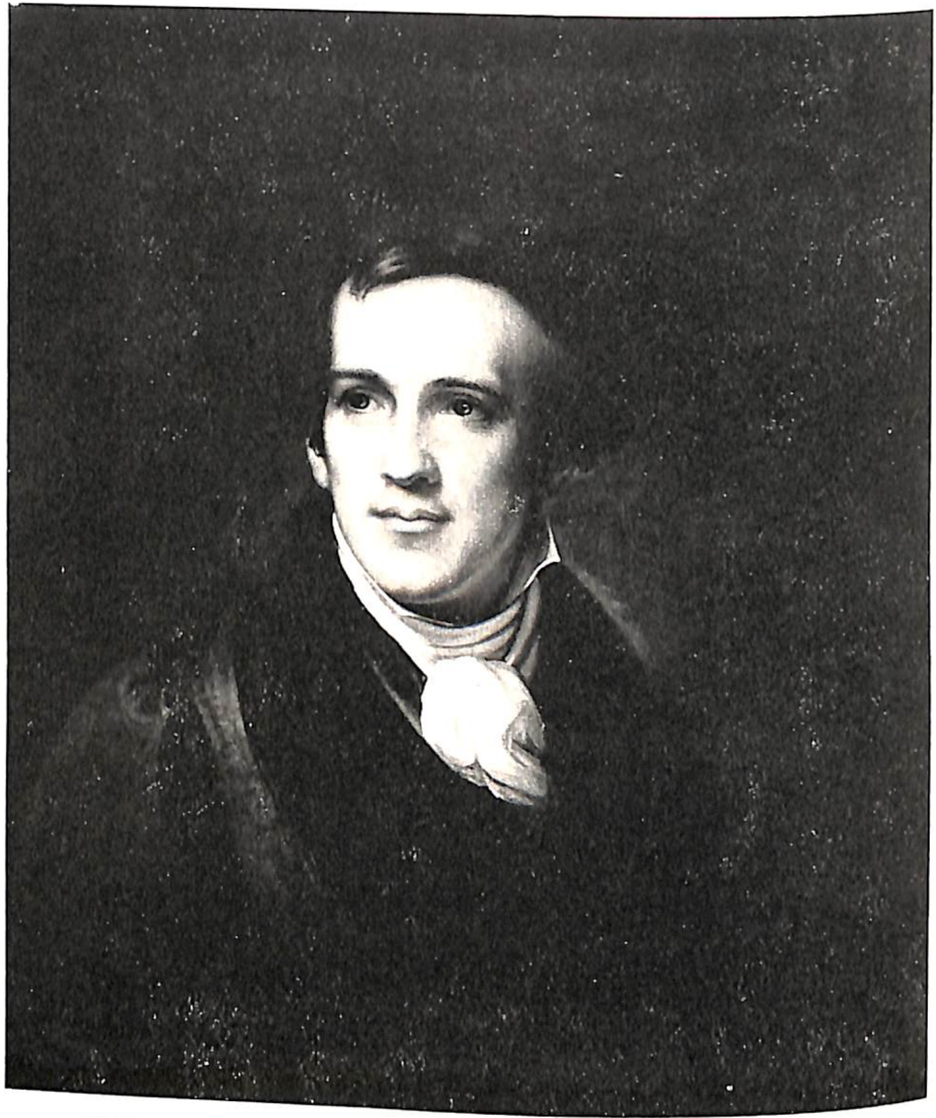

REMBRANDT PEALE: *John Pendleton*, C. 1825, OIL ON CANVAS,
THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART, TOLEDO, OHIO
Gift of Florence Scott Libbey, 1941.

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The Pendleton-Moore Shop

Lithographic Artists in Boston, 1825-1840

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THAT vast sea of printed pictures in which we of the twentieth century find ourselves submerged began to flood the nation in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. A generation or so earlier, printed pictures were unusual objects of special worth. By 1850 they were commonplace and beginning to be all-pervasive. The critical years of this development, 1825 to 1850, were marked by advances in the technology of printing which made printed pictures so common a part of American everyday life that they raised the first important challenge to the primacy of the printed word among methods of mass communication. During these years, photography arrived as a new means of printmaking, the electrotype was perfected and rapidly revitalized older methods of relief printing, the high-speed, power-operated rotary press was introduced, and lithography, after almost twenty years of floundering trials, finally entered general use. It is lithography which concerns us here, as practiced by the pioneer Boston lithographic printing firm, the Pendleton, later Moore, shop.

The importance of the Pendleton-Moore shop is manyfold—a number of its prints are unique and rich contemporary sources of information about the appearances of places in Boston and elsewhere, for example—but our present concern will be limited to the role of the shop in the development of an important group of American artists. More so than with any other American printshop of the period, the Pendleton's influence went beyond the graphic arts to painting, sculpture, and architecture. Such distinguished American artists as George Loring

* The collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, have been invaluable to the progress of this study. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Louise Marshall and Mrs. Georgia Bumgardner of the Society's staff for their helpfulness and expert advice.

Brown, Benjamin Champney, Alexander Jackson Davis, David Claypoole Johnston, Fitz-Hugh Lane, William Rimmer, and John W. A. Scott were young colleagues at the shop and grew to maturity—either at the shop or elsewhere—during a period of unprecedented activity and innovation in the graphic arts. The later achievements of this group tempt us to elevate the inky premises to something akin to a school of art serving a city where no formal academy of art instruction existed until after 1850.[1] This notion is reasonable enough, so long as it stops short of suggesting that the early owners, John B. (1798-1866) (see Frontispiece) and William S. (1795-1879) Pendleton, or their successor, Thomas Moore (fl. 1835-1841) intended that their business also be an art school. None of the three were artists and there is no reason to think that they viewed their shop as anything other than a commercial printing shop.

There is no adequate history of the Pendleton shop and misinformation about it is rife.[2] For example, there is the erroneous notion that the Pendletons were the first lithographic printers in the United States whereas they were in fact preceded by a number of trials and false starts. Experiments with the medium were underway in Philadelphia and New York at least by 1814 and probably as early as 1808, a decade after Senefelder's discovery of "stone-printing" in Germany.[3] The short-lived New York firm of Barnet and Doolittle produced perfectly good lithographs for books and periodicals in 1821 and 1822.[4] Even among presses having sustained histories and extensive production the Pendletons may not have priority, for Anthony Imbert in New York began lithographic printing at about the same time as the Pendletons, late in 1825.[5] In the matter of priority, the Pendletons' distinction amounts to little more than being first in lithographic printing in Boston. It is puzzling that in a city so rich in the practice of the graphic arts, lithography should be so late to arrive.[6]

Before examining the origins of the shop and its operations, we should note three things. First, though the Pendleton imprint was not used after July 1836 when William Pendleton sold out to his bookkeeper, Thomas Moore, we will consider the activities of the shop until May 1840 when Moore in turn sold out to Benjamin W. Thayer. Moore maintained the general policies of the shop and kept the old staff; for all practical purposes it was the Pendleton operation under a new name.[7] After 1840, under Thayer and John H. Bufford, the staff dispersed and the pictorial style of the shop's prints changed significantly. Second, although the Pendleton shop was, and is, best known for its pictures, nonpictorial printed matter constituted much of the shop's output and probably kept it solvent. Lithographed maps, billheads, labels, certificates, and broadsides came off the Pendleton presses regularly but except as they may include original pictorial matter, they are not, despite their frequent excellence, of concern here nor are the many copperplate engravings which were printed at the shop. Third, during the period in question, 1825-1840, lithography had certain clear advantages over wood engraving, metal-plate engraving, and etching as a means of commercial pictorial printing. Lithography did not require the artist-engraver division of labor characteristic of engraving. A stone could be drawn on

and printed from in a matter of an hour or so—in the case of a simple design—and this was a small fraction of the time required to cut a block or engrave a plate. Unlike the unrelieved linearity of wood engraving, the cheapest process for some applications, the stone printed a full range of tonal gradations and, when it was properly prepared and maintained, was capable of producing thousands of impressions at less cost than any other medium. The particular advantages of lithography did not suit every need, but by 1825 they held an edge in enough applications so that a lithographic printing shop was bound to succeed in any major American city. After 1840, the advantages of lithography became progressively less distinct. The arrival of electrotyping in the 1840s (and with it the renaissance of wood engraving) and the slow but portentous growth of photography in that decade began to make first one and then another of lithography's assets less clear. By the mid-1850s, the integrity of the camera and the lithographic crayon were amicably compromised to give birth to photolithography, the first of the great modern commercial processes. So far as the commercial practice of classic, black ink, stone lithography in Boston is concerned, the Pendleton-Moore years mark both the beginning and the beginning of the end.

Origins. The Peales, that remarkable Philadelphia family of artists and scientists, were instrumental in the establishment of the Pendletons in Boston and Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860) is the central figure in this regard. Because of his firsthand knowledge of the commercial success of lithography in Europe, he very likely encouraged his young friends, the Pendleton brothers, to enter the new field of lithographic printing. Peale's familiarity with the medium was longstanding. In 1803 when he was in London to study painting with Benjamin West, *Specimens of Polyautography* appeared. *Specimens,* a published collection of lithographic drawings by a galaxy of English artists including West, was a striking demonstration of lithography as a new major means of pictorial reproduction, and was probably Peale's introduction to the process.[8] Later in the decade he observed the rapid growth of commercial applications of lithography in France during his studies there. The point at which Peale himself learned the technique of lithographic drawing is not known, but by the time he began to draw on stone for the Pendletons in 1826, his command of the medium was well developed even though the only earlier lithographic work of record by him would seem to be a head of Byron drawn in 1825 in New York, perhaps for Imbert's press.[9]

Other members of the Peale family probably had informal associations with lithography in Philadelphia. C. W. Peale's friendly curiosity and interest in the technology of art must have kept him watching the local development of the process between 1808 and 1820. It is unlikely that he would not have known about the experiments reported in 1814 by his fellow Philadelphian, the chemist James Cutbush, and he surely was aware of the three unorthodox lithographs of 1818-1820 by the artist Bass Otis, drawn, printed, and published in Philadelphia.[10]

During these years of slow and tentative development of lithography in Philadelphia, William and John Pendleton were employees of the Peales.[11] John, and

perhaps William as well, had assisted in the installation of gas lighting at the Peale Museums in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Later, in 1820, the brothers managed the extensive, successful national tour of Rembrandt Peale's mammoth painting, *The Court of Death*. They would have been obtuse not to have learned something of popular taste and the business of art from these experiences and since their achievements convince us that they were intelligent and ambitious young men, we may reasonably assume that it was in their associations with the Peales that the Pendletons gained their ideas about profits to be made from reproducing pictures and the advantages of lithography as the means of reproduction. The association of the comparatively unknown Pendleton brothers with the nationally celebrated Rembrandt Peale in 1826 is natural enough if viewed as an instance of old acquaintances embarking once again on a venture to make money from pictures.

Of the three, John Pendleton was the entrepreneur. He seems also to have been something of a huckster which helped in drumming up business for the new enterprise.[12] His salesmanship was essential in these early years, for the shop's survival was dependent on job orders; the days when a firm could survive by producing prints for the general public—as was the case with Currier and Ives—were not to arrive until after mid-century. William Pendleton was the professional printmaker, a copperplate engraver. He possessed a calm and dependable temperament and the sort of reliability in all things which in the 1830s made his businesses prosper and gained him wide respect. The sobersided Peale was the renowned artist whose drawings, multiplied by lithography, were expected to bring handsome profits to the three. It was a typical nineteenth-century instance of treating art as a business. The prospects for this sort of enterprise in Boston must have seemed bright. The city had always been a good market for printed pictures and by 1825 was a center of publishing comparable to New York and Philadelphia. It was ready to support a lithographer.

There are more questions than answers about the beginnings of the shop. We do not know, for example, how to allot among the Pendleton brothers, Peale, and others credit for the original idea of setting up in Boston. The few known facts give us a picture which is far from complete. William Pendleton was in Boston by 1824 as a copperplate engraver at Harvard Place.[13] His partner in that year was Abel Bowen (1790-1850), the city's leading wood engraver. For Bowen the partnership was subsidiary to his well-established wood engraving business at 2 Congress Square.[14] While William gained this foothold in Boston, John Pendleton was in Paris, securing lithographic stones and drawing materials.[15] Whether he did this as William's agent or for some other reason is not clear.

There is no question that the earliest Pendleton lithographs were issued by John and not by the brothers jointly. In October 1825, John was in Boston soliciting business for his press and on 5 November the *Boston News Letter* reported that John Pendleton and Abel Bowen had begun lithographic printing, with Bowen drawing on stone. (In fact, there are no lithographs of record by Bowen; his association with the medium was of short duration at best.) Lithography, the *News Letter* went on to say, was "being

introduced by Mr. John Pendleton who has made it his study in Europe." In December, the *Boston Monthly Magazine* carried a puff about John's visit to Paris, his acquisition there of the skills of lithography, and his new practice of them in Boston, "[where he has] engaged with his brother, a copper-plate printer of established celebrity." This is the only mention of William Pendleton in the early notices.

In the same number of the *Boston Monthly Magazine* was bound a sample lithograph. For this purpose prints of three different subjects were used, a few copies of the magazine having all three bound in but most having only one or another of them.[16] Of the three, one print bears the specific imprint "Lithography of J. Pendleton" (the other two have simply "Pendleton's Lith." and "lithog'y of Pendleton"). At about the same time, late in 1825, there appeared in Boston a two-volume edition of John Milton's *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, each volume with a lithographed frontispiece of manuscript facsimiles drawn by John V. N. Throop and bearing the imprint "J. Pendleton, Lithogr."[17]

What was William Pendleton's association with all this? There is reason to think that he may have fortuitously ac-

FIG. 1. D. C. JOHNSTON: *A brief ejectment . . .*, C. 1825-1828, LITHOGRAPH
Courtesy of The American Antiquarian Society.

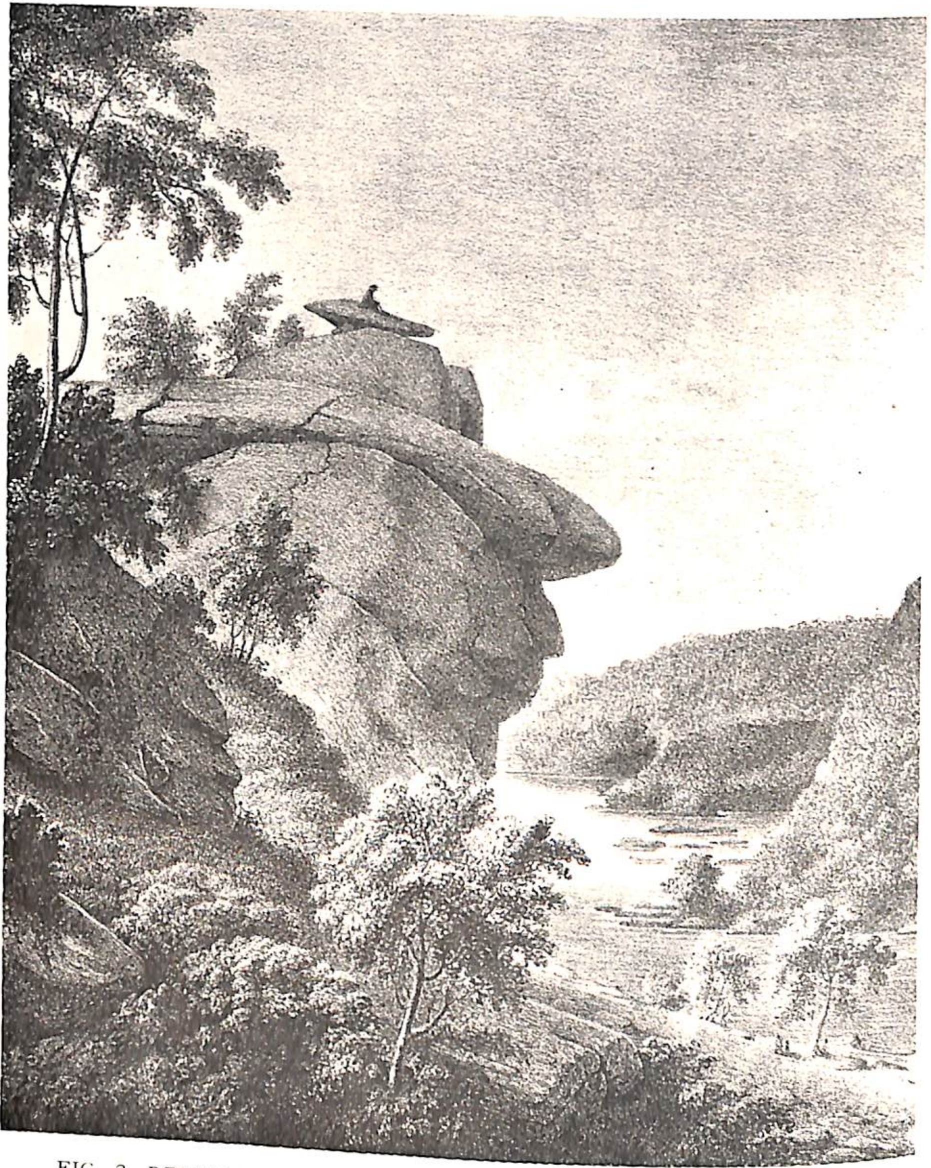

FIG. 2. REMBRANDT PEALE: *Jefferson's Rock*, 1826, LITHOGRAPH
Prints Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

quired a lithographic press in 1824 in Boston but either did not know how to use it or lacked stones and other materials for it and asked his brother to acquire these in France.[18] If this happened, it is puzzling that William is so much in the background, when mentioned at all, in contemporary reports. Those reports

make it very much John Pendleton's business in 1825 and represent his brother as working separately as a copperplate engraver.

Whatever the separation, it was soon breached, for on January 31, 1826, the management changed. The "[W.] Pendleton and Bowen" partnership was dissolved and immediately replaced by a partnership of the brothers. William Pendleton reported that he would carry on his business ". . . in Conjunction with his Brother, who will add to the Establishment the advantage of Lithographic Printing."[19] From this point on, William seems to have been the manager of the consolidated shop and not long thereafter Peale arrived. William became the sole proprietor in 1828 after John went to New York, perhaps to open new markets or perhaps because the brothers had become estranged.[20] It has been suggested that D. C. Johnston's comic lithograph *A Brief Ejectment—Xenophon's Retreat* (Fig. 1) represents William's mood and method in assigning John to new territory, but there is no hard evidence that the brothers were ever anything but cordial and the ejectee of the caricature might as well be Bowen for Johnston's determined kicker bears a strong resemblance to Rembrandt Peale's portrait of John Pendleton (Frontispiece). Speculative identifications aside, Johnston's cartoon gives us what seems to be the only known representation of the Pendleton shop and regrettably it shows little more than a sign over a door.

The shop's first location, on Harvard Place off Washington Street near Old South Meetinghouse, was of short duration and late in 1826 the Pendletons relocated southward on Washington to Graphic Court, across from Franklin Street, and here Rembrandt Peale maintained his studio. Both Harvard Place and Graphic Court were cul-de-sacs and no trace of them remains today.

The *Columbian Centinal* for September 17, 1828 announced the arrival of competition in the form of the Senefelder Lithographic Company. The Boston engravers Hazen Morse, John Chorley, William E. Annin, and George C. Smith had joined with Thomas Edwards, the painter and lithographic artist, to form the firm. Smith was initially the superintendent with Edwards the chief artist. Moses Swett, who like Edwards had been a lithographic artist for the Pendletons, became superintendent of the new firm in 1829. He, Edwards, and B. F. Nutting, still another Pendleton graduate, seem to have drawn most of the firm's prints. William Pendleton absorbed the Senefelder company in 1831. The addition of the competitor's presses doubtless required a larger pressroom and in 1831 the Pendleton shop moved to 204-206 Washington Street, another "graphic court" or aggregation of print and artist supply shops. At this point Pendleton had four lithographic presses and four copperplate presses, all hand operated.[21] These presses and their replacements were at this location through the successive proprietorships of Moore, Thayer, Bufford and S. W. Chandler to at least the mid-1850s.

The absorption of the Senefelder firm in 1831 marked the culmination of William Pendleton's association with lithography. In that year President Jackson vetoed the rechartering of the Bank of the United States with the result (among others) that in 1833 "pet" banks throughout the country issued new paper currency, each bank using its own de-

signs. The business generated for copperplate engravers was considerable and to take advantage of the opportunity, William Pendleton formed the New England Bank Note Company. Though it was quartered at the same location as the lithographic shop, the bank note firm doubtless claimed a good portion of Pendleton's attention and it is fair to guess that by 1834 the lithographic business had come to be increasingly under the direction of its chief artist, Robert Cooke, and its bookkeeper, Thomas Moore, who, as we know, acquired the firm in July 1836.

Operations. From the very outset the involvement of Boston painters was sought. The December 1825 number of the *Boston Monthly Magazine* noted above reported that, "With great liberality, he [John Pendleton] has furnished stone, chalk and pencils to several painters, who are making great progress in lithographic drawing." That John Pendleton turned to the painters of the community rather than to the established graphic artists reflected an understanding that the new medium required talents of freehand drawing rather than the controlled cutting skills of the engraver. It also may help explain Bowen's early disaffection. The December *Monthly Magazine* went on to say that five local artists had taken up the offer: Frances Alexander (1800-1880); Thomas Edwards (fl. 1824-1856); William Hoogland (c. 1795-1832); John Ritto Penniman (1783-c. 1832) who should not be confused with John Penniman of Baltimore and New York; and David Claypoole Johnston (1798-1865). Excepting Hoogland, who was a colleague of Bowen, all were painters (though Johnston's chief reputation was as a caricaturist and engraver).

During the fifteen years of the shop's existence, more than two dozen artists worked there. The names of these are found on lithographs; so also are the names of a stellar company of painters whose pictures were copied but who themselves never set foot in the shop so far as we know. In separating those artists who actually drew on stone from those who did not, the illustrious names of Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, and Samuel F. B. Morse are removed from the Pendleton roster. Paintings by these artists were copied onto stone, seldom with their knowledge (though invariably with credit) by Pendleton draughtsmen.

There were three general categories of artists actively associated with the shop. *Lithographic artists* made original drawings on stone. *Designers* composed pictures but did not put them on stone. *Copyists* put on stone their adaptations of existing pictorial matter. Lest this categorization seem too simple, we should bear in mind that the typical Pendleton artist, after an apprenticeship as a copyist, served variously as copyist, designer, and lithographic artist as occasions required. Much of the Pendleton business was commissioned—the design arriving with the order—but those designs originating in the shop were typically part and parcel of the lithographic artist's duties. Local artists, professional and amateur, who were unskilled in the technique of lithographic drawing occasionally commissioned the shop to copy their work on stone; in such an instance the local artist was the designer and the Pendleton artist the copyist. It is worth noting that copyists, following the practice of the day in the graphic arts, did not hesitate to make changes so extensive as to create virtually a new work.

It is often difficult to determine whether a print is an original design or not. The typical Pendleton artist seems to have signed or initialed on stone when the mood moved him and he signed adaptations as readily as wholly original works. Unlike the practice of copperplate engraving, early American lithography had no closely followed uniform imprint or signature conventions and we sometimes cannot be certain whether the signature on the stone represents the efforts of a designer, a copyist, or a lithographic artist. The puzzle of authorship is not helped by the varying uses at the Pendleton shop of the term *del.* (for *delineavit*, "he drew it."). At times it signifies a designer and at others a lithographic artist and it is not unknown for it to represent the work of a straightforward copyist. Only rarely do we find explicitness such as that of *Jefferson's Rock* (Fig. 2): "From Nature & on Stone by R. Peale." Often there is no clue at all to the identity of the artist, the print bearing only the Pendleton or Moore imprint. This common anonymity of the lithographic artist was lamented in 1834 by William Dunlap in his history of American art: ". . . however beautiful or perfect the plates are, the credit is transferred to the master of the establishment, and the artist is sunk. This must change. The artist must be announced, and must be the *Master*."[22] Dunlap's insistence was noble but futile.

The Pendleton shop seems always to have had a head lithographic artist assisted by copyists who were sometimes apprentices. Well-established artists such as Peale and Johnston drew on the shop's stones but had no regular employment there; by virtue of their independence, they chose their subjects and usually avoided routine assignments. Charles Hart, who was an apprentice about 1840 recalled (in 1910) that wages for steadily engaged lithographic artists ran from fifteen to eighteen dollars a week. Printers received from six to twelve.[23]

Artists. I have included in table 1* only those men who drew on stone at the Pendleton-Moore shop and who also were, or became, professional artists in other media or, in the cases of Bufford, Currier, and Swett, managed lithographic printing shops. I have excluded nonpictorial lithographic artists such as John V. N. Throop and amateurs, however talented, such as Dr. William Hunt and Mary Jane Derby, as well as the copperplate engravers and pressmen who worked at the shop. The sources for table 1 are dated lithographs, autobiographical matter, *Boston Directory* entries, and newspaper and other contemporary published reports. Three main groups appear: those who were present at the founding in 1825 or who joined the firm within a year; those who joined the firm after 1826 but before 1832; and, lastly, those who were active only after 1832.

Of the eleven artists in the first group, Alexander, Bowen, Hoogland, and Penniman had brief associations with the shop; few of their prints are known—none in Bowen's case, as we have noted. Davis drew architectural views and his work on stone was subsidiary to his blossoming career as an architect. He worked both in Boston and in New York (for John Pendleton and others) between 1826 and 1830. He seems never to have had a regular position with any lithographer's shop. Edwards and Nutting were prolific yeomen, good lithographic

FIG. 3. ROBERT COOKE: *Fitz Hugh Lane*, 1835, PENCIL DRAWING
Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.
This is the only known life portrait of Lane.

artists of no special originality and, as we have noted, both worked for the Senefelder firm until they were claimed along with the presses and stones as Senefelder assets. Swett, who had begun drawing for the Pendletons in January 1826, was, as we have seen, superintendent of the Senefelder company before moving

FIG. 4. WILLIAM RIMMER: *The Roarers* (DETAIL), 1837, LITHOGRAPH
Private Collection.

to New York in 1830. John Cheney is noted below.

Although Peale was certainly the most distinguished member of the first group, as well as the oldest by far, David Claypoole Johnston was the most original. Even between 1825 and 1830 when his prolific output included a great deal of copywork, he produced a number of highly inventive original caricatures. His rising reputation as a comic artist allowed him after 1830 to drop routine assign-

ments and thereafter he used the shop only for the printing of his original conceptions which he then sold in his own shop and elsewhere. He was never taken seriously as an artist, partly because he was not a very good painter and partly because his forte was caricature in an age of noble purpose in art. His natural bent for satire and farce, reinforced by a short and happy career as a comic actor, placed his cheerful grotesqueries firmly outside the canons of genteel taste which ruled the Boston of Washington Allston. What Peale thought of him, and he of Peale, would be interesting to know. In 1826 they were the two most accomplished lithographic artists in America and together gave a substantial boost to the shop's prospects for success. Their vastly dissimilar pictorial styles and personalities must have been both instructive and amusing to their colleagues at the shop.

The second group of artists, who joined after 1826 but before 1832, consists of Seth Cheney, Nathaniel Currier, and John H. Bufford. Currier and Bufford had no very special skills as original artists and gravitated to management. Currier left for Philadelphia in 1833 and moved to New York in 1834 where he succeeded John Pendleton and in so doing founded the firm which in 1857 became Currier and Ives, unquestionably the best-known American publisher of prints. Bufford, after some years (1834-1839) of modest accomplishment in New York, returned to Boston to manage his old shop after Thayer acquired it in 1840. Bufford continued to draw on stone into the early 1850s. The Cheney brothers were primarily copperplate engravers for William Pendleton, though both also drew some lithographs. Thomas Badger, James Kidder, and John Rubens Smith also drew on stone during these years but I have not included them in table 1 since present evidence suggests that they used the shop's facilities only for the reproduction of their own works, paintings in Badger's and Kidder's cases and a drawing-instruction book in Smith's.

The third group joined the Pendleton shop after 1832 and it is this group which provides the basis for viewing Pendleton's as a training ground for painters. George Loring Brown, Benjamin Champney, Fitz Hugh Lane, William Rimmer, and John W. A. Scott all began their professional careers while they were lithographic artists at the shop. All became painters of considerable merit within a few years of leaving the shop (though Rimmer, who painted chiefly for his own satisfaction rather than for exhibition was not well known as a painter).

What in the Pendleton experience moved these young artists on to finer expressions? Part of the answer seems to rest with the influence of Robert Cooke (c. 1810-1843), the shop's chief draughtsman from at least 1834 until 1840. Having gained some success as a portrait painter, he left Boston in 1841 to study in France, where he died in 1843. Decades later Champney recalled Cooke's encouragement and effectiveness as a teacher.[24] A measure of his skill as a portraitist is seen in his pencil drawing of Lane who, as a cripple and something of a grump, must have been a difficult subject. (Fig. 3.) The portrait smacks of a sketching trip, perhaps to Cape Ann, and places Lane by the sea he loved.

Beyond Cooke's influence is the fact

that by the early 1830s the shop's prestige was high enough to attract young men who aspired to careers in painting but who lacked the means or the precocity to study with either American or European masters. Though less glamourous than a European atelier and not working with paints, the shop nonetheless represented an alternate approach to a career as a painter. For example, the portrait business, still thriving in the 1830s and not to be sent into decline by the daguerreotype until the mid-1840s, was especially well approached through an apprenticeship to a lithographer for the discipline gained from copying prints later helped in copying from nature.

The shop had associations with established painters, though rarely, if ever again, as close as Peale's of 1826-1827. Johnston appeared from time to time as did the marine painter Robert Salmon. Salmon was at least informally Fitz Hugh Lane's teacher and probably first came to know him through the shop.[25] These associations are known; others are conjectural but probable, for the Pendleton shop, centrally located in the middle of a small, walking city, could not avoid the world of art. In the mid-1830s in the area now bounded by Beacon Hill, Tremont Street, Stuart Street, Atlantic Avenue, and the Government Center were found the shops of all the graphic artists and printers, the studios and showrooms of most of the local professional painters, the Athenæum Gallery, virtually all of the book and print sellers, the periodical publishers, and a bit of the harbor as well. The major local painters, Allston, Alvan Fisher, Chester Harding, and Thomas Doughty, and visiting painters, Samuel F. B. Morse, for instance, may not have been personal acquaintances of the Pendleton company but there is no question that they and (more importantly) their works were seen by them. Further, it seems probable that William Pendleton had sensed a change in style in pictorial art. The rise of American landscape painting in the 1820s coupled with an increasing demand for printed reproductions of native paintings must have led him to seek young men to draw on stone who were familiar with the new pictorial conventions and conceptions and used them naturally. The adaptation of these conventions to lithography resulted in something of a Pendleton house style in the 1830s and it is largely for this reason that the pictorial language of the later Pendleton and Moore prints seems for its time to be more "American" than the products of other early native lithographic printers whose artists were inclined more often to use European prints as models.

The Prints. The output of the Pendleton shop was so extensive and varied that a comprehensive catalogue and exhibition of Pendleton and Moore lithographs would doubtless provide new insights even for scholars and collectors already steeped in the shop's work. Lacking such a catalogue we must be cautious in generalizing about the large and diverse corpus of prints produced in a decade and a half by many hands at various levels of artistic competency. We must remember as well that from the outset the shop's work consisted on the one hand of adaptations of existing pictorial matter and on the other, original drawings from nature and works of the imagination. The adaptations are best understood by recalling that throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century pictorial matter in American editions

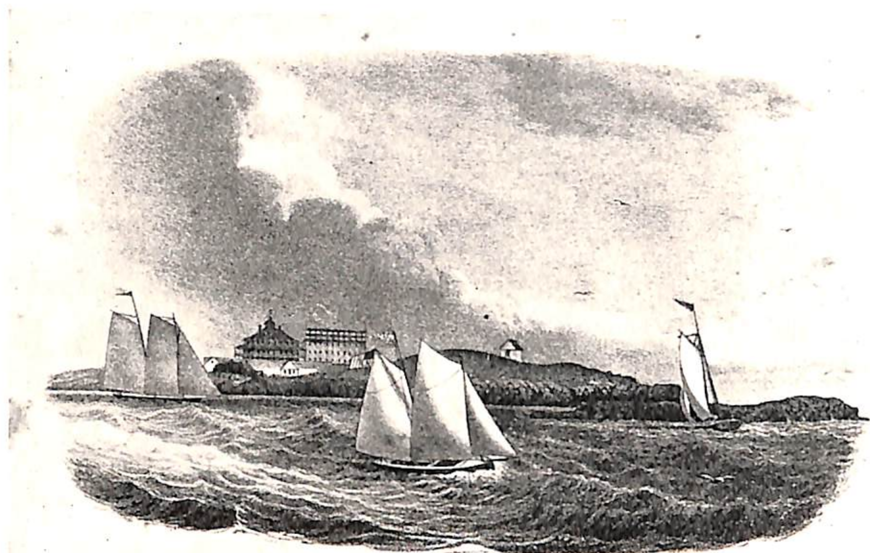

FIG. 5. FITZ HUGH LANE: *The Nahant Quadrilles* (DETAIL), 1836, LITHOGRAPH
Private Collection.

of books and periodicals originally published in England needed to be copied by hand from a specimen of the original print, since photographic means of copying for purposes of printing were unknown. The absence of reciprocal copyright and royalty arrangements made any notable British publication fair game for an enterprising American publisher. Between 1825 and 1850, lithography

provided a relatively cheap means of reproducing the essence of the fine intaglio prints for which British publications were noted, and it was used to this end, though Pendleton adaptations were as often after the simpler (for the copyist) scientific and technical book illustrations of the day. James Paxton's *Illustrations of Paley's Natural Theology* (Boston, 1827) is a good example with 37 lithographic plates reproducing the copperplate engravings by James Neele for the English publication (Oxford, 1826). British popular music was also pirated and since the original pictorial title pages were usually lithographs, the Pendleton adaptations provide a basis for comparing the technical skills of both the draughtsmen and the printers. The Pendleton work does not suffer in the comparison.

Original prints by Pendleton artists command more attention than do the adaptations for in them we find early intimations of mature styles. William Rimmer's music title illustrations, *The Fireman's Call* and *The Roarers* (Fig. 4), both 1837, have more than a little of the fantasy, energy, and drama characteristic of his later achievements in painting and sculpture.[26] Fitz Hugh Lane's title vignette for the *Nahant Quadrilles* (Fig. 5), 1836, is a marine view reminding us of Salmon's conventions and Lane's later transformation of them in his mature luminist oils. Excepting Rimmer and Johnston, fanciful illustration was not the shop's forte and most of its artists approached challenges to the imagination tentatively and with rare success. Lane's illustration and decorative surround for the *Pesky Sarpent,* 1840, (illus. Old-Time New England 32[July 1941] Frontispiece), for example, is of awkward naturalism and doubtful taste. Rattlesnakes do not make the best subjects for orderly, symmetrical decoration. Something in our temperament—and theirs—balks at it.

Some Pendleton portraits may have been drawn from life, though most were copied from paintings and prints. Conversely, Pendleton view prints, which are in a sense portraits of places, are from nature and are useful and sometimes unique sources of information about the appearances of Boston and other places in the second quarter of the century. As a group, the view prints are distinctive from those of publishers in other cities. One of their characteristics, derived in part perhaps from Bowen's wood engravings of Boston buildings, is an unnatural stillness. The sharp outline often characteristic of the drawing adds to the sense of staticity but the stillness comes also from the artists' conceptions. They are idealizations which do no violence to the verifiable facts of the view but present the place as it had been conceived to be rather than as it was in daily use. The patina of human use and the passage of time and seasons is seldom seen. We have instead a combination of light, time, human ensemble, and perspective which was never encountered in daily life. The Pendleton artists were by no means original in doing this—the conventions had been firmly established in Europe by Canaletto a century earlier—but they did it well, with a laconic Yankee reserve, and a clear intent to show how a place should be thought to look. The views were drawn with such evident conviction by the Pendleton artists that it is fair to consider these commercial prints as genuinely affectionate portraits. They remind us of that sense of pride in the

appearances of one's city which was so striking a part of Boston life in the 1960s.

After Moore. In May 1840 Thomas Moore sold out to Benjamin W. Thayer, a Boston merchant who managed to sandwich the proprietorship of a lithographic printing house between careers as a dry goods retailer and real estate broker. He was in no sense an artist. Cooke remained with the shop for a few months and then with Champney sailed for France. John H. Bufford, who had returned to Boston in 1839, became Thayer's chief artist and after 1840 most of the shop's pictorial prints seem to have been drawn on stone by him. The variety of drawing styles which enriched the Pendleton-Moore years ceased. The Thayer-Bufford affiliation lasted under various arrangements until 1851, though the firm's name became *J. H. Bufford & Co.* in 1844. In 1851 Bufford left the shop to set up another, at 260 Washington Street (dropping the *& Co.* from his imprint in the process) and the old premises never again played an important role in Boston printmaking.

In the 1840s, Bufford and Thayer survived keener competition than their predecessors had known. In 1839 William Sharp had arrived from London with the latest in printing technology and by 1843 was printing in colors. (This William Sharp should not be confused with William C. Sharp, also a lithographic printer, who was active in Boston after 1843, at times in partnership with his brother James.) Thayer followed with color printing in 1844 but neither in drawing nor printing did his work match Sharp's.

Other lithographic printers for the years 1840-1850 are noted in table 2.* Their operations were smaller than Thayer's; indeed, the Thayer-Bufford presses probably printed the stones which some of the smaller lithographic firms prepared. After 1841, Lane, Scott, Johnston, and Nutting occasionally returned to the stone—Lane and Scott were partners in a lithographic business between 1845 and 1847—but increasingly their energies were devoted to painting and the teaching of art. However many new apprentices may have been recruited, the prints issued between 1841 and 1850 were, as noted earlier, almost entirely Bufford's work on stone, a mediocre sort of craftsmanship at best.

Part of the reason for the flight of talent from the shop is that there was now a new and in some regards easier way for a young man to start out as an illustrator. At the beginning of the decade the electrotype process made the long run printing of large wood engravings possible. Their successful application in the weekly *Illustrated London News* in 1842 made it only a matter of time before American publishers embraced the new, high-speed, means of printing pictures. In Boston, the appearance of *Gleason's Pictorial* in 1850 confirmed that wood engravings, rather than lithographs, would dominate the market for printed pictures and it is ironic that Abel Bowen, the dean of American wood engravers, should have died in that very year. His numerous pupils were suddenly in the midst of a booming business and sought, as the Pendletons and Cooke had done in the 1820s and 1830s, talented aspiring artists. Now they served as designers in wood engravers' shops, drawing on wood blocks which teams of engravers then laboriously cut and from which

metal electrotypes were made. The finished print had none of the warmth or autographic qualities of a lithograph, but it was good enough evidence of the designer's skills of illustration so that for the generation of 1850, the wood engraver's shop supplanted the lithographer's as a means for launching young artists into public view.

NOTES

[1] Lessons from individual drawing masters and painters were available from colonial times but only with the opening of the Lowell Institute Drawing School in 1850 was institutional instruction available in Boston; comprehensive art training programs seem not to have been established until much later.

[2] The pioneering research of Charles Henry Taylor is summarized in "Some Notes on Early American Lithography," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 32(April, 1922):68-80, and is supplemented by Harry T. Peters' commentary in *America on Stone* (New York: Doubleday, 1931) but neither account is free of error. Thomas Carey's Ph.D. dissertation, "The American Lithograph from its Inception to 1865 . . .", the Ohio State University, 1954, is the only detailed comprehensive history of early American lithography but contains a number of inaccuracies.

[3] James Cutbush, *American Artist's Manual* (Philadelphia, 1814), s.v. "Etching on Stone"; *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, January 8, 1808.

[4] William Armand Barnet and Isaac Doolittle were located at 23 Lumber Street in New York in October 1821 when the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, 4:159-171, incorrectly reported the three Barnet and Doolittle lithographs appearing in that number of the *Journal* to be the first made in America. It would have been closer to the truth to have said that they were the first *standard* lithographs *published* here. Three earlier lithographs by Bass Otis published in Philadelphia in 1818-1820 (see note 10) were made by unorthodox means. Barnet and Doolittle probably printed the juvenile pamphlet *The Children's Friend. No. III, A New Year's Present to the Little Ones From Five to Two* (New York: William B. Gillen, 1821), which seems to be the first American publication with both text and illustrations printed by lithography.

[5] Imbert's *Piercing the Ears* "C. Des Essarts [del.], A. Imbert, litho, New York, 1825" (AAS) is the earliest Imbert lithograph known to the writer. Imbert's lithographs for Cadwallader D. Colden's *Memoir . . . of the Completion of the New York Canals* (New York, 1825 [1826]), commonly thought to be the earliest products of his press, were not made earlier than October 1825 and may have been printed as late as March 1826.

[6] There is a legend that "gentlemanly experiments" in the medium were made in Boston in the early 1820s and it would not be surprising if this were so, though I have found no documentation of it.

[7] ". . . [William Pendleton] having disposed of his Engraving, Lithographic, and Printing business to Mr. Thomas Moore—who has for many years been in his employ—solicits for him a continuance of the public favor and respectfully recommends him as in every respect competent to conduct the business PRECISELY AS HERETOFORE at the old stand, number 204, Washington Street. William S. Pendleton, 30 July 1836." *Boston Transcript*, August 11, 1836. The announcement of Thayer's proprietorship appeared in *Boston Transcript*, May 9, 1840.

[8] Felix H. Man, "Lithography in England (1801-1918)," *Prints*, Carl Zigrosser, ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), pp. 102-105.

[9] American Antiquarian Society, *Lithf Peal Byro.*

[10] *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Otis, Bass."

[11] Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (New York: Scribners, 1969), p. 379; *New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America*, s.v. "Pendleton, John B." and "Pendleton, William S."

[12] Mabel M. Swan, "The American

Kings" *Antiques* 19(April, 1931):279-281. See also "Stuart, Doggett, and some others," *Antiques* 20(July, 1931):11-12.

[13] *Boston Directory*, 1825.

[14] The enterprising Bowen often had more than one iron in the fire. His engraving business in Portland, Maine, managed by his brother and fellow engraver Sidney, lasted for two years, 1822-1823 (Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr., "Portland, Maine, Engravers of the 1820s," OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND 61[January–March 1971]:60-61) and immediately preceded his partnership with William Pendleton. In 1833 a partnership agreement involving Bowen, Pendleton, and S. S. Kilburn, another Boston wood engraver, was drawn up but never executed, according to a MS note from a descendent of Kilburn. Taylor papers, American Antiquarian Society.

[15] *Boston Monthly Magazine*, December, 1825, pp. 383-384.

[16] Two of the lithographs are by D. C. Johnston and Thomas Edwards. The third, unsigned, bears the specific *J. Pendleton* imprint and it is conceivable that John Pendleton himself drew it on stone, though if so, it would be the only drawing of any sort by him known to the writer. Whoever the artist, the drawing is not very accomplished.

[17] *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures Alone;* by John Milton, translated from the original by Charles R. Sumner, M.A. (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, and Co., Richardson and Lord, Charles Ewer, Crocker and Brewster, Timothy Bedlington, R. P. & C. Williams, 1825).

[18] Christopher Columbus Baldwin, *Diary*, September 11, 1834 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1901), pp. 331-332.

[19] *Boston News-Letter*, February 4, 1826.

[20] John Pendleton's shop was at 137 Broadway in New York. He was in full operation there before February 12, 1829 on which date he issued a bill reproduced in Peters, *America on Stone*, facing p. 32. He was at least contemplating the move as early as March 1828 when John Cheney considered joining him there. [Ednah D. Cheney] *Memoir of John Cheney* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1889), p. 12.

[21] Peters, *America on Stone*, p. 317. Peter's information is based on Charles H. Taylor's interview in 1905 with John W. A. Scott who became an apprentice at the Pendleton shop in 1830. A galley proof of Taylor's history of early lithography in Boston, written between 1905 and 1907, and based in part on Scott's recollections, is part of the Taylor collection at the American Antiquarian Society.

[22] William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), p. 455.

[23] Taylor papers, American Antiquarian Society.

[24] Benjamin Champney, *Sixty Years' Memories of Art and Artists* (Woburn, Mass., 1900), pp. 10-16. A pioneering study of Cooke is Frederick W. Lyman, "Robert Cooke: A Neglected Name in American Art," Senior honors paper, Department of Art, Bowdoin College, 1970.

[25] John Wilmerding, *A History of American Marine Painting* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), p. 158.

[26] *The Fireman's Call* has no lithographer's imprint but was probably printed by Moore. The *Roarers* carried the imprint of Daniel S. Jenkins who issued a small number of lithographs in Boston between 1836 and 1840, in partnership with Luke Colburn. The total known production of the firm amounts to less than two dozen different designs and Moore's presses may have printed them. Rimmer was thought by Champney (*Sixty Years Memories*, pp. 10, 11) to be eighteen or twenty when he began working at the shop (which would place him there between 1834 and 1836) and that he did not stay more than a year, in which case the two music-title illustrations of 1837 may be postapprentice work as a free-lance artist.

* Tables 1 and 2 omitted but are on file at the Society Headquarters.