier was a critical extension to the mainstream story of the runaway, visualizing the connection between military service and full citizenship promised by abolitionist leaders. Yet when placed in juxtaposition with portraits of black soldiers, whose individuality and self-agency are communicated through the visual language of photography, it becomes clear that the set proposes an archetype based on generalized abolitionist constructs problematic in themselves, removing the biographical specificity found in the photograph.

07:31

In this talk, I will explore the construction of this trade card set through two threads. The first will focus on how the medium of chromolithography undermined the established politics of printed representation, suggesting that the use of color operated as a critical break from the common depiction of the runaway in black and white. This change is not passive but activated through the viewer's physical engagement with the set of twelve. Navigating narrative intricacies dependent on the protagonist's body, the set not only promotes an abolitionist image of the runaway constructed in published biographies but also calls upon the viewer's sense of duty through the connected themes of liberation, citizenship, and heroic sacrifice. By using a medium that could counteract pro-slavery caricatures, steaming, Stephens and Queen cast the archetype not just as a soldier, but as an American citizen devoted to liberty, and most importantly to justice.

08:30

To understand the operation of color in this set, we must first understand Stephens' relationship to print more generally. As a native Philadelphian, Henry Louis Stephens established himself as a leading illustrator through his 1851 satirical publication, *The Comic Natural History of the Human Race*. Filled with chromolithographs of socialites turned into birds, the work satirizes the visual taxonomies of John James Audubon's *The Birds of America*. Stephens developed the King Bird, a self-portrait and a symbol for his position in the American print industry. His close friend and editor Samuel Robinson wrote that the King Bird wielded the power of the final word, something very distinct from truth.

09:14

With the abstract speed of the press, Robinson wrote, quote, "Printing is a sort of conversation by which it can have the benefit of the last word to the last generations, and nobody to contradict it, for there appears to be no way of talking back to them." He continued to insist that print had the ability to instruct or, quote, "enforce the nods of the head." This passage gestures to the conscious agency embedded behind Stephens' prints, including those that address the status of the runaway. After rising to fame as an illustrator for *Frank Leslie* and *Harper's* magazines, Stephens was hired as the editor of *Vanity Fair* in 1859, a very different *Vanity Fair* than what we have today,

09:58

alongside his brothers Henry Louis and William Allen, who operated as publisher and general editor respectively. In line with the magazine's owners, the Stephens brothers vigorously opposed emancipation, soliciting editorials to harshly critique Union strategies, satirize army contractors, and solidify racial hierarchies through the development of anti-black stereotypes. Operating at the center of *Vanity Fair* were stories written from the point of view of runaway or, quote, "intelligent contraband" caricatures, whose ventures into the North fostered a nostalgia for plantation life, reinforcing the social values of the Confederacy. Brutal

constructions of African American agency operated as a complement to the intelligent contraband, as seen in Stephens's figure of *The New Frankenstein* printed in 1862, shown here.

10:49

The image of a lean black body constructed entirely of concentric white dashes dethrones his master, the Cotton King. Here, Stephens mobilized the binary rhetoric of engravings to demonize the prospect of emancipation, particularly the self-liberation advocated by some abolitionist leaders. Black and white language of these prints functioned as a metaphor for pro-slavery politics that was carefully curated between cartoons or articles on racial science and speeches by Confederate leaders like Jefferson Davis. Art historian Kirk Savage has noted that the grammar of the engraved line was intimately connected with the representation of dark skin tones in period treatises on polygenesis.

11:33

In his 1854 publication the *Types of Mankind*, Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon claimed to prove hierarchical polygenesis with phrenology, or cranial science, as hinted to in the cartoon *Bridget's Character* on the right. Both the vertical alignment and value scale of Nott's comparison communicate a white superiority, enforcing a racial hierarchy that is threatened in Stephens's *New Frankenstein*. The material and optical binary was made explicit in the anonymous editorial titled *On Color* from the July 1862 edition of *Vanity Fair*. The author criticized the, quote, "fossilated savants who believed in the Newtonian color system, where all colors originated from a single origin, white light." Instead, the author asserted, quote, "There are only two primitive colors, white and black," then used derogatory slang to construct a false spectrum for black skin. This statement alludes to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's theory that each color is founded on a monotone scale as a, quote, "degree of darkness."

12:42

Alluding to this theory through additional antidotes supported by the image, the author suggests two separate species of color. Through these illusions, the author complaint sketches value-dependent color theory with politicized racial hierarchies, mapping degrees of darkness onto racial categories that were flattened to protect the institution of slavery. How could the same artists produce two very different images of black agency? Was it simply a change of heart? Most definitely not. Was it a change in audience from the Confederate sympathizer to the abolitionist, the collaboration with a different printer? Or does the format and different printing technique itself lend to a visual shift that changes the reading of the self-liberated slave entirely?

13:30

It needs to be said that this shift from *Vanity Fair* to the trade card set is not black and white as well. Much of the bias in *Vanity Fair* carried over in Stephens's designs, as can be seen by his reuse of the same slave owner with his pointed chin. Chromolithography operated as a potential disruption to this aesthetic system, splintering yet not fully eradicating this bias. In the

February 1863 edition of *Vanity Fair* on the Emancipation Proclamation, the cartoon, *A Sketch with Color in It*, references the social threat. While on the surface a restaurant patron asserts racial dominance over his African American waiter despite the Proclamation, the pun on sketch and color relies on the contemporary analogies of the watercolor sketch with the chromolithograph, two media that allowed images to be constructed through variable planes of colored wash, the same process used by Stephens and Queen.

14:30

It is somewhat ironic that a technology based on the premise of color separation could challenge divisions in the social sphere by simply creating dynamic tones and volumes apart from the black printed line. Chromolithography, as we have heard in this morning session, is the practice of printing various transparent colors in a specific order to build up an image. When a watercolor design like Stephens's was turned over to a printing company, the chromiste had to dissect the image into a series of different translucent colored layers. These designs would be turned over to printers to prepare individual blocks, delocalizing and dispersing color. Relying on a specific order, the image is built back up again through the layering of transparent inks to generate an image as demonstrated by this series of Prang specimen sheets from the 1870s. This delocalization and reordering of the image operates in parallel with how narrative is constructed in the trade card series. Both are dependent on a precise sequence to properly communicate a message. Because of innovations in industrial pigment production and advances in color theory by the 1850s, particularly theorists responding to Goethe, printers had the tools to develop a wider palette of colors. As Professor Wilmerding mentioned last night, the medium of lithography and then chromolithography was adopted by major artists like Fitz Henry Lane to reproduce landscapes of the nation.

16:02

The technology continued to quickly develop, allowing designers to reduce the number of blocks with the introduction of translucent inks, not only meeting the aesthetic demands of the market for cheap yet dynamic visual material, but also re-envisioning how the grammar of prints could operate in relation to race. By 1863 when this set was put into production, the chromolithographic industry had rapidly grown in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. These strongholds for abolition were now the center of war industry, producing colored maps, portraits of officers, and ephemera to entertain soldiers such as this set, a history that has been explored by Jay Last, a generous supporter to this wonderful exhibition. It should be noted that chromolithography was not available in the south, as major print centers like New Orleans had fallen under Union control very early on in the war. As the choice carrier of the Union's political agenda, chromolithography rapidly became associated with notions of democracy, nationalism, and eventually citizenship during Lincoln's presidency.

17:09

Thus, both the medium and the audience heavily influenced how Stephens could construct these images. Not only did chromolithography play a critical role in reimaging nationalism

during the Civil War, but also had the potential to intervene in the presentation of blackness itself. As a staunch union supporter and celebrated master printer, Queen translated Stephens's sketches into prints with only five different lithographic blocks, along with very heavy editing. For example, Queen tweaked one design to echo the famous print *Emancipation of the Slaves* by Currier and Ives, connecting emblems of nationalism with the legacy of Lincoln. Yet for our study, the most interesting change was the creation of two different skin tones for the protagonist and his beloved, with two different base colors, yellow and blue. This simple delineation breaks with the flat language originally intended by Stephens in his watercolor sketches.

18:10

When the protagonist is placed in contrast with the white auctioneer, another material shift is revealed. Unlike engravings where blackness is signified with ink and whiteness as absence, the white body must also be constructed out of a series of layered colors apart from the base cream of the paper. The slave and auctioneer are intimately linked through various colored accents on the same red printing block. Black is used to articulate both bodies with the same web of dots and hatches, as evidenced by this comparison of their two hands. Yet white, printed as an inked block, is also used to characterize cotton, the stripes of the flag, and clothing, mainly the white jacket and pants of the slave repeated in the set. While it is undeniable that racial inequality is still communicated in these prints, the introduction of translucent colored inks dislocated and dispersed the mechanics of racial difference in print, white and black.

19:11

Queen nods to this instability through the addition of a sign in the background that reads "For Sale, a likely young Negro," pointing to the instability of language generated by racial passing, a signifier of racial mixing, that was not only used by abolitionists to campaign for emancipation but has also been discussed by art historian Huey Copeland in depth. By delocalizing color, Queen's prints show that chromolithography could unsettle the opaque visual language of inequality built into the processes of print culture itself.

19:46

In the final minutes, I want to speculate on how this undoing of the white and black binary imprint was triggered through physical engagement. What we lose by looking at these images on the digital screen is a sense of their active material reality. Returning to Stephens's own notion that printed material carried an agency to instruct generations, we must consider how the viewer activated these trade cards in real space and time. How might the interlacing of these detached yet sequenced cards script a viewer's actions? What implications did such movement carry? While many scholars have considered how ephemeral objects like trade cards or racially based alphabet books helped inscribe the values of racism in the 19th century, what happens when similar objects put pressure on systems of racial division?

20:41

Union printers conscripted the medium of lithography to do the same work through the visual power of play. Famous cartoonists like David Claypoole Johnston affirmed notions of southern barbarity through this lighting set that exaggerates Jefferson Davis's facial expressions, representing his both gleeful reaction to the capture of Fort Sumter in 1861 and its fall in 1863, while others attempted to undo racial stereotypes, as seen in this puzzle that illustrates the history of slavery up to emancipation, or card games that enacted the abolitionist novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Each of these items requires the viewer to visually construct relationships between pieces through movement, producing a moral end. More specifically, trading cards require the viewer to engage various skills of cultural literacy, the visual to determine setting, the logical to determine narrative, and the mechanical to physically sort and reorder the cards based on individual evidence and the overall narrative. Soldiers who received these chromolithographic sets had to reflect on their duty as a recruit while reshuffling these and reordering these cards.

21:54

Philadelphia became an important center for this material as print could easily reach Union lines. Stephens and Queen would produce at least two other sets of trade cards that used anthropomorphized figures to either demonize the British for supporting the Confederacy, or satirized the conscription of Union soldiers through the caricature of a rabbit that tries to evade the draft. Unlike the heroic African American soldier, the rabbit stumbles through nonsensical antics while claiming to commit acts of valor, such as holding his rifle backwards in combat. When *Journey of a Slave* is put into dialogue with these other series, it becomes clear that our set does not intend to use the same humor that helped construct stereotypes in print, but reinforce the archetype of a black soldier as a genuine agent in his own liberation when the Union needed him the most.

22:47

While the exact audience for this set remains unknown, there are two likely candidates. The first and potentially the most obvious is the African American soldier himself, who was actively recruited by the Union as demonstrated by this recruitment flier printed in Philadelphia. These prints circulated alongside photographs of black soldiers whose individual portraits expressed an agency on equal stature with the established rhetoric of the white soldier. As a scripted object, the set was meant to perform around an image of a black soldier who is also laborer, husband, and father, fostering a sense of kinship among white units who temporarily hosted fugitive slaves.

23:29

In addition, the set generalizes the courage of the self-liberated slave to promote what historian Drew Faust has called the "good death," the soldier who has to offer his life for the good, blurring Christian martyrdom with patriotism. Such constructions became increasingly common in 1863 when Union recruitment was at an all-time low, desertion was high, and some

of the bloodiest battles were yet to come. Operating as a mechanism of empowerment through imagery and scripted narrative, the trade card series enacted a heroic archetype that could speak to all soldiers on what should have been equal ground.

24:06

During the war, chromolithography was promoted as the medium for democratization, operating as a form of visual subject formation for the nation's newest citizens. By 1868 however, cultural critics started to claim that chromolithography was only suitable for ideologies that were disposable and cheap, just like the medium itself. The medium did not have the cultural capital to sustain the undoing of racial stereotypes and was employed to do the opposite. The limitation of specific color print blocks rehardened racial boundaries back into ethnographic diversions of brown and black during Reconstruction, red during the Indian Wars in the West, and yellow during the Chinese Exclusion Act. Yet this trade card set, the *Journey of a Slave from the Plantation to the Battlefields*, raises the question of how color and print agency initially placed pressure on racial constructs in the moment of the Emancipation Proclamation, temporarily posing kinship over difference. Thank you.

(Applause)

25:19 Georgia Barnhill

Our second speaker is Ellen Sondag, who received a Master of Arts in Art History from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and holds a second MA in the Humanities from the University of Chicago. Her research focuses on the junctures between elite and popular media in 19th and early 20th century American visual culture, word and image relations, and museum studies. Professionally, Ellen has curated at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Krannert Art Museum. She currently teaches in the Academy of Art University in San Francisco. Today, Ellen is presenting "Representing Firefighters: Conflagration of the Masonic Hall, Philadelphia." Thank you, Ellen.

(Applause)

26:15 Ellen Sondag

I'd like to reiterate all the sentiments of the other presenters and thank the Cape Ann Museum staff for organizing this wonderful symposium, the exhibition on Fitz Henry Lane, and all of you for deciding to stay inside rather than be outside in beautiful Gloucester today. All right, so, fire was a common threat in the 19th century American city, where buildings went up in flames with alarming frequency. Even prior to the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, over four hundred large fires had ruined nearly \$200 million worth of property in thirty of the nation's major cities. Stories of conflagration pervaded newspaper headlines across the country, and as the primary source of news images, prints were produced in order to display these catastrophic events. Periodicals like *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* regularly featured images of conflagration. On October 28, 1871, the two newsprints even devoted entire issues

to the Great Chicago Fire, both brandishing covers that focused on the victims of the inferno, along with full page illustrations of the fire.

27:33

While these popular weeklies circulated news of catastrophic fires, lithographers such as Nathaniel Currier and Fitz Henry Lane, whose print you can see upstairs, were hired to hand color prints that memorialized famous conflagration. In its subject matter, the 1819 print *Conflagration of the Masonic Hall, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia*, which is based on a painting by the same name and attributed to Samuel Jones and John Lewis Krimmel, appears to belong to this lineage of imagery. However, the print deviates from typical conflagration imagery as well as the original painting in its proposed purpose. By reorienting the painted image into a scene that illustrates Philadelphia firemen as dutiful workers, I'll suggest that Krimmel's print helped combat the negative criticism that they were receiving at the time of the prints inception, and that it displays the firefighters as early 19th century audiences wished to see them.

28:31

As a frequent occurrence, conflagration was a common anxiety for the 19th century American. In an article that was published in both the *National Intelligence* and in the *Washington Advertiser* on December 28, 1801, the author describing a fire that occurred in Boston on December 17 wrote, "It is a most painful duty to be necessitated repeatedly to narrate sufferings occasioned by conflagration, especially at this inclement season of the weather. After consuming a number of stores, shops, etc. thereon, the fire spread to the neighboring houses and threatened destruction to the whole north part of the town." The author's use of the word "repeatedly" speaks to the frequency in which fires took place. The description underscores the calamity and devastation that was caused by conflagrations in any season in 19th century America.

29:20

Citizens could lose their homes and or businesses, all of their possessions, in an instant. Paintings and prints were often produced as a means of illustrating the calamity of such conflagrations like John Ritto Penniman's *Conflagration of the Exchange Coffee House Boston of 1824*. The oil painting displays the evening of November 3, 1818, when a fire destroyed the Exchange Coffee House. There are not many local accounts of the event probably due in part to the fact that eleven printing offices were either burned down or rendered inoperative by the conflagration, including the *Sentinel Recorder Gazette and Patriot*. However, a writer for the *Daily National Intelligencer* in Washington, DC, published a report of the fire which explains that, from the immediate proximity of the various printing offices, they were almost all in imminent danger not only from the falling of the huge walls, but from the intense heat. Penniman's painting appears to capture both of these threats in his depiction of the flames and the crowd below. The vertical column of the flame seems to sever the building's facade from the rest of the structure, giving the impression that the front wall could collapse at any moment. The bright palette that Penniman uses to depict the fire elicits a feeling of the intense

heat that the *Daily National Intelligencer* writer describes. Both of these fears are reflected in the crowd of observers who distance themselves from the building's facade as well as the heat of the flames.

30:49

However, along with fear, Penniman's crowd expresses another emotion. The observers who are dwarfed by the buildings and calm the flames have their arms up in the air, as if simultaneously surprised and awed by the scene before them. While the conflagration depicted in Jones and Krimmel's painting appears just as amazing as Penniman's, the crowd in the former appears much less amazed. According to an announcement printed on the morning of March 10, 1819, in *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia's Masonic Hall burned between eight and ten o'clock the previous evening. The hall, located on the north side of Chestnut Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets, is described by the *Poulson* writer as "one of the most splendid ornaments of our city." The building, which was essentially an elite social club, was completed only eight years prior in 1811, and a design of noted Philadelphia architect William Strickland.

31:47

Unfortunately, a chimney caught fire and the structure, primarily constructed of stucco rooms, was rapidly engulfed in flames. Shortly after nine o'clock the building steeple collapsed, luckily causing no harm to onlookers or neighboring structures. The *Poulson's* writer describes the scene as one in which the citizens of Philadelphia and its vicinity were presented with one of those sublime but awful spectacles, which seem almost inseparable from human calamity. However, audiences of John Lewis Krimmel and Samuel Jones's painting would not see a crowd's reaction fitting what the *Poulson's* reporter portrayed as such a fantastic show. In the painting *Conflagration of the Masonic Hall*, intense yellow, red, and orange flames spew out of the building's rooftop, illuminating the sky. Plumes of smoke and flame seep out spire windows, a sign that the structure's interior is filled with fire.

32:32

However, confronted with such an amazing site, the crowd composed of men in long coats and top hats calmly gaze at the fire. One group of men in the immediate foreground is so uninterested in the scene that they have their backs to the building in conversation. One has his arm raised gesturing to something beyond the canvas. The reaction seems ill-fitting for a group of spectators gathered before a burning building. According to the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania's history, the general public had such an interest in the catastrophe that Jones and Krimmel's painting was produced at once for the purpose of then having an engraving made of the dreadful event. Krimmel was commissioned to draw the scene while John Hill was hired to etch the aquatint print. In June of 1819, an advertisement was published by Samuel Kennedy, the Secretary to the Association of American Artists, and Samuel West, another member of the society, that announces the sale of subscriptions for the print. The notice claims that the print is "a correct representation of that awful and sublime scene."

33:42

Their advertisement continues, “The publishers have spared neither pains nor expense to produce a truly interesting print, and in addition to the terms of their perspectives, have increased its size, and added the abilities of Mr. J. L. Krimmel, who's grouping and drawing of figures is not surpassed.” Kennedy and West first claim that the image is a correct, truthful representation of the Masonic Hall conflagration. They then foreground the fact that Krimmel, an artist who is known for his abilities in drawing crowd scenes, was commissioned specifically to design the print, which is a significant assertion considering the transformation that takes place between the painting's crowd and the print's crowd. The crowd in the print, on the other hand, displays a much more animated response to the fire.

34:32

The spectators in the print are in utter disarray. A young boy attempts to retrieve his lost dog while a few bystanders are knocked to the ground. Two men are seen fleeing an adjoining building with satchels, presumably full of their belongings. Where in the painting there was a man gesturing to something beyond the canvas, in the print a man points directly at the fire. This substantial change in the crowd from the painting to the print seems to be more than merely a product of the print medium which often followed more hyperbolic conventions than paintings at this time. Perhaps part of Krimmel's motivation for transforming a calm crowd of spectators into a mass of such immense disorder is connected to the other major modification that's made between the painting and the print, that is the role of firefighters in the image.

35:20

Firemen play a more prominent role in the print of the Masonic Hall conflagration than in the painting. In the painting, only three firemen are seen aiming hoses on the firewall, two others climb a ladder to the second floor. In the print however, firemen dominate the scene. Krimmel retained the same firemen from the original image and inserted two additional hose men. The crowd in the print has been parted to clear space for the firemen and their equipment. A fireman in the foreground attempts to bring order to the crowd by commanding them with the aid of a bullhorn, while orderly rows of pump men are seen pumping water in the background. Krimmel's depiction of the fire in the print hints at the firemen's success in extinguishing the conflagration. In the painting the fire coming from the structure's rooftop is blazing with yellow, red, and orange flames, but in the print, the fire is more comprised of bluish-gray smoke clouds as if it's beginning to die down.

36:14

Below the print image, a legend explains the publisher's motive for reorienting the original image in this manner. This plate is respectfully dedicated to the active and much-esteemed fire engine and hose companies by their obedient servants, S. Kennedy and S. S. West. Krimmel scholar Anneliese Harding claims that Samuel Kennedy and West, the printers, publishers, and members of the Society of American Artists, were purposely wooing firefighters, an influential

sector of the city. Although Harding's assertion is likely accurate, it is only one part of the motivation for producing the print. The other part is that in 1819, Philadelphia firefighters needed an image portraying them as dutiful workers in order to salvage their reputation after receiving such a negative criticism in a recently published book.

37:05

The book, "*The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia*, containing some account of the beaux and belles, the dandies and coquettes, cotillion parties, supper parties, tea parties, etc, of that famous city." *The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia*, published in early 1819, is an account of city life at that time. The work is an imitation of an English book that was then popular called *The Hermit in London or Sketches of English Manners*. The American version is presented as a journal of the hermit Guiana on his visit to Philadelphia. At the beginning of the book, Peter Atall, the editor, has written a note to the public which claims that the hermit's remarks are "the fruits of an unbiased and sound judgment, my intimate acquaintance with his character enables me proudly to testify."

37:53

However, the work is not actually written by a foreign visitor, but rather a local merchant named Robert Waln. Writing as quote unquote "the hermit," Waln documents his experiences while visiting Philadelphia, such as encountering dandies or attending dinner parties. In a later chapter of the book, Waln expresses his opinion of Philadelphia firefighters, an opinion that may have influenced the orientation of the conflagration print. Waln articulates his dissatisfaction with Philadelphia firemen in a chapter discussing his visit to the theater on Chestnut Street. Just after attending a play with Peter Atall, the two hear the cry of "fire" resound through the streets and then the clamor of fire engines and hose carriages traveling throughout the city.

38:38

However, to the astonishment of the hermit, people in the streets kept going about their business with complete composure, not even asking where the fire was burning. Mr. Atall exclaims to his visiting friend that there is no fire. It is one of the nightly amusements of young hose men, the appointed hour is nine o'clock, and on particular occasions, a repetition at eleven. To which the hermit replies, "But sir, these unnecessary and criminal alarms merit the interference of police." This discussion of the Philadelphia firemen displays them as a childish and immature faction that actually contributes to city disorder and merits punishment rather than praise.

39:17

Atall goes on to outline the negative impacts of their juvenile behavior, which include "awakening the sick with the sound of rattling fire engines, agitating the minds of Philadelphia citizens, and worst of all, allowing the people to feel a false sense of security." He explains that "when a real cry of terror is heard in our streets, it is equally disregarded as the pastime of idle

boys.” According to Atall, the people of Philadelphia have become so desensitized to the cry of terror, that when a real emergency occurs, they respond with indifference. Atall and the hermit continue their discussion of the firemen until finally the hermit concludes, “Apparently, anomaly fire companies are actually ineffective, nothing but eating clubs.” Waln’s text clearly articulates a disdain for the conduct of these Philadelphia fire companies in 1819.

40:09

In Philadelphia and other period cities, firemen culture was an increasing source of anxiety. Founded in 1736 with the assistance of Benjamin Franklin and primarily comprised of elite classmen, the first volunteer fire department of colonial Philadelphia was a respectable institution. The firemen considered their position one of community responsibility and were regarded by the public as virtuous public servants. However, a growth in population and the approach of industrialization transformed the American fire department, and by 1790, firefighting was no longer volunteer duty but the responsibility of self-appointed fire companies.

40:49

One of the most significant alterations made to these fire companies was in their membership. As Philadelphia's elite class became increasingly interested in entrepreneurship, they withdrew from the companies leaving, them to the newly formed working class or to some segments of it. Unlike their respectable predecessors, the budding factions of working-class firefighters seemed to value robust masculinity and rowdiness. Often, rival fire companies would race against one another to be the first at the scene of a fire in hopes of being praised for their speed and efficiency. However, these competitions frequently concluded in all-out brawls between separate fire companies. The men were also known to drink and sometimes even fight amongst themselves in the fire house,

41:37

behavior that quickly caused the urban American public to question their fireman's decorum. However, this behavior was rarely mentioned or even alluded to in early 19th century newspapers. Throughout the beginning of the 19th century, any mention of a fire in period newspapers was accompanied by a positive evaluation of firefighters who suppressed the fire.

42:00

Journalists in their assessment of events seemed so cautious to honor and praise the fire companies that it's difficult to decipher what actually took place at the fires. Historian Amy S. Greenberg has argued that the respect that reporters show to firefighters in their columns was a manner of tribute, tribute as payment for protection. Their admiration was an investment for the protection that they offered citizens and was meant to alleviate the anxiety of their readers. It was intended to assure readers that their firemen were capable of controlling and restraining the conflagrations that they feared.

42:37

During the time of the Masonic Hall conflagration, the firemen of Philadelphia were well aware of the disrespect that they had received in *Waln's The Hermit in America* and hoped to absolve themselves of its accusations. On March 13, four days after the Masonic Hall fire, a report of a Masonic meeting was published in the local *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*. The article states that the chairmen of the organization met with the intention of raising funds for rebuilding of the Hall of the Grand Lodge, which had been consumed by fire on the evening of the ninth. Next to the report of the Masons meeting in the same edition of *Poulson's*, this announcement runs. "Mr. Poulson, by inserting the enclosed in your paper, you will confer a favor on the injured young men of the city, composing the several fire companies. The firemen of the city of Philadelphia, especially of our comrades of the southeastern section of the city, who no doubt have felt the full force of the reproach directed towards them by *The Hermit in America* edited by Peter Atall. Though false alarms of fire have been given, and oft marred our pleasure, yet proudly scorning all, we have been found at our post, and never did that day dawn which at its close found us neglectful of our duty, a duty due, yet practiced only by the generous and humane, without compensation. Compensation we proudly scorn, nor do we ask it; yet there is one compensation we have, and which will not be torn from us—the pleasing reflection of knowing we have done our duty."

44:11

The announcement shows that Philadelphia firemen were not only aware of the negative criticism they had received in text, but also that they hoped to combat it by presenting themselves as devoted public servants. The *Conflagration in the Masonic Hall* print commits to this same goal almost entirely. Krimmel's print of the Masonic Hall fire is committed to presenting the fire engine and hose companies as heroic workers with the exception of one minor detail. The pump men stand in orderly lines pumping water to the fire hoses which four firemen have trained on the fire. However, just to the left of the structure, another fireman is seen holding a hose that is not aimed at the fire. Instead, he's allowing the water to spray out over the heads of a couple gentlemen standing on the ledge behind him. It appears as though the fireman is unaware of this fact, maybe not paying attention to his duties.

45:02

This element of the print is an anomaly that allows firemen to be seen as negligent or careless, and disrupts the apparent surface project of the print. The detail possibly hints at the American urban public's anxieties concerning firemen's rowdy behavior and blasé attitudes towards their work. Only a year after the *Conflagration of Masonic Hall* print was published, Krimmel was hired to produce another image of firefighters. The commission was for a business card for Sellers and Pennock, a Philadelphia company that manufactured fire engines and fire hoses. The card shows a group of firemen using two of the company's most recent inventions. The first, the rivet hose, had just been invented by James Seller, and the second, the hydraulion, a wagon with a hose reel and pumping engine, was recently designed by Abraham Pennock.

45:51

The firemen use these devices to put out a fire in a burning building that stands in the distance. Not one idle fireman is included in the image, they are all working diligently to extinguish the fire. Perhaps Sellers and Pennock commissioned Krimmel to produce their business card because his Masonic Hall print earned him the respect and good favor of the fire companies in Philadelphia.

46:12

Krimmel's print of the Masonic Hall fire is committed to honoring these fire engine and hose companies as heroic workers. The reorientation of the print image from the original painting is perhaps designed as an opposition to the negative criticism that Philadelphia firefighters began receiving in 1819. The conflagration print speaks to a need that citizens in early 19th century America had to believe that their public servants were honest and capable rather than unruly and ineffective. They chose to ignore their disruptive and incompetent behavior because it allowed them to believe that they were safe from the devastation that they knew fires could cause. Thank you.

(Applause)

47:01 Georgia Barnhill

Some of us in this room are familiar with David Claypoole Johnston's work in Philadelphia in the late teens, and he did wonderful satires of military musters. And I'm thinking there's got to be something going on between both the firemen on the one hand and the militia members who are equally rowdy, from my understanding.

47:24

So for our final presentation, we're returning solidly to Fitz Henry Lane. Margaretta Lovell is a cultural historian working at the intersection of history, art history, anthropology, and museology. She holds the J. D. McElroy Chair in the History of American Art at the University of California, Berkeley, and studies material culture, painting, architecture, and design of the 18th, 19th, 20th, and even 21st centuries. She received her PhD in American Studies at Yale in 1980, having been appointed to the Art History faculty in 1978, and has taught as a visiting professor in the History of Art Departments at Stanford, Harvard, and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Having taught at Berkeley since 1981, she has also held the Dittman Chair in American Studies at the College of William and Mary, and the Ednah Root Curatorial Chair for American Art at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

48:27

Awards include fellowships, residencies and research grants from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Antiquarian Society, the Huntington Library, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Terra Foundation, the University of California, Chancellor's and President's

Fellowships, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, an agency of the federal government that's under pressure these days. So if you like NEH, send a letter to your Congressman. Her wonderful book *Art in a Season of Revolution* was awarded the Eldredge Prize by the Smithsonian American Art Museum and the Pre-1800 Book Prize from the College Art Association's Organization of Historians of British Art. Her earlier, *A Visible Past*, received the Ralph Henry Gabriel Prize of the American Studies Association. And coming out in 2018, drumroll, reflecting her current research, is *Painting the Inhabited Landscape, Fitz H. Lane and Antebellum America*. So please welcome Margareta Lovell.

(Applause)

49:44 Margareta Lovell

It's a huge pleasure to be here today. And, of course, I wish to thank the organizers. Also, the visionary, Sam Holdsworth, the immensely talented Melissa Trafton who could not be with us today, but in particular, the brilliant, knowledgeable, and ebullient curator, Gigi Barnhill. Talk about drum rolls.

50:21

The questions I tend to ask are, what can we learn about culture from artworks? What does medium tell us about audience? And how do patronage systems work to support artists? I can't say that I can answer all of those. But I just thought I'd tell you the questions I ask. In my twenty minutes, I want to focus on these two men, native son Fitz Henry Lane on the right, who spent sixteen years between 1832 and 1848 in Boston, learning and practicing the trade of lithographer, co-managing his own lithography establishment for three years, and then returned to Gloucester to distinguish himself as landscape and marine painter. And on the left, Robert Bennet Forbes, born in the same year, 1804, who rose from youthful mariner to clipper ship captain and partner in America's premier China trade house, Russell and Company. He was also a pioneer, a designer, owner, and master of boats and ships of all descriptions.

51:29

Unlike the majority of Lane's lithographs, which were created as individual sheets for a wide variety of purposes as we've already seen today, to publicize businesses, to embellish sheet music, to capitalize on dramatic and newsworthy incidents, and to respond to civic pride in the citizens of Gloucester, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, New Bedford, and Castine as you see here, Lane also produced lithographs to illustrate and punctuate books and journals. I'd like to hypothesize the critical importance of this third type of lithographic project, seemingly modest small-scale ship portraits commissioned in association with book projects, in putting Lane on a sound financial footing at the outset of his painting career. Three of these book project lithographs depict characteristic broadside views of three ships associated with the professional skills and public roles of Robert Bennet Forbes, notable mariner, shrewd businessman, ingenious designer of ships, and a prolific writer as well as one of the wealthiest and most

active men of his generation. This is a narrative about these three lithographs and the vessels that they depict.

52:50

At the top, I should probably use my pointer, the *Departure of the Jamestown for Cork Ireland, Boston, March 28, 1847, R. B. Forbes, Commander.*

53:09

Second, *Auxiliary Steam Packet Ship Massachusetts*, an undated lithograph, probably mid to late 1840s. And last, *Steam Bark Antelope, Steam Demi-Bark, excuse me, Antelope, 615 Tons, from a Painting by F. H. Lane.* So I'd like, as I said, to position these three works in Lane's career but also in Forbes's.

53:58

Lane's job, of course, was to graphically record the look of these vessels, what were their characteristics. And so they're very descriptive, very careful prints, designed to amplify the textual account that the author was writing in prose. This may seem to us an unexciting assignment with perhaps unexciting results. But I'm going to try to convince you that actually these images are key to some pretty complex and far ranging narratives. So although what we're seeing here is three majestic sailing vessels, Forbes's life and his narratives make clear his vigorous interest in steam propulsion for vessels of all kinds. In Forbes's list of "forty-two vessels built under my order or supervision or in which I have had an interest," he includes vessels that he classifies as bark, brig, ship, schooner, yacht, steam schooner, steam bark, steam tug, steamship, iron paddle steamer, and propeller steamer. Fully half, in other words, by category, were coal burning, mostly propeller-driven vessels.

55:11

The reasons behind Forbes's commissioning of the lithographic portrait of the frigate *Jamestown*, this is perhaps the best known of these stories, Forbes wanted a frontispiece to embellish his published account of the heroic delivery of food for the Irish at the height of the Great Famine in the spring of 1847. One of two relief ships loaded with donated food sent that spring, the *Jamestown* was a Navy sloop of war and loaned by Forbes. He captained the ship, I guess you could say he sort of rented it for free from the government for this humanitarian mission. So his account that he wrote, *The Voyage of the Jamestown on Her Errand of Mercy*, was published later in that same year with this portrait of the vessel leaving Boston Harbor. Lane made the drawing and the lithograph was published by the Lane and Scott firm. It's characteristically precise in its record of details of rigging and of the skyline, and its evocation of harbor waves. In gratitude, the Irish had a huge silver salver made for him. By huge I mean, it's

56:27

almost three feet wide, solid silver, big, clunky thing, engraved and presented to him. But they also apparently engaged British marine painter George Atkins to render the Lane print of the

Jamestown departing from Boston in oils to present to Forbes, one of the rare instances in which we know that the painting derived from a print.

56:55

In his personal reminiscences, Forbes relates petitioning Congress for the loan of the vessel, and loading the *Jamestown* with 800 tons of food supplied by, quote, “the generous people of New England,” quote, “for the destitute people of the suffering country,” and making the Atlantic crossing he reports in, quote, “just fifteen days and three hours from Boston.” I should say that's totally characteristic, whenever there are records of ships from this period, their transit is recorded in very specific days and sometimes hours. Speed is extremely important. So, he says, “in just fifteen days and three hours from Boston, which considering that the ship was riding very deep in the water (it was so full), the crew was rather light, and the season very unpropitious, was very remarkable passage.” So arriving in court, he continues, he entertained the Irish Committee on Relief onboard the *Jamestown*, “on Boston mutton and poultry taken out in the ship in ice and consequently killed over 51 days previous.”

58:14

I hope he meant frozen. Or maybe salted? I really paused when I got to that line, like, this is a celebration?

58:33

I'm teaching a course on food this semester, and some things about food in America in the past puzzle me, and that's one of them, but I won't pause there. So in the lithograph, and in the painting, the majestic *Jamestown* is escorted by a light steam tug. Which you see right here, and here's the drawing of it. This is Lane's preparatory drawing of this little vessel appearing up in the corner here. The image of the tug in the lithograph follows very closely the pencil drawing, although animated in the lithograph with a plume of smoke from her twin stacks in that finished image. Very few Lane drawings of vessels survive, but there must have been many of them. And in this instance, it suggests a careful, straightforward working method.

59:26

This tug was named *R. B. Forbes*, and thus its presence here, it constitutes a kind of aquatic selfie of the temporary master of the *Jamestown*. As Forbes relates in his reminiscences, he was, and I quote, “instrumental in building the first iron vessels in New England, the most notable of which was the iron twin screw tugboat named after me in 1842, for many years, the most powerful and successful tug in American waters.” A very hands on sort of person, Forbes himself captained this powerful and novel little tugboat when he wasn't otherwise engaged.

60:05

For instance, in November of 1847, just after he returned from Cork, Ireland, when a new propeller was being tried on this tugboat, he himself took her out. And in April of 1848, when a packet ship went ashore in Scituate, he quote, “fired up the *R. B. Forbes* and proceeded to her,

we took hold, and we brought her to the city.” Others had predicted that, as he put it, “the propeller would not tow as well as the paddle wheel.” But he bet on the propeller, and this, of course, in this he was right. And so he tended to use propeller propulsion in most of his steamships. In response to the Gold Rush, Forbes designed and had built in 1849, in other words right away, in New York an iron steamship seventy-five feet long that he shipped to California on the deck of one of his square riggers.

61:02

That puzzles me. I mean, can you imagine trying to organize your sails when you've got the seventy-five foot steamship on your deck? But anyway, that's how it got there.

61:17

And the point of course, was to have a steamship to go up and down the Sacramento River to carry the gold miners who came by the thousands, and their supplies, to take them up to the gold fields in the Sierra foothills. He also had built and shipped to China other steam ships for river and harbor navigation in Hong Kong and Singapore and elsewhere. But Forbes was also interested in steam power for blue water navigation. Probably Lane's first lithographic project for Forbes was in connection with these two prints, which were executed from drawings by Lane, by the firm of Lane and Scott between 1844 and '48. *Auxiliary Steam Packet Ship Massachusetts* on the right here was executed to be included in the *US Nautical Magazine and Naval Journal* to accompany an article concerning the value of steam assisted navigation.

62:16

We don't know the occasion of the dramatic other image of the same vessel, *Steam Packet Ship Massachusetts in a Squall, November 10, 1845*, apparently executed as a standalone print on the left. This latter more dramatic view of the same vessel was executed by the firm also of Lane and Scott using two stones, in this case one for black ink and the other for the blue-green tint in the sky and the water. There are two unusual elements in the design of the *Massachusetts* that Forbes was eager to share with others involved in the maritime affairs, which is why he published this article. It's first novelty is as a packet ship equipped with an auxiliary steam engine and brass propeller over nine feet in diameter. And I've pointed to the smokestack here in case you didn't spot it. Again, can you imagine trying to make your way around the deck of the ship with a hot smokestack right there in the middle? Well, it's not my problem, but I saw these obstacles,

63:34

I guess I remember once as a child being on somebody's sloop, and I must have been a very small child, because we were, you know, far out at sea, and the sail ripped and made a horrible sound, just this terrible rending sound. And I remember somebody grabbing me from the back of my neck and throwing me into the cabin. You know, the idea is you get the children out of here. And you know, ever since then I have this kind of sense of, you know, things happen very fast on sailing ships, and when they do, you don't want impediments.

64:17

Launched in 1845, she made two transatlantic runs, but she couldn't compete with either the sailing packets, or the first generation of British transatlantic steamships. Britain was already running paddle wheelers across the Atlantic. Her second novelty was her quote, "double topsail rig," which was designed as Forbes explained, so that and I quote, "the sails are more easily managed, set better on a wind, and can be furled snugger in a gale and are much less subject to wear out. In short, the ship can be taken care of in bad weather by the watch as well or better than the ship rigged after the ordinary fashion by all hands."

65:00

And he talks about the difficulty of managing these ships with their extraordinary number and size of their sails by crews in which the the crew members have become debilitated because of dysentery or other matters. And so he says, he's designed this so that fewer people and even just the watch, you don't have to get the other guys up under adverse conditions. So it's easily manageable in adverse circumstances, was the big virtue of this new rig. What is the squall lithograph all about? It appears to show the sails in total disarray. And I can't tell you that I've worked that out yet. Maybe it's supposed to be a "before and after," it's not clear to me, but I'm on the track of it. I like to snarf these things out.

66:07

Unlike the stately *Massachusetts* on the right, this image of a ship in distress, or apparently in distress, does not appear to have been prepared for a publication, but rather was issued, as I say, as a standalone print. As the unit cost of a colored print was probably as much as 90 cents, and the cost of production was at least \$100 for the production of a run, and these are probationary numbers, and I hope to be corrected and given the precise information from our expert in the front row here, it's probable, I mean, in other words we're extrapolating from a very few cases that we do know into all the cases we don't know. But nevertheless, it's probable that Lane and possibly Forbes imagined that a standalone nautical scene of high drama would have broad appeal, something like that, conflagration in a sense. Like, how many people want to put a fire on their, you know, parlor wall, perhaps the same people who would want to put a ship in distress on their parlor wall. Maybe you put them together on your parlor wall just to make the parlor a little more interesting. Despite the apparent disaster pictured here, we know that auxiliary steam packet ship *Massachusetts* survived into the late 1870s as a sturdy ship in the service of the Navy and the Army, it seemed to go back and forth between the Navy and the Army. Not because they didn't care for it, but because they were jealous over who gets to use it, because it was a very sturdy little ship.

67:45

The third Forbes vessel that Lane lithographed was *Antelope Two*, which you see here on the right. But before we get to that image, and that vessel, we need to consider the brig *Antelope One*, which you see in the oil painting on the left. Both of these vessels were designed by

Forbes for the firm that he headed in China, Russell and Company, for many years. *Antelope One* was built in 1846, sorry, 1843, de-masted in a typhoon in 1848, re-rigged as a bark, and finally wrecked in 1852, off the coast of China. So she had a useful life of just nine years. *Antelope Two* here on the right, built in 1855, in other words, pretty much shortly after the first one was wrecked, was built in the same shipyard, but she was larger and she incorporated different nautical strategies.

68:41

I should add that confusing the record, and these things are hard, you wish Ancestry would get into it. But anyway, there was a New York based *Antelope* that was in the West African trade, owned by a Charles Peter Clark and his firm from 1857 to '60 so overlapping, and a fourth *Antelope*, a medium clipper in the China trade built in Medford, Massachusetts for a Boston firm in 1851 that was lost in Bangkok in 1858. And a clipper of that name, an extreme clipper of that name, of 1055 tons, there was a much larger ship built in Long Island in 1852, also for the China trade and sold to British owners in 1864, and still at sea in 1870. I'm giving you all of these dates because they took me a long time to sort out. So I'm delivering on the research.

69:38

The two *Antelopes* that you see here, these are the two that interest me. These are the two that were built in East Boston, according to Forbes's specifications, and were portrayed by Lane. So let me pause and say something about ship portraits. Maybe I'll pause altogether and say I had a nice conversation once with a curator, really, really terrific curator of American Art, and I told him I was interested in working on Lane, he said, "You know, I am so thankful that the collection has none of those portraits." In other words, making quite clear that there's a hierarchy of kinds of vessels, of kinds of paintings, and that the ship portraits were not on his a-list. Alright, so with that in mind,

70:33

I want to try to help you get it, because I couldn't convince him, but let me help you get it. So, in order to get into the spirit, here's how a commenter in the early 19th century described the secret of the attachment that mariners had to their vessels, and I quote, "It is this powerful and to landsman almost incomprehensible charm that forms, the secret tie that binds the mariner so closely to his vessel, and which often leads him to prize her qualities as one would esteem the virtues of a friend, and almost to be equally enamored of the fair proportions of his ship as those of his mistress. It is his home, his theme, his constant and frequent, if painful, interest, his tabernacle, and often his source of pride and exaltation." So, try to feel that when you see these.

71:28

Many people admired this vessel, that is to say *Antelope One* on the left. When Forbes took her on her trials during July of 1843, sailing as far south as Norfolk, Virginia, the press in that city and New York City, they all took notice, and they spoke of her as "a new and beautiful brig, with

a neat and rakish appearance, exciting no little speculation.” I think “rakish” here refers to the angle of the masts, not to misbehavior, but who knows. All sorts of things as you can tell are projected upon these vessels.

72:05

Forbes was thirteen years old and at the bottom of the nautical pecking order when he took his first voyage to China and was Captain by the time he was in his early 20s. As master of vessels that have competed with *Antelope*, he noted her superior sailing qualities. In short, the fact that she was swifter and more agile than competitors, including other ships that he had designed and ships that he was commanding, he obviously was in competition with her at least at one point. Captained by Philip Dumaresq, also born in 1804, and Forbes’s uncle by marriage, *Antelope* did hard service for her owners in the difficult opium trade. She was fitted with sixteen guns, so that’s eight on either side. If you count the ports, you’ll notice that two of them are known, probably those are known as Quaker cannons, or false cannon ports. I love that, “Quaker cannons.” Like other opium clippers, *Antelope One* and *Antelope Two* were well-armed and swift, as they were considered prizes.

73:17

This is what I mean by prizes. In 1828, when he was twenty-four years old, Forbes was serving as master of a ship called *Danube* and her first port of call was Smyrna in Turkey. And his task there was to buy opium in exchange for a cargo of coffee, \$20,000 in specie, which was Spanish silver dollars, and bank credit for 60,000 pounds. The cargo of opium then that he took around Africa through the Indian Ocean to China would have been worth at the start of his trip \$300,000 in their money, right, in the Mediterranean, and it would have yielded a profit in China of up to 20 times that. This is one trip, one ship. So what was at stake in these journeys was huge profits and a substantial outlay, you can imagine a loss would have been a huge loss.

74:17

By the 1840s, most American opium clippers were picking up their valuable cargo in India, in Bombay or Calcutta, and delivering it to Hong Kong. The opium trade was highly organized and highly capitalized and dominated by three firms, a British firm, an Indian firm, and the American firm of Russell and Company that was associated with Forbes. Opium was legal and unregulated and readily available and utilized medicinally in the United States, in Britain, and in the rest of Europe, in liquid form, where it was the principal ingredient in patent medicines and broadly used for a variety of ailments as laudanum.

74:58

In India—I remember as a teenager, reading 19th century novels and keeping coming across “ladanum” or “laudanum” and wondering what that was. Well, I finally figured it out this year. In India, opium was introduced by the Moguls in the seventh century, and evidently is native to the Middle East, and so it spread from there. But it spread particularly to India, and was widely available there and used, and for all I know, still used today, I should ask why, now in ritual and

social contexts. In China, opium had been introduced in the ninth century from the same source by traders from the Middle East. But something interesting happened in the middle of the 18th century. And that is that the usage of opium changed. And the reason it changed, and I still need to learn more about this, was because Native American pipe smoking of tobacco was introduced to China, and they used the pipes for the opium rather than using it in liquid form, as it had been produced in patent medicines.

76:11

And so apparently, it's much more addictive in that form and with that use, and much more individual, not social, not ritual, but individual. So it's more heinous in terms of both individual and the social productivity, the economic productivity, of your citizens. For that reason, in the middle of the 18th century, because it was debilitating both to individuals and to the economy, it was outlawed by imperial edict in China, under the punishment of death. They weren't fooling around.

76:48

But opium was so profitable, that huge segments of the Chinese Civil Service and business community and the populace conspired to acquire and distribute it. Twice in the first half of the 19th century, as you probably have heard, China went to war to exclude opium and lost both times, finally agreeing in the middle of the century in the 1850s, to not only legalize opium but get on board and tax it, so governments may profit as well as individuals.

77:27

There were other important commodities traded in this trade, but not much the Chinese were interested in except furs and silver between the Americans and the Chinese, and in exchange they picked up tea and silks and porcelain, as you probably know, but opium was the most profitable for all parties handling it. *Antelope One*, as I said, was agile and fast. A seaman who shipped aboard her during her first year wrote of her admiringly, "With her low, black hull, her tall rakish masts and square yards, she was a regular beauty. She had at this time two guns on the side besides a long Tom," presumably a kind of gun, "and midships, boarding pikes were arranged in," by the way, now she's got two guns on the side so maybe they were too heavy and they figured two on the other side is okay, and so all the other ports are going to be Quaker guns, "boarding pikes were arranged in great plenty on a rack around the mast and the large arms chest. On the quarter deck was well supplied with pistols and cutlasses. Our top sails were full large enough for a vessel double her tonnage. Our little craft could go to windward. Our crew consisted of seventeen men, all stout and able fellows, no boys. It was sometimes neck breaking work to shim up to the tall royal mast when the sky sails were to be furled."

78:53

He then goes on to describe their approach to the Ladrone Islands in the China coast. This is the first trip of this vessel, and he said that they lost their wind, "We lay becalmed near land, the little vessel was perfectly unmanageable, drifting at the mercy of the current, and Chinese

pirates in long Mandarin boats headed toward us. With the immense force that they have at oars, it did not take them long to approach the becalmed brig.”

79:26

Which brings us to a curious little Lane drawing titled *Sooloo Pirate's Proa*, seemingly associated with nothing at all. Note the hooked boarding plank on her bow. This thing, here. I suspect that Forbes described the sort of vessel to Lane, and there may have been a project never completed to add such an image to Forbes's reminiscences, or another narrative entirely in lithographic or some other form. In any event, the pirate navies were highly organized and numbered as many as two hundred of these boats working in teams to harrow the coast.

80:03

And I should say that the Chinese Imperial Navy could do nothing to stop the pirates either. Neither could the British Navy. The pirates ruled the South China Seas. In this instance *Antelope One* was set upon, as is recorded by this seaman who was on board, and bless his heart wrote it down, and bless the antiquarian who took the story from him and delivered it to us. The ship, the brig, was set upon by, as he put it, “four large boats containing from sixty to one hundred men each,” remember, they have only seventeen on board, “directly, twenty or thirty leapt upon the low bow sprint, and happily the crew was able to repulse the attack until a stiff breeze saved them.” In another instance, we have a story of one of Forbes's ship's captains, by his uncle, that was pursued for three days by a whole fleet of these pirates.

81:13

This brings us to *Antelope Two* and Lane's lithograph that was issued in two forms, as a folded enclosure on lightweight paper in the article about this vessel, and as a standalone print. Designed and built by Forbes shortly after the loss of *Antelope One* in 1852, *Antelope Two* was constructed with the pirate problem foremost in mind. Her cannon are mounted both broadside and in the traditional manner, but remember that the broadside cannon require the ship to maneuver to effectively use those cannons. But he also mounted swivels in both the bow and the stern, and you can see one here, and one here. Swiveled cannons, which were able to command 360 degrees of the sea. More important, while belated observers have opined that, and I quote, this is from a commenter in the 1950s, “The auxiliary steamship could command little or no advantage over a sailing ship” it's clear I think, to anyone reading that account that I just read to you, that access to steam power, when the wind fails, could be the difference between success and disaster for a ship, the crew, and the cargo

82:36

We know a good deal about *Antelope Two*. And there she is, *Antelope* here, because this steam dem-bark was the subject of this long, extensive and extremely careful article in 1855, the year she was built, in the nautical magazine. Drawn by Lane, it was transferred to the stone by the lithographer J. P. Newell at J. H. Bufford's Lithography in Boston. This print includes hand colored pennant and flag in blue with the graphically printed sea. The vessel is seen under

steam. And I think that's why, even though she was remarkable for her rigging, that what we're describing here is the fact that this is partially a steam powered vessel with a dark plume of smoke signaling that coal-fired secondary power source. The caption gives her tonnage as 615, while other sources give it as 415 and 450. Again, very confusing, the measurement of tonnage changes at this moment, and I believe that's the problem here. I still have to sort that out.

83:52

Vessels of her type are capable of traveling very fast. I've been, you know, reading some astonishing accounts, up to 296 miles in a day, they could really move. And speed was of such an importance that accounts of the careers of these China tea clippers and opium clippers focus entirely on their global itineraries and on the speed with which they accomplished them, and what other vessels they beat, getting to their goals. The subtitle of the lithograph indicates that it was reproduced, quote, "from a painting by F. H. Lane," possibly the same size work of, not quite, but about the same size, that you can see upstairs. Although Lane is not generally known to have worked in this manner, that is in what we consider the 18th century usage, in which a print was understood to be a reproduction of a painting so a painting would have been prior, in fact, we know very little about Lane's manner of working, or his shifting practices as he identified himself increasingly as a painter rather than a lithographer.

85:02

Curiously, at this time, advertisements appear in the Gloucester telegraph for Mr. George F. Lane, quote, "who now is giving instruction in monochromatic painting, a new and beautiful art." He promises, quote, "that persons entirely ignorant of the rules of drawing and perspective are taught in the short time of twelve hours to paint pictures superior in effect to penciling or watercolors that will not fade and would ordinarily be worth \$10." We don't know who George F. Lane is. It's probable that this is not a misprint, there are two different ads. And besides, he's in rented rooms in the business block in Gloucester, he's not in Lane's studio. So it's possible that what we're seeing here is either the work of this other Lane copying this print, or maybe one of his pupils, you know, it would be logical if you're going to teach someone monochromatic painting that you would say, okay, here's a lithograph, copy it in grisaille. I don't know, mystery, help me solve it, let me know.

86:18

Forbes and his Chinese collaborators and business partners were millionaires. There's just, it's astonishing how much money they were able to make, how fast. The profits of the opium trade were huge. The value of their ships was immense. They had lots of spare cash. And it was important for him to make a record, not just you know, the ordinary portraits of ships because he was proud of them and wanted to think fondly about them, but because of a sense of history, a sense of achievement, and in some cases, a sense of poignancy about a ship's loss.

87:01

For Forbes, I would say these ships represented not just personal narratives and successes, but narratives of vessels with an impact on others, the starving Irish, the design and development of more efficient and safer riggings that could be managed with weaker or smaller crews. He didn't commission parlor pictures, but rather small-scale lithographic portraits for inclusion with these long and detailed explanatory texts. He clearly saw them as important parts of his legacy.

87:34

And now I go out on a limb. Lane's reputation. Oh, I maybe go altogether out on a limb. Oh, all right. It's not, okay, don't worry. Imagine here,

87:52

Lane's house, just a few blocks from here. Okay? Lane's reputation as an accurate artist was probably what brought Forbes to his door. And Forbes was clearly a repeat customer with good reason to encourage Lane. And I suspect that it's very, well, let me just pause and say I've always been puzzled that Lane leaves Gloucester without any capital to be an apprentice, and then a wage earner in Boston. And when he comes back in 1848-49, he comes back with "Esquire" after his name, he can buy a piece of property, and design a large house and have it built of stone, about two or three times more expensive than of wood. In other words, he suddenly got a lot of capital. And I don't see him making that kind of money from the lithography work that he generally, that he did for Scott and Lane, or that he did as a wage earner.

89:02

I'm suspecting that Forbes bankrolled him. Yes, so as I say, I'm out on a limb here. Give me another thesis if you can. But generally speaking, we know that he sold his paintings from \$50 to \$100. The most he ever got for a painting was \$500, and that was rather later in his life. So I'm suggesting that, rather my hypothesis is that it certainly was one of his, it seems to me it was one of his two very wealthy patrons, one Sidney Mason, and the other Forbes, who had lots of extra cash, Forbes in particular at this point. And both of these men were repeat customers who kept coming back to him, who liked what he was doing, and so I'm just suggesting that there is a link between his lithographic prowess and his career as a painter opening, seriously opening in 1849 when he returns to Gloucester. Thank you.

(Applause)

90:25 Georgia Barnhill

So, I guess we'll ask our three speakers to come up and sit on the stage. It really is a good question as to how Lane made that transition from the lithographer to fine art painter. I think that hypothesis may work. So, are there any questions? Yes, Sam.

90:56 Audience member

(Inaudible)

91:05 Georgia Barnhill

Okay, the question is what might be the cost of Lane's granite, or I guess, granite structure?

91:12 Margaretta Lovell

No, because as far as I can determine, there was only one other granite domestic structure in this area. There were other stone buildings, the bank and a couple of others, but we don't even have accounts of their cost yet. So I can tell you what a frame house was worth or being been sold for during that period, but not the construction of a stone house at that moment, except that we do know that it takes an enormous amount of labor that a carpenter house does not

91:56 Audience member

(Inaudible)

92:03 Margaretta Lovell

Of that size, three stories? As I say, we have sale documents, you know, for advertisements for houses that exist that are for sale at that time, together with their land. And they tend to run like \$400 to \$500. As I say, a stone house, involving stone masonry, and different kinds of skills would be more expensive. So it was an expensive house.

92:36 Georgia Barnhill

In New York, I think that Charles Parsons was earning maybe \$20 a week as a lithographer. No, maybe it's \$20 a month, a week? Forget that, I'm trying to figure out how much money they amass, it's difficult.

93:00 Audience member

(Inaudible)

93:12 Margaretta Lovell

I don't think it is figured, I don't think we have a figure for it.

93:20 Georgia Barnhill

So there may be information on the minimum cost or the value. It's so hard to translate, you know, our current sense of what \$1 is worth and what it was worth in the 19th century, I mean, there are programs and they just, sometimes they seem to work and sometimes they don't, you know, to say that someone earned \$5, today, well, heavens, that's not much at all. But in the 19th century, at certain times, it was really quite substantial.

93:56 Audience member

A slave was 500 bucks.

93:59 Georgia Barnhill

Yeah, so a slave would have been auctioned off. A male, able-bodied slave. Another question someone? Yes?

94:14 Audience member

I was speculating about Lane's ability to barter, and in particular bartering granite for his house with granite quarries here locally because there is evidence that a large piece of granite was dragged, probably went by river and was dragged along land to form the one of the stairs of his house.

94:49 Georgia Barnhill

So bartered what, so Lane would have given the granite quarry?

95:10 Margaretta Lovell

Prints for granite, one block for one print?

95:16 Georgia Barnhill

Prints are certainly more portable.

95:29 Audience member

(Inaudible)

95:35 Georgia Barnhill

Yeah granite was a very important building material, and granite foundations still stand firmly under their buildings, the buildings can—poof!—but the foundations are there. Some other questions? Yes?

95:55 Audience member

(Inaudible)

96:11 Georgia Barnhill

So the question is, did Lane portray anything having to do with granite quarrying, and I don't think so. I can't, but Margaretta has an idea.

96:28 Margaretta Lovell

I think the most direct thing we have is the painting in the Sawyer library of a granite sloop at sea. He also portrays granite sloops in the middle distance or in the distance of some of his paintings, but that one, in that case, that's the subject of the painting, is the movement of the granite. But he did not paint the quarries that I've been able to discover.

96:58 Audience member

There is a lithograph called *The Ship Is Ready*, with I believe the USS Constitution in the background and the granite embankments for Constitution Wharf in Boston Harbor. The sailing vessel is in foreground, that Lane produced.

97:24 Georgia Barnhill

So basically Lane reproduced a granite wharf in one of his—

97:29 Margaretta Lovell

Oh, he's got lots of it in his pictures, but not the quarrying of it.

97:37 Georgia Barnhill

Yes?

97:43 Audience member

I was struck by that card that shows the slave at auction, and it's interesting to me because he's really presented as not very abject, you know, standing facing the viewer, (inaudible), he even had his hand on his hip.

98:02 Christine Garnier

I think it's to the side, but there there is a lot of pride and agency and respect that is still shown in that image in particular.

98:14 Audience member

And have you looked at other images of slave auctions to see how that lines up?

98:19 Christine Garnier

Yeah, there are, particularly in relation to slave auctions, there's a range of different relationships that are created, particularly because that was a very central scene for abolitionists. However, the slave auction, particularly in the 1850s and the 1860s, did fall into a state of caricature at that moment as well. So the fact that he is shown as an individual with significant, distinctive features and pride and agency would have been significant to a viewer. The scene of the slave auction also becomes extremely important in sculpture and also going forward in the 19th century as well.

99:07 Audience member

Yeah, the image that I'm thinking of is similar to, and I think it's by an artist named Thomas (inaudible).

99:26 Christine Garnier

Yeah, but that was definitely a, thank you for that suggestion, because the image of the auction hall also becomes a place of slippage when defining race as well. And that's something that a few art historians have looked at, too, that simply the color of your skin does not necessarily

define if you could be marked as a slave or not. There was a campaign by abolitionists who portrayed white, light-skinned children who were sold at auctions in the 1850s, that could have been mistaken for any white child in the north, as a way to kind of get at this notion that, you know, the auction hall is this place where someone could have been captured, thinking to the white audience, your own children could have been captured, brought into slavery, and no one would even know. So it does operate as a place of slippage. And I think that's something that Stephens and Queen had to have thought about when composing him as a figure.

100:40 Georgia Barnhill
Yes?

100:41 Audience member
(Inaudible) To what extent did pictorial depictions of self-liberated slaves play a role in that change of public sentiment about this topic?

101:14 Christine Garnier
There again, there's kind of a range of sentiment and a polarizing vocabulary that is developed around the idea of the fugitive slave or the self-liberated slave that ranges from individual depictions of biographical characters like Frederick Douglass himself and his own autobiography and his own telling of his narrative, to characterizations of those same figures. If you look at music sheets, for example, there's a large collection at the American Antiquarian Society of music sheets of Frederick Douglass, his face operates as a portrait but his body operates as caricature, so it's really kind of a spectrum of reactions and responses, that existed before 1854 but is reinigorated and intensified in that moment as well. I hope that answers your question.

102:19 Audience member
So pictorial expressions were important in that debate, but on both sides.

102:26 Christine Garnier
Yeah, absolutely. Absolutely. They were both used to support abolition and also to support the idea of slavery.

102:37 Georgia Barnhill
Wow.

102:39 Audience member
Regarding that image of the auction block, within your analysis of the grammar color, is there any significance to the fact that the slave is wearing a white suit? It's such a white suit, and he's so formally dressed because you typically think of the auction block, they're showing as much, especially for a male slave, as much of the muscle.

103:00 Christine Garnier

They're usually exposed bodies as a way to emphasize the labor that is, the potential labor of the slave, instead of showing him clothed and dignified. What's interesting about that card is, so usually white operates just as the white paper, the base of the card, but the card is cream. It is a white block that is printed onto that card. So there's so much intention put into that white suit. But it really does put extreme tension on this notion of who is dark skinned, who can dress themselves in white, and puts this whole idea of racial identification into flux. So I definitely think that's central in the image.

103:53 Audience member

I have a question for Ellen. I'm wondering if you looked at other representations of firefighters, and I know you're comparing Kimmel's painting to the lithograph, but have you looked at others, I'm thinking of the *Merchants' Exchange* lithograph.

104:07 Ellen Sondag

Currier? Yeah, I have. It seems that in the period that I'm talking, the early 19th century, and the images I was talking about were from 1819, most conflagration images that do include firefighters, show them as heroic workers, and then there's a change that takes place around, it seems like, 1840s, 1850s, that then images actually start to question, you know, whether they are these dutiful workers and show them in a slightly more sort of negative light. Although Nathaniel Currier in his career often showed them as heroic workers. There was actually a really famous print by him that shows just a single firefighter sort of emerging out of the, you know, destroyed building. And that was a print that actually a lot of homes in America had in the early to mid-19th century. But yeah, I am more interested in looking at the shift that takes place, and why in American culture they're now able to recognize and criticize some of the possible shortcomings of these public servants. Yeah, that's a good question.

105:32 Georgia Barnhill

Interesting. Yeah, Nancy?

105:38 Audience member

There's a pair of pictures by (inaudible), and I can't quite remember the date, but it's that time, and one is the local fire captain as a hero. And in the next one, and he did this, he turned his hat around and turned his back on the fire. It's quite a kerfuffle. I can't remember all the details right now.

105:58 Ellen Sondag

Yeah, that's a great tip. Thank you.

106:00 Georgia Barnhill

Interesting. Yes, way in the back?

106:05 Audience member

You talked about a period in which there were multiple firefighting companies competing against one another (inaudible). I was curious what you might have learned about (inaudible).

106:24 Ellen Sondag

Yeah. So in Philadelphia, at least, when it's first sort of founded and co-founded by Benjamin Franklin, it's more, it functions as somewhat of an elite social club, which is interesting to compare it to the Masonic Hall because that's what the building itself was for. But yeah, originally it's more elite sort of leaders of, you know, leaders in the town of Philadelphia at the time who are volunteering their time to work in this these, you know, volunteer fire companies and then it's near the beginning of the 19th century that they become more fire companies, less sort of volunteer. And it's around that time that, like I was saying, the membership sort of changes to these rowdier sort of groups of men. And there's more of a sort of bravado and a sort of emphasis on masculinity in those groups than there was before.

107:29

And they, actually in the print, I didn't go into this, but in the print Krimmel actually even recognizes the the names on the hats, if you see the print up close, of the different fire companies that were competing. I didn't want to talk too much about some of the details because it's really hard to see the image unless you have the print in front of you. But he does recognize the different companies which I think further sort of reiterate this idea that he was actually trying to sort of win favor from these groups and that the American Art Association at that time was trying to win favor. It's not until later in the century that they sort of moved to a more government, municipal sort of fire company. Yeah. So now at this point it's private

108:21 Georgia Barnhill

In the city of Worcester, there still is the Worcester Fire Society. And it's a group of about 20 people, I guess, 20 men, who in their homes still hang a fire bucket that contain a sack, as well as a key, to take apart a bed. That was the most valuable piece of furniture in the 18th century. And so these men meet, there's a fire inspector whose job it is to go inspect each of the fire buckets and the contents, and he gets a drink at each location. And they meet occasionally, do formal papers, and their papers are at the American Antiquarian Society. And I suspect they go way back in time. It's just fascinating. And my guess is, I mean, I don't know, when did the fire pump come into being? Is that a moment when it might have transformed from there? Well, the fire society was part of that, you know, wave of volunteerism, in the 1780s, at least in towns like Worcester.

109:44 Audience member

We still have them in Maine, volunteer fire departments. The Masons had enemies from time to time. Was there any hint that arson was what started the fire?

109:51 Ellen Sondag

That is interesting. No, I mean, from what I've read, it was a fire that started in one of the chimneys, and then it just basically kind of exploded because of the material in the stucco that the building was made out of. So all of the accounts that I've read suggest that it was just a fire that started in the chimney. But that's an interesting question.

110:16 Audience member

Philadelphia had some notable arson fires about ten years later.

110:18 Georgia Barnhill

That's true. Yes?

110:22 Audience member

(Inaudible)

110:52 Georgia Barnhill

What's the next big revelation about Lane?

111:01 Margaretta Lovell

Well, as Gigi mentioned, I have a book coming out next year that's full of factoids, if that's what you're looking for, yeah. I am hard-pressed to figure out what track you might be on, what kinds of things you might be looking for. But the chapters are Reputation, Value, Canvas, Fish, Lumber, Granite, and one yet to be named

111:50 Georgia Barnhill

Very different look or take on an artist's *oeuvre*, I'm sure. But I'm sure that docents get all kinds of questions that are baffling.

112:02 Audience member

I'm a docent, and I could use it.

112:04 Georgia Barnhill

Yeah. Do you have a few chapters you can send her? Any other questions from the floor? I just have one question for Ellen. I'm struck by the quick turnaround from painting to print, and can you comment on that at all?

112:30 Ellen Sondag

I mean, the most that I've found is that tiny quote I read that, you know, and this is coming from the Mason's history. So, you know, but they say that basically, I think, that there's a couple things that contributed to it. One, the building was an extremely sort of prominent architectural feat because William Strickland, the architect who designed it, was a prominent architect in Philadelphia. And so there is the suggestion that because it was a sort of architectural monument that the loss of it within less than ten years after it was built was sort

of immense. And so they wanted to create an image of it soon after. But I find it really interesting that it suggests, or the quote says, that the painting was actually made with the intention of the print to be made, which I find interesting, because it's not that the print was a sort of second thought, but actually, the painting was made so that the final product would be a print. And in a lot of ways. I mean, I think you can tell from my interpretation of it, I find the print so much more interesting than the painting. So I think it's partially that the building was a prominent building in Philadelphia, and that it burned down so quickly. I think the other thing is that the Masonic group was an elite social group. So that might have contributed to people wanting, sort of images, of this conflagration. Yeah.

114:08 Georgia Barnhill

Yeah, it's interesting. I mean, it's a good question, who would want the painting or the print of this horrible fire? I mean, we've been hearing so much about fires in California, you know, would any of us really want to hang the destruction of a vineyard on our wall?

114:25 Ellen Sondag

Yeah, it was so prominent there. And, of course, I didn't know when I suggested reading this paper that that was going to happen so close to where I live. There was a fascination with fire and conflagration, I think because it was so common in 19th century cities. Yeah.

114:45 Georgia Barnhill

Yes?

114:46 Audience member

I have a follow-up question on that, and I was thinking about it earlier. Could it've been to raise money or to gain further relief supplies for the people who were suffering, because that wouldn't have gone away in a short period of time. So even if this came out a year later, it could have still been beneficial. Because we know from other fires in New England, like Newburyport had one in 1811, and people from Salem and Marblehead could hear about it, but they didn't have to go any further, because it was a relatively small town, relatively small fire, but I'm thinking something like this might be that, what do you think?

115:27 Ellen Sondag

No, that's a good question. I mean, I don't have that much information, like research, as far as what the money could have gone towards. The advertisement for the print suggests that the money is going towards the Artists Association who hired Kimmel and John Hill to produce the print. So it could be going to the Artists Association. I don't know if they're, I don't have any research.

116:00 Audience member

(Inaudible) That's actually not what I meant. (Inaudible) in a commercial sense.

116:13 Ellen Sondag

Oh, interesting. Yeah, possibly. I'm sure there are probably some instances of that being the case.

116:21 Georgia Barnhill

They could have sent the print to Masonic Lodges elsewhere. You know, I mean, that's a great, and other Masonic Lodges might have stepped in to help fund the rebuilding. I don't know enough about it.

116:40 Ellen Sondag

I don't know how many prints were made. Of course, I wish I had that information. But that print is actually an aquatint, which is a little bit different of a process then, you know, lithography, because it's more the engraving process, and then hand-colored sort of like watercolor. So it's hard to say how many prints would have even been made. And of course, you know, I would love to know exactly what the audience was for purchasing that print.

117:19 Audience member

(Inaudible)

117:39 Ellen Sondag

And I think Currier, Nathaniel, before even they began Currier and Ives, had some disaster prints that sort of started—

117:46 Georgia Barnhill

Well, their first big seller was the destruction of the *Lexington* ship where 100 people died, and I mean, Nathaniel Currier issued one, well several editions, but other lithographers then picked it up. So, there may be more like fifteen versions of that one incident. So, yeah, disasters much on their mind.

118:12 Margaretta Lovell

But that disaster had a blame. Remember, the *Lexington*, there was a moral cast to it because there was a ferry nearby, and the captain decided to keep their schedule rather than pick up the people in the icy water. And I should say Sidney Mason's brother died on *Lexington*.

118:36 Georgia Barnhill

Interesting. Yes?

118:40 Audience member

(Inaudible)

118:48 Ellen Sondag

That is a good question. I do not, I don't think that Krimmel was, but I don't know if John Hill was. Although Strickland might have been, I actually would think that Strickland probably was. John Hill had come, he had just come from London three years before this print was made. So I'm not sure of his history around that time or before that time as much. But I would guess that Strickland probably was.

119:21 Georgia Barnhill

I have one quick question for Christine. Who published the series of cards?

119:27 Christine Garnier

That is not quite known. So they were coming out of James Fuller Queen's print shop. And based on the collection, based on the little provenance history that we know, it was probably connected to some sort of, either some sort of abolitionist group that was publishing material to be distributed to Union soldiers, or coming from the Government Printing Office itself, but we don't know.

119:58 Georgia Barnhill

I'm just interested how publishers interact with all of this. Anything? Any other questions? You know everything that you want to know about all these topics? Only for today, we'll come back tomorrow with more questions. Well, it's just a little after three o'clock, so we're in good shape. So thank you all. Thank you, Museum. Thank you, speakers.

(Applause)