



IMPRINT



JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL PRINT COLLECTORS SOCIETY

VOLUME 27, NUMBER 2 • AUTUMN 2002

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL PRINT COLLECTORS SOCIETY

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The three main articles in this issue all deal with aspects of the history of lithography in the United States, but their subjects and approaches vary greatly. Christopher Lane's contribution clarifies the extremely complicated publishing history of McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. The project involved numerous artists, lithographers, and publishers and eventually yielded some of the most attractive and important prints in the nation's history. ¶ Next, Martha Wyatt examines prints by the New York lithographers Endicott & Co. in the collection of The Mariners' Museum in Newport News, Virginia. She seeks to understand why the firm so frequently chose marine views as subjects and to assess the historical value of such views, particularly in relation to Civil War history. ¶ The third major article concerns several series of lithographs of New England scenery published by M.J. Whipple that are now quite rare. Jourdan Houston's diligent research has uncovered much new information on the individuals in mid-century Boston's community of artists, lithographers, and publishers who produced these views. ¶ And finally, the issue closes with several reviews of new books of interest.

SUE RAINEY, *Editor*

FRONT COVER: Charles Bird King, *Petalesharoo A Pawnee Brave*. Lithograph by Lehman & Duval, hand-colored, image size ca. 12¹/₂ x 10³/₄". Drawn on stone by Albert Newsam. E.C. Biddle, 1836.

BACK COVER: Charles Bird King, *Pet-A-Le-Shar-Ro A Pawnee Brave*. Lithograph by J.T. Bowen, hand-colored, image size ca. 12¹/₂ x 10³/₄". Drawn on stone by Ralph Tremblay. F.W. Greenough, 1838.

M. J. Whipple's *New England Scenery From Nature* Series: A 'Yearbook' of Tappan & Bradford Artists, 1849–1852

In early 1849, Boston's small cadre of painters, engravers, and sculptors met in the Boston Artists' Association rooms at Leonard & Cunningham's auction house to ponder remedies for the lackluster state of art in their city. Just as the nascent Gold Rush would soon evoke a huge migration of Yankees to California, a desultory market for "native" art in Boston augured an exodus of artists from local studios to more receptive cities. "Boston is not so warm a place for an artist as I could desire," one Association member wrote a New York client at mid-century, adding, "When I first came here, I had considerable to do, not as much since. And I am almost frozen by the lack of that interest."¹

The compatriots' boldest hope was to implement their own art union to foster lotteries to promote their works. But among their less formidable and more immediate responses was the publication of a bound portfolio of regional scenes printed by the fledgling Boston lithographic firm of Tappan & Bradford and published by M. J. Whipple, a dealer in artists' materials who was clerk of the Boston Artists' Association. Modest in size but ambitious in scope, *New England Scenery* stood out not only as a collective effort, but also as a preamble to the ascendancy of home-grown art at a time when Americans still clamored for works with a European flavor. It was one of two publications in early 1849 that answered a complaint heard in the city as the first Whipple portfolio was headed to press: "It is melancholy to see how much of the artistical talent of the country in engraving is devoted to the reproductions of European engravings."²

Planned as a series, this first Tappan & Bradford portfolio proved successful enough—or Whipple proved persistent enough—to generate at least three more bound issues with the same title (more or less) between 1849 and 1852. The third and fourth issues of the series, both published in 1852, have survived intact and are accessible in several locales. (Fig. 1) Copies of the earlier series, however, have proven more elusive, although the November 1849 edition of *New England Scenery* is mentioned by Harry T. Peters, author of

the seminal *America On Stone*, who saw the volume's eight lithographs more than seventy years ago. A number of lithographs thought to be from this and possibly the February 1849 issue were recently uncovered in one collection, allowing fresh insight into the production, artistry, and range of the project. (Tables 1 and 2, p. 36)

The theme and scope of *New England Scenery* was still novel, if not new. Other series by local artists had not advanced past the first issue. In 1843, for example, the versatile and voluble sculptor-poet Edward Brackett (1818–1908), a founder of the Boston Artists' Association in late 1841, had issued *Brackett's Works*, a folio with four plates engraved in Boston by Ephraim Bouvé (1817–1897) and William Sharp (1803–1875). The volume, which included Brackett's poetry and promoted his memorial sculptures, was declared "one of the finest specimens of American typography and line engraving ever published in the United States."⁴ Brackett intended that, should "lovers of art" find his effort satisfactory enough to "render the support that is needed," a new edition of four more prints and accompanying poems would be issued every six months.⁵ It was, however, not to be.

Single-issue compilations that included New England landscapes had already been published, some more ambitious, some with narrative, some with prints crafted on



FIG. 1. Henry Hitchings. Cover of *Fourth Series: New England Scenery From Nature*, By Various Artists (Boston: M.J. Whipple, 1852). Lithograph, 10½ x 13½" (sheet). Printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

JORDAN HOUSTON and her husband, Alan Fraser Houston, research the lives of Boston artists born before 1830 and those who visited the pre-railroad frontier. She is writing more extensively about several *New England Scenery* participants and is completing a history of the Boston Art Club and its predecessors through the early 1870s.

metal, some on stone. As the Boston artists met, William Oakes's *Scenery of the White Mountains* was being sold locally in an edition limited to 200 copies, gaining notoriety as much for the puzzling death of its author as for its contents of sixteen views of still-remote New Hampshire locales. William Oakes (1799–1848), the portly lawyer and botanist who had drawn the original sketches, had drowned in Boston harbor only days after completing his book in July of 1848, falling from a departing ferry with ten pounds of birdshot in his pockets in what the press suggested was suicide during “an insane interval.” (The Oakes family insisted the shot had been bought for sport.⁶)

Oakes's sketches had been completed by Isaac Sprague (1811–1895), the scientific illustrator and landscape artist after whom John James Audubon named “Sprague's Missouri Lark”—*Alauda Spragueii*, Aud. (Sprague located the bird and a nest of five eggs while traveling with Audubon near Fort Union on the Upper Missouri in 1843.) Two more drawings in the Oakes book were contributed by Cincinnati artist Godfrey Nicholas Frankenstein (1820–1873), who had lately been in Massachusetts and whose passion and reputation for painting Niagara Falls had already begun. The firm of John Henry Bufford (1810–1870), a competitor of Tappan & Bradford, lithographed the views.⁷

Whipple's series provided a clever platform for some of Boston's less heralded artists, especially for the drawing masters who planted the seeds for the national arts education movement two decades later and for the artist-entrepreneurs who would sustain the commercial engraving economy on Washington Street. *New England Scenery* is their unofficial “yearbook,” a visual almanac of largely young artists and printmakers, plus a few of their older peers. Most of the fifteen artists of *New England Scenery* views represented two loosely sympathetic groups, the commercial engravers and illustrators, and the teachers—the practitioners and the pedagogues. Their lithographs—now as many as twenty-four of them—span styles, years, subjects, and levels of sophistication. Some are by artists whose works either are rare or rarely appeared in this format. Others can be considered transitional, a first or a last effort in the stages of an artist's career. A brief examination of the careers, relationships, and accomplishments of these men amplifies the chronicles of Boston's lithographic and commercial printing culture; access to some of the 1849 lithographs adds context to the series and to the evolution of Tappan & Bradford as one of the finer lithographic firms in the “city of notions,” as Boston was often called.

The Publishers

In late February of 1849, M. J. Whipple walked from his art supply shop on Cornhill, past the art studios on Tremont Row, to the nearby state district court to copyright *Landscape Sketches from Actual Views of New England Scenery, Part 1*.⁸ Whipple, an amateur artist and a collector

of almost exclusively American works of art, was well suited for the task of marketing this little volume. By 1846, he had set up shop in an elegant two-story building not far from Faneuil Hall, selling supplies to fellow artists and becoming the American representative of the English firm of Winsor and Newton. (Founded in 1832 by “artists' colourmen” William Winsor and Henry Charles Newton, the English enterprise was credited with having vastly improved the quality of watercolors.⁹) The latest works of local poets made their way to Whipple's counters, too. He was acquainted with writers such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow not only through their active support of the visual arts in Boston, but also through his brother, literary critic and essayist Edwin Percy Whipple (1819–1886). The popular Percy Whipple was not shy about supporting his older sibling's projects.¹⁰

Although the lives and works of Ebenezer Tappan and Lodowick Bradford have enjoyed proper attention,¹¹ Matthew James Whipple (1815–1880) has remained a familiar but undeveloped figure in the Boston art community. Whipple provisioned Boston artists until 1869, his imprimatur on the reverse of thousands of canvases stretched for his clients; his role in the advancement of the arts, however, has been understated. A native of the Massachusetts port of Gloucester, he bore the name of the original Whipple settler in America, Matthew Whipple of nearby Ipswich.¹² M. J. Whipple's father, Matthew (1773–1820), was “a gentleman of strong sense and fine social powers,” descended, for better or worse, from a family of “chastening, mild blandness.” In contrast, Whipple's mother, the former Lydia Gardiner (d. 1842), brought inherent wit to the mix, delicately combining her own family's reputation for brains with the “envenomed sarcasm so peculiar” to the Gardiners, a family of social and political prominence in Massachusetts and in Maine, where a town bears their name.¹³

When the senior Matthew Whipple died of cholera in 1820, Lydia and her four children were burdened with as many debts as assets, forcing Lydia to petition the court for assistance.¹⁴ The family moved to the shipping center of Salem, north of Boston, where Lydia eventually ran a store, assisted by her sons. Lydia Gardiner Whipple was “devotedly attached to her children and her plastic influence largely contributed to shaping their character.”¹⁵ She reared her sons with a “very nice sense of the amenities of life and Art,” successfully developing their “taste for music, painting and literature, smoothing the asperities and relieving the drudgery of their mercantile employments.”¹⁶

The youngest of the Whipple boys was Percy, to whom Matthew remained close throughout his life. In 1837, Percy began a decade working as a clerk in Boston at 39 State Street, the building where Ebenezer Tappan (1815–1854), who would one day print the *New England Scenery* series, had recently opened an engraving shop. Matthew Whipple followed, and by 1841 was a charter member of the Boston Artists' Association.¹⁷ Founded by several very young artists



FIG. 2. Tappan & Bradford's Lithography shop, detail of *Grand Panoramic View of the West Side of Washington Street, Boston, Mass., Commencing at the Corner of Court Street, and Extending to No. 295, above Winter Street,* Gleason's *Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, Vol. IV, May 14, 1853, p. 313. Wood engraving by Major. The Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia Library.

lately arrived in Boston and a handful of veterans such as engraver George Girdler Smith (1795–1878), the club claimed Washington Allston (1779–1843), mentor to the city's artists, as titular president. In April of 1842, when the club held its first exhibition of “native” art at Chester Harding's gallery on School Street, its membership numbered forty-four, including four future *New England Scenery* artists—Richard Parrot Mallory (1813–1890), Francis Nalder Mitchell (1817–1865), William Henry Tappan (1821–1907), and Asa Coolidge Warren (1819–1904). But by 1849, after years of exhibiting local art and operating a drawing school, the energies and finances of the club had faltered and new initiatives had begun.¹⁸

Neither Ebenezer Tappan nor Lodowick Harrington Bradford (1820–1885), who printed the lithographs for Whipple, were members of the artists' association. Partners since 1848, the men occupied second-story rooms on Washington Street at Graphic Court (fig. 2), sharing the floor with a corset and embroidery shop, not far from the courthouse where Whipple registered his copyright. In

early January of 1849 the new quarters suffered “severe loss by water” when a fire broke out in the attic of their building, but losses were “nearly covered by insurance.”¹⁹

Tappan belonged to a Massachusetts family that included one of the premier banknote engravers in the northeast, Charles Toppan (1796–1874). Toppan, who maintained the original spelling of the family name, was from Newburyport, Massachusetts; the Tappans had grown up in nearby Manchester, a seaside town bordering Gloucester, where the Whipples were born.²⁰ Ebenezer Tappan operated his engraving business on State Street for nearly a decade. A few years later, his younger brother, William Henry Tappan—who contributed a *New England Scenery* portfolio scene in 1849—opened his own engraving stand (as local shops were called) on Franklin Street. But there was one more Tappan to go. In the 1850s, their baby brother, George Hooper Tappan (1833–1865), became a partner in an engraving firm with Charles Augustus Knight (b. 1833), a Manchester native like the Tappans, and veteran engraver George Girdler Smith, a man whose



FIG. 3. Francis N. Mitchell. *Saco River, N.H.*, Plate 5 in *Third Series: New England Scenery From Nature, By Various Artists* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, 1852). Lithograph, page size, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by Henry Hichings and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

Note: For image sizes, see Table 1.

influence touched a number of *New England Scenery* artists.²²

In 1849, Lodowick Bradford took on another partner when he wed Martha Brown of Gloucester and the couple moved down the street from M. J. Whipple. (In 1855, Bradford would print a major lithographed view of Gloucester by another native, Fitz Hugh Lane, son of a sail maker.)²² The son of a veteran Boston weigher and gauger descended from the first governors of Plymouth colony, Bradford had opened a solo engraving business in 1845, not far from the Washington Street enterprises of John Henry Bufford and Ephraim Washington Bouvé.²³

The association of Tappan and Bradford would last barely five years, but the team would rank high in the constellation of nineteenth-century American lithographers, the quality of their work "characterized by a fine, soft, almost silvery quality" and "subtle modulations in tone," in the words of Sally Pierce and Catharina Slautterback, authors of the important *Boston Lithography, 1825–1880*.²⁴ Sustained by this artistry and craftsmanship, the men combined the fine arts with the certificates, maps, and portraits that paid the rent and employed local artists.

The Printmakers

New England Scenery artists were among them. Their two dozen lithographs in the series printed by Tappan & Bradford summon a variety of reflections. The views by seal engraver Francis Mitchell and by Ebenezer's brother, William Henry Tappan, merit attention because lithographs by them are uncommon. Benjamin Nutting's 1849 lithograph after one of Thomas H. Hinckley's favored cow-rich landscapes has an especially high finish, similar to Tappan's presentation and to only a few others in the earlier series that are filled to the frame. (It is reasonable to conjecture that several of the recently located lithographs, characterized by ruled-borders and numbering, made up one of the 1849 issues, while the unbordered grouping constituted another. A Tappan & Bradford lithograph of a mill scene by Löffler—with a ruled-border and titled "No. 9,"—poses the prospect that numbers four through eight of a numbered series remain to be identified.) Benjamin Champney's delicate sketch of the White Mountains marks his transition into northern New Hampshire in 1850, while Parrott Mallory's stylized medallion of the Nashua River at Lancaster recalls a

much earlier time in his life. Edward Fowle's two drawings allow comparisons of how two different lithographers treated similar scenes, while O. Wallis's work on stone allows us to see his hand applied to designs by two different artists.

Francis Nalder Mitchell was an enthusiastic Boston seal engraver of Scottish heritage whose dies and impressions on stone and metal evoked reciprocal enthusiasm among Yankees.²⁵ The quality of Mitchell's work "would do credit to the most eminent European engravers," one of his admirers observed in 1841, adding, "It is a source of much gratification to find an artist of so much talent among us."²⁶ In 1845, Mitchell produced one of his most enduring seals, that of the newly-organized New England Historic and Genealogical Society; the engraver was among the Boston club's first members.²⁷ (The seal is still in use.) By mid-century, Mitchell had crafted medals for the Massachusetts Horticultural Society as well as for the Massachusetts

Charitable Mechanic Association, which regularly awarded him the same silver medals he had designed for its triennial exhibitions of the mechanical trades and fine arts.²⁸

Mitchell probably sketched his Saco River view in *New England Scenery* (fig. 3) during an 1848 tour of New Hampshire's White Hills with Henry Hitchings (1823–1902), the artist who lithographed a majority of drawings in the series, including Mitchell's. (Table 2) The two men, bachelors living in the Boston suburb of Dedham, traveled north in August, arriving in Conway, New Hampshire, via Maine. Future California lithographer George Holbrook Baker (1827–1906), who had relatives in Dedham, met the pair after making an oil sketch of the local mountains with the Saco River in the foreground. Baker remarked that Hitchings "has some fine sketches of Standish on [Maine's] Sebago Pond, and he strongly recommends taking that route for the beauty of the scenery."²⁹

FIG. 4. William Henry Tappan. *No. 1 Maine*, attributed to *Views in New England: a Series of Drawings From Nature, By Various Artists, Part First* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, November, 1849). Lithograph, 10¹/₂ x 13¹/₂" (sheet). Drawn on stone by Tappan (attributed) and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy Dedham (Mass.) Historical Society, accession No. 00064-a.





FIG. 5. Frederick D. Williams. *View At Belows Falls, Vt.*, Plate 4 in *Third Series: New England Scenery From Nature, By Various Artists* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, 1852). Lithograph, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by O. Wallis and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

Hitchings drew and lithographed a Standish scene for one of the 1852 Whipple portfolios.

William Henry Tappan, younger brother of Ebenezer Tappan, first appears in Boston in 1839 when he submitted a crayon drawing to the second Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association exhibition; the work was deemed "very creditable" as the "first attempt of an apprentice."³⁰ Tappan opened his own engraving firm in the early 1840s, producing works ranging from an engraved card for Christmas and New Year's greetings ("a novelty in the publishing line") to historical prints.³¹ But soon after Louis Agassiz (1807–1873) arrived in America in late 1846, Tappan signed on as a draftsman with the Swiss naturalist, who "employed ...him to make drawings to illustrate his books and lectures." Tappan spent nearly two years assisting the zoologist and traveling with him "through the south."³²

By the time M. J. Whipple published William Henry Tappan's highly finished landscape titled *No. 1 Maine* for *New England Scenery* in 1849 (fig. 4)—complete with Indians in a

canoe, shooting at a deer—William had left Boston for the far West. In the spring of 1848 Tappan left on a "hazardous enterprise," carrying commissions to draw natural history specimens for the museum collections in several European cities and planning to ride along the Oregon Trail with the Mounted Riflemen. He crossed the Rockies "four times on horseback and covered ten thousand miles in the saddle" in his life, and in July 1849 would ride through the Wind River Range with the Riflemen, the first U.S. Army regiment to traverse South Pass in what is now Wyoming.³³

Benjamin Crackbone Champney's career as a Boston lithographer was more than a decade in the past when he sketched *Mount Jefferson, N. H.*, a delicate and distinct submission to the 1852 Whipple series that is one of his earliest depictions of the White Mountains.³⁴ In 1849, Champney (1817–1907) was struggling with tepid public response to his panorama of the Rhine, the culmination of a lengthy stay in Europe in the 1840s.³⁵ But by 1850, he had made his first sketching tour to northern New Hampshire, accompanied



OLD BRIDGE AT RUSSELL MASS

FIG. 6. Edward A. Fowle. *Old Bridge at Russell, Mass.*, Plate 6 in *Third Series: New England Scenery From Nature, By Various Artists* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, 1852). Lithograph, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by Henry Hitchings and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

by John Kensett, his roommate for a time in Europe. In 1851, Champney and "a jolly crowd" returned to the Mount Washington Valley. Two years later, the artist bought a summer home in North Conway, "where from his window he can with one sweep take in the whole mountainous panorama of the White Mountains from Chocorua to Mt. Jefferson" and where he spent part of nearly every year for the rest of his long life, a pivotal member of the White Mountain school of art that emerged later in the 1850s.³⁶

The lithographer of Champney's landscape signed his work with the colophon "OW" and is identified as "O. Wallis," potentially Oscar Wallis, a German printer who had arrived in New York City in 1848 at the age of twenty.³⁷ An Oscar Wallis was working in Boston in the first half of the 1850s; in 1853, an O. J. Wallis of Boston submitted colored drawings to a Boston exhibition, work judged as "bold and effective...[although] the figures lack spirit."³⁸ Wallis's other contribution as lithographer to the series—*View At Bellow Falls, Vt.* (fig. 5)—marks the debut of a young land-

scape artist, Frederick Dickinson Williams (1828–1915), at that time a teacher at Boston Latin High School.

The two contributions to *New England Scenery* by Edward Augustus Fowle (1824–1892) are both views of Russell, a town in the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts. One, however, was published in 1849 and lithographed by Benjamin Franklin Smith Jr., the other, in 1852, drawn on stone by future teacher Henry Hitchings and printed in sepia (fig. 6). Fowle was living at home with his father, ship's carver Isaac Howard Fowle (1783–after 1870), when *New England Scenery* first appeared.³⁹ While his brothers had already begun to follow Isaac's trade, Edward had turned to engraving, an occupation closer to the printing trade enjoyed by his cousin, Boston educational and drawing book publisher William Bentley Fowle (1795–1865).

Benjamin Franklin Smith Jr. (1830–1927), who put one of Fowle's *New England Scenery* views on stone, coursed through Boston briefly but significantly in the late 1840s and the 1850s. Reared in Maine, this precocious farmer's son



FIG. 7. Richard Parrott Mallory. *View on the Nashua At Lancaster*, Plate 1 in *Fourth Series: New England Scenery From Nature, By Various Artists* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, 1852). Lithograph. Drawn on stone by Richard P. Mallory and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

was the youngest of the four “Smith brothers,” publishers of a highly-praised series of city views, some of them executed by the energetic Benjamin.⁴⁰ Collaborating initially with city view pioneer Edwin Whitefield (1816–1892), the brothers published a Boston view in 1848, the year Benjamin drew perhaps the most highly-praised lithograph published by Tappan & Bradford, *View of the Water Celebration, On Boston Common, October 25th, 1848*.⁴¹ (Bostonians had welcomed a five-million-dollar water system with a capacity of one-hundred-million gallons by watching the first spurt rise eighty feet from the Frog Pond on Boston Common.)⁴² Smith went on to teach school briefly in 1850 and travel to New Orleans in 1852, but he would return to Boston in 1853, with big plans.

In the 1840s, Edward Fowle had engraved a drawing by Richard Parrott Mallory, a wood engraver who both designed and lithographed two views in the Whipple series, one with a biographical cast to it.⁴³ Mallory’s stylized, ornamental medallion of a scene in Lancaster, Massachusetts (fig. 7), memorializes his days working there two decades earlier for engraver Joseph Andrews (1806–1873) and raises the question of how many Whipple views were drawn on paper, if not on stone, much earlier than 1852.⁴⁴

Like Andrews and many other artists practicing in Boston at mid-century, Mallory first studied with artist and wood engraver Abel Bowen (1790–1850). He worked in Lancaster, west of Boston, sometime after 1827, and emerges as an artist in the city around 1835, when he painted *Conflagration in Charlestown, 1832*.⁴⁵ The next year, still in

his early twenties, he advertised as “designer and engraver on wood” with John Greene Chandler (1815–1879) and Edward Wright (1808–1863); he stayed in partnership with Wright until the early 1850s. The output from the young firm augured Mallory’s long career as a book illustrator on wood and included *Rollo At Play, or, Safe Amusements*, part of a children’s series first published in 1835.⁴⁶

Mallory’s second Whipple lithograph, the 1852 view *Profile Rock At Squantum [Mass.]* (fig. 8), is more characteristic of his work in the early 1850s for the nation’s first illustrated newspaper, *Gleason’s Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, later known as *Ballou’s Pictorial*. The identical image, now titled *Squantum Rock, At Squantum, Mass.*, appeared as a wood engraving three years later in *Ballou’s*. But this time the picture was credited to Mallory’s former pupil and new partner, Samuel S. Kilburn (1831–1903), also a student of Abel Bowen and a draftsman for the illustrated weekly. Advertising itself as “The Cheapest Weekly Paper in the World” at its founding in Boston in May 1851, *Gleason’s* presented fiction, poetry, and news, liberally laid out with wood engravings of both domestic and foreign locales and personalities, “printed on new type and the finest paper.” The cost of each wood engraving was \$62—\$2 for the wood, \$15 for a drawing; \$40 for engraving the block, and \$5 for electrotyping it—but once finished, it could be used for thousands of impressions. By 1855, Bostonians observed that the success of this “and other publications where wood engravings are required as illustrations...has brought into requisition much excellent talent that would otherwise have remained unemployed.”⁴⁷

Among the artists of “excellent talent” joining Mallory at the newspaper was Asa Coolidge Warren, whose occupation, amusingly, was listed in the 1850 census as “none.” The son of Asa Warren (1794–1860), a musician who was also a miniaturist and portrait painter, the junior Warren’s ties to the Boston engraving establishment began with George Girdler Smith, a mainstay of the Boston Artists’ Association.⁴⁸ Like Mallory, Warren had worked for Joseph Andrews, and, in 1840, established himself as an engraver in the same building as Ebenezer Tappan, with whom he soon collaborated on an engraving of William Henry Harrison (1773–1841).⁴⁹ Two years later, in 1842, Warren and William Henry Tappan shared the same address at 13 Franklin Street. At least one of his lithographs, *Sprague’s Pond and Mt. Monadnock, Dublin, N.H.* (fig. 9)—and possibly *Saco River, Kearsarge (sic) and Mt. Washington, From Conway, N.H.*—appeared in the 1849 Whipple series. He both drew and lithographed another—*Cleft in the Bear Mountains, Waterford, ME.*—in the final portfolio in 1852.

The Teachers

The five teachers represented in *New England Scenery* remained friends throughout their very long lives, and, although all held credentials suitable for a variety of other



FIG. 8. Richard Parrott Mallory. *Profile Rock, Squantum [Mass.]*, Plate 6 in *Fourth Series: New England Scenery From Nature, By Various Artists* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, 1852). Lithograph, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by Richard P. Mallory and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

artistic classifications, their roles as educators set them apart from the others who helped create *New England Scenery*.

The patriarch among them was British-born Edward Seager (1809–1886), a former draftsman at the U.S. Patent Office who left behind one of the few examples of his lithography in his 1849 Whipple series contribution⁵⁰. Seager's *View On Lake George*, drawn in 1849, is a soft, stylized landscape that emphasizes Seager's love for the pencil (fig. 10); the artist had exhibited two other Lake George scenes at the Boston Athenaeum the year before. Seager was drawing master not only for two of Boston's premier high schools, but also for the Boston Artists' Association's drawing school, where his job was to teach drawing to "any young man, proposed by a member, and approved by the Council" using the models in the association's gallery.⁵¹ In addition, he had issued his first instructional book just as the first Whipple series appeared. John Henry Bufford published *Seager's Progressive Studies in Landscape*, a book of graduated drawings, mostly landscapes, "got up expressly for the use of Schools and Academies."⁵²

Seager's student Frederick D. Williams, designer of the Bellows Falls scene lithographed by Wallis for the fourth Whipple volume, was the cerebral youngest son of a prosperous Boston merchant. Williams had been Seager's pupil from 1843 to 1846 at the Boston English High School, and in 1850 he assumed Seager's place at both the English and Latin schools, winning the posts over veteran Boston illustrator David Claypoole Johnston (1799–1865).⁵³

In 1857, William N. Bartholomew (1822–1907), another *Views* artist and lithographer, succeeded Williams at the high schools. Bartholomew, a self-taught lithographer and watercolorist, had surmounted his family's reservations about a career in art and followed the artistic inclinations of his older half-brother, Truman Bartholomew (1809–1867).⁵⁴ Truman, a former lithographer for William Pendleton, had achieved a reputation as a scenic artist, ornamental painter, and panoramist, known best for his panorama of Bunker Hill, which made its Boston debut in 1838 and traveled throughout the east coast for the next twenty years.⁵⁵ His younger brother William may have visited California in

Table 1 1849 New England Scenery Views (Tappan & Bradford)

Bordered Lithographs 10¹/₂ x 13¹/₂" Portfolio

Title	Artist	Lithographer/Credit	Image Size
1. No. 1 Maine*	<i>W.H. Tappan</i> (1821–1907)	<i>W.H. Tappan</i> +	5 ⁷ / ₁₀ x 7 ³ / ₅ "
2. No. 2 Swift River, Conway, N. H.	<i>Henry Hitchings</i> (1823–1902)	<i>Hitchings</i> +	5 ⁷ / ₁₀ x 7 ¹ / ₂ "
3. No. 3, Old Willows, Roxbury, Mass.	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>Hitchings</i> +	5 ⁷ / ₁₀ x 7 ¹ / ₂ "
4. [Landscape with Cows]*	After Hinckley (1813–1896)	<i>B. F. Nutting</i> (1804–1887)	5 ⁷ / ₁₀ x 7 ⁹ / ₁₀ "
5. No. 9 [Mill]**	Löffler	Tappan & Bradford	7 ⁷ / ₁₀ x 5 ⁹ / ₁₀ "

Unbordered Lithographs 10¹/₂ x 13¹/₂" Portfolio

Title	Artist	Lithographer/Credit	Image Size
1. Brook At Hadley	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>(Hitchings)</i> +	5 ¹ / ₄ x 8 ¹ / ₁₀ "
2. Old Road–Russell, Mass*	<i>Edward Fowle</i> (1824–1892)	B. F. Smith Jr. (1830–1927)	5 ⁹ / ₁₀ x 8 ⁷ / ₁₀ "
3. View on Lake George*	<i>Edward Seager</i> (1809–1886)	<i>(Seager)</i> +	7 x 9"
4. Sprague's Pond and Mt. Monadnock, Dublin, N.H.	<i>Asa Warren</i> (1819–1904)	Tappan & Bradford (<i>Warren</i>)+	5 x 8 ¹ / ₂ "
5. Saco River, Kiarsarge and Mt. Washington, From Conway N.H.	<i>Warren</i>	Tappan & Bradford (<i>Warren</i>)+	5 ¹ / ₂ x 10"
6. Old Saw Mill, Dedham	<i>Hitchings</i>	Tappan & Bradford (<i>Hitchings</i>)+	4 ¹ / ₂ " x 7"
7. Untitled Falls	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>(Hitchings)</i> +	5 ⁴ / ₈ x 8 ¹ / ₂ "

Note: *Italics* = Boston Artists' Association member.

* Indicated by Peters as being in November 1849 *New England Scenery* portfolio. Peters mentioned eight lithographs in the issue he saw, but two of the artists (Hitchings and Warren) have more than one lithograph in the Dedham and Peabody Essex collections of bound (or once bound) Tappan & Bradford prints tied to 1849. The first four bordered lithographs and the first four unbordered ones appear to be those most likely to have been in the November issue if Peters's count is correct.

** Possible candidate in this family of prints, located at American Antiquarian Society.

+ Likely lithographer.

Table 2 1852 Series: New England Scenery From Nature, By Various Artists

September 1852 10³/₈ x 13¹/₄" Portfolio

Title	Artist	Lithographer/Credit	Image Size
1. Mount Jefferson, N.H.	<i>Benjamin Champney</i> (1817–1907)	Wallis	6 ⁷ / ₈ x 9 ¹ / ₁₆ "
2. Conway Corner, N. H.	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>Hitchings</i>	6 ¹ / ₂ x 8 ⁵ / ₈ "
3. Rustic Road	Wm. Bartholomew (1822–1907)	Bartholomew	8 ¹ / ₈ " x 10 ³ / ₄ "
4. View at Bellows Falls, Vt.	Fred. D. Williams (1828–1915)	Wallis	6 ⁵ / ₁₆ x 9"
5. Saco River, N.H.	<i>Francis N. Mitchell</i> (1817–1865)	<i>Hitchings</i>	6 ¹ / ₈ x 9 ⁵ / ₈ "
6. Old Bridge At Russell, Mass	<i>Fowle</i>	<i>Hitchings</i>	6 ³ / ₁₆ x 9 ¹³ / ₁₆ "
7. Cover	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>Hitchings</i>	10 ³ / ₈ x 13 ¹ / ₄ "

October 1852 10¹/₂ x 13¹/₂" Portfolio

Title	Artist	Lithographer/Credit	Image Size
1. View on the Nashua [River] At Lancaster	<i>R. P. Mallory</i> (1813–1890)	<i>Mallory</i>	6 x 5 ¹⁵ / ₁₆ "
2. Standish Corner ME	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>Hitchings</i>	7 ¹ / ₁₆ x 10 ⁵ / ₁₆ "
3. Ascutney Mt.	Bartholomew	Bartholomew	7 ⁵ / ₈ x 10 ¹ / ₄ "
4. High Bridge Rutland Vt.	Thos. W. Wood (1823–1903)	<i>Hitchings</i>	7 ¹ / ₁₆ x 10"
5. Cleft in Bear Mountain, Waterford Me	<i>Warren</i>	<i>Warren</i>	6 ¹ / ₄ x 9 ⁷ / ₈ "
6. Profile Rock at Squantum	<i>Mallory</i>	<i>Mallory</i>	6 ¹⁵ / ₁₆ x 9 ⁷ / ₈ "
7. Pleasant Brook Me	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>Hitchings</i>	6 ³ / ₁₆ x 8 ¹ / ₄ "
8. Cover	<i>Hitchings</i>	<i>Hitchings</i>	10 ³ / ₈ x 13 ¹ / ₄ "

Note: *Italics* = Boston Artists' Association member.

Copies of these 1852 lithographs are in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Public Library, Harvard University, and the New York Public Library. Thanks to R. Eugene Zepp at the Boston Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Department for measurements of the 1852 series images.



SPRAGUE'S POND AND MT. MONADNOCK
DUBLIN, N. H.

FIG. 9. Asa Coolidge Warren. *Sprague's Pond and Mt. Monadnock, Dublin, N. H.*, attributed to *Views in New England: a Series of Drawings From Nature, By Various Artists, Part First* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, November, 1849). Lithograph, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by Warren and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy Dedham (Mass.) Historical Society, accession No. 00064-f.

1850; in 1852, William, along with Truman and several other artists—including Alonzo Chappel (1828–1887) of Brooklyn—painted a panorama of California and the Oregon Trail, using daguerreotypes brought east by Illinois native J. Wesley Jones (1826–1905), a flamboyant writer and dilettante. This melodrama of the frontier unfolded to general acclaim late in 1852, described as a “painting...elaborately got up and very finely executed...Mr. Jones’s accompany[ing] lecture is very entertaining.”⁵⁶ Around this time, Bartholomew contributed two landscapes to *New England Scenery’s* third and fourth series, lithographing at least one of his own sketches.

But William Bartholomew’s calling as a teacher was already fixed. In 1852, Tappan & Bradford copyrighted his *Drawing Lessons No. 1*, the first of several dozen instructional drawing books and devices by Bartholomew, some written later in collaboration with Henry Hitchings. Bartholomew’s twenty-year effort to develop standard procedures for teaching drawing in all Boston public schools—techniques eventually copied in other cities around the nation—had begun.⁵⁷

Henry Hitchings, another protégé of Seager, made his published debut as both artist and lithographer in *New England Scenery* while working as a clerk in the art emporium of M. J. Whipple’s competitor, stationer N. Davies Cotton (1817–1899).⁵⁸ Hitchings was an early traveler in the White Mountains, with his Swift River drawing for Whipple dated 1848, the time of his trip with Francis N. Mitchell. Of the twenty-four Tappan & Bradford views potentially in the *New England Scenery* array, at least thirteen (and two covers) were lithographed by Hitchings.⁵⁹

The oldest contributor in the series, Benjamin Franklin Nutting (1804–1887), left a fruitful legacy as a printmaker and painter, but was a teacher to the core. Nutting hailed from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but returned to Boston in time to attend Boston Latin School in the company of such future notables as poet and editor Nathaniel Parker Willis and statesman Charles Francis Adams.⁶⁰ Nutting was a veteran of Boston’s early lithographic shops, from the Pendleton brothers’ training ground that molded so many Boston artists beginning in the mid-1820s, to Annin & Smith, the shop established by George Girdler Smith.⁶¹ Nutting’s sole



FIG. 10. Edward Seager. *View On Lake George*, attributed to *Views in New England: a Series of Drawings From Nature, By Various Artists, Part First* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, November, 1849). Lithograph, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by Edward Seager (attributed) and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy Dedham (Mass.) Historical Society, accession No. 00064-e.

role in the Whipple portfolios was to lithograph a farm scene by Thomas Hewes Hinckley (1813–1896) (fig. 11), a painter who favored a farmhouse environment, one where he was known to shepherd his animal subjects directly into his ground-floor studio “to sit for their portraits.”⁶²

The Outcomes

After serving as the dedicated secretary and clerk of the Boston Artists’ Association from May of 1843 until early 1850, M. J. Whipple retreated from holding office, but never flagged in his support of his clients and friends. In the spring of 1852, when the studios of a number of artists burned in the Tremont Temple fire in Boston, Whipple spearheaded a relief fund for Benjamin Champney, lithographer John White Allen Scott (1815–1907), sculptor John Crookshanks King (1806–1882), and others.⁶³ When the city’s artists held a sale of paintings in 1867 after the untimely death of Merrill Greene Wheelock (1822–1866)—watercolorist, architect, and a founder of the Boston Art Club—Whipple donated a number of Wheelock’s works from his personal art collection.⁶⁴ Whipple sold his business in 1869 to Boston artist Francis

Seth Frost (1825–1902), who ran the company at Cornhill for more than thirty years. Matthew J. Whipple died in Boston in the spring of 1880, his occupation listed as “artist.”⁶⁵

Ebenezer Tappan died from “brain disease” in 1854.⁶⁶ Lodowick Bradford continued in lithography; he soon expanded his interests to the cutting edge of photolithography and was credited in 1857 with devising “a very ingenious, yet simple and easy expedient” by which “the engraver can copy at his leisure with a fidelity never before accomplished.”⁶⁷ Bradford died at sixty-five of a heart attack, alone in a Boston boarding house; his wife was in Gloucester, where Bradford spent weekends and summers.⁶⁸

A longer life accrued to many *New England Scenery* artists, however; most of them taught, painted, and produced prints until they drew their last breaths, Nestors of their crafts. Some, such as Francis Mitchell, Edward Seager, and, eventually, Asa Warren, made lives elsewhere; so did William Henry Tappan and Benjamin F. Smith, who, like Henry Hichings, made their mark in the American frontier.

Francis Nalder Mitchell, “sometime of Boston,” died a fairly wealthy man in Scotland in 1865, not far from Glasgow

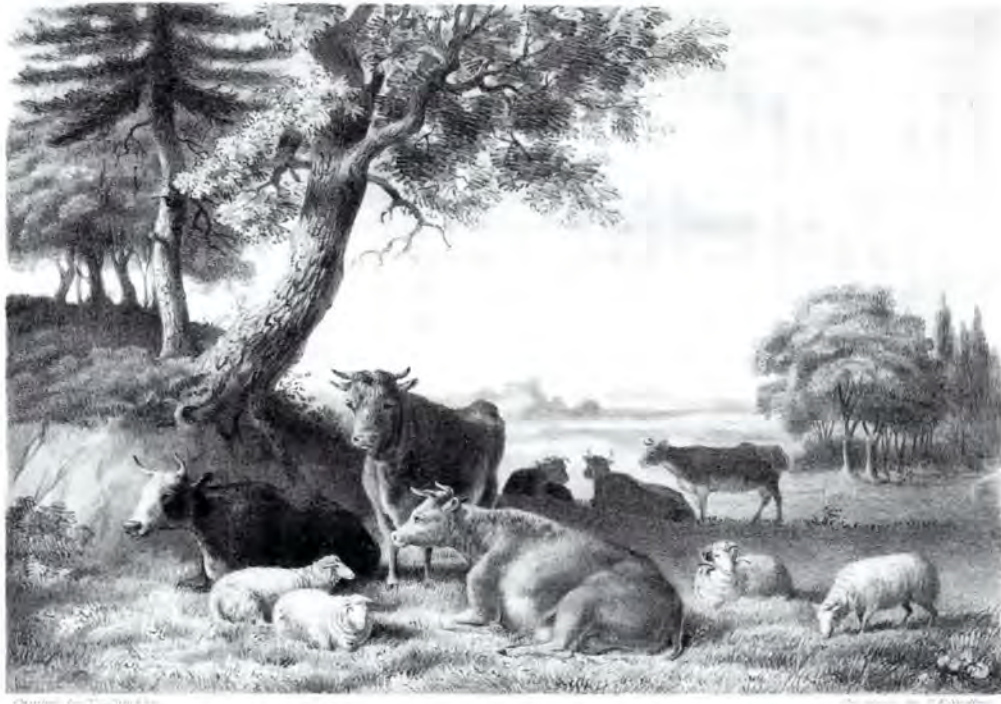


FIG. 11. After Thomas Hinckley. [*Landscape With Cows*], attributed to *Views in New England: a Series of Drawings From Nature, By Various Artists, Part First* (Boston: M. J. Whipple, November, 1849). Lithograph, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (sheet). Drawn on stone by Benjamin Franklin Nutting and printed by Tappan & Bradford. Courtesy Dedham (Mass.) Historical Society, accession No. 00064-1.

on the River Clyde. Around 1854, Henry Mitchell (1837–1909)—perhaps a nephew—joined the firm, helping Francis craft the Commodore Matthew C. Perry medal; by the early 1860s Francis was in Scotland.⁶⁹ He wed near Glasgow in 1862, and welcomed two sons before his death in 1865.⁷⁰ Henry, who later became “official engraver of dies for the stamped envelopes of the United States Government,” continued the family seal-engraving business in Boston, producing medals and seals for the U.S. Centennial Commission, the Society of the Cincinnati, Harvard University, and the Boston Public Library as well as seals for the State of Massachusetts and even the Internal Revenue Service.⁷¹

Edward Seager left Boston in 1850, the year after his *New England Scenery* view of Lake George was published. Encouraged by Daniel Webster (1782–1852) to teach at the United States Naval Academy, Seager became both drawing master and fencing instructor at Annapolis, where he would teach for nearly two decades. Not long after Henry Hitchings traveled the Oregon Trail in 1859 with Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902) and Francis S. Frost,⁷² Seager recruited him to teach drawing at Annapolis too.

Daniel Webster also entered the orbit of Benjamin Franklin Smith. Soon after the statesman's death in Marshfield, Massachusetts, Smith and his brother, David Clifford Smith (1827–1911) offered Bostonian Joseph Alexander Ames (1816–1872) three thousand dollars to paint the large and popular *Last Days of Daniel Webster At Marshfield*, a deathbed scene of Webster surrounded by nearly two dozen relatives, neighbors, friends, physicians, and servants. Early in 1855, Benjamin took the completed painting to London to be engraved by Charles Mottram (1807–1876); in 1857, the brothers delivered the engraving to around 2,500 subscribers.⁷³

With the national economic downturn of 1857, Benjamin Franklin Smith and his brothers became entrepreneurs in banking, mining, merchandizing, and stockyards in what are now Nebraska and Colorado. Benjamin left Boston for Omaha in 1859 and spent five years in the mines of Colorado, some of it in Central City, where William Henry Tappan would settle.⁷⁴ Smith and his brothers played a key role in the development of Omaha after the Civil War, but never lost their Yankee bonds, eventually retiring to Rockland, Maine.

William Henry Tappan remained on the frontier for a quarter-century after leaving Boston in 1848, playing a part in the founding of the State of Washington and in the development of "Jefferson Territory," better known today as Colorado. In Washington Territory in the 1850s, he served in its first legislature, designed the territorial seal, and helped found the town of St. Helens, where he ran "a supply house for Pacific steamers" and then "a large cattle ranch on the Columbia River."⁷⁵ In 1853, he was appointed an Indian agent by territorial governor and future Civil War general Isaac Stevens and helped to negotiate treaties with such tribes as the Nez Perce and Flathead Indians. Tappan eventually followed two of his brothers, George Hooper Tappan and Lewis N. Tappan (1831–1880), who had helped found several towns in what became Colorado. William established himself as a merchant, eventually running Tappan Hardware in Central City.⁷⁶ But after fire swept his business in 1874, Tappan returned to his home town of Manchester, Massachusetts, to take up surveying and real estate sales and become a state legislator.⁷⁷

Among the illustrators, Parrott Mallory and Edward A. Fowle stayed the course in Boston, while Asa Warren eventually moved to New York, his hand turned to bank note engraving and his landscapes in such notable volumes as *Picturesque America* (1874).⁷⁸ Mallory and Samuel Kilburn remained partners for two decades, credited with being "among the very first to go into half-tone and line engraving," when these methods largely supplanted wood engraving.⁷⁹ The team's work—often of illustrations by yet another *Ballou's* compatriot, William L. Champney (b. ca. 1830)—appeared "especially [in] the first class magazines" and in some of the foremost children's books of the 1860s and 1870s, among them the *Oliver Optic* and the *Little Prudy* series published by the Boston firm of Lee & Shepard. As late as 1890, Edward Fowle, Boston engraver, commuted to Boylston Street from his home on Longwood Avenue, where his wife Anna (1830–1917) taught elocution.

Three of the five teachers soldiered on as drawing masters in Boston's schools. William Bartholomew had continued to work as a lithographer for Lodowick Bradford as late as 1859; after Tappan's death in 1854, Bradford published Bartholomew's *Sketches from Nature*, twenty landscape drawings of "a local character," chiefly "views found in New England, most of them in the city of Boston and its environs."⁸⁰ As head of drawing for the city's grammar schools in 1869, Bartholomew lured Henry Hitchings back to Boston, and together they played an instrumental role in the state law that required a drawing curriculum to train both teachers and students, a movement that spread nationally. Although he continued to teach privately, F. D. Williams left classroom teaching as his success as a landscape painter grew; he showed "a great deal of taste, strength

and truthfulness," according to his early critics, who considered him "an artist of high promise."⁸¹ It was the beginning of more than a half-century as a landscape painter in both America and France, with Bellows Falls, Vermont, and Manchester, Massachusetts, among his favorite locales.

Benjamin Nutting taught and painted in his own studio, and in 1866 he succeeded David Claypoole Johnston as drawing master at the Chauncy Hall School in Boston, staying there until three years before his death in 1887. In 1872, when Boston's worst fire swept through the business district, Nutting, "well-known as a teacher and compiler of drawing books, lost all the contents of his room" in the Mercantile Building, built on Summer Street in 1857 to include studios for ten artists on the top floor.⁸² He continued to compose drawing books; in 1882, his *Rudimentary Exercises in Blocking Out: The Only Right Method In Drawing* was published by Frost & Adams, the firm that succeeded M. J. Whipple.⁸³

New England Scenery from Nature, the small but significant Boston artists' "yearbook," appears to have accomplished its creators' objectives. So, in a way, did the Boston Artists' Association. In early 1851, the association gave way to the New England Art Union, but not before its members assured that its own slate of principals prevailed. "Fairly launched upon the tide of popular favor," the art union took over the same rooms as the artists' association at Leonard's auction house and began actively preparing exhibitions and the sale of its first engraving, the customary vehicle for the lottery that was at the heart of the art union concept. However, despite a membership of 1,300 by April of 1852, the New England Art Union found its receipts "inadequate" and, in May, closed its doors.⁸⁴

Within days, however, *New England Scenery* artist Benjamin Champney and fellow artists gathered at the former New England Art Union quarters to discuss organizing "a Society for the promotion of art in Massachusetts." After several meetings, "the Artists of Boston, and others" established a new—or perhaps revamped—arts organization that they hoped would be free of the "many objections" hampering the New England Art Union, while adopting the union's "valuable features." The Massachusetts Academy of Fine Arts assumed the old art union (and Boston Artists' Association) rooms at 38 Tremont Row, where it held semi-annual exhibitions, and opened an art school for "young men," something "long...considered a desirable object."⁸⁵ The Academy also faltered, and in early 1855 the artists met again—in the rooms of *New England Scenery* artist F. D. Williams, according to Benjamin Champney, who was there, too. They and eighteen others founded the Boston Art Club, and the fourth time was the charm: the Boston Art Club survived for nearly a century.

NOTES

1. Cephas Giovanni Thompson to William Cullen Bryant, Aug. 12, 1850. *Bryant-Godwin Papers*, Manuscript and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Although he worked in New York City in the 1840s, Thompson returned to Boston in late 1847 "for a few months" while working on a portrait of Bryant and remained until 1852, when he left for Italy. The auction house of Joseph Leonard and Andrew L. Cunningham was at 37 Tremont Row. *Boston Evening Transcript*: "Portrait Painting In Boston," 3 Nov. 1847, p. 2; "Portraits of Authors," 28 May 1850, p. 2; and "Going Abroad," 2 Aug. 1852, p. 2.
2. "Oakes's White Mountain Scenery," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 18 Jan. 1849, p. 2. Thanks to Alan Fraser Houston for contributing this and the array of Boston press accounts that amplify this project.
3. Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1931), p. 380. The two 1852 Whipple portfolios, some still bound, with covers, can be seen today in several locales, including the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Public Library, Harvard University, and the New York Public Library. Individual prints from pre-1852 Whipple portfolios were located by the author at the Dedham (Mass.) Historical Society. They all bear matching binding holes, but there is no cover and no certainty of original order. The same array of lithographs is cataloged at the Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) in Salem, Mass.; all but one, however, are currently unlocated. Catalog citations for Accession No. 133,737 at PEM state that nine prints were bound in a 10.6 x 13.6" portfolio, "separated with pieces of pink, blue, and green tissue," but it is not known whether this represented the original binding or a later one. This PEM collection, which includes the 1849 artists mentioned by Peters, is discussed in Bettina Norton, "Tappan & Bradford: Boston Lithographers with Essex County Associations," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (July 1978), pp. 153-154. My appreciation to Ron Frasier and Peg Bradner of the Dedham Historical Society for their constant research support.
4. "Brackett's Works," *Boston Courier*, 22 Dec. 1843, p. 2. Bouvé, a Boston native, and the British-born Sharp were partners in 1843 and 1844.
5. Edward A. Brackett, *Brackett's Works*, No. 1 (Boston: William D. Ticknor & Co., 1844). Brackett had stirred the Boston art scene when he arrived in 1841 to exhibit his controversial sculpture, *Binding of Satan*, which he ultimately destroyed. *Boston Evening Transcript*, 22 May 1841, p. 2, and Herbert Ierson Brackett, *Brackett Genealogy* (Washington, D.C.: 1907), pp. 303-304. The book, which included descriptions and poems "by some of our best writers," was the first such volume of "outline sketches from sculpture" published in the U.S. (The practice was popular abroad.)
6. Sarah Treadwell Oakes registered her husband's book on behalf of his estate. Massachusetts District of the Massachusetts District Court, *Index to Copy Rights*, Vol. 23, 26 Dec. 1848, p. 614. Oakes himself copy-righted five plates in May 1848, only months before his death. Massachusetts District of the Massachusetts District Court, *Index to Copy Rights*, Vol. 23, 18 May 1848, pp. 236-238. Born in Danvers, Mass., Oakes was a member of the Class of 1820 at Harvard and a protégé of Harvard naturalist William D. Peck. Oakes's admirer, botanist Asa Gray, called the suggestion of Oakes's suicide a "misapprehension," insisting that Oakes's demise resulted from the vertiginous fall of a heavy, "awkward," and pellet-laden man from a ferry. Gray contended that nearly every article and treatise on botany of the American north published in the 1830s and 1840s was indebted in part to Oakes's research. "Death By Drowning," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 31 July 1848, p. 2; "Oakes's White Mountain Scenery," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 18 Jan. 1849, p. 2, and Asa Gray, "William Oakes," *American Journal of Science and Arts* (Second Series), Volume VII (May 1849), pp. 138-142.
7. Boston publishers Crosby & Nichols issued the Oakes book in December of 1848, with proceeds from the limited edition intended for Oakes's widow in Ipswich, Mass. A contemporary edition of Oakes's views is *Scenery of the White Mountains. With Sixteen Plates From Drawings By Isaac Sprague* (Somersworth, N.H.: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1970).
8. Massachusetts District of the Massachusetts District Court, *Index to Copy Rights*, 28 February 1849, p. 64. Applications to the Massachusetts District Court for copyrights of both prints and books in this period are on microfilm at the Library of Congress copyright division. Following the February application for copyright of the specific book title, Whipple deposited a copy of the volume with the court on 3 April 1849. On 10 November 1849, Whipple returned to the courthouse to copyright a second title, *Views in New England: A Series of Drawings From Nature, By Various Artists, Part First*, depositing a copy 27 November. No "Part Second" has been located yet in the Boston copyright records between November of 1849 and September of 1852, when Whipple entered *Third Series: New England Scenery From Nature*. The *Fourth Series, New England Scenery From Nature*, followed in October of 1852. A book with a similar title to this series was published in New York in 1847, but it was a book of text, poetry, and one image: George C. Morgan, ed., *Landscape Views of New-England*, No. 1 (New York: Morgan & Waterhouse, 1847). Similarly, *Old England and New England, in a Series of Views Taken on the Spot* (London, 1853) by A. Bunn is an account of a visit to America.
9. The firm still exists. *Paint and Painting* (London: Tate Gallery, 1982), pp. 8-9.
10. "Splendid Editions of American Poets," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 24 Nov. 1847, p. 4, and "Artist Materials," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 April 1862, p. 2. Whipple was initially in partnership with Caleb C. Hayden, who acted as the company's bookseller.
11. Sally Pierce and Catharina Slauterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880: The Boston Athenaeum Collection* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1991), pp. 12-13, 129-130, 155; Bettina Norton, "Tappan & Bradford: Boston Lithographers with Essex County Associations," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (July 1978), pp. 149-160; and David Tatham, "The Photolithographs of L. H. Bradford" in James O'Gorman, ed., *Aspects of American Printmaking, 1800-1950* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), pp. 105-140.
12. This early Whipple, born in Bocking, England, arrived in the Bay Colony around 1638. Through him, M. J. Whipple was distantly related to Boston photographer John Adams Whipple (1822-1891) of Whipple & Black, one of the most eminent of the city's daguerreian galleries during much of the time M. J. Whipple was in business. *Vital Records of Gloucester, Essex County, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849*, 3 vols. (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1917), 1:760. Whipple family background can be found in Dwane (sic) V. Norris, *The Whipple Family Tree through Matthew Whipple of Bocking, England, Captain John Whipple of England Family, and other Whipple Families* (Jackson, Mich.: D.V. Norris, 1993); John H. Boutelle, *A Brief Genealogy of the Whipple Family* (1857); Henry Burdette Whipple, *A Partial List of the Descendants of Matthew Whipple, the Elder, of Bocking, Essex County, England* (High Point, N.C.: 1965); and Sally Pierce, *Whipple and Black: Commercial Photographers in Boston* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1987).
13. James Spear Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1853), pp. 168, 172, 667-668. Matthew Whipple Sr. was a native of Danvers, Mass. Loyalist John Gardiner (1731-1793), one of these relations of M. J. Whipple, returned to the Bay State after the Revolution and made a reputation as a lawyer and legislator. Gardiner was considered "a ripe scholar, a rare wit...highly sarcastic and vituperative." He had moved to Pownalboro, Me., then part of the State of Massachusetts, and drowned off Cape Ann when the packet *Londoner* sank in a storm.
14. *Vital Records of Gloucester*, 3:322, and Leishman Arnold Peacock, "Edwin Percy Whipple, A Biography (1819-1886)" (Ph. D. diss., Pennsylvania State College, The Graduate School, Department of English Literature, August, 1942), p. 2 and Appendix I, pp. 276-278. This dissertation provides an especially well-documented account of the boyhood of the Whipples and the context of their family life.
15. Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 668.
16. "Mr. Whipple The Reviewer," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 20 August 1850, p. 4, citing the *Oswego (New York) Commercial Times*.

17. M.J. Whipple first appears in the Boston city directory in 1841. His other brothers were Augustus William Whipple (b. 1810) and George Washington Whipple (b. 1811).
18. Boston Artists' Association, *The Constitution of the Boston Artists' Association with a Catalogue of the First Public Exhibition of Paintings at Harding's Gallery* (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1842), p. 6. Three Boston Artists' Association exhibition catalogs are in the collection of the Fine Arts Department of the Boston Public Library. The club's minutes are in the collection of the library's Rare Books and Manuscripts Department. For an excellent summary of the association's history, see Leah Lipton, "Boston Artists' Association, 1841-1851," *The American Art Journal* (Autumn 1983).
19. "Fires," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 8 Jan. 1849, p. 2.
20. Herbert Tappan, "The Toppin (Or Tappan) Genealogy," *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register*, vol. 34 (January 1880), pp. 48-57; Daniel L. Tappan, *Tappan Genealogy*, typescript, author's collection; "Charles Toppin, 1796-1874" in Robert Noxon Toppin, *Brief Biographical Sketches* (Newburyport: Historical Society of Old Newbury, 1885), pp. 60-63, and D. F. Lamson, *History of the Town of Manchester, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1645-1895* (Manchester, Ma.: Town of Manchester, 1895), pp. 331-332.
21. William Henry Tappan first appears in the city directories in 1842, when he is boarding on Harrison Avenue with his brother, Eben. George Hooper Tappan joined his other surviving brothers and several cousins in Colorado, becoming a merchant in both Colorado Springs and Denver, where he died at only 31 of kidney disease. Massachusetts State Archives, *Massachusetts Death Index*, 1865, vol. 183:225. Knight is listed as an engraver in a city directory published 1 July 1854. William Henry Tappan has been confused with George Hooper Tappan as George Girdler Smith's later partner.
22. Lane's first notable Gloucester view had been printed twenty years earlier. John Wilmerding, *Fitz Hugh Lane* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp. 22-23.
23. John Bradford (1790-1865) began a career as a weigher of hay and gauger of "wood brought by land" for the City of Boston when he was a young man, continuing until he died. (Similar city jobs included measuring wood brought by water, culling dry fish, inspecting lime, and viewing fences.) Lodowick Bradford's mother, Phebe Harrington, had been born in Nova Scotia around 1795. Excellent summaries of Bradford's life are found in Norton, "Tappan & Bradford," pp. 151-152; and Pierce and Slautterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880*, pp. 12-13.
24. Pierce and Slautterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880*, p. 155. Norton, "Tappan & Bradford," p. 157, described the Tappan & Bradford output as "soft and ordered handling." Thanks to Bettina Norton for sharing her reflections on her Tappan & Bradford research and to Catharina Slautterback for providing frequent insights into the lives and works of the Whipple series artists.
25. The 1850 census indicates that Mitchell was a native of Scotland; a brief biographical notice of the seal engraver says he was born in Philadelphia. Pete Smith, *American Numismatic Biographies* (Minneapolis: Remy Bourne—Ramm Communications, c. 1992), p. 165.
26. Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, *Third Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1841), p. 89. The Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, organized in 1795 as a source of information and support for those in the mechanical trades, held triennial fall exhibitions of the fine and mechanical arts from the 1830s throughout the nineteenth century. Mitchell had won the silver medal for his submission of a case of seal impressions and embossed papers and cards. He continued to submit his work to the association's exhibitions, routinely winning silver medals through 1856.
27. The seal cut by Mitchell and still in use today was said to have been designed by Horatio Gates Somerby (1805-1872), a commercial painter and, later, a professional genealogist whose faithfulness to facts was eventually questioned. "Seal of the Historic-Genealogical Society," *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register*, vol. 17 (July 1863), p. 231, and "The Early Years of the Register," *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register*, vol. 145 (July 1991), p. 214.
28. Francis Mitchell's first Massachusetts Horticultural Society medal was probably struck in the mid-1840s. (One of the Horticultural Society medals is at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston.) One side or another of Mitchell's dies was used for the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association's silver and bronze medals into the 1890s. The association's gold medal had been engraved by Christian Gobrecht, chief engraver at the U.S. Mint in the first half of the 1840s, starting with the group's first triennial exhibition in 1837. R. W. Julian, *Medals of the U.S. Mint. The First Century 1792-1892* (El Cajon, Ca.: Token & Medal Society, 1977), pp. 294-298. Thanks to Anne Bentley, registrar of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Jane L. Colvard of the American Numismatic Association in Colorado Springs, Colorado, for their direction in the Mitchell research.
29. "George Holbrook Baker Diary, vol. 4, March 30-Dec 7, 1848," 27 Aug. 1848, pp. 57-58. Courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco. Baker, a student at Boston Latin when *New England Scenery* artist Edward Seager taught drawing there, was living in New York. He left in January 1849 for California. Harry T. Peters, *California On Stone* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1935), pp. 47-54.
30. Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, *Second Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, at Quincy Hall, in the City of Boston, September 23, 1839* (Boston: Isaac Butts, 1839), p. 22. Tappan's submission was No. 232.
31. The 3 x 4" card had a border of historical buildings in Boston, including Faneuil Hall and the Green Dragon Tavern. "Auld Lang Syne," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 Dec. 1845, p. 2. Working in 1842 at 13 Franklin Street, Tappan is identified as an "historical engraver," a descriptor used by Joseph Andrews also. William Henry worked with Andrews (1806-1873), producing, for example, an engraving of evangelist and religious poet William Bingham Tappan (1794-1849), after John Neagle (1796-1865). A copy of this engraving is in the Charles S. Nutter Photograph Collection at the Boston University Theological School archives.
32. Agassiz had been given funding for a two-year stay in the United States, and was offered a stipend to lecture in Boston. He won the city's hearts and stayed in America. City directories indicate that Tappan maintained his quarters at 66 State Street in 1846 and 1847. "Hon. William Henry Tappan Dead," *Manchester (Mass.) Cricket*, 26 Jan. 1907, and Edward Lurie, *Louis Agassiz, A Life In Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 116-152.
33. "Hon. William Henry Tappan Dead," *Manchester Cricket*, 26 Jan. 1907; "Scientific Expedition," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 May 1848, p. 2, citing the *St. Louis Republican* of 11 May 1848; Raymond W. Settle, ed., *March of the Mounted Riflemen* (Glendale, Ca.: Arthur H. Clark and Company, 1940), pp. 13-16 and 27-29, and Louise Rasmussen, "Artists of the Explorations Overland, 1840-1860," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XLIII (March 1942), pp. 60-61. Tappan's museum commissions were from the Royal Museum in Paris, the Royal Society of Berlin, and the Museum of Neuchâtel, where Agassiz had established a collection. Tappan's recently-published diary from 1848 indicates that he left Boston in late April and by 20 May was in St. Joseph, Mo., the jumping-off point for the Oregon Trail. Tappan traveled with the Missouri Mounted Volunteers into the fall. See Ellen F. Tappan and Richard E. Jensen, eds., William Henry Tappan, "A Fort Childs Diary, 1848," *Nebraska History* (Fall 2001), pp. 90-121. All these sources confirm that Tappan did not, as has been suggested, travel with Agassiz to Lake Superior in 1848, a trip where future Boston architect J. Elliot Cabot acted as landscape artist. Another artist who drew for Agassiz on the Lake Superior trip was Antoine Sonrel (d. 1879), who had been employed by Agassiz in Switzerland and whose lithographs of specimens from the Lake Superior trip were published by Tappan & Bradford. Louis Agassiz and J. Elliot Cabot, *Lake Superior: Its Physical Character, Vegetation, and Animals* (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1850).
34. Tappan & Bradford did publish a lithograph of Champney's home town of New Ipswich, N.H., that included the home of Champney's grandfather, Judge Ebenezer Champney, a Harvard-educated Tory judge. *View in the Central Village, including the residence of the late Judge*

- Champney now J. Preston Esq. Residence of the late Charles Barrett Esq. Now George Barrett Esq. is two plates on one sheet.
35. On the day that the fire at Tappan & Bradford's shop was reported, a headline on the same page read, "Champney's Panorama," and asked, "Are our citizens aware that the Rhine is flowing in our midst?" Attendance at Horticultural Hall was poor, and Champney later conceded that the Rhine panorama proved "a source of anxiety" to him "from the moment of its being put on exhibit." It burned with the supposedly fireproof Crystal Palace in 1858. Benjamin Champney, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists* (Woburn, Mass.: c. 1899), p. 98.
 36. Champney, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists*, pp. 100-107, and *Boston Evening Transcript*, 4 Nov. 1857, p. 2.
 37. Immigration records indicate that a printer named Oscar Wallis, not quite twenty-one years old, arrived in the bark *Euclid* from Bremen, Germany, on 8 July 1848. *District of New-York, Port of New-York, List of Manifest of All the Passengers Taken on Board the Bark Euclid...From Bremen, 8 July 1848* in Ship's Passenger Lists, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. An artist of that name appears in Boston directories from 1850 to 1855. Thanks to Georgia Barnhill of the American Antiquarian Society for identifying an Oscar Wallis in Boston in those years and for her unflagging willingness to answer a variety of questions during this research.
 38. Wallis's entry was made up of "Diagrams for Lectures." Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, *Seventh Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: Damrell & Moore and George Coolidge, 1853), p. 101.
 39. Edward Fowle's father, Isaac, was born in Medford, Mass., to Henry Fowle, a tailor, and his second wife, Rebecca. Isaac's sister, Mary, married into the Skillin family of Boston ship carvers and Isaac became their apprentice. Isaac and a partner later assumed control of the Skillin's business, and three of Isaac's sons—George Fowle (b. 1823), William Henry Fowle (1813-1862), and John D. Fowle (1809-1891) became carvers, too. Henry Fowle, *The Autobiography of Henry Fowle of Boston* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1991), pp. 137-142, 151, and Eugene Chalmers Fowle, *Descendants of George Fowle* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1990), pp. 86-89, 114-116. The 1850 census lists Edward as a "carver" despite his presence as an engraver at 66 State Street just prior to the count.
 40. William J. Hartford, *Benjamin Franklin Smith, A Biography of One of Maine's Great Men* (New York: Writer's Press Association, 1925), p. 5, and John W. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalog of their Works, 1825-1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), pp. 206-208, 215-216.
 41. Hartford, *Benjamin Franklin Smith, A Biography of One of Maine's Great Men*, pp. 1-6; Benjamin Franklin Smith, *Reminiscences: The following narrative of events I have never before published, and I now do so to preserve the story* (Boston, Mass.: A. T. Bliss & Co., 1926), p. 15, and Benjamin F. Smith, *A Maine Family of Smiths* (Privately Printed, 1922), pp. 32-34.
 42. The new supply of water came from Lake Cochituate in Framingham. Samuel Worcester Rowse (1822-1901) was the lithographer for this large Tappan & Bradford print, drawn by Benjamin F. Smith Jr. A Benjamin F. Smith is listed as "lithographer" in the 1849 Boston directory, as a "printer" in 1853, and by name only in 1854.
 43. Fowle had engraved Mallory's *View of Bunker Hill Monument, Charlestown* (Boston: J. C. Crossman & R. P. Mallory, 1848). Mallory's *Panoramic View from Bunker Hill Monument* (Boston: Redding & Co., 1848) was engraved the same year by James Smillie (1807-1885). The panoramic view is accompanied by a twelve-page key.
 44. Joseph Andrews began working in Lancaster in 1827 and moved to Boston in 1832. *Report of the Proceedings at the Memorial Meeting in Honor of the Late Mr. Joseph Andrews (Engraver) held at the rooms of the Boston Art Club on the Evening of May 17, 1873* (Boston: Boston Art Club, 1873), pp. 8-10, and Nancy Carlson Schrok, "Joseph Andrews, Engraver: A Swedenborgian Justification," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 12 (1977), pp. 165-166.
 45. Sinclair Hamilton, *Early American Illustrators and Wood Engravers* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Library, 1958), p. 78, and Pierce and Slautterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880*, p. 177. Pierce and Slautterback cite unpublished notes in the Boston Athenaeum manuscript collection by former Athenaeum librarian Charles K. Bolton, "Workers With Line and Color in New England, 1620-1870," *Biographical Notices on Artists and Art Craftsmen Born Before 1845*, 3 Boxes, Box 2:191. Mallory's watercolor of the fire, dated 25 August 1835 and measuring 6 x 9", is at the Bostonian Society.
 46. Mallory appears in business in Boston first as a partner from 1836 to 1839 with Wright and Chandler, who had both practiced at 9 State Street in 1835. In 1840, Chandler is believed to have anonymously published the first American version of the children's book, *Chicken Little*. For his biography, see Herbert Hosmer, ed., *John Greene Chandler, The Remarkable History of Chicken Little, 1840-1940*, (South Lancaster, Mass.: The College Press, [1940]), pp. 29-45, and Pierce and Slautterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880*, p. 132. Edward Wright was a native of South Hadley, Mass., and lived in Billerica, Mass.
 47. Kilburn contributed to the weekly until it folded in 1859, even after he and Mallory opened shop. "Death of S. S. Kilburn," *Newton (Mass.) Graphic*, 13 March, 1903, Courtesy of Susan Abele, Newton Historical Society; "Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 April 1851, p. 2; Harry L. Katz, "Love, Lies and Wood Engravings: Alfred Waud in Boston, 1856-1860," *Imprint*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Autumn 1997), pp. 2-10; "Cost of our Engravings," *Gleason's Pictorial*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 15 Jan. 1853, p. 45; "Sketching and Designing," *Boston Transcript*, 27 March 1855, p. 2; and Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938-68), II:409-412. The Squantum wood engraving appeared in *Ballou's*, Vol. 9, No. 5, 4 Aug. 1855, p. 72.
 48. "A. Coolidge Warren," David McNeely Stauffer, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel* (New York: Grolier, 1907), 3 vols., 1:285-286. Danvers native Smith, who, like Mallory, Joseph Andrews, and so many others, trained under Abel Bowen, had founded Annin & Smith in Boston in 1819. He was an active club man—a fervid Mason, president of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association from 1845 to 1847, on the Boston Artists' Association council, and a member of the city's school committee. "George Girdler Smith," *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register*, vol. 33 (April 1879), p. 256.
 49. The single sheet engraving "by E. Tappan and A. C. Warren" was copyrighted in the clerk's office of the District Court of Massachusetts in 1840. The 6 x 4.7" engraving is in the book, *Abstract of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison...[account of his career]...Such is the man, who...is now summoned...to guide the councils of the nation* (Boston: 1840).
 50. Information on Seager's tenure at the U.S. Patent Office courtesy Col. Merl Moore. A number of draftsmen, including Seager, were hired after a fire that destroyed Patent Office records and drawings in December of 1836. Gustavus A. Weber, *The Patent Office, Its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1924), pp. 11-12.
 51. "Artists' Association," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 Oct. 1849, p. 2.
 52. "Seager's Progressive Drawing Book," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 21 February 1849, p. 2. The book, announced in late 1848, was published by J. H. Bufford in February of 1849. It was printed on heavy paper, its drawings starting as outlines and ending as "the perfect landscape... enabling the scholar to understand the principles of art."
 53. Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1885* (Boston: Boston Public Latin School Association, 1886), p. 31. Johnston had applied "for the appointment of the office of Teacher of Drawing in the High and Latin Schools." "Drawing In Schools," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 20 Sept. 1850, p. 2.
 54. "The Late William N. Bartholomew," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 15 April 1907, and George Wells Bartholomew Jr., *Record of the Bartholomew Family* (Austin, Tx.: G.W. Bartholomew, 1885), pp. 174, 275-276.
 55. "Battle of Bunker Hill, The Storm and Fairy Land," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 Jan. 1841, p. 2; "Battle of Bunker Hill," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 28 Sept. 1844, p. 4; and Joseph Earl Arrington, "Lewis and Bartholomew's Mechanical Panorama of the Battle of Bunker Hill," *Old-Time New England*, 52 (Fall 1961), pp. 50-58, and 52 (Winter 1962), pp. 82-89.

56. The panorama was billed as "Faithfully Painted by the Best Artists of the Country From 1500 Daguerreotypes." (The images have since vanished.) "Amory Hall. Jones's Pantoscope," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 6 Jan. 1853, p. 3, and "The California Panorama of Mr. J. Wesley Jones," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 Jan. 1853, p. 3.
57. Tappan and Bradford, *Bartholomew's Drawing Lessons No. 1*. Massachusetts District of the Massachusetts District Court, *Index to Copy Rights*, vol. 27, 13 Dec. 1852, p. 528.
58. Jourdan Moore Houston and Alan Fraser Houston, "Lithographer Henry Hitchings (1823-1902): Educator and 'Early Devotee of Landscape Art,'" *Imprint*, vol. 22 (2001), pp. 2-13.
59. Most of the thirteen lithographs by Hitchings represent his own designs. In addition to putting drawings by Fowle and Mallory on stone, he lithographed a drawing by Thomas Waterman Wood (1823-1903), a pupil of Chester Harding (1792-1866). See Paul Worman, "The Etchings of Thomas Waterman Wood," *Imprint*, vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring 1999), pp. 27-34.
60. Nuttings's parents were Samuel Nutting, a Boston native, and Catherine, born in Portsmouth. Henry F. Jenks, *Catalogue of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1885* (Boston: Boston Public Latin School Association, 1886), pp. 330, 368, 387.
61. David Tatham, "The Pendleton-Moore Shop, Lithographic Artists in Boston, 1825-1840," *Old-Time New England*, Vol. LXII, No. 2 (Oct.-Dec. 1971), pp. 35, 44; Peters, *America on Stone*, pp. 236, 289, 316, 383; Pierce and Slaughterback, *Boston Lithography, 1825-1880*, p. 178 and *passim*.
62. (New York) *Home Journal*, cited in *The Crayon* (April 1856), III:125.
63. The fire occurred in the early morning of 31 March 1852, destroying the art collection of entrepreneur Thomas Thompson (d. 1869) and the studios of Champney, King, Scott, and portrait painter Wellman Morrison (1815-1857), among others. The city's artists gathered the next day above Leonard's auction house on Tremont Row to organize assistance for the affected artists. "Great Fire This Morning," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 31 March 1852, p. 2, and "Artists (sic) Relief Fund," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 22 April 1852, p. 2.
64. "Catalog," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 February 1867, p. 2. Champney, F. D. Williams, and Benjamin Nutting also donated works. M. J. Whipple's art collection also included works by Champney and Williams. Robert F. Perkins Jr. and William J. Gavin III, *The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index, 1827-1874* (Boston: Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980), p. 227.
65. *Massachusetts Death Index*, 1880, Boston, Massachusetts, vol. 321:67.
66. *Massachusetts Death Index*, 1854, Manchester, Massachusetts, vol. 84:152. Tappan, who was unmarried, died on 25 Jan. 1854.
67. "New Work on Natural History and Important Improvement In Color-Printing," *The Living Age*, vol. 53 (30 May 1857), p. 559.
68. The lithographer checked into Robinson's boarding house in Boston on Sunday, 11 December, and was found dead on Monday amid initial uncertainty about how he died, since he left a note for his cousin, Boston hardware merchant Martin L. Bradford. He was buried in Gloucester after an autopsy confirmed "longstanding" heart disease. *Massachusetts Death Index*, 1885, Boston, vol. 366:340, and Gloucester, vol. 364:207; "Sudden Death," *Cape Ann Advertiser*, 18 Dec. 1885; and Tatham, "The Photolithographs of L. H. Bradford," pp. 105, 132. The Boston press also covered Bradford's death.
69. A copy of the 1854 Perry medal is at the Massachusetts Historical Society. "Obituary—Henry Mitchell, Engraver," *The Numismatist*, vol. 22 (November 1909), p. 310.
70. Mitchell died in Cardross Parish, in Dumbarton County, Scotland, on 25 April 1865. He had married Mary Macallum Siddell in 1862. Henry Mitchell and lawyer Joseph H. Cotton were executors of his Boston estate, which was valued at more than \$40,000. Will and Letters Testamentary of Francis N. Mitchell, Suffolk County, Massachusetts Probate Court, 14 August 1865, Rec. vol. 1:355, Will Vol. 163:51, Docket No. 46425.
71. Henry Mitchell executed a number of other state and government seals. "Obituary—Henry Mitchell, Engraver," *The Numismatist*, vol. 22 (Nov. 1909), p. 310; L. Forrer, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists* (sic), 8 vols. (London: Spink & Son, 1909), IV:96; R.W. Julian, *Medals of the U.S. Mint. The First Century 1792-1892* (El Cajon, Ca.: Token & Medal Society, 1977); Pete Smith, *American Numismatic Biographies*, p. 165; and *New England Historic Genealogical Society Register*, vol. 64 (January 1910), p. 102.
72. Alan Fraser Houston and Jourdan Moore Houston, "The 1859 Lander Expedition Revisited: 'Worthy Relics' Tell New Tales of a Wind River Wagon Road," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* (Summer 1999), pp. 50-71, and Jourdan Houston, "Francis Seth Frost: Beyond Bierstadt's Shadow," *American Art Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1994, pp. 146-157.
73. Ames was a charter member of the Boston Artists' Association. The Smiths secured 2,500 subscriptions to the engraving, which was printed by W. H. McQueen. However, because the financial panic of 1857 occurred as the delivery began, "not more than half of the original [subscription payments] were ever received." The original painting is at the Bostonian Society. *A Description of the Great Historical Painting of the Last Days of Daniel Webster at Marshfield* (New York: Smith Brothers & Parnelle, 1855); Jourdan Moore Houston and Alan Fraser Houston, "Mr. Webster's Greatest Painter: New Hampshire-Born Artist Joseph Alexander Ames (1816-1872)," *Historical New Hampshire*, vol. 36 (Spring/Summer 2001), pp. 11-13; and Benjamin F. Smith, *A Maine Family of Smiths* (Privately Printed, 1922), pp. 38-44.
74. Smith's oldest brother, Francis, left for Omaha in 1857 with \$60,000 in capital pooled by the four Smith brothers—Francis, David Clifford, George Warren, and Benjamin Franklin—and invested well for the family. In February of 1860, Benjamin left Omaha for the Colorado gold fields "with five two-horse wagons loaded with valuable goods for the miners." Benjamin Franklin Smith, *Reminiscences*, pp. 9-10, 13-14, 23, and Hartford, *Benjamin Franklin Smith*, pp. 6-8.
75. "Hon. William Henry Tappan Dead," *Manchester Cricket*, 26 Jan. 1907.
76. Caroline Bancroft, *Gulch of Gold* (Sage Press, 1958), p. 230.
77. Ebenezer and William H. Tappan's father, Col. Ebenezer Tappan (1799-1873), had been a state legislator in the 1840s, as had their grandfather in 1811. "William Henry Tappan," *Biographical Review Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Co., 1898), pp. 138-139, and William Henry Tappan, *Minority Report of the Committee on Woman Suffrage in Opposition to the Bill Reported to the Massachusetts Legislature of 1885* (Boston: 1885).
78. Stauffer, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel*, 1:285-286. Nine city views by Warren appeared in *Picturesque America* (1874).
79. "Death of S. S. Kilburn," *Newton (Mass.) Graphic*, 13 March, 1903.
80. Preface in William N. Bartholomew, *Bartholomew's drawing lessons designed for the use of schools and home instruction No. 1* (Boston: Tappan & Bradford, 221 Washington, 1852).
81. "The Athenaeum Gallery," *Boston Saturday Evening Gazette*, 25 April 1857, p. 1.
82. "The Fire Among the Artists," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 9 Dec. 1872, Supplement 2:3. Several other artists in the building also lost everything.
83. The exercises were laid out on sixteen cards, a common device at the time.
84. The New England Art Union had been incorporated in the spring of 1848, but did not take shape until early 1851. *Boston Evening Transcript*: "New England Art Union," 10 January 1851, p. 2; "New England Art Union," 4 Feb 1851, p. 2; "New England Art Union," 11 Feb 1852, p. 2; "New England Art Union," 10 April 1852, p. 2, and "To The Subscribers of the New England Art Union," 5 May 1852, p. 2. The lottery concept of the art union was under challenge in New York, where in October 1852, the American Art Union lost its appeal in court and, in December, liquidated its holdings.
85. "Fine Arts," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 2 June 1852, p. 2, and "Massachusetts Academy of Fine Arts," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 24 June 1852, p. 2.
86. Champney, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists*, p. 170.

