



DRAWN FROM NATURE & ON STONE  
THE LITHOGRAPHS OF FITZ HENRY LANE

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CAPE ANN MUSEUM

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CAPE ANN MUSEUM  
ART HISTORY CULTURE

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Figure 2. Robert Cooke (c. 1810–1843).  
*F. H. Lane*, 1835. Graphite on paper.  
American Antiquarian Society.



# FOREWORD



MARTHA OAKS

It is with great pride that the Cape Ann Museum has organized *Drawn from Nature & on Stone*, a special exhibition exploring Fitz Henry Lane's work as a lithographer. The exhibition represents the first of its kind, focusing exclusively on Lane's work as a printmaker and the scholarship that went into the exhibition and exhibition catalogue makes important contributions to earlier work in the field by Carl L. Crossman, David Tatham, John Wilmerding and others. As one of America's most important artists of the nineteenth century and Cape Ann's *favorite son*, Fitz Henry Lane is richly deserving of the attention he receives in this exhibition and scholars and lay people alike will benefit from the insights that arise from it.

In recent years, researchers have been reexamining Fitz Henry Lane's life from all angles and much of the information uncovered through these efforts has been incorporated into the Cape Ann Museum's *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. The site is a freely-accessible interactive resource of materials related to all aspects of Lane's life; in time, it will grow to include a complete catalogue raisonné of the artist's work. From Lane's mysterious name change, to his relationship with fellow artist Mary Blood Mellen, to the groundbreaking work being done using infrared photography to look below the surface of Lane's paintings. Never before has the artist's life and his artistic output been put through such thorough and painstaking examination and never before has the information gleaned from these endeavors been so readily available through *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. The exhibition *Drawn from Nature & on Stone* has been enhanced greatly by *Fitz Henry Lane Online* and it is anticipated that other projects exploring various facets of Lane's career will reap the same benefits as time goes on.



Figure 2. *View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Pendleton's Lithography, Boston, 1836. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Gilbert L. Patillo.

While examples of Fitz Henry Lane's paintings and lithographs are included in museum and library collections across the country, as well as in private collections, the Cape Ann Museum is particularly well positioned to take the lead in fostering research into Lane's life and his artistic career. For nearly a century, the Museum has been collecting, documenting and preserving Lane's work and today our holdings include almost all of the known archival material related to Lane, 40-odd examples of his work in oil including many of his masterpieces, and a growing portfolio of his work as a lithographer. A central part of our holdings, really the backbone of the Lane collection, is an amazing group of 105 drawings done by Lane in graphite on paper. Evidence suggests that most of the drawings were done during the 1850s and early 1860s and that Lane used them to create paintings as well as lithographs. The drawings were donated to the Cape Ann Museum in 1927 by Samuel H. Mansfield who received them from Lane's close friend and confidant, Joseph L. Stevens, Jr. With handwritten notations on the vast majority of them, put there by Stevens and in some cases by Lane, the drawings provide us with insights into who Lane's patrons were, how many paintings he did of one scene, how he changed a scene to satisfy a patron, and who accompanied the artist when he went out sketching be it around Cape Ann or along the coast of Maine. The drawings even provide clues as to how far Lane would go to capture a scene that sparked his imagination. The Cape Ann Museum is honored to be at the forefront of research into the accomplishments of Fitz Henry Lane and looks forward to remaining in that position of leadership for generations to come.

The Cape Ann Museum thanks guest curator Georgia Barnhill for her early commitment to this project, for her thorough and painstaking research and for her guidance when

it came to selecting works to be included in the exhibition. As Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Graphic Arts Emerita at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, Georgia was eminently qualified to lead this important project.

The Cape Ann Museum also thanks Melissa Geisler Trafletton for her tireless dedication to *Fitz Henry Lane Online*, for her enthusiastic support of this exhibition and for her contributions to this catalogue. Melissa served as lead researcher and managing editor of *Fitz Henry Lane Online* from 2012 through 2016. Her scholarship, insights and patience have been of immense importance to the Museum and are greatly appreciated.

Sam Holdsworth has served as director and editor of *Fitz Henry Lane Online* since its inception in 2010 and the Museum is indebted to him for his dedication to this important and exciting project. Sam has successfully lured an impressive team of scholars and researchers into the project and among them Erik Ronnberg has made valuable contributions to this examination of Fitz Henry Lane as a lithographer. We are immensely grateful, as well, to those who have supported the *Online* project over the years.

The Cape Ann Museum thanks the many institutions which made their Lane lithographs available for *Drawn from Nature & on Stone* and, most importantly, the generous sponsors who gave their financial backing to this project.

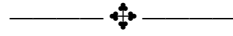
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Martha Oaks has served as the Curator at the Cape Ann Museum since 2007.



Figure 3. *View of the Old Building at the corner of Ann St., Boston, Mass.* Lithograph on paper, hand-colored. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Pendleton's Lithography, Boston, 1835. Boston Athenaeum.

# FITZ HENRY LANE'S LITHOGRAPHIC CAREER



GEORGIA B. BARNHILL

The career of the artist Fitz Henry Lane, born in Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1804, developed in tandem with the establishment of lithography as an American printmaking medium. About six years before Lane was born, the Bavarian actor and playwright Alois Senefelder stumbled upon a new and revolutionary printmaking process while seeking a solution to a straightforward printing problem relating to his work in the theater. His experiments and those of others developed lithography, literally writing on stone. Before this invention, engraving or intaglio processes—including dry point, mezzotint, aquatint, and etching—involved incising designs into metal plates with very sharp tools or acid. Printers inked each plate by hand, wiping the face of the printing surface clean, leaving ink in the grooves, before placing the plate and dampened paper into the specially designed press that applied heavy pressure to the plate. Each impression from the plate required new ink, a laborious process involving tedious manual labor. It is no wonder that engravings were expensive.

Lithography was an altogether different process with potential for mass production. A finely grained and polished slab of German limestone replaced the metal plate as the matrix for the print. Drawing on this stone was similar to using a waxy crayon or ink on paper and easily learned by amateur and professional artists. An alternative method was for a trained printer to transfer a drawing directly to stone using specially treated paper. Printers “fixed” the drawings to the stone with chemicals. When the stone was ready for printing, printers used sponges to dampen the surface with water and rollers to apply ink to the stone. The surface of the stone absorbed moisture; the drawn areas repelled it but absorbed ink. Printing was accomplished easily with a lithographic press. The black-and-white design could be enhanced with the use of additional stones on which the draftsman could use a diluted lithographic ink to create washes. This technique was particularly useful for creating clouds in a sky, as well as providing even tones for other areas that could be printed in color. An 1841 article in the *New Bedford Mercury* heralded the process through which “the artist is enabled to give a softly tinted appearance to the whole representing the overhanging clouds and surrounding atmosphere with great beauty and effect.”<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, each impression of a lithograph could be colored by hand using watercolors, and young women were found to excel at this. In all, lithographs were simpler to craft and to print and consequently less costly to the publisher and consumer. The images on stone did not wear out as did metal plates, and thousands of impressions could be made from one stone, if the demand existed. The public was suddenly able to purchase low-cost images for homes and businesses.

Because Lane came of age before instruction in art was readily accessible, work in a lithography shop where he learned this process gave Lane an entrée into the world of

art. By working collaboratively with other artists and honing his skills as a draftsman on paper and stone, Lane prepared for his career and future recognition as one of the finest artists of nineteenth-century America.

Lane’s experience in lithographic shops in Boston formed the foundation for his later career as an independent artist. His remarkable story resembles the fictional Horatio Alger. Born to a working-class family, he was twelve when his father died. Lane was disabled at an early age and dependent on crutches throughout his life. Although he first worked as a shoemaker in Gloucester, he achieved success as a commercial lithographer in Boston and subsequently as a marine artist. This essay traces his rise from his apprenticeship in Pendleton’s Lithography, Boston’s leading commercial lithography firm, to his emergence and success as a fine artist recognized for the excellence of his marine views of Boston, his native Gloucester, and Maine.

In 1824, William S. Pendleton established a copperplate printing business with the wood engraver, Abel Bowen. Pendleton entered this partnership while his brother John was traveling in France to study lithography and acquire the materials required to print lithographs. The next year, after John returned, John and William Pendleton formed one of the first successful American lithographic printing firms in Boston. John Pendleton returned with a press, stones, crayons, and inks, and French-trained printers, experienced in this relatively new process. Thus equipped, the Pendleton shop became a site where working class young men could learn to draw and paint, a skill previously restricted to young women from wealthy families who could pay their tuition at private academies found in towns around New England. Young men who attended private academies generally took courses in subjects that would prepare them for their future

collegiate and professional lives. A major exception was West Point, which offered drawing instruction so officers could design topographical drawings and maps useful in times of war. Writing in 1825, William Bentley Fowle lamented the lack of drawing instruction:

Notwithstanding the great utility of this branch of education, it is a lamentable fact, that it is seldom or never taught in the publick schools, although a very large proportion of our children have no other education than these schools afford. Even in the private schools where drawing is taught, it is too generally the case that no regard is paid to the geometrical principles on which the art depends.<sup>2</sup>

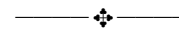
Change came slowly. As many as fifteen years later the Committee on Fine Arts of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association observed that:

Good schools for the elementary principles [of drawing] are needed every where, and we have been led particularly to feel and lament the want of some means by which our artizans and mechanics might obtain that knowledge of Linear Drawing, so indispensable to the acquirement of a correct taste in every branch of the Mechanic, as well as of the Fine Arts.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1820s boys with artistic talent sketched and drew upon whatever materials were available such as school slates and scrap paper. Lithographer and landscape artist Benjamin Champney recorded drawing with his sister in the kitchen “with stubs of pencils” on scraps of paper.<sup>4</sup> Not until the 1820s did drawing manuals that provided practical instruction begin to appear; and John Gadsby Chapman’s popular manual, *The American Drawing Book*, was not published until 1847, a decade after Fitz Henry Lane reached maturity. How did

Lane perfect his innate talent? John Wilmerding has suggested that “Lane took up sketching local scenes as a diversion;” Elliot Bostwick Davis considers that Lane was self-taught.<sup>5</sup> Several books were available for Lane to study, among them William Bentley Fowle’s translation of Louis-Benjamin’s Francoeur’s text, *An Introduction to Linear Drawing* (Boston, 1825) and Louisa Davis Minot’s *Easy Lessons in Perspective* (Boston, 1830). More lavish publications such as the *Art of Drawing Landscapes* published in Baltimore by Fielding Lucas, Jr., in 1820, illustrated with beautiful aquatints by John Hill, probably would have been beyond the means of the Lane family. Lacking any other evidence, we can only assume that Lane spent as much time drawing as he could. As Peter Marzio has noted, probably the best advice to young artists came from John Rubens Smith and others who “insisted that hard work rather than genius was the only road to success in art.”<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the marine artist William Bradford, a generation younger than Lane and influenced by him, remembered that he “copied all the drawings in an English drawing-book nearly four times through. I kept at it without any master, often till midnight. That is the way I learned my art.”<sup>7</sup>

#### LEARNING AT WILLIAM PENDLETON'S FIRM IN BOSTON, 1832 TO 1836



Lithographic printers and publishers, such as William Pendleton in Boston and George Endicott in New York, provided young men who desired to make a career of their interests in drawing and painting a means to perfect their draftsmanship and turn artistic longing into a livelihood. Benjamin Champ-

ney described his own transformation from delivery boy to artist in his memoirs. He delivered packages throughout the city of Boston for the shoe dealer Henry L. Daggett, whose business was adjacent to the New England Bank Note Company and Pendleton's Lithography. He peered through the windows and became intrigued by what he saw. Although initially rejected by one of the foremen, he worked his way into Pendleton's in 1834, thanks to the efforts of his roommate at the time, the skilled draftsman Robert Cooke. In due course, Champney became a draftsman himself doing general commercial work for Pendleton and, after 1835, his successor Thomas Moore. Later Champney became an artist with studios in Boston and North Conway, New Hampshire. Fitz Henry Lane's name began to appear on Pendleton lithographs in 1833, indicating that he had already worked his way into the Pendleton firm by then.

The experiences of Champney, Cooke, and Lane were shared by other artists. In New York, Charles Hart, who worked as a delivery boy for a china and glass retail store, frequently passed by the shop of George Endicott on Broadway. Although the lithographic presses were in the basement he could see lithographic printers at work through the windows and admire prints displayed in the shop's first-floor. Hart saw a "boy wanted" sign in the window one day, immediately applied, and was given an apprenticeship. His first day of work included stacking cordwood. He also swept out the office and printing shop; prepared lithographic stones for the draftsmen; made tracing paper and lithographic crayons, and colored prints by hand. Hart stayed with the firm for twenty years, working mainly as a printer, rather than as an artist or draftsman.<sup>8</sup> For many men, working for a commercial lithographer was as close to an art education as they could get prior to the establishment of formal art academies

in major metropolitan areas. Even Winslow Homer in the 1850s began his artistic career in a commercial lithography firm in Boston.

Among those already affiliated with the Pendleton shop when Lane arrived were several individuals with interests in art education who might have mentored the talented amateur. Thomas Edwards produced a lithographic drawing manual devoted to figure drawing, *Edwards' Lithographic Drawing Book: Figure* (Boston: Senefelder Lithographic Rooms, 1829) and the *Juvenile Drawing Book, or Instructions in Landscape Drawing, and Painting in Water-Colours* (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1830). Margaret Snow, who married William Pendleton in 1831, taught drawing and painting in Boston and also produced several of her own lithographs at the Senefelder Lithographic Company, a competitor of Pendleton's from 1828 to 1831, and at Pendleton's. Another successful lithographic draftsman with an affinity for art instruction active at the same time was Benjamin Franklin Nutting. In the late 1840s and 1850s, he created sets of cards that children could use to learn the basics of drawing objects, scenic details, and trees.

Although there was no art school in Boston, Lane and his colleagues were able to study European and American paintings in public collections in the city. Ethan Allen Greenwood's New England Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts is one example. This institution featured both natural history collections as well as European and American paintings.<sup>9</sup> The pages of Boston newspapers often carried announcements of auctions of paintings as well as displays in galleries such as Harding's Gallery where two hundred paintings by Boston artists were on display in 1834.<sup>10</sup> The Boston Athenaeum, founded in 1807, exhibited works of art to the public beginning in 1827. In the early 1830s, landscapes or seascapes by





Figure 4. *Burning of the Packet Ship Boston*. Watercolor on paper by Fitz Henry Lane. 1830. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Samuel H. Mansfield, 1924.

the following American artists were on display: Washington Allston, Thomas Birch, John S. Blunt, George Loring Brown, Thomas Cole, Thomas Doughty, Thomas Edwards, Alvan Fisher, Robert Jones, Jonathan Mason, Jr., Henry Cheever Pratt, Catherine Scollay, John Rubens Smith, and William Guy Wall. Landscapes by or after European masters such as Poussin, Salvator Rosa, and Jacob van Ruysdael were also on view. After 1837, the annual exhibitions of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association displayed fine art together

with manufactured goods of all kinds. And, as John Wilm-  
 erding has noted, Lane probably met the eminent British marine artist, Robert Salmon while working for Pendleton.<sup>11</sup>

Another influence on Lane was *The Art Union, A Monthly Journal of the Fine Arts*, published in London. An article that appeared in July 1839 extolled the virtues of lithography and noted the improvements made over the previous two decades in England. In particular, the writer noted the use of printed tints and colors, a process introduced to the Unit-

ed States in 1839 by William Sharp and used by printers of Lane's works.<sup>12</sup>

John Pendleton's travel to France in 1825 was on behalf of John Doggett who sought to make lithographic reproductions of Gilbert Stuart paintings of the first five presidents. A French draftsman made the drawings on stone and John returned to partnership with his brother in Boston with the prepared stones and three French-born lithographers and equipment in October 1825.<sup>13</sup> While in Paris, John Pendleton also visited the studio of Jacques Gérard Milbert, whose views of France and the United States became celebrated. Another French lithographer, Auguste Bishaboy or Bichebois, entered William Pendleton's shop in 1834, soon after Lane arrived. Charles Hart knew Bichebois and referred to him as an "excellent" workman.<sup>14</sup> Lithography had become a fine art in Paris by that time and a steady stream of French lithographs were making their way to the United States.<sup>15</sup> These French-trained lithographic printers would have been able to provide suggestions about producing ranges of tones from dark to light and techniques such as scratching through the drawing to create the thinnest of white lines (such as in waves) to their Boston colleagues. The trade card for the Pendleton firm featured an image copied from C. H. Hullmandel's *Art of Drawing on Stone* published in London in 1824 suggesting that that book was on hand. And, Abel Bowen owned a copy of Godefroy Engelmann's *Manuel du dessinateur lithographe*, published in Paris in 1822. John Pendleton might have acquired this volume along with French prints that he imported from Paris for sale in Boston. Such prints would have been excellent models for the artists working in the Pendleton shop.

Although no evidence exists to determine exactly when Lane began work at the Pendleton firm, it was possibly late

in 1832 or early 1833, shortly after he legally changed his name from Nathaniel Rogers Lane to Fitz Henry Lane.<sup>16</sup> In 1830 he produced one watercolor that is extant, *Burning of the Packet Ship Boston* (Fig. 4), an ambitious attempt to portray a dramatic scene filled with flames, waves, dark clouds, and men in the ship's lifeboats. Elias Davis Knight gave the watercolor to Lane's close friend, Joseph Stevens, Jr. in 1869, accompanied by a letter describing the origin of the scene. Knight described making a drawing of the tragedy aided by one of the passengers, the artist Samuel S. Osgood, and indicated that Lane worked from this sketch.<sup>17</sup> It may have been this watercolor that brought Lane to the attention of William S. Pendleton.

Given his age and physical infirmity, Lane's apprenticeship probably was not as vigorous or filled with as many menial tasks as Charles Hart's. Others could run errands, stack cordwood, and sweep out the shop. Pendleton's firm did a substantial amount of so-called job printing or commissioned work for book, periodical, and music publishers, and Lane could have helped by preparing the stones for artists and draftsmen and learning the general business model. Lane appears to have advanced quickly, for his signature appears on prints published as early as 1833. *Sicilian Vespers* (Fig. 5), a music score published by Charles Bradlee, was one of the earliest items he drew on stone, probably copying an English edition. Only his initials appear, scratched through the design in the lower left. The British composer Sydney Nelson composed the music and Charles Jefferys, a music publisher and author of several popular songs, wrote the lyrics. The two men teamed up for several other works as well. The stone bearing Lane's vignette survived for a decade with the image intact appearing later on a different piece of music, *The Mariner Loves O'er the Waters to Roam*, published by Oliver

Ditson and printed by B. W. Thayer & Company's Lithography in the early 1840s. Generally designs were effaced from the imported limestone after the print run was completed so the survival of this image on the stone and its reuse is remarkable. Since Thayer acquired the Pendleton shop in 1840 from Pendleton's successor Thomas Moore, it is possible that the stone was included with equipment and unsold prints.

Two other images made by Lane at this time are of young girls. In many paintings of the late eighteenth century, children appeared as miniature adults. By the 1830s, the appearance of children in paintings and prints changed as is evident in the two prints signed by Lane and published by William Pendleton. *Love among the Roses* and *Pretty Pet* (Figs. 29 and 30) depict little girls at play in landscape settings with pets. Similar in size and composition, both are oval in format. Lane captured varied and difficult textures in these prints by scratching highlights into dark passages. He also used a scraper for broader highlights. Pendleton published these prints because unlike the music score cover, a piece of job work commissioned by the publisher, they were suitable for framing and hanging in a child's bedroom.

Lane's first major design for Pendleton was the *View of the Old Building at the Corner of Ann St., Boston 1835* (Fig. 3). Because of the building's location at the intersection of Dock Square and North Street, this street view is a complex composition. Sharp angles of the buildings required knowledge of perspective, perhaps gained by reading Louisa Minot's book on that subject. Indeed, Benjamin Champney wrote many years afterwards that Lane was adept at urban views because of his understanding of perspective.<sup>18</sup> Quincy Market is in the background and at the right is Faneuil Hall. The featured building dating from the seventeenth century housed John K. Simpson's upholstery and bedding store until it was

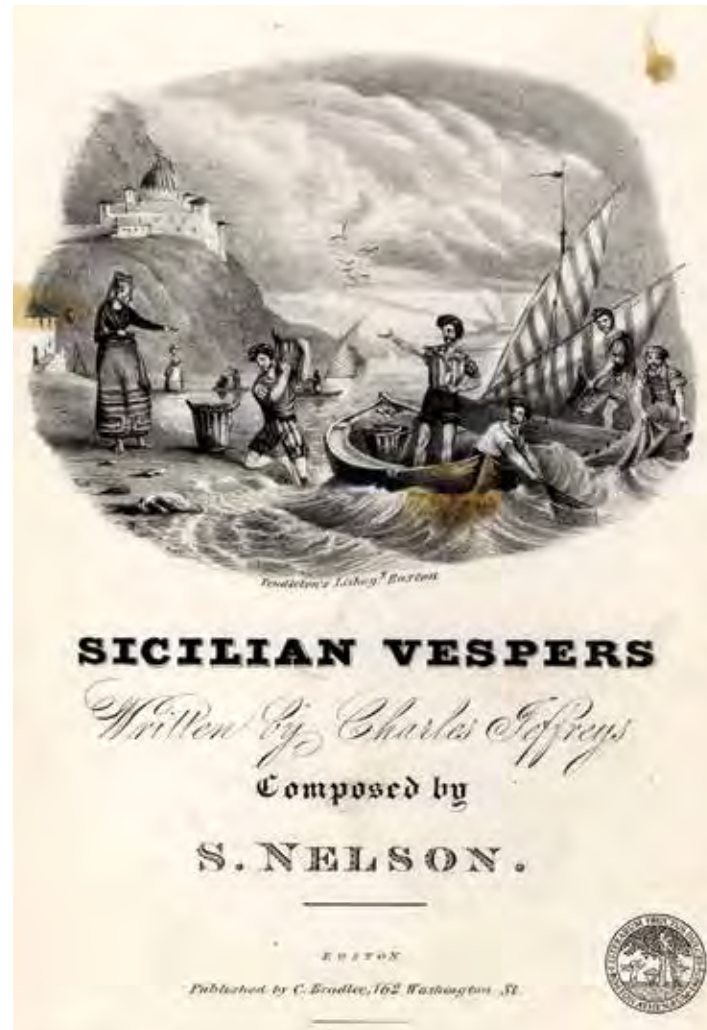


Figure 5. *Sicilian Vespers*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Pendleton's Lithography, Boston. Published by C. Bradlee, Boston, c.1832. Boston Athenaeum. Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1978.

demolished in 1860. The composition includes interesting architectural details such as fenestration and gables, as well as commerce on the street. The sign above the street level advertises feathers, mattresses, and bed ticking and next door is a shop selling shoes and leather goods. Such details show Lane's fascination with exact reproduction and accuracy in his depictions, a constant characteristic of his work. This is one of several important street views of Boston that Pendleton issued between 1825 and 1835. Artists including Alexander Jackson Davis, Joshua H. Peirce, Margaret Snow, and William Hunt produced similar views.

The inspiration for Lane's first panoramic marine view might have been paintings and prints by William James Bennett who arrived in the United States from England by 1826 and traveled extensively throughout the country producing urban and landscape views between 1830 and 1842. Among them are *Boston, from the Ship House, West End of the Navy Yard*, and *Boston from City Point Near Sea Street*. These elegant hand-colored aquatint views were completed in 1833 and Lane quite likely saw them on display at the booksellers Lilly, Wait & Company, where subscriptions were being solicited. The prints were described as "correct and beautiful," but these aquatints sold for five dollars each.<sup>19</sup> And, by October 1835 Pendleton had printed Alexander Wallace's *View of the City of Bangor, ME* for Wallace and his partner William A. Gilman. Lane certainly would have seen this print.

Lane proudly signed his 1836 *View of the Town of Gloucester*, "Drawn from nature and on stone by F. H. Lane" (Fig. 6) Other prints signed "F. H. Lane del." do not specify whether he was responsible for the original design or preparing the stone for publishing. "Del." is an abbreviation for "delin-eavit," a Latin word meaning "drew." Sometimes the design of the print is attributed to another artist, making Lane's role

as draftsman on stone clear. Some prints are signed "On Stone by F. H. Lane," "Sketched from Nature by F. H. Lane," "F. H. Lane pinxit" or "From a Painting by F. H. Lane" again clarifying his role. "Drawn by F. H. Lane" suggests that he designed the lithograph and provided a drawing rather than a painting for reproduction. The variety of signatures causes confusion. However, the inscription on this view of Gloucester clearly states Lane's responsibility for the design and print.

Although the 1836 Gloucester view is Lane's first known attempt at a panoramic view, it is a sophisticated composition. John Wilmerding noted that Lane had two viewpoints—one from above looking down to the foreground and one looking across at the distance.<sup>20</sup> Lane experimented with reflections of ships on water, a difficult detail to master, and depicted houses and shacks in East Gloucester on the shore of Smith's Cove that curves from the foreground to the middle ground. Filled with a wealth of detail from plants in the foreground to buildings on the horizon and vessels of several types in between, this view of his native Gloucester is among the earliest lithographed panoramic views published in the United States. Eliza Ann Farrar's *View of Lowell* (1834 or 1835) and several smaller scale lithographs printed in New York after drawings by John William Hill predate Lane's far more ambitious composition.

By advertising in the *Gloucester Telegraph* well in advance of publication, Lane relied on a cost-effective process to sell his view: subscription publishing, which had long been used for selling prints as well as books. Typically the artist or publisher arranged a public display of the drawing, watercolor, or painting to be reproduced and solicited the names of subscribers in advance who paid for the print upon delivery. In this case Lane, played both roles. He had already started work on the view by August 1835 when a notice



Figure 6. *View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.* Lithograph on paper, hand colored. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Pendleton's Lithography, Boston, 1836. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of E. Hyde Cox, 1998.

about the view appeared in the *Gloucester Telegraph*. The lithograph was completed in March 1836 and sold for one dollar. This composition is not only complicated, but it is large for the time, measuring thirteen by twenty inches. The primary goal of topographical artists is faithfulness to visual reality. In Gloucester, the print was received warmly. An editorial comment noted that it was “most admirably executed; and so far as we are acquainted with the art, there is a softness and beauty in the design, which we do not always find in the works of older and more distinguished artists.” The writer went on to predict that Lane would “become distinguished in his art.”<sup>21</sup> What a modest statement about an artist who would become celebrated for his marine painting.

#### THOMAS MOORE, 1836–1841



In July 1836, William S. Pendleton sold his business to his bookkeeper Thomas Moore. In spite of the change of management, artists affiliated with Pendleton continued to work for Moore, most likely as their particular skills were needed for specific commissions. Lane’s colleagues at the time included George Loring Brown, Benjamin Champney, Robert Cooke, David Claypoole Johnston, and William Rimmer. All became accomplished artists, participating in exhibitions in Boston and other cities.<sup>22</sup> Also on hand was Robert Salmon, the superb marine artist working in Boston from 1828 to about 1842 when he returned to Europe. His departure from Boston gave Lane an opening for his marine paintings and he became his worthy successor in that field. In 1840 Moore sold the business to Benjamin W. Thayer and John H.

Bufford and moved to New York where he died two years later. Thayer was a businessman, presumably well versed in the mechanics of running the business while Bufford, who trained as a lithographer in William Pendleton’s shop, became the chief artist and production manager.<sup>23</sup> He eventually ran his own important company.

Lane’s 1836 view of Gloucester was a major turning point in his career. While affiliated with Moore, he signed his share of illustrations for the covers of music scores and a commercial view, but he also drew several major urban and landscape views. Moreover, his skill as a draftsman on stone was recognized for Moore apparently commissioned him to copy works by other artists on stone. In the space of about five years, Lane drew two views of Boston Harbor, two panoramas of the landscape south of Worcester, a view of Lowell, a fire in St. John, as well as a view of a hotel in Worcester in addition to half a dozen vignettes for music covers. This was a substantial output.

Lane conspicuously signed the two landscape views, *Burbankville to Blackstone River* and *Millbury Village* (Figs. 31 and 32), a town located just south of Worcester on the Blackstone River; and each bears Moore’s imprint followed by the phrase, “Successor to Pendleton.” We can therefore date the two prints to 1836 or 1837, after the firm changed hands. The compositions are formulaic, with areas of light leading from the lower right into the middle ground. Each print features pastures with cattle in the foreground and darker patches of forests in the middle ground. In *Millbury Village*, the town is nestled among low hills in the distance, under a dramatic sky occupying almost two-thirds of the composition. Likewise, Burbankville, now known as Bramanville, a village that is part of Millbury, is faintly drawn and fails to dominate the view. The ratio of sky to landscape in *Burbankville to*

*Blackstone River* is closer to one-half of the composition and rain falls in the right hand side of the image. The clouds in *Millbury Village* focus sunlight on specific areas of the landscape providing contrast in the composition; *Burbankville to Blackstone River* is more evenly illuminated. In both prints the buildings in the towns are not shaded; they appear white against the background.

Was Lane using a small viewing device such as a camera lucida for his panoramic views? That might explain the linear quality of these portions of the composition that contrast to the more painterly landscapes.<sup>24</sup> Advertisements in Boston newspapers note the availability of these optical devices. Gedney King, a dealer in mathematical and navigational instruments, imported camera lucidas from England in 1825. A few years later a camera lucida “for drawing Miniatures and Landscapes” was sold at an auction with household goods. In 1835 Lemuel Gulliver placed a long advertisement in the *Columbian Centinel* describing how this “new Invention in the Art of Drawing” could aid amateur artists, architects, and others. He noted particularly how the device could be used “as a Lithographic Delineator, for the purpose of preparing drawings for the stone.” For those “whose object is to sketch with correctness and expedition, it is a most useful assistant.”<sup>25</sup>

Probably executed in 1837 is Lane's *Worcester House*. By *Lysander C. Clark* (Fig. 7). This handsome town view, similar in composition to the urban views of Boston buildings printed by William Pendleton, advertises the newly opened hotel located on Worcester's Main Street, between Elm and Maple Streets. Like the views of Millbury, the imprint reads, “Moore's Lithography, Successor to Pendleton,” suggesting the reliance of Thomas Moore on the fine reputation of Pendleton. Lysander C. Clark converted the former residence of Levi Lincoln to a hotel, when Lincoln built a new

mansion on Elm Street in 1835.<sup>26</sup> This is one of the more handsome advertisements to be published at the time, partially due to the elegance of the canopy of the elm trees and the enclosed garden along Main Street.

In the absence of contemporary documents such as account books or correspondence, we do not know why lithographic printers and publishers assigned certain artists to specific projects. Did Thomas Moore call upon Lane to draw vignettes for the covers of music scores with marine themes because he knew Lane's youth spent in Gloucester led to a deep knowledge of ships and maritime technology? Typical is the vignette for *The Nahant Quadrilles* composed by the American John H. Hewitt in 1836 (Fig. 33). Nahant was a popular seaside resort to the north of Boston near Lynn. Sailing craft dominate the foreground on a choppy sea and the hotels are silhouetted against the sky featuring clouds and light. Lane's signature appears at the lower right within the image. The following year he designed the vignette for *Capt. E. G. Austin's Quick Step* (Fig. 34), composed by Thomas Comer to celebrate an anniversary of the Boston Light Infantry. Soldiers marching in formation are set against the Boston skyline with the meticulously drawn U.S.S. *Constitution* at anchor in the harbor. The Boston Brigade Band leads the parade and this is a rare view of such a performance.<sup>27</sup> The same vignette appeared on the companion piece, *A Yankee Ship and a Yankee Crew* composed by Charles M. King. A related marine view is the vignette on the *Lawrence Quick Step* (Fig. 35) published in November 1839 showing the New England Guards' military encampment in Barnstable on Cape Cod with soldiers and civilians. Beyond the tents is a view of one of the harbors along the coast with ships underway. A brief note about the image describes it as “a fine picture of the encampment of that excellent corps during their visit





to Barnstable; at the Centennial Celebration.”<sup>28</sup> The vignette also appeared on the membership certificate for The New England Guards printed in 1840 or 1841.

Lane had developed an expertise in showing masses of soldiers at a time when many towns sponsored their own militia companies. In 1836 he provided a vignette for the *Salem Mechanick Light Infantry Quick Step* (Fig. 36) composed by John Halloway and published by Salem booksellers, Benjamin H. Ives and Francis Putnam, in 1836. The view of the Salem Common includes an imposing gate designed by Salem's well-known architect, Samuel McIntire.<sup>29</sup> Lane's finest military print, however, was *The National Lancers with the Reviewing Officers on Boston Common* (Fig. 49), designed by Charles Hubbard, a portrait and commercial painter as well as a businessman, and published in 1837. As a commercial artist, Hubbard designed military banners or standards and Masonic regalia. His composition appears on the standard carried by the mounted National Lancers, a company attached to the Massachusetts Militia that was also reproduced as this lithograph drawn on stone by Lane. The caption under the image notes that the Governor of Massachusetts presented the standard to the military company on August 30, 1837. Buildings and trees along Beacon Street and the Massachusetts State House form the backdrop for this view. Most impressions of this print are vividly colored by hand and they are striking. *The Month at Goodspeed's* described one impression of the print with contemporary oil coloring.<sup>30</sup>

Lithographs such as these issued by Thomas Moore received a diploma at the 1837 Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association exhibition for lithographic printing. The judges noted “exceedingly well done. Much improvement,

however, must yet be made, to equal the best European Lithography, for which the Committee hope no efforts will be spared.” Lane also received a diploma for lithographic drawings.<sup>31</sup>

Two views of Boston Harbor printed by Moore's firm are attributed to Lane. Although at first glance they look identical, there are numerous differences between them. One print, signed by Lane, that Moore published and dedicated to the Tiger Boat Club, featured members of the Club rowing in the foreground (Fig. 45). The Club was established in 1837 and the builders of their boat, Whittemore & Holbrook, received a silver medal at the 1837 Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association exhibition for the design of the eight-oar shell.<sup>32</sup> In the other version (Fig. 46), a timber raft is in that area of the print. On the right half of the print dedicated to the Boat Club, is a ship under full sail, including studding sails; in the other print, the sails are furled or partially set. The dimensions of the prints differ as do clouds and other details. Lane signed the *View in Boston Harbor. Dedicated to the Tiger Boat Club*, but not the other print, yet both are so similarly rendered that it seems likely that Lane was responsible for both. The Tiger Boat Club print probably was issued in the year the club was established, so it may precede the other print. It would most likely have been issued in a smaller number of impressions, perhaps limited to members of the Boat Club and friends, while the other would have been available for sale more widely. There is no way to be sure. Nancy Finlay has suggested that earlier views by Thomas Birch and William James Bennett might have influenced Lane's harbor views.<sup>33</sup> He certainly was not working in a vacuum. And, of course, Robert Salmon was working in Boston at this time.

Figure 7. *Worcester House*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston, c. 1837. American Antiquarian Society.

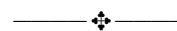
Although collectors today prefer prints drawn from nature and on stone by Lane, Moore and later publishers recognized Lane's skill as a copyist, as seen in the *National Lancers with the Reviewing Officers on Boston Common*. In 1838 Moore commissioned Lane to copy William H. Wentworth's *View of the Great Conflagration* (Fig. 8) in the City of Saint John, New Brunswick, derived from a sketch by his father, Thomas Wentworth, an American artist residing in Saint John from 1831 to 1842. This print demonstrates the collaborative nature of printmaking at this time, since so many different hands were involved. Wentworth's studio looked across the Market Square towards the most heavily damaged area.<sup>34</sup> The fire destroyed one-third of the commercial area of the city, about 108 buildings, including some of the warehouses on the wharves. The view shows the raging fire and piles of household or export goods removed from buildings in the foreground. Hordes of people are in the streets. Thomas Wentworth must have sent the drawing on to his son in the United States with instructions to have it reproduced, presumably to be sold in Canada. Other Canadian artists did likewise.<sup>35</sup>

Moore likewise turned to Lane to copy a view of Washington, D.C. Peter Anderson, a native of Norway, immigrated to Boston in 1820 and later worked in the Ware, Massachusetts, textile mills, and eventually in Lowell as treasurer of the Baldwin Manufacturing Company. In 1837, he drew city views of Washington, Ware, and Worcester.<sup>36</sup> Lane copied Anderson's *View of the City of Washington* (Fig. 47), the first lithographed view of the nation's capital, on stone and credit is given to both men. His fellow artist at Moore's shop, Robert Cooke, copied the other two views by Anderson demonstrating that there were multiple artists in Boston capable of doing similar work. The view of Washington, taken from

Arlington, is an expansive view, showing both the Potomac River and the far shore from Georgetown to the Capitol and eastward towards Fort McNair. Anderson must have traveled to the nation's capital to make the view and he copyrighted the print in his own name so he was the publisher of the print, not Moore.

About the same time, Lane drew the *View of Lowell, Mass.* (Fig. 48), that Thomas Moore's shop printed for the publisher, E. A. Rice & Company of Lowell, a bookseller and stationer located at 95 Merrimack Street. This view stresses the horizontality of the scene. As is the case in many of these views, the foreground is devoted to a pastoral scene. Like Anderson's view of Washington, the middle ground is water and the city lies beyond. This important textile mill town grew rapidly, from about 2,500 inhabitants in 1825 to just over 17,500 by 1836 and nearly 40,000 in 1845. Fortunately water powered the mills, not wood or coal that would have completely darkened the sky.

#### LANE BEGINS WORK AS AN INDEPENDENT ARTIST



By the early 1840s, Lane was no longer affiliated with any single printer, most likely because he was establishing himself as an artist. In 1841 he commissioned an engraver to produce a trade card that identifies him as a "Marine Painter" with a studio on Summer Street in Boston. By this time, Lane had started to paint in oils, producing *Sea Beach* and *Scene at Sea* by 1841 and two versions of the *Cunard Liner Britannia*



Figure 8. View of the Great Conflagration that took Place on the Night of Saturday, 14th January 1837. Lithograph on paper, hand-colored. Drawn by William H. Wentworth from an original sketch by Thomas H. Wentworth. Redrawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Thomas Moore's Lithography, Boston. 1837. Boston Athenaeum. Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1979.

in 1842. His *Gloucester Harbor from Rocky Neck*, a handsome painting that presages many important harbor views to come, is dated 1844.<sup>37</sup> Four of his marine paintings received a Silver Medal at the third exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in September 1841.<sup>38</sup> In spite of this promising beginning as a marine painter, Lane continued to accept commissions from several different printers to produce lithographs from 1840 to 1845. The lithographic work he did in these few years can be characterized as “job work.” Printers in Boston engaged him to produce seven designs for music scores, three advertising prints, one portrait, and a memorial published to commemorate the death of President William Henry Harrison. His only panoramic view in these years was the *View of the Battle Ground at Concord, Mass.* based on his own drawings. Receipts from this commercial work probably made it possible for him to devote time to painting in oil.

Benjamin W. Thayer, a businessman in Boston, together with Moore artists and lithographers John H. Bufford and John E. Moody, acquired Thomas Moore’s firm in May 1840. A year later B.W. Thayer and Company received a Silver Medal at the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association Fair for two specimens of lithographic printing, suggesting that the company’s output was highly regarded. The company also exhibited examples of colors applied to military standards and the judges recommended the company to “our National and State governments.”<sup>39</sup> Lane was commissioned to provide designs for music scores, including three pieces composed by Henry Russell: *The Old Arm Chair* (Fig. 37), *The Mad Girl’s Song* (Fig. 38), and *The Maniac* (Fig. 39). The vignettes, all clearly signed by Lane, range from the sentimental to the dramatic. Thayer also reprinted the vignette found on *Sicilian Vespers* (see Fig. 5) a cover illustration by Lane earlier printed by W. S. Pendleton. Generally designs

were effaced from the stone after the demand for the image had subsided, but this design survived and appeared on *The Mariner Loves O’er the Waters to Roam*.

The Concord, Massachusetts, printer Elbridge Jefts advertised the sale of the *View of the Battle Ground at Concord, Mass.* on July 4, 1840, in the *Concord Yeoman’s Gazette* (Fig. 50). Jefts, clerk of the Concord Artillery, advertised the print for twenty-five cents describing the print “as a very accurate view of the Monument and the surrounding scenes, and will make a handsome ornament for the parlor.”<sup>40</sup> Jefts noted in the newspaper that six to eight thousand people were expected to be in Concord for a Whig Convention on July 4.<sup>41</sup>

The monument had been dedicated on July 4, 1837. Lane hired a youngster, John S. Keyes, fifteen years old at the time, to ferry him across the Concord River later in 1837. While Keyes paddled about in the river, Lane made his drawing. In his memoir, Keyes observed that Lane’s view was “a very correct picture of the place as it then looked,” but that the trees planted in 1840 or so made the site look very different.<sup>42</sup> Stylistically this view is similar to those of Millbury, Massachusetts. Since the light filtering through the dramatic clouds lands in the background, we might consider that this view could be of the village of Concord were it not for the lengthy caption that provides the history of the battle that took place on April 19, 1775, and the shaft of light falling on the memorial obelisk, slightly to the left of the center of the image. The sky is dramatic, a feature that is evident in his 1844 painting, *Gloucester Harbor from Rocky Neck*.

Since we do not consider Lane to have been an artist involved in politics, a banner and a large folio print that he drew on stone that was printed by Thayer seem to be unusual commissions. In 1840 Lane painted a banner for a Whig parade in Gloucester described by James R. Pringle as having “a huge sea serpent with its head reared from the water with the



inscription: 'The Deep has Felt the Attack Upon her Interests and Sends Her Champion to the Rescue.'"<sup>43</sup> The print memorializes William Henry Harrison who died shortly after his presidential inauguration in 1841 and features a large monument in the shape of a cross with banners inscribed

Figure 9. *William Henry Harrison Monument*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston, 1841. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

with lengthy texts and vignettes hanging from the arms of the cross (Fig. 9). A small portrait of Harrison is also included. The lapse of two months between Harrison's death in April and the completion of the print suggests the length of time required to complete a complex composition, particularly one measuring almost two feet in height. Simon Whitney copyrighted the print in Boston and the impression of the print deposited at the Library of Congress bears the date June 14, 1841. The imprint clearly states that Lane drew the image on stone, but it resembles nothing else in his *oeuvre*. Was Lane responsible for its design or did Whitney provide him with a sketch of what he wanted? Although Whitney did not leave much of an artistic legacy, the *Vital Records of Scituate, Massachusetts*, do describe him as an artist.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Whitney signed and copyrighted a family register in 1839 that is very similar in composition to the 1841 memorial to Harrison. A comparison of the two prints makes the attribution of the design of the Harrison print to Whitney clear.<sup>45</sup> The memorial to Harrison was noticed in the *Bay State Democrat* on June 26, 1841: "The design is happily conceived and the work executed in a manner calculated to do credit to the artist."<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, Lane is not identified as the artist who drew the lithograph on stone, but the writer subtly acknowledges that the design is separate from the execution of the lithograph.

Among the commissions that Lane accepted in the early 1840s were a group of music covers for William Sharp and Francis Michelin who had both worked for the London lithography firm of Charles Hullmandel. Sharp arrived in Boston in 1839 and notably introduced lithographic printing in color for which he received a Silver Medal at the 1841 exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.

The firm, located at 17 Tremont Row, in the heart of the printing district, lasted for just two years, 1840 and 1841, until February 1841 when Michelin moved to New York where he married Jane Cornish, the daughter of George Cornish, Esq., of England.<sup>47</sup> Near Sharp & Michelin at 8½ Tremont Street was the music publisher, William Oakes. The close proximity suggests why Sharp & Michelin printed music scores for the firm, including three covers designed by Lane. The *Song of the Fisher's Wife* (Fig. 40) is a charming genre scene, although the woman in the scene is too elegantly attired for her perch against a tree, with a straw bonnet on her lap. The harbor in the background with a small schooner pulled up to the shore is sketchily drawn. Of great interest is the framing device above the central vignette consisting of a scallop shell, nets, starfish, cordage, a block, oars, a boat hook and a gaff; a second vignette above the copyright line features an anchor and chain, a killick (stone anchor), fishing line on a winder, and another shell. The lyrics express the universal wish by the mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters of men who labor on the sea for gentle waves and a safe return.

A framed design for the *Pesky Serpent* [sic.] (Fig. 41) was ornamented by Lane with agricultural implements and an image of a bitten foot, but the figures in the kitchen are awkward at best. Since the text is based on an eighteenth-century text, *Springfield Mountain*, Lane may have purposefully chosen to portray the story about the death of Timothy Myrick and his fiancée in 1761 from a rattlesnake bite in a naïve style.<sup>48</sup> Alternatively he was responsible only for the ornamental frame and another hand did the vignette.

Lane's design for *The Norfolk Guards Quick Step* (Fig. 42) has an elaborate frame, this time with military artifacts. These ornamental frames add a degree of elegance not found on earlier music covers. The handsome militia member stands

on the Roxbury, Massachusetts, town common with the Norfolk House in the background. The hotel dates from 1786 and was expanded in 1825–1826. Many communities had active volunteer militia companies with bands. Although their military skills were sometimes rudimentary, their uniforms were fashionable as depicted in the cover image.

In 1841 and 1842, Ephraim Washington Bouvé commissioned Lane to design three prints, *The Mariner's Return* composed by Benjamin Franklin Baker, Thomas Comer's *The Ariel Waltz*, and *Alcohol Rocks*. The cover for *The Mariner's Return* (Fig. 43) depicts a ship under shortened sail in heavy seas, a subject seen frequently in Lane's oeuvre. Baker dedicated this composition to the merchant E. Preble Motley of Boston. The popularity of *The Ariel Waltz* (Fig. 44) published by Oakes is suggested by the survival of at least four printings. Lane signed two of them: one was printed by Bouvé; the other lacks an imprint. Benjamin Champney signed a second version of the vignette that Sharp & Michelin printed for Oakes & Swan in 1841 or 1842. Another version of the same vignette that lacks the name of an artist and printer was obviously copied from either Lane's or Champney's version, but less skillfully drawn. The dating of these pieces of music is not exact so it is difficult to conclude whether Lane's or Champney's version came first. Was an edition prepared by Moore only to have the imprint effaced when the firm changed hands? We can only speculate.

*Alcohol Rocks* (Fig. 10) is a separately published temperance print showing the ship *Intemperance* wrecked on a rocky shoreline. Sailors from the ship *Temperance* save passengers from death on the rocks. Bouvé is both the printer and publisher, suggesting that this is not a piece of "job work," but one that Bouvé has financed himself. The impression at the Library of Congress notes that it was deposited on Septem-



Figure 10. *Alcohol Rocks*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by E. W. Bouvé Lithography, Boston, 1842. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 11. *John H. W. Hawkins*. Lithograph on paper. From an original portrait painted by T. M. Burnham. Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by J. C. Sharp Lithography, Boston, 1842. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

ber 8, 1842, with Bouvé as the “author.” It seems likely that Bouvé approached Lane with this commission, knowing the artist’s skill depicting ships and marine subject matter in general.

Another Boston lithographer, James Clement Sharp, whose shop was located at 16 Franklin Street, engaged Lane for his lithographic and artistic skills. Among the other prints he drew on stone was a portrait of the popular temperance lecturer, John H. W. Hawkins (Fig. 11). This native of Baltimore was an alcoholic for two decades before joining the Washingtonian Society, a Baltimore temperance organization. As a leader in the movement, he lectured in Boston attracting thousands to his speeches. His visit to Boston in 1841 probably inspired the artist Thomas Mickell Burnham to suggest the reproduction of his portrait painting to the Washington Total Abstinence Society of Boston. Burnham owned the copyright for the lithograph. Selling impressions of the portrait print would have been an effective way for the Abstinence Society to raise funds.

Sharp also commissioned three commercial views from Lane. These architectural views hark back to *Worcester House*, a print that he did for Moore’s firm. *William H. Ladd’s Eating House* provides an uncommon subject for Lane—the interior of a tavern and restaurant (Fig. 12). The space is deep and extends back to a doorway that opens into the kitchen where a cook hands a dish to a waiter. All the diners are men seated on stools to prevent their coat tails from getting wrinkled. Lane was possibly working from the design of another draftsman for the caption specifically reads, “Drawn on stone by F.





Figure 12. *Wm. H. Ladd's Eating House, No. 1 Lindall St. Boston.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by J. C. Sharp's Lithography, Boston, 1842-1845. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 13. *Middlesex Mills, Lowell, Mass.* Oil on canvas. Unattributed and undated. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of the American Textile History Museum, 2017.

H. Lane,” not “Drawn from nature and on stone.” *The Fulton Iron Foundry*, depicting a factory located in South Boston owned by three members of the Thacher family, probably dates from 1842 when the building was erected (Fig. 51). This print is signed “F. H. Lane del.” suggesting that Lane made the original drawing or watercolor. The structure is a handsome one including a clearstory, one way to light the interior of the two-story structure. The company’s sales office was in Boston on Broad Street.

A third industrial view is *Middlesex Mills, Lowell, Mass.* published about 1843 (Fig. 52). Again, Lane signed the print, “F. H. Lane del.” It is interesting to think of this print in conjunction with Lane’s earlier view of Lowell. This view is rather like stepping inside the larger panorama to take a look at one of the mills. Middlesex Mills was among the first to

be built. The structure on the left is large with six stories plus the attic. Men and women are shown in the view and yards of fabric are drying outside on frames. The pastoral exterior view gives no hint of the conditions inside. A painting of the same view exists, but there is no direct evidence that enables an attribution to Lane (Fig. 13). The American Textile History Museum dated the composition to 1847, so it is possible that officers of the Middlesex Company commissioned an artist to reproduce the print as a painting. Such copying is not unknown: many amateur artists and commercial lithographers imitated William Henry Bartlett’s engraved views of the United States that were issued in Nathaniel P. Willis’s *American Scenery* (1840–1842).

A final advertising print by Lane from this period is *View of the Great Western & New York Depot at South Cove, Boston* (Fig. 14). The impression of the lithograph at the American Antiquarian Society has vertical folds suggesting that it originally appeared as a folded plate in a publication that was perhaps issued by Adams & Company whose name appears on the first cart. A second impression of this print at the Henry E. Huntington Library appears at the head of an 1844 advertisement for Adams & Company’s Express Company with text emphasizing the national reach of this precursor to American Express. Combining a lithograph with a letterpress text is complicated because two printing processes are involved. J. E. Farwell & Company was responsible for printing the letterpress portion of the broadside and Charles Cook printed the black and white lithograph. To further complicate the print’s production, the impression at the American Antiquarian Society is enhanced by the use of the lithotint

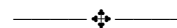


Figure 14. *View of the Great Western & New York Depot at South Cove, Boston*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by C. Cook's Lithography, Boston, 1843-1846. American Antiquarian Society.



process. The second stone provides an even pale green tone except for clouds, a horse, the depot's façade, and a few other details that expose the creamy white of the paper. The impression at the Huntington Library was printed without the tint stone suggesting that its overtly commercial use did not merit this more aesthetically pleasing but additional printing step. Charles Cook, a native of Roxbury, Massachusetts, trained first as an engraver, but turned to lithography by 1840. He specialized in maps and plans and later became a real estate broker.

THE ARTIST AS PUBLISHING PARTNER  
WITH JOHN W. A. SCOTT, 1844 TO 1848



Lane and John W.A. Scott formed a partnership in 1844. Scott had been an apprentice at the Pendleton firm prior to Lane's arrival and he too aspired to a career as a fine artist. He began to exhibit paintings in Boston by 1846 when one of his paintings appeared at the Boston Athenaeum.<sup>49</sup> The Pendleton and Moore shops were an incubator of commercial careers in trade and art. There, draftsmen and printers were introduced to practices that led to successful commercial careers. Among those who trained at the firm with Scott and Lane were John H. Bufford, Nathaniel Currier, and Moses Swett, all of whom managed printmaking firms. Lane & Scott depended on job printing and published relatively few prints on their own. Lane signed some, but not all, of the

Figure 15. *George W. Simmons' Popular Tailoring Establishment. "Oak Hall." Boston.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1844. Boston Athenaeum. Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1981.



firm's prints suggesting that he and Scott employed others to copy designs onto stone.

One of the firm's first commissions was *George W. Simmons' Popular Tailoring Establishment, "Oak Hall,"* issued in 1844 as a folding plate in *Oak Hall: Or, The Glory of Boston, A*

Figure 16. *Horticultural Hall, School St. Boston.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, c. 1845. Boston Athenaeum. Harris Fund, March 1955.

*Poem by a "Young Gentleman of Boston"* (Fig. 15). This advertising pamphlet included two exterior views of the establishment as well as several vignettes. One featured the "Oak Hall Express," a delivery wagon located, according to a road sign, fifteen miles from Boston. Lane took credit for the design for the impressive plate that was printed by Lane & Scott. Like Lane's earlier view of *William H. Ladd's Eating House*, the interior space is shown as very deep, crammed this time with people and goods, all the way back to three windows of a gothic design, suggesting the apse of a church. This detail echoes the gothic revival style of the entrance and the vaulted ceiling. Oak Hall was a clearly stylish place to shop.

Horticultural Hall (Fig. 16), another Boston landmark, was an important retail store. Organized in 1829, the Massachusetts Horticultural Society's first home was a building on Tremont Street. In 1844 the organization moved to a new structure on School Street, where it housed a commercial space used by Samuel Walker to sell plants and seeds of all types as well as gardening equipment and books. Again, Lane was responsible for the design of *Horticultural Hall, School St., Boston* that the firm printed. A wood-engraved version of the composition appeared on the cover of *Catalogue of Vegetable Seeds* published by Walker in 1845.

The artist, printer, publisher, and art teacher, Albert Conant commissioned J.H. Bufford, E.W. Bouvé, John W. A. Scott, and Lane & Scott to print eight New England town views and one of Baltimore. Conant, born in Pomfret, Connecticut, moved with his family to Bridgewater, Massachusetts, where he graduated from the State Normal School in 1840. According to the Old Bridgewater Historical Society,

he made a drawing of Bridgewater lithographed by John H. Bufford about 1843 and the following year, he produced rudimentary views of Middleborough and North Bridgewater, Massachusetts. He went on to teach art, paint landscapes, and participate in other artistic efforts. He may have produced additional views in Kansas in the 1850s.<sup>50</sup> Among his prints is *View of Newburyport from Salisbury* (Fig. 53), drawn on stone by Lane after Conant's sketch. The two towns face each another on opposite banks of the Merrimack River, downstream from Lawrence, Massachusetts, where Conant worked briefly for the Essex Company from June through October 1847.<sup>51</sup> The pastoral foreground, common in earlier views, has been replaced with stacks of wood for a cooper and coastal trade vessels next to a wharf. A colonial-era home is at the right. Across the navigable river is a busy port with several church steeples rising above other buildings. The composition was enhanced by the use of two tint stones—blue for the sky and a warm tan in the foreground; additional coloring was applied by hand.

Another Conant view drawn on stone by Lane and published by Conant is *View of New Bedford: From the Fort Near Fairhaven*, also completed in 1845 (Fig. 54). This view displays the typical formula for panoramic views—a foreground filled with vegetation or other material objects, a middle ground with a body of water, and the town in the distance. It is possible that Conant left the depiction of ships to Lane since the variety of ships in the harbor is typical of Lane's oeuvre, everything from rowing craft to coasting vessels, whale ships, and a coastal steamboat. New Bedford was one of the busiest seaports in the country, renowned for its whaling fleet.

A view of Lawrence published by Conant and printed by Scott demonstrates the economic risks of print publishing,

while also providing useful insight into the production process. Even though Lane had no role in the publication of the view, the tale is worth retelling. In 1848 after the dissolution of Lane & Scott, the Essex Company and Conant decided to publish a view of the new town of Lawrence. A handsome view could be used profitably to promote the town to investors. By July of 1848, Scott had printed the view, but sales were dismal. Conant left fifty copies in Lowell with a Mr. Bixby who failed to sell any and no more than forty sold in Lawrence. The Essex Company received the rest of the prints. Conant asked the treasurer of the Essex Company to pay him \$231 to cover expenses. There were 232 impressions that had been colored by hand to sell for 90 cents each; the uncolored prints were to sell for 75 cents.<sup>52</sup> The documentation about the print provides important evidence that many town views were hand-colored at the time of publication.<sup>53</sup> In the case of the view of Lawrence, Conant and the Essex Company might have wanted color to show how many buildings were constructed of brick, a way to address the risk of fire in an industrial city.

Several Lane & Scott prints do not seem to have been designed by Lane or drawn on stone by him. For example, another view by Conant, *A View of Newton Corner as seen from Fiske Hill* (Fig. 17) is not as sophisticated in its composition as, for example, the view of Concord nor as skillfully drawn. Comparing *A View of Newton Corner* with lithographs drawn by Lane at this time makes it obvious that Lane did not have a hand in each lithograph that the firm printed. The firm also printed, for example, a portrait of John B. Gough, the popular temperance advocate and lecturer. The portrayal of Gough's upper body suggests that the artist did not recognize how out of proportion the head and arms are. Lane would not make such an error. The lithograph is a copy of a painting



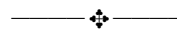
Figure 17. *A View of Newton Corner as seen from Fiske Hill.* Lithograph on tinted paper. Sketch by A. Conant. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1844-1848. Boston Athenaeum.

by William Hudson, Junior, an artist working in Boston from 1829 to 1856.

Likewise, a lithographed view of Bowdoin College printed by Lane & Scott does not appear to be by Lane. The viewpoint is higher than we would expect in comparison to other views by Lane and details such as the trees and building facades are formulaic and not differentiated. Lane was a master at reproducing the texture of buildings, something not evident in this print. Joseph Griffin published a book compiled by Edward P. Weston, *The Bowdoin Poets*, in 1840, 1849, and 1857. Each edition had a different frontispiece. The one printed by Lane & Scott appeared in 1849. By then, the view was obsolete. A spire had replaced the square tower on the church on the left in 1848. The chapel/library on the right had not been completed which may explain its lack of detailed stonework. Griffin probably commissioned a local artist to draw this view that a draftsman in Lane & Scott's company put on stone.<sup>54</sup>

Lane & Scott also lithographed the plates for Charles C. Greene's *The Nubian Slave* published in Boston by Bela Marsh in 1845. Greene was responsible for the design of the illustrated title page and six plates drawn on stone in an outline style; Lane & Scott printed them. The firm only printed one known cover for a music score, *He Doeth All Things Well or My Sister* by J. B. Woodbury in 1847. Another item printed by Lane & Scott was a portrait that shares an interesting connection to the firm. In 1847 Benjamin Champney, returning from a lengthy sojourn in Europe, was stranded with the actor William A. Barnes on Duck Island off the coast of Nova Scotia after a shipwreck. Champney made a portrait of the actor and took it to Lane & Scott to be printed as a lithograph and distributed to theatergoers in Boston.<sup>55</sup>

## MARINE VIEWS: HARBORS AND SHIPS



In 1844 Lane painted *Gloucester Harbor from Rocky Neck* (Fig. 18), his earliest extant painted harbor or panoramic view; many harbor views would follow. The composition follows tradition and once again more than half of the composition is devoted to the sky featuring light and dark clouds as well light filtering through the spaces between them. The boulder-strewn foreground provides a setting for three men, a dog, and two sheep. Two years later Lane drew and published a lithograph closely based on the painting (Fig. 19). Dated 1846, the print shares the composition and point of view of the painting. The figures in the foreground have changed but the three men provide a sense of scale and draw the viewer's eyes to the center of the composition. Lane & Scott used a pale green tint on a second stone to provide color in the foreground, on the water, and of course the sky. The liquid wash used to cover the limestone was carefully modulated to create the sense of darker and lighter areas. The light streaming through the clouds bounces off sails to create reflections in the water. In all, it is a masterful example of the use of a tint stone.

By 1843, not long after Robert Salmon stopped painting harbor scenes and ship portraits and returned to Great Britain, Lane began to receive commissions from ship owners and to produce his own ship portraits. A notice in the *Gloucester Telegraph* enthused about a lithograph of "A beautiful picture of the U. S. Ship of the line Ohio, drawn and published by F. H. Lane of Boston."<sup>56</sup> The *Boston Daily Bee* described the print as "An excellent drawing," noting "The artist, being something of an old salt [he was just 39 at the time] 'knows the ropes' thoroughly, and this production of his pencil is the





Figure 18. *Gloucester Harbor from Rocky Neck*. Oil on canvas by Fitz Henry Lane, 1844. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Mrs. Jane Parker Stacy, 1948.

more valuable from the accuracy and truth with which the minutest portions of her rigging, spars, sails, blocks, &c., &c., are traced. As a specimen of nautical beauty, it is worthy of admiration from all who delight in viewing the finest specimen of man's handicraft."<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, no impression of the lithograph is known to exist, but it was a precursor of several prints published by Lane and Scott.

The *Auxiliary Steam Packet Ship Massachusetts* (c. 1845) (Fig. 55) and *American Vessels No. 1* (1845–1848) are portraits

of ships serving different purposes. The *Massachusetts* was a privately owned vessel powered by both steam and sail, built in 1845 to move cargo between New York and Liverpool. Robert B. Forbes was the owner of this ship, the largest of its type at the time. Lane depicts the ship as it moves steadily through the waves. A pale beige tint stone creates clouds. A second image of the *Massachusetts* differs dramatically. In November of 1845, while returning from Liverpool after its maiden voyage, the ship was caught in a squall that shredded



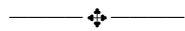
Figure 19. *View of Gloucester (from Rocky Neck)*. Lithograph on toned paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1846. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Mrs. William Procter, 1940.

sails and caused the ship to sharply heel.<sup>58</sup> Lane captured the drama, oddly not described by Forbes in his *Reminiscences*, in a second lithograph enhanced by a gray-green tint stone and hand coloring. The print, *Steam Packet Ship Mass. In a Squall, Nov. 10, 1845* (Fig. 56), probably emerged from the press in early 1846.

Lane depicted two U. S. naval vessels in *American Vessels. No. 1* (Fig. 57). A ship of the line was a large, heavily built warship designed to engage an enemy in a battle line, exchanging broadsides in parallel formations. A frigate was a smaller ship, also heavily armed, and used to engage and capture lesser warships and seize an enemy's merchant vessel. In this print Lane pays close attention to the rigging and the placement of masts and sails. He knew his ships.

On a smaller scale was the "Departure of the *Jamestown* for Cork, Ireland" (Fig. 58), the lithographed frontispiece to Robert B. Forbes' *The Voyage of the Jamestown on her Errand of Mercy* (Boston, 1847). A photograph of the *Jamestown* in Robert B. Forbes's *Personal Reminiscences* reproduces a painting, suggesting that Lane had made a painting of the ship for Forbes since Lane clearly stated that he had drawn the image.<sup>59</sup> Yet it is not known whether Lane was responsible for the painting that is in a private collection.

#### LANE'S RETURN TO GLOUCESTER



The firm of Lane and Scott dissolved in 1848, although Scott continued the business for three more years before devoting himself entirely to a career as an artist, although without Lane's success. In 1849 he printed Lane's *View of Providence,*

*R.I. 1848* (Fig. 59) published by Otis Wilmarth in Providence. In this view, the first lithographed panorama of Providence by an American artist, details of the city are in the middle ground and distance. A gravel bank dominates the foreground and a stone causeway creates a sharp diagonal from the lower right to the middle distance. More of the city appears beyond, and a pale blue sky with puffy white clouds completes the view. The harbor is not as busy as New Bedford's and the ships are less detailed. Although Lane signed the print as the artist, he might not have had a hand in placing the view on stone despite the high praise of an advertisement in the *Providence Republican Herald* that stated: "The beautiful View of this city, as taken from the south, which for accuracy of detail and beauty of execution has not its equal in city views, is now ready for subscribers and those who would wish to purchase." The price for a colored version was one dollar; the plain version cost seventy-five cents.<sup>60</sup> The price differential reflects the higher cost of producing color lithographs with tint stones. The view of Providence in fact resembles the earlier view of Newburyport in terms of the use of color tints.

By the time that this print was published, Lane had returned to Gloucester where he purchased land in October 1849 on which he built his own house that featured a large studio on the third floor.<sup>61</sup> Albert Conant commissioned Lane to produce two additional views printed in color by a New York firm, Sarony & Major. Norwich, Connecticut, a manufacturing center, is at the head of the Thames River, formed by the junction of the Yantic, Shetucket, and Quinebaug Rivers. Although inland from the coast of Connecticut, shipping made its way to the harbor. Lane's *View of Norwich, from the West Side of the River* (Fig. 61) provides a sense of the shape of the harbor with the shoreline and wharf, and a

railroad line moving diagonally from right to left. The limitations of printing in color are evident when the print and the painting (Fig. 62) are compared.

*View of Baltimore, From Federal Hill* (Fig. 63), published by Albert Conant in 1850, bears the inscription, “Sketched from Nature by F. H. Lane.” Although travel by land would have been difficult for Lane, he took frequent trips to coastal Maine and it was not impossible for him to get to Baltimore by steamship. The impression of the lithograph at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is printed with a single tint stone; an impression at the Maryland Historical Society has additional printed and hand coloring.<sup>62</sup> Other impressions might have been fully printed in color as promised in the printer’s statement. Lane provides a sense of space with a generous park-like foreground with accurate details in the distance that would have appealed to a resident of the city. Of particular note is the group of three African Americans on the left and two others, the single male figure and the woman with a child by her side. Images of African Americans at leisure were infrequently depicted at this time in urban views. An oil painting by Lane in a private collection is almost identical in size to the print, but the arrangement and number of figures in the foreground are different (Fig. 64). If Conant paid for the painting, then he would have been able to reproduce it without further payment to Lane. Or, it might have been painted to provide Sarony & Major guidance about color. There was competition in the marketplace for this print in 1850; E. Sachse & Co., a Baltimore lithographer, published another view of the city (also a folio print) the same year.<sup>63</sup> Probably Conant, who resided in Boston, was not aware of Sachse’s competing publication.

Obviously by 1855, Lane’s reputation as an artist was secure. The *Boston Evening Transcript* referred to him as “the distinguished painter of marine views.”<sup>64</sup> In 1854 the distin-

guished art critic Clarence Cook, described Lane “as the best marine painter in the country.”<sup>65</sup> Between 1841 and 1865, the year of his death, nineteen of his paintings had been displayed at the Boston Athenaeum. Some were privately owned; others were for sale by the artist. He had also exhibited with the Boston Artists Association in 1842 (*A View in Boston Harbor* and *Scene in Boston Harbor*) and the New England Art Union in 1851 and 1852 (*Gloucester Harbor*). Cook described Lane as “A man apparently of forty years, walking with difficulty, supported by crutches, hard-handed, browned by the sun and exposure, with a nose indicating less the artist sensibility than the artist resolution, and an eye that shines clear as a hawk’s under over-hanging brows. This is the bodily portraiture of a man who is a master in his art.”<sup>66</sup>

No additional prints by Lane appeared until 1855 when John H. Bufford and Lodowick H. Bradford each printed lithographs after paintings by Lane. By this time, Lane had become adept at painting ship portraits for owners. The lithographs of the *Massachusetts* and *Jamestown* are fine examples, but Lane painted many more for owners of ships that were never reproduced as prints. Clarence Cook wrote in his appreciation of Lane, that the artist knew the “name and place of every rope on a vessel; he knows the construction, the anatomy, the expression—and to a seaman every thing that sails has expression and individuality—he knows how she will stand under this rig, before this wind; how she looks seen stern foremost” and so on.<sup>67</sup> In 1855 John H. Bufford, a well-known commercial lithographer in Boston, printed a reproduction of one of his ship portraits, the *Steam Demi Bark Antelope* (Fig. 65), designed by Samuel Hall and Samuel H. Pook for Robert Bennet Forbes, in two versions.<sup>68</sup> The first was most likely published as a separate publication. The second version has a smaller vertical dimension and accom-

panied an article in the October 1855 issue of *The U.S. Nautical Magazine and Naval Journal*. The caption for both prints clearly states a painting by Lane was the source for the print; one is extant (Fig. 66). John Perry Newell skillfully copied the painting on stone. At least six other ship portraits date from the 1850s, the most productive decade of Lane's career.

Lodowick H. Bradford printed Lane's final panoramas of Castine, Maine, and Gloucester. Together they have been described as Lane's "largest and most successful lithographs."<sup>69</sup> In January 1851, Lane's friend, Joseph L. Stevens, Sr., wrote to Lane from Castine, Maine, reporting that several gentlemen in Castine wished for a view of the town, similar to the earlier views of Gloucester that they admired. He suggested that lithographs could be sold locally and noted that an earlier view of Castine (by S. V. Homan, 1843–1844) was unsatisfactory.<sup>70</sup> A subscription circulated in Castine in September 1855 for *Castine, from Hospital Island* (Fig. 20), a black and white lithograph that would measure 33 by 20 inches and sell for two dollars. Stephens hoped that the prints would not be "too large and awkward for a parlor ornament."<sup>71</sup> The composition is a familiar one—foreground with a small boat, middle ground with the harbor and sailing vessels, the town on the far shore. This is a large print and one of Lane's finest. There is nothing on the print that suggests that Lane drew the image on stone, although a final drawing by Lane could have been transferred to stone through a mechanical method. Whatever process was employed, the project clearly was a labor of love. A very preliminary sketch (Fig. 25) in the collection of the Cape Ann Museum provides information on Lane's method of composing a view. He started with a sketch of the town as seen from across the harbor. Successive drawings would have added the foreground and harbor before Lane completed the view in his studio.

The second panorama printed by Lodowick Bradford was the *View of Gloucester, Mass.* (Fig. 23), published by Procter Brothers of Gloucester in 1859. The third lithographed view of Gloucester by Lane demonstrates not only his mastery of the panorama but also his love of his native Gloucester. It is the largest of the three lithographs of the town that he designed for reproduction and the viewpoint is almost the same as the 1846 view, although slightly narrower. The numerous ships in the harbor demonstrate that the fishing industry still flourished. However, due to careless rendering and simplification of the vessels and details of familiar buildings and waterfront structures, it seems doubtful that Lane drew the view on stone. By 1859, Lane was fully immersed in his painting career and not likely to undertake the lengthy process of copying a view of this size on stone.<sup>72</sup>

Fortunately for viewers of this print today, there is rich documentation because the publisher, Procter Brothers, advertised the print in their newspaper, the *Cape Ann Weekly Advertiser*. First, in 1858, they alerted readers to the "Fine View of Gloucester, which our distinguished fellow-citizen, F. H. Lane, Esq., has recently sketched from nature and imparted to the canvass [sic]." The firm noted that residents could subscribe for a lithograph of it, which would make "a beautiful picture for the parlor of our residents, as well as an appropriate gift for our wandering Cape Ann natives."<sup>73</sup> Another reason for this new lithograph by Lane was the publication about 1858 of *View of Gloucester Harbor from Ten Pound Island* printed by Marshall M. Tidd of Boston, a view described as not "worth having" and as a "poor caricature."<sup>74</sup> Tidd's view shows several ships in the foreground and middle ground with the town on the far side of the harbor. Although John Reys attributed this print to Lane, the composition bears little resemblance to Lane's work at any time.<sup>75</sup> And, if

that view had been by Lane, certainly that fact would have been stated in the Gloucester newspaper.

An early proof of Lane's view was on display by January 7, 1859. The final state was ready by January 28, 1859, when Procter Brothers advertised its availability for \$2.50, although early subscribers paid \$2.25. For the payment of \$2.75, purchasers would be eligible to enter a raffle of five paintings by Lane. The raffle was a popular sales device. At least 263 people entered the raffle for one of the winning tickets was number 263, owned by Joseph Richardson of Boston.<sup>76</sup> Sales of the lithograph were brisk; by March 1859, "the first edition is nearly all disposed of, and the subscription book will be closed the last of March."<sup>77</sup> Lodowick Bradford in Boston would have been able to print as many additional lithographs as needed. However, at some point, he would have wanted to resurface the stone and use it for a different image. The Cape Ann Museum owns an unusual impression of this print that Lane painted in oil to resemble the painting.

The last reproductions after Lane's designs appeared in Babson's *History of Gloucester*, published in 1860.<sup>78</sup> The six illustrations include "The White-Ellery House," "Illustration of Fore-and-aft Sail on Mizzen Mast," "Second Parish Meeting House," "Oldest House in Gloucester," "View of Old Fort and Harbor, 1837," and "The First Parish Meeting House." Babson noted Lane's contributions in his book where he provided a brief biographical sketch of the artist. It seems fitting that the final reproductions of Lane's work were depictions of his native town in which he spent so many years surrounded by scenes he knew and loved.

Could Lane have accomplished so much as an artist had he not spent sixteen years in Boston? His experiences in the Pendleton/Moore lithography firms surrounded him with a

core group of men and women who aspired to careers in fine art. They could critique, for example, each other's early attempts to master linear and aerial perspective, compositions, use of line, and contrasts between light and dark. Many of his peers succeeded, although none so well as Lane. The affiliation with artists in, for example, the Boston Artists' Association, who exhibited and sold their paintings, was a major advantage for him.<sup>79</sup> Also, the positive reception of reproductions of his drawings enhanced his reputation as an artist. Comments in the press such as "beautiful picture," "specimens of nautical beauty," and "beauty of execution" prepared the public to admire his paintings.<sup>80</sup>

It is probable that other prints by Lane's own hand or derived from his paintings exist, particularly from the 1830s and 1840s. As an apprentice, he would not have signed prints clearly, if at all. Additionally, printers and publishers might not have encouraged their artists to sign prints copied from other sources. From the prints that are recorded by the Cape Ann Museum, however, we can derive a deep appreciation of the works by this artist. His faithfulness to nature, his realistic depictions of the ships and coasts that he knew well from his youth onward, and his artistic skill to portray landforms, light and space, even in black and white, are undeniable. His career demonstrates how his mastery of the art of drawing on stone contributed to his abilities as a painter.

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I thank Ronda Faloon, Director of the Cape Ann Museum, for giving me this opportunity and to her colleagues Martha Oaks, Meredith Anderson, Stephanie Buck, and Leon Doucette for seeing the project through to completion. Erik Ronnberg, Adjunct Maritime Curator, helpfully identified many objects in the lithographs for me.

Sam Holdsworth is the Project Director of the *Fitz Henry Lane Online* website. This innovative approach to the documentation of an artist's oeuvre is brilliant, allowing for additions over time and providing many ways to present and access documentary information from sources such as newspapers and manuscript correspondence. Erik Ronnberg, Alison Anholt and others did an amazing amount of research, tracking down newspaper articles and providing commentary on the prints and paintings. Melissa Geisler Trafton was the senior researcher and her use of thoroughly honed scholarly research skills has resulted in an extraordinarily useful and informative website. I have relied on this project as I researched

and wrote my catalog essay and I thank all those who contributed to it.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

All studies on Fitz Henry Lane and his prints begin with the seminal essay by John Wilmerding published at the outset of his career as scholar, teacher, and museum curator. This was one of the earliest essays on the output of any American printmaker and he became, of course, the foremost authority on Lane's paintings. Likewise, David F. Tatham was the first to explore the lithography shops of William Pendleton and Thomas Moore. These two articles form a solid foundation for any study of Lane's prints. Sally Pierce and Catharina Slautterback of the Boston Athenaeum compiled *Boston Lithography, 1825–1880*, a great resource for the study of F. H. Lane and his peers in Boston. This volume sat at my right hand throughout this project. As will be clear from those who read footnotes, I made generous use of America's Historical Newspapers, a giant digital database published by the Readex Division of Newsbank in cooperation with the American Antiquarian Society. Access to newspapers cited in the notes has provided excellent tidbits of information about the reception of Lane's lithographs.

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## NOTES

1. *New Bedford Mercury*, November 26, 1840. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers* (this database lists hundreds of advertisements).
2. William Bentley Fowle, *An Introduction to Linear Drawing translated from the French of M. [Louis-Benjamin] Francoeur* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, 1825), iii.
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5. John Wilmerding, "The Lithographs of Fitz Hugh Lane," *Old-Time New England* 54 (1963): 32; Elliot Bostwick Davis, *Training the Eye and the Hand: Fitz Hugh Lane and Nineteenth-Century American Drawing Books* (Gloucester, MA: Cape Ann Historical Association, 1993), 7. Additional work by Davis appears in "American Drawing Books and Their Impact on Fitz Hugh Lane," in *The Cultivation of Artists in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Georgia B. Barnhill, Diana Korzenik, and Caroline F. Sloat (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1997).
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8. For more on Charles Hart and the Endicott firm, see Georgia Barnhill, "George and William Endicott: Commercial Lithography in New York, 1831–1851," in *Prints and Printmakers of New York State, 1825–1940*, ed. David F. Tatham (Syracuse, NY: University of Syracuse Press, 1986), 47–49.
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11. John Wilmerding, *Fitz Hugh Lane 1804–1865 American Marine Painter* (Gloucester, MA: reprint, Peter Smith, 1967), 29. Robert Salmon designed a view of the Old State House for a membership certificate for the Boston Fire Department, c. 1834. Isaac Eddy engraved the certificate. An impression of this print is at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.
12. Margaretta M. Lovell kindly brought this article to my attention. A letter from Joseph L. Stevens to Samuel H. Mansfield, October 17, 1904, noted that Lane had subscribed to the *London Art Journal*. The letter is in the collection of the Cape Ann Museum (P31AFF11).
13. Georgia B. Barnhill, "French Technology and Skills in the United States," in *With a French Accent: American Lithography to 1860*, ed. Georgia B. Barnhill (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 2012), 18.
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  34. J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 88, 430.
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  36. Eva L. Haugen and Ingrid Semmingsen, "Peter Anderson of Bergen and Lowell. Artist and Ambassador of Culture," *Americana Norvegica* 4 (1973), 1–29.
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  38. *The Third Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association at Quincy Hall* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1841), 95.
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  40. *Concord Yeoman's Gazette*, July 4, 1840. I thank Margareta Lovell for bringing this to my attention and Robert Gross, a historian of Concord, for finding this reference.
  41. *Concord Yeoman's Gazette* (24:2), June 27, 1840, 2.
  42. *The Autobiography of Hon. John S. Keyes*. This memoir has been transcribed and is available at [https://concordlibrary.org/uploads/scollect/doc/Autobiography\\_final.pdf](https://concordlibrary.org/uploads/scollect/doc/Autobiography_final.pdf) (accessed June 23, 2017), 48–49. Again, I thank Margareta Lovell and Robert Gross for this information.
  43. James R. Pringle, *History of the Town & City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (Gloucester: James R. Pringle, 1892), 110.
  44. *Vital Records of Scituate Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1909), 2: 468. Whitney died of smallpox.
  45. An impression of the family register is in the graphic arts collection of the American Antiquarian Society. Ephraim W. Bouvé printed it in 1839.
  46. *Bay State Democrat*, June 26, 1841, 2. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.
  47. Notice in the *Bay State Democrat*, February 5, 1841, 2. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.
  48. Information accessed at [www.contemplator.com/america/serpent.html](http://www.contemplator.com/america/serpent.html), August 29, 2016.
  49. *Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard*, copied from a print after Rembrandt, was exhibit-

- ed in 1846. *Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index*, 127.
50. Albert C. Boyden, *History and Alumni Record of the State Normal School, Bridgewater, Mass.* (Boston: 1876). I am grateful to Helena Wright for sharing other information on Conant.
  51. Helena Wright, "The Image Makers: The Role of the Graphic Arts in Industrialization," *Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 12 (1986), 8–9.
  52. *Ibid.*, 10.
  53. In the twentieth century, print sellers and owners often colored prints. It is almost impossible to distinguish original from modern coloring unless the work was done carelessly. The exhibition *Lasting Impressions: The Artists of Currier & Ives*, at the Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library in 2016, addressed modern hand coloring with a scientific investigation of the pigments used. The Winterthur curators and conservators are among the few to do so.
  54. Patricia McGraw Anderson, *The Architecture of Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin College, 1988), 22–28, 128–131. Richard Upjohn designed both the church and the chapel.
  55. The catalog record for this print at the Boston Athenaeum provides this information: "A Sketch of Mr. W. A. Barnes: After the Wreck of the Anglo Saxon, wrecked off Duck Island, Nova Scotia, Saturday evening May 8th, 1847."
  56. *Gloucester Telegraph*, May 31, 1843. Accessed on the Cape Ann Museum's *Fitz Henry Lane Online* website.
  57. *The Bee*, Boston, April 21, 1843. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.
  58. Cedric Ridgely–Nevitt, *American Steamships on the Atlantic* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1981), 94.
  59. Robert Bennet Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1882), facing p.188.
  60. *Republican Herald*, Providence, RI, April 18, 1849, 1. *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.
  61. Sarah Dunlap and Stephanie Buck, *Fitz Henry Lane Family and Friends* (Gloucester: Cape Ann Historical Museum, 2007), 60–64.
  62. Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints, 1752–1889* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975), 24.
  63. The Shelburne Museum used to own this painting, which is now in private hands. It is reproduced in John Wilmerding, *Fitz Hugh Lane 1804–1865 American Marine Painter* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1964), 16.
  64. Quoted in John Wilmerding, *Robert Salmon, Painter of Ship & Shore* (Boston: Peabody Museum of Salem and Boston Public Library, 1987), 115.
  65. Clarence Cook, "Letters on Art—No. IV," in *Independent*, September 7, 1854, reprinted in Sarah Burns and John Davis, *American Art to 1900: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 307.
  66. *Ibid.*
  67. *Ibid.*, 308.
  68. Robert B. Forbes also had an interest in the *Antelope*. *Personal Reminiscences*, 415.
  69. Pierce and Slautterback, *Boston Lithography*, 130.
  70. Joseph L. Stevens Sr., Castine, Maine, January 29, 1851, to F. H. Lane. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum Library & Archives. William Sharp printed Homan's view in 1843 or 1844. Impressions of it are in the collections of the Wilson Museum in Castine and the New-York Historical Society.
  71. The subscription form is reproduced on the Cape Ann Museum's *Fitz Henry Lane Online* website.
  72. Erik Ronnberg has provided a lengthy commentary on the print. Erik Ronnberg, "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  73. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, August 28, 1858. "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  74. *Gloucester Telegraph*, February 9, 1859. "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>. An impression of Tidd's lithograph is at the Boston Athenaeum and is reproduced digitally.
  75. John Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 333 (no. 1453).
  76. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, January 28, 1859. "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for

- inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
77. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, March 11, 1859. "View of Gloucester," (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
78. John J. Babson, *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann* (Gloucester: Procter Bros., 1860).
79. Members included Washington Allston, Henry Sargent, Chester Harding, William Sharp, Charles Hubbard, and David Claypoole Johnston. *Constitution of the Boston Artists' Association* (Boston: John H. Eastburn, 1842), 6.
80. *Cape Ann Advertiser* (August 28, 1858); *The Bee* (Boston), April 21, 1843; *Republican Herald* (Providence), April 18, 1849. *Fitz Henry Lane Online* and *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.



Figure 20. *Castine, from Hospital Island*. Colored lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by L. H. Bradford Lithography, Boston, c. 1855. Published by Joseph L. Stevens, Jr. Collection of Roswitha and William Traves.

“FIT MEMORIALS”  
FITZ HENRY LANE’S LITHOGRAPHED  
TOWNSCAPES, 1835–1859<sup>1</sup>



MELISSA GEISLER TRAFTON

In January 1851 Joseph Stevens Sr. of Castine, Maine, wrote to thank Fitz Henry Lane for the gift of a painting of Castine. In the note, he also encouraged Lane to produce a lithograph of Castine similar to the two Lane already had made of his own hometown of Gloucester, Massachusetts. Stevens wrote (Fig. 21):

Several gentlemen who have called in to see the painting have expressed a desire to have a drawing from you of our town, similar to yours of Gloucester, which they much admire, and, of lithographs, I have no doubts copies enough could be disposed of to remunerate you. That of Homans [S.V. Homan, *View of Castine*, 1843] you are aware is feebly drawn, & still worse printed. I feel desirous myself it should be done, if it suits your wishes. There are several points of view, which you did not see, & to which it will be my pleasure, next summer, to carry you. I know many of our citizens would be gratified to have this done by you.<sup>2</sup>

His letter captures the elements of a townscape that he thought were important: “accuracy,” the work’s aesthetic value, and the significance of the scene to the residents of the town. Lane’s resulting lithograph of Castine (*Castine, from Hospital Island*) (Fig. 20), was published

finally in 1855 and was one of his last lithographs. It apparently fulfilled Stevens's criteria, which alluded to aesthetic qualities and connections to the community's experience and knowledge. The lithograph was marketed not only to the gentlemen who had called on Stevens but to the "absent Sons and Daughters of Castine" as a "fit memorial of their native place."<sup>3</sup> It is striking in its large format, horizontality, low horizon, and detailed depiction of the town.

The "panoramic" style of antebellum landscapes and city views shared the qualities of horizontality and expansiveness. Scholars have attributed this to nationalist sympathies and expansionist tendencies, as well as a growing tourism industry.<sup>4</sup> However, looking at *Castine*, as well as Lane's other lithographed townscapes, in the context of his drawings and paintings of the period suggests differences among media and indicates that the historically specific panoramic vision ought to be seen as having multiple meanings.<sup>5</sup> The town and cityscapes of Lane and his contemporary lithographers functioned somewhat differently from the painted landscapes for sale on the walls of venues like the National Academy of Design in New York and the Boston Athenaeum. While engravings, the media which had preceded lithography, often copied paintings or emulated their formal qualities, the new and less-expensive medium of lithography opened possibilities to different compositional conventions. Lane and other artists developed a genre which incorporated elements of landscape painting, drawing (with its emphasis upon immediacy of experience), cartography (with its focus on transmission of information), and images such as panoramas (which prioritized expansive vistas and were designed to be spectacular in order to appeal to a mass audience).<sup>6</sup> Not exactly like the long horizontal drawings Lane sketched for his own use, nor black-and-white versions of his more narrowly composed paintings, Lane's

lithographed town views can be seen as representative of the genre in the decades before the Civil War. They functioned as both art objects for framing and reference documents.

By 1851 when Stevens wrote his letter, Lane had established a reputation for town views through two lithographs of 1836 and 1846 (Figs. 1 and 19) depicting his hometown of Gloucester, and others he had made since working in lithography shops in Boston early in his career. From 1835 to 1860, among his lithographic production of everything from advertising pamphlets (e.g., *George W. Simmons' Popular Tailoring Establishment*, Fig. 15) to sheet music covers (e.g., *The Norfolk Guards Quick Step*, Fig. 42), Lane produced sixteen lithographs that can be considered city or town views.<sup>7</sup> He also produced building portraits and street-level views of cities (e.g., *Horticultural Hall, School St. Boston*, Fig. 16 and *View of the Great Western & New-York Depot at South Cove, Boston*, Fig. 14) but the lithographs of cities or towns as seen from a distance form a discrete group.<sup>8</sup>

The popularity of city and town views during the nineteenth century in America has been well-documented. The development of lithography as an inexpensive printing technology and the growth of the consumer market meant that between 1830 and 1900 print production and the industry in which Lane received his art training rapidly expanded.<sup>9</sup> The prints can be seen as a reflection of civic pride, an interest in the expanding nation, and a desire to attract land investors and settlers.<sup>10</sup> Close investigation of the extant sales information for Lane's works, however, shows that these lithographs were marketed not in distant cities nor even nearby urban areas, but primarily to the residents of the towns depicted. The increasingly map-like and panoramic qualities of Lane's prints then can be understood to appeal to those people who were most familiar with the place.

Boston January 29 1851

My dear Sir

I hope you will not attribute this delay in acknowledging the receipt of your splendid and most unexpected gift to a want of a due appreciation of its value. Many reasons have conspired to prevent my doing it, as necessary to expect. But I am no longer deficient in the expressions of our warmest acknowledgments for a present, in itself so valuable, and intended to us by many associations, as a representation of scenery of our country, in which these many times visited could be so profitable to our eyes, always very few from thinking that instrumental to be gratified. You must permit me however, to say that the painting, valuable as it is as a work of art, and pleased as I may be, as the possession of it is to be afforded by us than the delicate and very generous manner in which its acceptance has been tendered. My love of Art, to which you so politely allude, I am sensible has only waited opportunity of being allowed to have recourse to expression. From my earliest days I have wished for opportunities to visit places, where that desire could be gratified, and my journey has only had the effect of increasing my regrets for the want of them, and of increasing my yearning for those more fortunate.

I feel, too, under great obligations for the drawing of the "Stage" - I had no expectations you could have produced any thing so good from so rough a copy. I shall have it framed for preservation and future reference. Several gentlemen who have called on to see the painting here expressed a desire to have a drawing from you of our town similar to yours of Gloucester, which they much admire, and if little expensed I have no doubt copies enough could be disposed of to some extent. I feel desirous myself it should be done, if it suits your wishes. There are several points of view, which you did not see, which it will be my pleasure next summer to carry you to. I have many of our citizens would be justified to have this done by your pen. We have no doubt we shall expect to be your home, and if, as you suggested in Gloucester, you should come in your boat, this place

could be made the rendezvous from whence you could start to any place that convenience & inclination might dictate.

I will only say that my wife and myself will spare no efforts or expense to make your visit agreeable, and perhaps useful. You have not or did not exhaust all the beauties of the State scenery, it perhaps there may be other spots in our May, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> you may think worthy of the pencil. I hope I shall may come down again, or, if be so, Charles and I ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> be his town, for a visit from both we cannot expect at our present stage to tender our acknowledgments for the picture.

It hangs in our parlour, & I never come in to the house without looking in to see it, & can never cease to feel grateful for your generosity and politeness.

We look forward with great pleasure to your visit next summer, previous permitting, as in the mean time by leave to answer you, the sincere esteem & respect of yours most truly

Joseph L. Stevens.

Will you be kind as to tell Joseph that I received this evening his letter, dated 26<sup>th</sup> inst., and last evening we received one from his brother Edward & shall write to him or Charles in a day or two. I dined this evening as I have several letters of a professional nature to answer.

Figure 21. Letter from Joseph L. Stevens, Sr. to Fitz H. Lane, January 29, 1851. Single sheet and envelope, ink on paper. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum.



Figure 22. *Lithographer*, 1874. Chromolithograph printed by L. Prang and Company. From *Aids for Object Teaching*. Boston Athenaeum.

When Fitz Henry Lane left Gloucester in 1832 to work in Boston, he had the good fortune to find a job at Pendleton's Lithography, one of the nation's earliest lithographic shops and an early producer of lithographed city views.<sup>11</sup> As Georgia Barnhill has recounted elsewhere in this catalogue, the technique of lithography was invented by German amateur printer Alois Senefelder in about 1798. With the 1819 publication in London of Senefelder's text, *A Complete Course of Lithography*, the technique spread rapidly to America.<sup>12</sup> Although initially the lithographic stones had to be imported from Germany, and the crayons had to be specially produced,

lithography still offered a low-cost alternative to engraving and enabled production of longer print runs and larger sizes.<sup>13</sup> By the 1830s most American urban centers had at least one lithographic printer; the industry then experienced explosive growth in the middle years of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Scholar John Reps, whose work is foundational to any study of the genre of city views, has described the way in which the growth of lithography and the production of the views were interrelated. Although the new low-cost printing alternative lent itself to such things as advertising, sheet-music covers, book illustrations, and documents such



as membership certificates, the print market was filled with commercially printed and separately issued prints of city and town views. Repts has estimated that between 1825 and 1925 there were over five thousand individually printed city views of as many as twenty-four hundred different towns.<sup>15</sup> This number records only lithographs and only those views published separately; it does not account for the lithographed city views that appeared in publications or printed ephemera such as broadsides or advertising. Although Repts's research shows that the number is disproportionately weighted toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, the growth in the genre began in the 1830s.<sup>16</sup> As the country grew, so too did Americans' appetite for views of their expanding country. The parallel growth of nation and of views of the nation has given rise to the conventional understanding among historians that these lithographs were part of the visualization of nationhood.<sup>17</sup>

The production of a lithograph involved three major stages: the original design by an artist on paper, the transfer of the design (in reverse) to the lithographic stone, and the printing from the stone. Probably the majority of the city views of the first half of the nineteenth century were produced when an artist in the field sent a drawing back to the lithography shop. Often, in order to ensure a faithful transfer of the original vision, the artist included written instructions either to himself, if he was to be the one to draw on the stone, or to the lithographer who was to transfer the design.<sup>18</sup> Typically a skilled lithographer would replicate the composition freehand, but occasionally the lithographer would trace the drawing onto transfer paper, which in turn marked the stone (Fig. 22).<sup>19</sup>

During Lane's career, the stages of lithographic production were not yet specialized; most artists in the shops were

trained to perform all of the jobs, including designing the original sketch, drawing on the stone, and printing.<sup>20</sup> Lane, as was typical for artists of the period, worked for many different lithography shops and publishers, including his own eponymous partnership, Lane & Scott (1844–1848) in Boston. For some of the lithographs commonly attributed to Lane, it is still unclear exactly what role he played, and the lithographs attached to Lane do not follow a single pattern of production. For some he produced a sketch (either a graphite drawing or painting) from which the lithography shop made a print (*Castine, from Hospital Island*, Fig. 20; *View of Gloucester*, Fig. 19; etc.). For some he copied the design of another artist onto the lithographic stone (*Washington D.C.*, Fig. 47; *View of Newburyport*, Fig. 53; and *View of New Bedford*, Fig. 54).<sup>21</sup> *The National Lancers with the Reviewing Officers on Boston Common* (Fig. 49) is an elaborate example of the multiple hands and media evolution through which a single design might go. It appears that Boston artist Thomas Savery made a painting of the subject, Charles Hubbard copied Savery's painting onto the standard carried by the Corps on parade, and Lane transferred the design to the lithographic stone before it was published by Hubbard.<sup>22</sup>

In the late 1840s and 1850s, as Lane's confidence as a painter grew, he began to use paintings as preparatory works for lithographs. For a small lithograph illustration of the Robert Bennet Forbes's vessel "Antelope" printed by J. H. Buford's lithography shop for the 1855 *Nautical Magazine* (Fig. 65), a full-sized oil painting in grisaille is believed to have served as the design (Fig. 66). There are also oil paintings related to city views, the *View of Baltimore* (Figs. 63 and 64) and *View of Norwich* (Figs. 61 and 62). In the latter two examples, the oil painting, in the same size and scale, is believed to have preceded the lithograph.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 23. *View of Gloucester, Mass.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by L. H. Bradford & Company, 1859. Published by Procter Brothers, Gloucester. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Mrs. Percy C. Proctor, 1940.

For Lane's three city views of Gloucester (1836, 1846, and 1859) (Figs. 1, 19, 23) and his 1855 view of Castine (Fig. 20), Lane was involved in many aspects of production. Wide promotion in the Gloucester press of the last print of Gloucester of 1859, and the subsequent lottery of the original painting, gives insight into the way in which Lane's working methods had evolved.<sup>24</sup> The newspaper reported that:

Lane's new view of Gloucester—An advanced impression of this splendid lithograph has been received by the publishers, Procter Brothers, ... We learn that the canvas for this work will be commenced soon ... We understand that under suggestions from the artist, Mr. Lane, several improvements will be made on this copy, making the regular issue of prints more desirable than the sample.<sup>25</sup>

This newspaper report suggests that Lane was not the artist who transferred the design to the stone, but that he was closely monitoring the final result. He would make changes to the "sample" and would also make an oil painting of the subject, a fact reflected by "PINXIT" following his name on the print.<sup>26</sup> Although the order of print before painting reverses the usual order of these things, it emphasizes the importance placed upon the lithograph; the idea that the painting would serve as a marketing tool rather than the original conception from which a print was a replication.

Looking at Lane's sixteen town views as a group illustrates not only the stylistic evolution of his oeuvre, but also the way in which they share qualities with townscapes by other artists such as Edwin Whitefield (1816–1892) (Fig. 60). American cityscapes and landscapes built upon the eighteenth-century European tradition of city and coastal views in oil paintings, prints, and especially watercolors. The conventions of an idealized landscape view of a distant background as seen through framing trees, or the coastal view of a townscape

as seen across water, made their way into American print culture through aquatints and engravings in the early part of the century. Before the development of lithography, the soft lines of watercolors were best translated into aquatints and into publications such as John Hill's "Picturesque Views of American Scenery," a series of aquatints published in Philadelphia in 1820 after paintings by Joshua Shaw. Hill's "Hudson River Portfolio," a group of aquatints after paintings by William Guy Wall was published in 1820–1825. William James Bennett was also making aquatints in the 1830s.<sup>28</sup> In New York, Lewis P. Clover was selling separately printed "American Views," copper engravings that he was selling for four to five dollars each.<sup>29</sup> Lithographed city views overtook these relatively expensive publications.

Lithographed townscapes were sized and sold to be framed behind glass and hung on a wall. (Often publishers would even frame the work for the purchaser.)<sup>30</sup> Unlike landscape paintings of the period that took the wilderness of the Catskills and White Mountains and the natural wonders of America (such as Niagara Falls) as their subjects, prints depicted the built environment of the American landscape with a specificity that was praised by viewers. Conventions around lithographed townscapes such as Whitefield's thirty-seven large folio views in the series, *Whitefield's Views of American Cities* (1845–1856), emphasized distant views of the city as if from an elevated spot located across an open area such as a field or body of water.<sup>31</sup> Lane's lithographs adhered to and demonstrated these general pictorial conventions of the genre. Depicting the coastline from the open water was a problem that Lane tackled in the 1850s, most notably in his Boston Harbor paintings; in an undated letter about his picture of Gloucester's Stage Rocks he wrote: "I shall try to make something out of it, but it will require some man-

agement, as there is no foreground but water and vessels.”<sup>32</sup> However, although he wrestled with this compositional quandary in his paintings, usually some bit of land anchors the foreground in the lithographs.

The impression given by a study of Lane’s lithographs is that over the decades they work within a general set of conventions but become horizontally elongated, and, like his paintings, increasingly convey an effect of expansiveness. In the early lithographs the horizon (the water level or the street level of the town) is at the midway point of the lithograph (e.g., *View of the Town of Gloucester, 1836*, Fig. 2), but by the 1840s Lane moves it closer to two-thirds of the way down the composition.<sup>33</sup> Lane made use of the enlarged upper portion of the print to demonstrate growing interest in the luminescence of the clouds and sky, and the way in which he was able to employ the technical aspects of lithography to depict atmospheric conditions. However, the effect is also that of increased horizontality as the land is relegated to a long narrow band across the bottom of the print.<sup>34</sup>

Not only is the illusion of horizontality created by the increasingly long, low landscape, but the actual shape of Lane’s prints changed over time toward a more horizontally organized page. Landscape paintings are often only slightly more rectangular than square with a traditional height-to-width ratio of 2:3.<sup>35</sup> Lane’s early lithographs generally adhered to a similar ratio, while his prints of the late 1850s showed an increased horizontality. He was not alone in working in an extended horizontal format in the 1850s—Whitefield’s 1855 prints were 19×36 inches, a ratio of nearly 1:2. Lane experimented with wide prints, the print of Washington (admittedly not of his own design) being the most dramatic example. At the same time, his paintings also became slightly more horizontal. If his standard painting size was 24×36 inches,

we see experimentations of size such as 36×60 (*New York Harbor*, c.1855), 26×48 (*Sweepstakes*, 1853), and 28×48 (*Kettle Island*, 1859).<sup>36</sup>

The city and town views became more horizontally oriented and larger, as both the presses and demand allowed. The smallest of the city views are about 10×17 inches, while the largest, those that he made of Gloucester and Castine, are 21×36 inches. These latter works, at thirty-six inches wide, stretched the limits of the largest presses.<sup>37</sup> As lithographic technology improved, some of the works of his contemporary Edwin Whitefield grew as big as forty-one inches wide.<sup>38</sup> These larger prints, which also have a low horizon line and an elongated, horizontal format, occupy more of the viewer’s field of vision. By lowering the horizon line, changing the ratio of the height to width of the printed area, and using large presses to print large lithographs, Lane created prints that simulated an expansive vista.

Comparing Lane’s drawings to his lithographs is another way of exploring certain formal aspects of the latter. The remarkable collection of drawings at the Cape Ann Museum provides insight into Lane’s working techniques through patterns revealed by the study of the large number of objects. Lane moved between all stages of the lithographic process; the skills of precision and draftsmanship from his lithographic training in drawing on stone certainly affected the precise brushwork of his later paintings. Scholars have debated whether Lane used a mechanical device such as a camera lucida in his drawings.<sup>39</sup> Whether or not he used a mechanical aid to transfer the specifics of the landscape or townscape to paper, the drawings were not objects intended for public view. Lane used his drawings primarily to remind him of the specifics of topographical details. The mnemonic role of the drawings is explicitly evident in the incorporation of

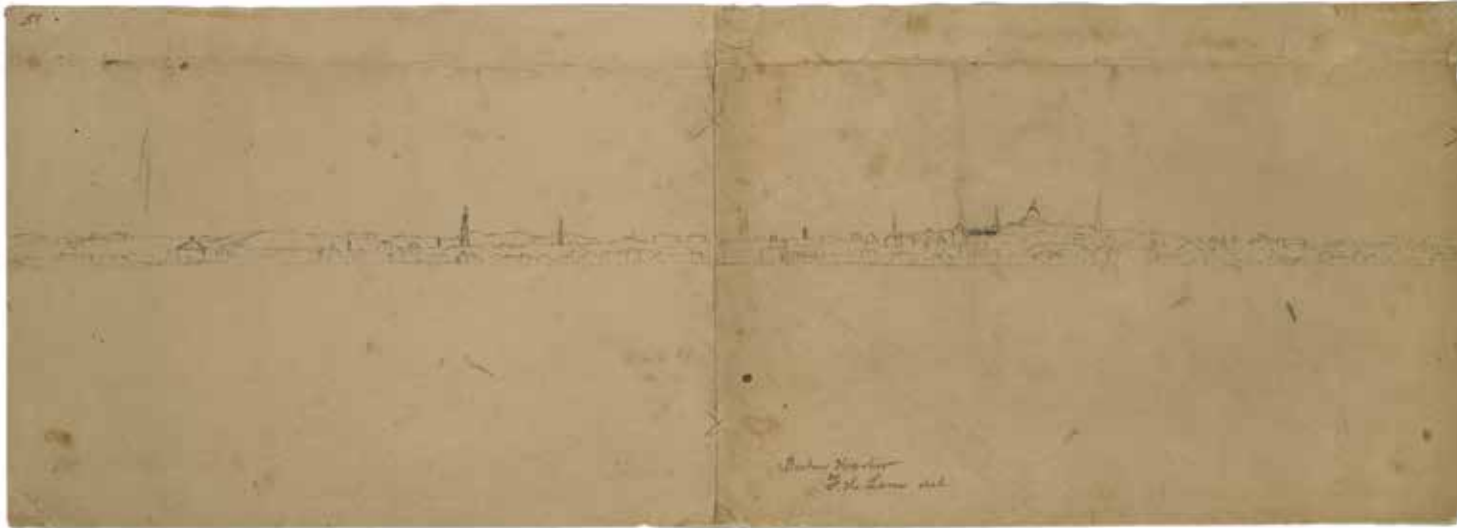
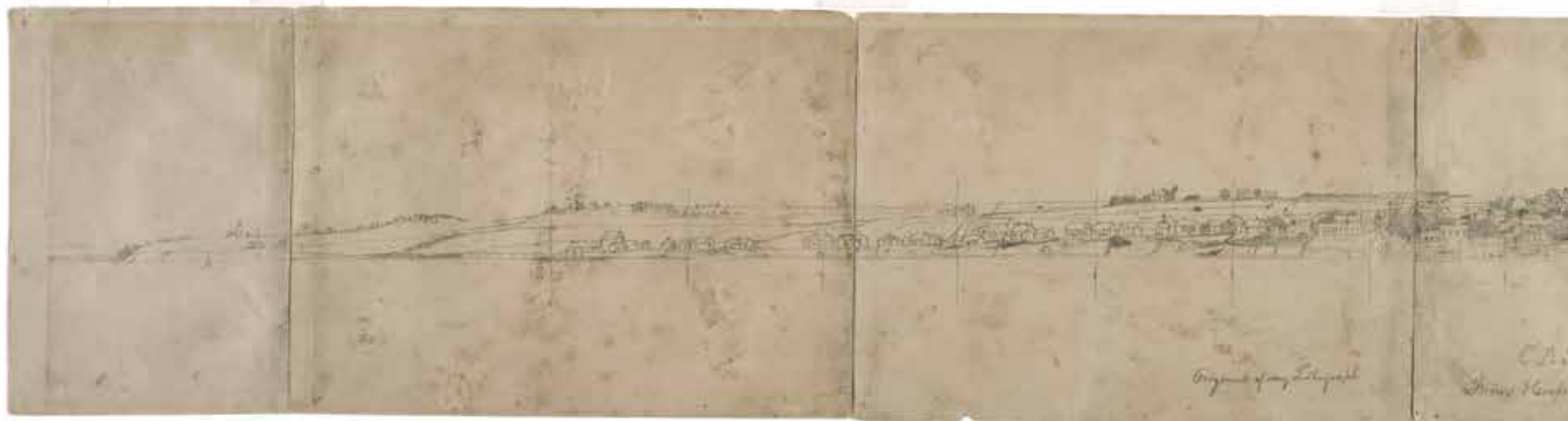


Figure 24. *Boston Harbor*, c. 1850s. Graphite on paper (2 sheets). F. H. Lane, del. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Samuel H. Mansfield, 1927.

details and text, while the expanded field of vision demonstrates Lane's interest in horizontality. From the encyclopedic collection of views recorded through his travels, he would select segments to develop as full compositions in lithographs and paintings. Aiding the drawings, were notes he included regarding color, foliage, or landmark features.<sup>40</sup> For example, in the design for the Castine print (Fig. 25) his notes include comments: "Boat is [...] here / This house little high /  $\frac{1}{22}$  inch / Church / School House / Town House / Print stops here"<sup>41</sup> The Boston Harbor drawings exemplify the way in which Lane's record of the Boston skyline served as a reference from which he extracted bits for the background of several paintings (Fig. 24).<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, no evidence of similar studies of vessels has been found; perhaps they have not survived, or perhaps he felt that he did not need the

visual reminder of their appearance in order to be able to include them in later paintings. The drawings allowed Lane to explore kinds of pictorial representation uncircumscribed by commercial demands and formal conventions.

Like the way in which the drawings show a documentary quality that is evident in the lithographs, the horizontality of the drawings is also paralleled in the lithographs. Lane's graphite drawings pushed the horizontal limits of the page until he was forced to paste several pages together. Sprawling across multiple sheets, spreading to the backs and tops of the pages, Lane's drawings provide a continuous, expansive view of a large section of the landscape. Although, as Erik Ronnberg's meticulous diagrams have shown, the angle of vision in the drawings is no greater than in the paintings, Lane documented the skyline from a distance, thereby in-



corporating a large portion of the skyline as a continuous whole. To make the small buildings legible, and to ensure that the drawing was in a scale that could be transferred easily to the canvas, Lane pasted pieces of paper together (e.g., Figs. 26 and 27). A number of the drawings are composed of as many as three sheets, measuring around  $10 \times 30$  inches. The drawing for the lithograph of Castine is comprised of six pieces of paper, measuring  $10 \times 52$  inches (Fig. 25). His contemporaries are known to have worked in a similar way: Thomas Cole sketched across two pages in his sketchbook for his preparatory work for the *View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm—The Oxbow*, while Whitefield joined three pages together in his watercolor sketch for his lithograph of Brooklyn.<sup>44</sup> Lane's emphasis upon the horizontal was not unplanned; pinholes at the corners of the drawing sheets indicate that Lane had a large

board prepared for the purpose of affixing several sheets of paper side-by-side.<sup>45</sup> If the standard height-to-width ratio of a painting is 2:3, at their fullest extension the drawings have a ratio of 1:3, showing the value these artists placed upon a long horizontal landscape in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>46</sup> From the expansive visual paper record in his studio, Lane selected a segment of the view, added his trademark sky and filled the foreground with vessels, in order to develop paintings of harbors and landscapes that adhered to conventionally proportioned canvases.<sup>47</sup> The drawings, then, can be seen as an unmitigated and extreme exploration of a type of vision that was translated by Lane into landscape paintings and lithographs.<sup>48</sup>

The visual interest in increased horizontality most obvious and increasingly evident in Lane's works can be seen to be influenced by, or as another example of, the panoramic

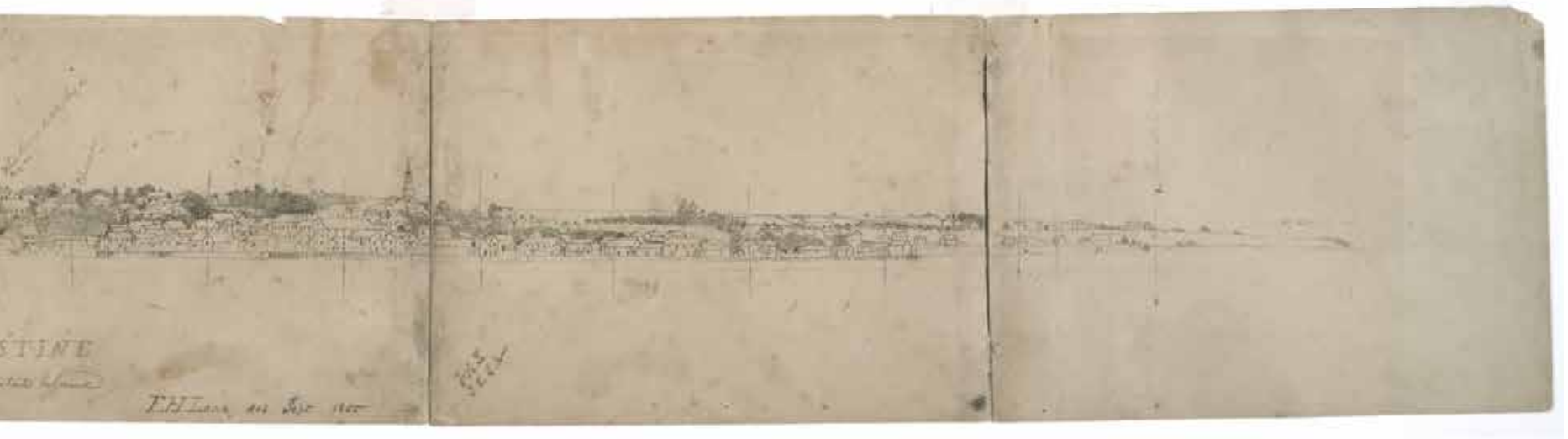


Figure 25. *Castine from Hospital Island*. 1855. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Graphite on paper (six sheets). Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Samuel H. Mansfield, 1927.

vision so pervasive in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> After Robert Barker introduced a picture of Edinburgh in London in 1789, for which visitors entered a specially designed elevated platform from where they could see the 360-degree painting, the panorama became a popular public entertainment in Europe and America. The first stationary panorama in America went on display in New York City in 1795; by 1804 there was a permanent venue for such displays.<sup>50</sup> The 1840s were the high point of the genre, which also had evolved in America into the form of a moving panorama—a long horizontal painting wound on reels and unrolled in front of a stationary audience.<sup>51</sup>

Panoramas brought together an extensive and wide-ranging view with a specificity of detail. As popular entertainment, however, they combined pedagogy and spectacle and

depicted far-off countries, the rivers of the American frontier, or dramatic historic events. Of his 1818–1819 panorama of Versailles (now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art), John Vanderlyn wrote:

Panoramic exhibitions possess so much of the magic deception of the art, as irresistibly to captivate all classes of Spectators, and to give them a decided advantage over every other description of pictures; for no study nor a cultivated taste is required fully to appreciate the merits of such representations. They have further the power of conveying much practical and topographical information, such as can in no other manner be supplied, except by actually visiting the scenes which they represent, and if instruction and mental gratification be the aim and object of painting no class of pictures have a fairer claim to the public estimation than panoramas.<sup>52</sup>

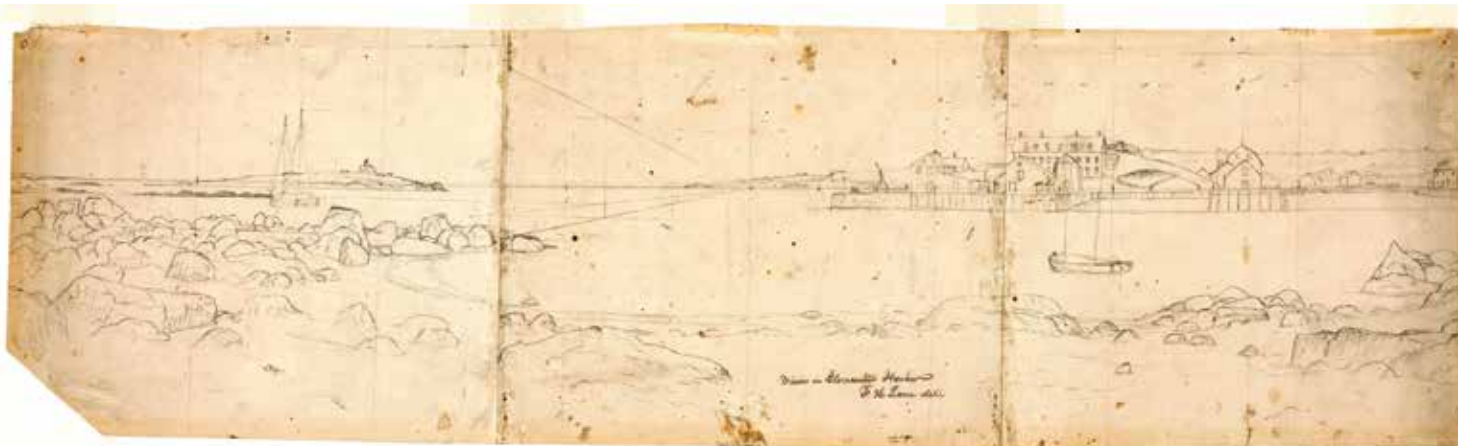


Figure 26. (this page, top) *View in Gloucester Harbor, c. 1850s*. Graphite on paper (3 sheets). F. H. Lane, del. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Samuel H. Mansfield, 1927.

Figure 27. (this page, bottom) *Fresh Water Cove, etc. from Dolliver's Neck, c. 1850s*. Graphite on paper (3 sheets). F. H. Lane, del. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Samuel H. Mansfield, 1927.



The growing emphasis in art and public entertainment upon the “panoramic” or horizontal has been explained as a historically and culturally specific type of vision, attributed by scholars either to the imperial project of expansionism or to the growth of tourism and the quest for an authentic travel experience.<sup>53</sup> To find a single reason for the type of vision that applies equally to public entertainment and townscapes obscures the different way in which the lithographs functioned. They were seen on a scale far different from the public panoramas and shifted the panoramic vision from the collective instructional experience to the individual mnemonic experience. Not the grand historic subjects seen to appeal to a large audience, they shifted the panoramic vision to the hometown. The lithographed city and town views sold to Americans for their offices and parlors depicted views with which they were extremely familiar.

As panoramas dominated the public arena in the antebellum period, cartography simultaneously developed as a major commodity in the print trade. Cartography was part of the growing national project, but the interest in maps of the distant frontier should not eclipse the importance of locally produced maps. The ease of transfer, the low cost, and the ease with which changes could be made to the original drawing and then transferred to stone meant that lithographed map production increased during the same moment as city-view production.<sup>54</sup> Eventually, the difference between maps and townscapes was elided. In the bird’s-eye city and town views popular after the Civil War, the perspective changed from the slightly elevated viewpoint, favored by Lane and his contemporaries (as if the artist or viewer was situated on a hill or church steeple), to that of an imagined viewpoint high in the air (giving rise to the term “bird’s-eye views”).<sup>55</sup> The townscapes produced by

Lane and his contemporaries in the antebellum period drew upon the long tradition of a city as shown from the level of the water, but they integrated elements of the panoramic vision and map making that were also part of the visual culture of the period.

In addition, lithographs shared the aesthetic values attached to landscape painting. That there was tension between the conventions associated with the different media is evident in artist Thomas Cole’s description of climbing Mount Chocorua in New Hampshire in October 1828:

... on every side prospects mighty and sublime [that] opened upon the vision: lakes, mountains, streams, woodlands, dwelling and farms wove themselves into a vast and varied landscape ... [But for] all its beauty the scene was one too extended and map-like for the canvass [sic].<sup>56</sup>

In Cole’s case, he transcribed the “extended” scene onto several sheets of paper, then distilled it onto canvas in his well-known painting, *Oxbow*. The lithographs, however, of Lane and other artists wedded cartographic and painting conventions, and provided a way to depict a scene that was “too map-like for the canvass.”<sup>57</sup>

Like maps and panoramas, the lithographs were expected to encompass a large amount of visual information. They also provided an expansive view, however there was a shift from topographical instruction to individual memory. The individual engaged in a process of selection and negotiated an individualized path of viewing made possible by familiarity with the scene depicted. As early as 1835 a commentator used the phrase “the sketch embraces” to describe Lane’s design for his 1836 town view of Gloucester, suggesting a comprehensive view.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, on the subscription sheet



for *Castine* (Fig. 28), the promoters noted, "It will embrace as much of the Peninsula as can be included without diminishing the objects too minutely ..." <sup>59</sup> While conventional language around the sketch emphasized its breadth, similarly standardized language emphasized the way in which the viewer would negotiate this expanse. A print of 1872 was praised for the way in which it was "so accurate that anyone can easily pick out his own residence." <sup>60</sup> In 1856 a bird's-eye view of Milwaukee was marketed:

It is not only useful at the present moment as a directory, but will be valuable many years hence, as a record of what Milwaukee was in 1856 ... Everyone who can afford it, should have one in his house, not only as a reference but as a matter of future history. <sup>61</sup>

In 1850 or 1851 Lane made a drawing for Joseph Stevens Sr. of the Siege of Castine, a Revolutionary War event of July 25, 1779. Although Lane's drawing is not believed to have survived, it is thought to have been a map made from Stevens's own attempts to trace the expedition of the British. Stevens wrote to Lane: "I shall have it framed for presentation and future reference." <sup>62</sup> Like this map, the townscapes operated as a kind of reference work, another word often used to describe them, as they presented a large amount of visual information to the viewer, from which he or she could engage in a process of visual selection.

As objects that were expected to be reference tools, the town views were evaluated for the accuracy with which they transmitted information. The rhetoric around the creation of the views emphasized the artist's role as a faithful transcriber of nature. Commentators did not praise invention or selection on the part of the artist but rather prioritized a broad view that is both comprehensive and "accurate." One news-

paper announcement described a bird's-eye view of Sacramento in 1857, "The view is taken from an elevation in front of the city, and is so perfect that every street and house can be readily recognized." <sup>63</sup> "Perfection" was equated with representation of topographical and building details in a way that allowed recognition. In 1859 the *Cape Ann Advertiser* wrote of the lithograph of Gloucester, which was then being marketed: "It will be found to present a faithful and accurate picture of the town and is well executed." <sup>64</sup> A month later the *Gloucester Telegraph* noted:

The demand for a View of Gloucester worth having (as that poor caricature of Tidd's is not) has induced Lane to supply another, which is the third and largest of his series. It is taken from Rocky Neck, like its predecessor. Of course all the modern improvements visible from that point of view are represented with the artist's usual accuracy of drawing. <sup>65</sup>

In 1835 the press reported on Lane's *View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.* (Fig. 2), that "though small, the buildings and prominent points, are remarkably accurate and distinct." <sup>66</sup> And in 1846 regarding the *View of Gloucester, Mass.* (Fig. 19) that: "It is one of the most perfect pictures of the kind we have ever seen, every house and object being distinctly visible." <sup>67</sup> The emphasis upon "accuracy" as part of the way in which a landscape or view was judged was not unique to town-view lithographs, and also was applied to contemporary landscape paintings, but takes on extra importance as lithographs bridged the spectrum between paintings and maps. <sup>68</sup> Viewed and purchased by those people most familiar with the subject, they were expected to be at once aesthetically pleasing, skillfully printed, and "accurate."

Lithographs were not just reference objects and transmitters of information but had a “social life” in the public spaces of the home.<sup>69</sup> The language used by print publishers and promoters promised that the lithograph would be a splendid addition to every home or business.<sup>70</sup> The emphasis upon display returns us to a consideration of the genre, the expectations for a work intended to be framed and hung on a wall, and the way in which the genre still worked within landscape conventions. The printed subscription sheet for Lane’s 1855 print of Castine advertised the object as a “parlor ornament.” When Joseph Stevens Sr. wrote to Lane in 1851 he remarked:

Several gentlemen who have called in to see the painting have expressed a desire to have a drawing from you of our town, similar to yours of Gloucester, which they much admire ...<sup>71</sup>

The city views were to balance delicately between legible presentation of information and a composition that adhered to established aesthetic conventions appropriate for display. As the Castine subscription sheet noted: “It [the print] will embrace as much of the Peninsula as can be included without diminishing the objects too minutely, or making the print too large and awkward for a parlor ornament.”<sup>72</sup> Of an 1866 work of Milwaukee by another artist, the press reported: “It will be of great value to our merchants and citizens generally, and will be an ornament to their offices. It would not disfigure even our best parlor.”<sup>73</sup> The description of lithographs as “parlor,” “office,” or “drawing room” ornaments indicates that they were seen to have a set of aesthetic conventions that made them appropriate for display.<sup>74</sup>

If these pictures served to function as reference objects to audiences familiar with the scene, as objects of display

to a social group collectively familiar with the view, and to provide the experience of visually navigating an abundance of information, we ought to examine the purchasers of the views. Studies of the townscape genre have often grouped city views with scenes of the frontier and images of natural landscape features. Scholars have posited that the images served to educate a distant public about their country, or served as promotional tools for the towns. Studying the existing information on purchases, however, redirects us to the inhabitants of the town who were also most familiar with the subjects. Prints (city views and other subjects), were sold door-to-door, through agents, by newspaper advertisement, or directly from shops. Lane’s views after designs by Albert Conant (including *View of Newburyport*, *View of New Bedford*, *View of Norwich*, and *View of Baltimore*) are examples of production by a centrally-based firm or artist (Conant was an artist, printer, and publisher based in Boston).<sup>75</sup> Lane’s town views of Castine and Gloucester are known to have been sold by subscription at a local shop rather than by door-to-door salesmen. Following frequent newspaper advertisements, the standard procedure was for the subscription list to be kept at a local office or shop where the artist’s work was displayed; interested parties signed their names, committing to pay for the print upon delivery.<sup>76</sup> In this way, the print was marketed to a local audience. The Castine print was published by Joseph Stevens Jr. and sold at the Witherle store in Castine. The Procter Brothers firm of Gloucester often marketed and sold Lane’s prints for him, and the print of Lowell was published by E. A. Rice & Co., a Lowell bookseller and stationer. In addition to a connection between the city and the presumed audience as shown by the location of the publisher and the subscription process, the evidence from the subscription lists suggests that Lane’s views were marketed

and sold primarily to the residents of the city depicted.<sup>77</sup> On the only known extant subscription list for one of Lane's prints, that of *Castine*, only twenty-two of the eighty-four names of subscribers are listed with addresses (indicating that they live somewhere other than Castine itself). Ten of those twenty-two are listed with Maine addresses near Castine such as Bangor, Ellsworth, and Belfast. Of the remaining twelve, six were in Dixon, Illinois, presumably friends and companions of Castine native and subscriber Noah Brooks, who was living in Dixon at the time. Three subscribers were in Boston and one in New York. Horatio Nelson, whose subscription paper still exists, lived in Rockville, Massachusetts, and like Brooks was originally from Castine. Existing subscription books from the Smith Brothers, contemporary print publishers, suggest that the town and city views were marketed first to the residents of the town. Each notebook has the name of the print being sold door-to-door, and the name and address of each subscriber. The salesmen went up and down the streets of the town (as can be traced by the addresses) of the city depicted in the print.<sup>78</sup> The evidence suggests then that the publishers anticipated that the views would appeal primarily to residents of the town, and they were marketed to this local population. Although some subscription mailings were produced (as we have seen with Horatio Nelson's), word-of-mouth, presence at a local store, door-to-door sales, and advertisements in a local paper all targeted the citizens of the town.

The promotional texts in newspapers and subscription materials, which adhered to rather formulaic language, provided additional evidence of the presumed audience for the town views. The town's residents would be the ones most able to judge the accuracy of the view and most able to engage in selective viewing that allowed them to pick out fa-

miliar buildings. Of Lane's first print of Gloucester the local paper reported, "... we cannot doubt that our fellow citizens will eagerly avail themselves of this opportunity to obtain a copy of a view of this town."<sup>79</sup> Stevens had written to Lane about his proposal that Lane make a lithograph of Castine, "I know many of our citizens would be gratified to have this done by you."<sup>80</sup> And in Gloucester in 1859 a newspaper article noted that Lane's third lithograph of Gloucester is "worthy a place in every man's house, who has a desire to possess a view of the town of his nativity or residence."<sup>81</sup> The subscription sheet for Lane's Castine lithograph stated: "It is believed the absent Sons and Daughters of Castine will gladly avail themselves of this opportunity, which may not again occur, to secure a fit memorial of their native place."<sup>82</sup> This is not to say that only native sons and daughters of the town were expected to purchase the print. As an 1866 article noted of a print by Louis Lipman:

It will be of great value to our merchants and citizens generally, and will be an ornament to their offices. It would not disfigure even our best parlor. It will, we predict, meet with a ready sale, as every one having an interest in the city will wish to preserve some memento of its greatness, or send it abroad to those who would make this their home if our real strength were known.<sup>83</sup>

However, the subscription language indicates the presumption that the majority of subscribers would be drawn from the town's citizens. The prints then provide a connection to both the individual biographical experience and the collective memory of the community.

Rather than the collective experience of civic or national identity, these works, like the local maps, provided a flexible instructional, mnemonic, or reference tool. The visual detail

served not only as a source of information but also as a way for the individual viewer to trace past biographical experiences. There are examples related to marking memories in all three media in which Lane worked. His drawings served as a mnemonic device in his artistic production, and they, along with paintings, were also souvenirs or gifts presented to his companions after shared experiences. In the 1851 letter quoted earlier, Joseph Stevens Sr. wrote upon the receipt of a painting:

... warmest acknowledgements for a present in itself so valuable, and endeared to us by many associations, as a representation of scenery often admired, and which I have many times wished could be transferred to canvas ...<sup>84</sup>

For Stevens, it is the personal memory of admiring the physical landscape that endows the painting with significance. The connection between Lane's works and memory is most evident in the three paintings he was commissioned to make for sisters Maria Babson and Emma Rogers Babson before their 1863 move from Gloucester to California. Two paintings (*Babson and Ellery Houses* and *Babson Meadows*) still exist; a third was destroyed in the early twentieth century, but drawings exist for all three paintings. The two existing paintings show the landscape of the women's home and farm and small community as it was at the time of their move. These paintings, then connected to biography, are expected to serve in the future as memorials. The last painting showed the area as it was during the girls' youth, already in the past. It was described as: "A scene at Town Parish, showing the old meeting house on the Green, with its tall spire, as it appeared in days ago."<sup>85</sup> These three paintings, and other works, commemorated very personal memories and demonstrated occasions in which there was

a direct connection between the scene depicted and a biographical experience.

The connection between an image and memory was not limited to the unique individual experiences of Lane's friends and acquaintances. Lithography, in the creation of multiples, lent itself more to the commemoration of communal memories shared by a group. Lane created objects that documented various civic events; for example, images of military events, such as *The National Lancers on Boston Common*, covers for sheet music related to specific performances, like the *Salem Mechanick*, and works dedicated to a specific group, such as the *View in Boston Harbor. Dedicated to the Tiger Boat Club*, an early rowing group. There are also a number of examples of paintings that were deliberately designed by Lane to serve to commemorate a townscape as it appeared in the past. Around 1857 Lane made a painted sketch and finished painting of Gloucester Harbor as it had appeared a decade or so before. As the *Cape Ann Advertiser* noted:

There is now to be seen in the reading room in the Gloucester Bank building, one of the finest pictures yet produced by the pencil of our distinguished artist and fellow citizen, Fitz H. Lane, Esq. It is intended as a representation of the appearance of the Old Fort and immediate vicinity ... and all who remember this locality, as it then appeared, will at once admire the correctness of the sketch ... On the top of the hill are seen the old decaying ramparts with a distinctness and completeness which brings former times at once to memory ... The eye ... at one recognizes one of the old red-tipped fishing boats that used to frequent the harbor ... The picture is chiefly of interest on account of its presenting so accurately the features of a view so familiar to many of our citizens and which can never again exist in reality ... Our youth will learn from it the progress of the town, our aged can revive the recollections of their early days.<sup>86</sup>

Through the action of viewing the painting, with its accuracy of representation, the viewer will remember the past and the memories related to the scene. Another article described a painting (using similar rhetoric), "The painting reminds one of days ago."<sup>87</sup> In Lane's will he gave a painting to the city of Gloucester, perhaps the one described in the various news articles above:

I give to the inhabitants of the town of Gloucester, the picture of the old fort, to be kept as a memento of one of the localities of olden time, the said picture now hanging in the reading room under the Gloucester bank ...<sup>88</sup>

The viewing process moves from recognition to memory to appreciation, the accuracy informing the memory, and the memory likewise adding to the appreciation. The lithographs, which as multiples needed to carry meaning for many different viewers, nonetheless conveyed meaning through their expansiveness, which allowed for individual memories within the collective experience of vision.<sup>89</sup>

In an era of an increasingly mobile society, the place of one's birth was a memory as well an aspect of self-identification. The lithographed townscapes employed elements of the topographical instruction seen to be part of the purpose of panoramas and maps in combination with conventions of picture-making and display. The comprehensive nature of Lane's townscapes allowed a single image to function differently for each viewer.<sup>90</sup> A viewer, familiar with the natural and built environment depicted in the image, engaged in a process of selective viewing based on memory and biographical experience. Unlike the bird's-eye views that would become popular in the later part of the century, the lithographed townscapes of Lane and his contemporaries walked a fine line between document and "parlor ornament." With a lowered

horizon line, increased width of the composition, and great detail in the features of the natural and built environment, the lithographed townscapes of Lane and his contemporaries represented "fit memorials" to the purchaser's "native place."

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For help with my essay I am indebted to many people, including Georgia Barnhill, whose research on Lane's lithographs and extensive knowledge of lithography has helped advance scholarship in this area. Sam Holdsworth's innovative vision for *Fitz Henry Lane Online* has made possible a project like this exhibition, and I appreciate the opportunity to have been involved with the creation of the website as well as his comments and those of my other readers: Katherine Bidwell, Margaretta Lovell, Jennifer Thé, and Dain Trafton. Most of all I have benefited from the generosity of scholars who have shared their knowledge of Lane with me and with *Fitz Henry Lane Online*: Alison Anholt, Stephanie Buck, Sarah Dunlap, Lauren Hewes, Paige Lilly, Martha Oaks, Karen Quinn, Erik Ronnberg, Catharina Slautterback, and Moyna Stanton.

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Melissa Geisler Trafton served as lead researcher and managing editor of *Fitz Henry Lane Online* from 2012 through 2016.

## NOTES

1. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, January 28, 1859, as reproduced: "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
2. Joseph L. Stevens Sr. to Fitz Henry Lane, 29 January 1851, Cape Ann Museum Library and Archives. Reproduced: "Castine, from Hospital Island" (catalog entry for inv. 448), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
3. Complete subscription list and mailing for *Castine, from Hospital Island*, Manuscript, 1855, Wilson Museum, Castine, ME (A00787-1a-1d). Reproduced: "Castine, from Hospital Island" (catalog entry for inv. 448), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
4. Angela Miller, "The Panorama, the Cinema, and the Emergence of the Spectacular," *Wide Angle* 18, no. 2 (April 1996): 36. Alan Wallach, "Making a Picture of the View from Mount Holyoke," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 66, no. 1 (1990): 35. Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (New York: Zone Books, 1997).
5. John Wilmerding and Carl Crossman have written the two definitive articles on Lane's lithographs: Wilmerding, "The Lithographs of Fitz Hugh Lane," *Old-Time New England* 54, no. 2 (October–December 1963): 31–39; Crossman, "Lithographs of Fitz Hugh Lane," in *American Maritime Prints*, ed. Elton W. Hall (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1985), 63–94. Crossman also situates Lane within the genre: "Lane was not unique in his work, only better." Crossman, "Lithographs," 63. See also John Wilmerding, *Fitz Henry Lane* (1971; reprint, Gloucester, MA: Cape Ann Historical Association, 2005).
6. The way lithography and painting influenced each other in Lane's work has been documented by several scholars. Carl Crossman sees Lane transferring his painting technique to lithography, while other scholars have noted how his lithographic training influenced his painting. Crossman, "Lithographs," 90.
7. See all of Lane's lithographs at [www.fitzhenrylaneonline.org](http://www.fitzhenrylaneonline.org).
8. This list does not include either *Bowdoin College* or *The National Lancers with Reviewing Officers on Boston Common*.
9. 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 Work, 1825–1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 3ff. Martha J. McNamara, "Re-figuring Urban Space: Race and Ethnicity in Printed Views of New England, 1800–50," in *Portraits of the City: Dublin and the Wider World*, ed. Gillian O'Brien and Finola O'Kane (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 110–121. Sally Pierce and Catharina Slauterback, *Boston Lithography 1825–1880* (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1991). Sally Lorenzen Gross, *Toward an Urban View: The Nineteenth-Century American City in Prints* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989). Isabel Thompson Breskin, "Visualizing the Nineteenth-Century American City: Lithographic Views of San Francisco, 1849–1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2002).
10. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 4. Helena Wright, "The Image Makers: The Role of the Graphic Arts in Industrialization," *Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology* 12, no. 2 (1986): 5–18. Bettina Norton, *Edwin Whitefield: Nineteenth-Century North American Scenery* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishers, 1977), 20. Georgia Barnhill, "Business Practices of Commercial Nineteenth-Century American Lithographers," *Winterthur Portfolio* 48, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2014): 232.
11. Helen Comstock, *American Lithographs of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: M. Barrows, 1950), 63. William Pendleton moved to Boston and started his firm in 1825. David Tatham, "The Pendleton-Moore Shop: Lithographic Artists in Boston, 1825–1840," *Old-Time New England* 62, no. 2 (October–December 1971). Peter C. Marzio, *The Democratic Art: Pictures for a 19th-Century America, Chromolithography, 1840–1900* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979). Pierce and Slauterback, *Boston Lithography*, 3ff.
12. The first account of the lithographic process in America was published in the *Analectic Magazine*, July 1819. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 24. Erika Piola, "The Rise of Early American Lithography and Antebellum Visual Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio*



- 48, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2014). As early as 1825, George Catlin drew a lithograph to commemorate the opening of the Erie Canal (*Entrance to the Harbor, Lockport, 1826*). Comstock, *American Lithographs*, 14. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 28.
13. Piola, "Rise of Early American Lithography," 126, provides a good summary of the process. See also, Marzio, *The Democratic Art*, 64ff.
  14. By the 1840s New York City was the center of the lithographic trade, and in 1854 it had over 60 lithographic firms, while Philadelphia had 40 presses in 1856. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 28. Nancy Finlay, "Some New Evidence for the Sale and Distribution of Kellogg Prints," *Winterthur Portfolio* 48 no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2014): 236. Joanna Cohen, "Promoting Pleasure as Political Economy: The Transformation of American Advertising, 1800–1850," *ibid.*, 167.
  15. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 3.
  16. *Ibid.*
  17. I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel Haskell, *American Historical Prints: Early Views of American Cities, etc.* (New York: New York Public Library, 1932), xv. Cathy Matson, "Editor's Introduction," *Winterthur Portfolio* 48, no.2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2014): 117. Nancy Finlay, ed., *Picturing Victorian America: Prints by the Kellogg Brothers of Hartford, Connecticut, 1830–1880* (Connecticut Historical Society with Wesleyan University Press, 2009). Finlay points to the connection between the modern technique and the modern identity as seen in depictions of contemporary life.
  18. Reps suggests that the majority were done this way and points to reversed letters. *Views and Viewmakers*, 22. David Tatham, "The Lithographic Workshop, 1825–1850," in *The Cultivation of Artists in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Georgia Brady Barnhill et al. (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1997).
  19. Or the artist himself could produce an original sketch on special transfer paper. The advantages of the transfer process were that a drawing could be transferred to several small stones or, if the original was small, several copies to one large stone. Piola, "Rise of Early American Lithography," 131.
  20. Tatham, "Lithographic Workshop," 51.
  21. Georgia Barnhill has established that Lane may not have been involved in the design of *A View of Newton Corner*; it may have been merely printed at Lane & Scott.
  22. Crossman, "Lithographs," 69.
  23. In the eighteenth century there was a similar relationship between printing and painting, when prints were understood to be black-and-white reproductions of chromatically rich originals; the paintings were sometimes exhibited to solicit subscribers for the prints.
  24. "Drawing of Paintings," *Gloucester Telegraph* (Gloucester, MA), September 21, 1859.
  25. *Proctor Able Sheet* (Gloucester, MA), January 7, 1859, as reproduced: "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  26. Thanks to Martha Oaks for noting the "PINXIT" label. The order in which these things happened is unclear, especially given the lack of specificity of the words "canvas," "sketch," and "picture." On August 28, 1858, the *Cape Ann Advertiser* wrote: "F.H. LANE, Esq., has recently sketched from nature and imported to the canvass [sic]. We understand that if a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained, it will be lithographed, thus making a beautiful picture for the parlor of our residents, as well as an appropriate gift for our wandering Cape Ann natives, who can see the place as it now is." The idea that "canvass" means an oil painting is contradicted by the 1859 quotation that he is going to begin such a work. The authors could have also confused the idea of "canvas" and the verb "canvass," meaning to solicit subscriptions. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, August 28, 1858, as reproduced: "View of Gloucester" (catalog entry for inv. 446), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  27. See Norton, *Whitefield*.
  28. Dale Roylance and Nancy Finlay, *Pride of Place: Early American Views from the Collection of Leonard L. Milberg '53* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1983), 36. For an overview, see Stokes and Haskell, *American Historical Prints*. See also Gloria Gilda Deák, *Picturing America: Prints, Maps, and Drawings Bearing on the New World Dis-*

- coveries and on the Development of the Territory That Is Now the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).
29. Stokes and Haskell, *American Historical Prints*, 121.
  30. Engravings received at 68 Front Street, Gloucester, were advertised as “suitable for framing” (*Cape Ann Light & Telegraph*, April 22, 1843). And the *Cape Ann Light and Gloucester Telegraph* of January 23, 1847, advertised that “Lane’s new VIEW OF GLOUCESTER, set in elegant Black Walnut or Gilt Frames, can be had at the store of C. SMITH, 32 Front street, Gloucester. It makes a splendid Picture—every family that can afford it should have one” (Historical Materials—19th-Century Documentation), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
  31. Whitefield wrote about a town in Canada: “The people here think that it is impossible to obtain a good view of their place on account of its being situated on such level ground ...”: Norton, *Whitefield*, 45.
  32. Undated letter from Fitz H. Lane to Joseph Stevens Jr. As reproduced: (Historical Materials—Joseph Stevens, Jr.), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
  33. Again, this is not unique to Lane. For example, a large engraving of Boston after a painting by J. W. Hill and published by the Smith Brothers in 1857 also shows a low horizon line. “Boston. [graphic] / Painted by J. W. Hill. Engraved by C. Mottram. [New York] : Published by Smith Brothers & Co. New York, and at Sowle & Wards 14 Summer Strt. Boston. London. Paul & Dominic Colnaghi & Co. 13 & 14 Pall Mall East. Paris, Fo[is Delarue]., [1857],” American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.
  34. Scholars have pointed to this lowered horizon in many works about Lane but have not investigated either its evolution or its significance. Wilmerding, “Lithographs,” 36; Wilmerding, *Fitz Henry Lane*, 30; Crossman, “Lithographs,” 90.
  35. Wallach, “Making a Picture,” 34–45.
  36. In addition, he changed the size of his drawing paper from 9 × 11 inches to 10 × 16 in about 1850.
  37. Barnhill has noted that in 1839 Endicott had two presses: one small and one 26 × 36 inches, noteworthy for its size. Barnhill, “Business Practices,” 217. Likewise, Finlay has described the Kellogg’s press of 25 × 34 inches as “huge.” Finlay, “Some New Evidence,” 244.
  38. Stokes and Haskell, *American Historical Prints*, 155.
  39. Travers Newton and Marcia Steele refer to this discussion and remark that there is documentary evidence only for Lane’s ownership of a spyglass. Travers Newton and Marcia Steele, “The Series Paintings of Fitz Henry Lane: From Field Sketch to Studio Painting,” in *Emil Bosshard, Paintings Conservator (1945–2006): Essays by Friends and Colleagues*, ed. Maria de Peverelli, Mario Grassi, and Hans-Christoph von Imhoff (Florence: Centro Di, 2009) 199. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, organized a small exhibition that included a discussion of the camera lucida. The information from that exhibition is reproduced in Karen Quinn, Jean Woodward, and Sandy Kelberlau, “Fitz Henry Lane: Painting, Science, & Owl’s Head” (Essays & Literature), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/essays>.
  40. For example, *Near Southeast View of Bear Island* (inv. 137), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  41. *Castine, from Hospital Island* (inv. 166), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  42. See Erik Ronnberg, “Boston Harbor” (catalog entry for inv. 158), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>. See also Newton and Steele for a discussion of this and other series pictures; and Earl A. Powell III, “The Boston Harbor Pictures,” in *Paintings by Fitz Hugh Lane* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1988).
  43. See *Fitz Henry Lane Online* catalog entries: <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  44. Wallach, “Making a Picture,” 41. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 22, 119. In addition, Reps notes that although Whitefield’s sketchbook was bound on the long side, he used it horizontally.
  45. Moyna Stanton’s study of Lane’s drawings notes this wide angle of vision and his working method. I am grateful to Stanton for sharing her thoughts about Lane’s lithographs with me. Moyna Stanton, “The Drawings” (Essays & Literature), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/essays>. See also Newton

- and Steele, "The Series Paintings," 200. Oettermann discusses the opposite, those artists who constructed a frame on the page and limited themselves to it: Oettermann, *Panorama*, 30.
46. That there were conventional sizes is indicated in the Smith Brothers' subscription books. The standard language at the beginning of the book announced that "Said view shall be from 30 to 40 inches in length and of a proportionate width.": Smith Brothers' subscription book for *View of New Bedford*. Manuscript, vol. 15. Collection of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (#470581). The final image, published in 1853, measures about  $24\frac{3}{4} \times 37\frac{1}{2}$  inches.
47. I owe much to Wallach's study of Cole, in which he claims that the panoramic vision on regularly proportioned canvas creates a jarring disjunction within Cole's composition. Wallach, "Making a Picture," 41. The paintings are often executed at the same scale as the drawings, but Lane used a different-size support in order to add the sky. See for example, *Castine Harbor and Town* (inv. 277 and 272), *Castine from Fort George* (inv. 208 and 52), and *Gloucester Inner Harbor* (inv. 143 and 240), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>. The Image Comparison Tool of *Fitz Henry Lane Online* makes this especially easy to see. Newton and Steele discuss the importance of the drawings to the paintings, especially several series of paintings in which Lane used the same background. Newton and Steele, "The Series Paintings."
48. Bostwick Davis discusses the connection between Lane's lithographic training and the way he constructed perspective and a horizon line in his works. Elliot Bostwick Davis, "American Drawing Books and Their Impact on Fitz Hugh Lane," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 105 (1995). See also Tatham, "Pendleton-Moore Shop." Wilmerding, "Lithographs," 37.
49. Oettermann has provided the most thorough investigation of this phenomenon. See also Miller, "Panorama," 50. Wallach has noted that by establishing a broad field of vision, which "embraces a comprehensive view," "by the time Cole arrived at Mount Holyoke [around 1830], the elongated rectangle had become an all-purpose format, signifier for panoramic vision." Wallach, "Making a Picture," 43. The name, a technical word coined after Barker's invention and derived from the Greek pan for "all" and horama for "view," conveyed the idea of knowledge that scholars have identified as part of a historically specific vision.
50. Oettermann, *Panorama*, 313.
51. Oettermann, *Panorama*, 314, 341. Likewise, the portability of the moving panorama format allowed for panoramas to be taken all over America; they could be presented on any stage and did not require a specially designed building. For example, Benjamin Champney painted a panorama of the Rhine River that was exhibited in 1848, and a panorama of the Hudson was shown in Bangor, Maine, in 1848. It was attributed to Lane in the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* on October 25, 1848, but was almost certainly the one by Samuel Adams Hudson and George W. Cassidy. Oettermann, *Panorama*, 326. Unlike the fixed 360-degree panoramas, the moving panoramas, most popular in the United States around 1850, took advantage of the characteristics of their medium and often depicted great American rivers such as the Hudson and the Mississippi, using the movement to convey the illusion that the viewers were on a boat on one of the rivers.
52. John Vanderlyn, "To the Subscribers, Patrons, and Friends of the New York Rotunda," in Kevin Avery and Peter Fodera, *John Vanderlyn's Panoramic View of the Palace and Gardens of Versailles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 30-31.
53. Oettermann and Wallach both argue for the idea of a historically specific type of vision, as does Miller in "Panorama." Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990) is foundational to this approach. Recent scholars, such as Peter John Brownlee, have shifted the discussion from the idea of a culturally specific vision to nineteenth-century ideas, the physiological conditions of vision. Peter John Brownlee, "Ophthalmology, Popular Physiology, and the Market Revolution in Vision," *Journal of the Early Republic* 28 (Winter 2008). See also Wendy Bellion, *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). Although Bellion distinguishes between the importance of optical illusion in the early national period and the middle period's employment of "new technologies of imitation and illusion, such as the diorama, the moving panorama, the zoetrope, and the stereoscope."

54. In 1830 Massachusetts passed legislation requiring each town to be surveyed. Of the 84 maps published as a result of the legislation, 63 were published at Pendleton's, the shop at which Lane was first employed as a lithographer. Discussed in Barnhill, "Business Practices," 231, and Martin Brückner, "The Lithographed Map in Philadelphia: Innovation, Imitation, and the Antebellum Consumer Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 48, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2014): 143. Also see Martin Brückner, "Literacy for Empire: The ABCs of Geography and the Rule of Territoriality in Early-Nineteenth-Century America," in *Nineteenth-Century Geographies: The Transformation of Space from the Victorian Age to the American Century*, ed. Helena Michie and Ronald Thomas (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003); and Walter Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985).
55. The subscription books for the Smith Brothers use the phrase "commanding point" to describe the slightly elevated point. "Smith Brothers & Co. propose to publish a View of New Bedford from the best and most commanding point they can select." Smith Brothers' subscription book for New Bedford, vol. 15, manuscript. Collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (#470581).
56. Wallach has made a compelling argument about Cole's synthesis of various visual traditions: see Wallach, "Making a Picture," 39.
57. On map production, see Barnhill, "Business Practices," 232, and Wright, "Image Makers," 8. See also Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); and Brückner, "Lithographed Map," 139–162. In 1863 Whitefield published "Instructions in Map Drawing, Illustrated with Colored Plates, being a Complete Guide to that Useful Art"; he also drew many maps for which he got subscriptions. Norton, *Whitefield*, 17, 30.
58. *Gloucester Telegraph*, August 15, 1835, as reproduced: (Historical Materials—19th-Century Documentation), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
59. Subscription list and mailing for *Castine, from Hospital Island*, 1855, Wilson Museum, Castine, ME (A00787-1a-1d). Reproduced in (Historical Materials—Lithography), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material). The Smith Brothers' subscription book for their views of Philadelphia noted, "Every prominent object is distinctly noticed, and the looker-on beholds the City in all its fair proportions, stretching from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and from the Navy Yard to Kensington." Newspaper advertisement pasted into the front of the Smith Brothers' subscription book, vol. 7, manuscript. Collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (#470581).
60. Thomas Beckman, *Milwaukee Illustrated: Panoramic and Bird's-Eye Views of a Midwestern Metropolis, 1844–1908* (Milwaukee Art Center, 1978, not paginated).
61. *Daily Milwaukee News*, September 11, 1856, 4, describing James T. Palmato-ry's 1856 print. See Beckman, *Milwaukee Illustrated*.
62. Known as the "Siege of Castine" or the "Penobscot Expedition." Stevens's handwritten account of 1852 is in the Wilson Museum, Castine, ME, along with a tracing of a drawing, perhaps of Lane's drawing. Stevens's letter of January 29, 1851, thanks Lane for the drawing. Cape Ann Museum Library & Archives, as reproduced: "Joseph Stevens, Jr." (Historical Materials—People.), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
63. Print by George H. Baker; announcement quoted in Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 39.
64. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, Jan. 28, 1859, reproduced: (Historical Materials—19th-Century Documentation), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
65. *Gloucester Telegraph*, February 9, 1859. Marshall Martin Tidd (1827–1895) was a contemporary Boston lithographer. In 1851 he published a lithograph that in the twentieth century was sometimes thought to be by Fitz Henry Lane, entitled *View of Gloucester, Mass. From Ten Pound Island*.
66. *Gloucester Telegraph*, August 15, 1835.
67. Newspaper article from unidentified source, November 15, 1846. As reproduced in: (Historical Materials—19th-Century Documentation), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
68. See my discussion of "accuracy": Melissa Geisler Trafton, "Critics, Collections,

- and the Nineteenth-Century Taste for the Paintings of John Frederick Kensett" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2003), 32–33.
69. Brückner discusses "social life of maps" in "Lithographed Map," as does Finlay in "Some New Evidence."
  70. Reps discusses the standardized promotional language. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 8.
  71. Joseph Stevens Sr. to Fitz Henry Lane, January 29, 1851, Cape Ann Museum Library and Archives.
  72. Complete subscription list and mailing for *Castine, from Hospital Island*, manuscript, 1855, Wilson Museum, Castine, ME (A00787-1a-1d). Reproduced: "Castine, from Hospital Island" (catalog entry for inv. 448), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
  73. Beckman, *Milwaukee Illustrated* (not paginated).
  74. Barnhill, "Business Practices," 230. John H. Bufford's 1864 catalog listed 100 "large drawing room prints." The *Gloucester Telegraph* of August 26, 1859, advertised, "Now is the time to purchase, have framed, and hung up in the sitting-room or parlor."
  75. Conant made a series of eight views of New England towns between 1835 and 1850, of which *A View of Newton Corner* was one. Wright, "Image Makers," 8–10. Pierce and Slautterback, *Boston Lithography*, 141.
  76. Usually it was the publisher who advanced the money for the costs of production. The Smith Brothers, based in Portland, Maine, and New York City, who published between 1848 and 1857, and the Kellogg family are two firms for which extant subscription records have been studied. The Smith Brothers' subscription books are at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. For information on the Kelloggs, see Finlay, "Some New Evidence" and *Picturing Victorian America*. The 1836 lithograph of Gloucester followed the standard subscription process in which the artist (or his publisher or agent) worked with the town's local newspaper publishers to publicize the print. This was especially important for itinerant artists of city views who were enrolling subscribers at the same time that they were sketching the view. Usually the first news article would announce the artist's arrival in town, and a second would note that the artist was at *work sketching and would exhibit* a preliminary drawing and accept subscriptions. A third article announced that the drawing was complete and subscribers should commit. The subscriber's signature indicated a commitment to purchase; although no money was exchanged at the subscription stage, the subscriber was often given a "card" or "tickets" as evidence of the commitment. Then the artist's departure was announced, and a few months later, the publisher reported that the lithographs had arrived and that the few hundred subscribers could pick up their orders. Sometimes subscribers were given a choice of tint colors. (The Smith Brothers' subscription information for the print of Providence indicates that there were a few colors available.) Subscribers were given a receipt along with the print with their payment. Generally, there were a few extras available for sale. Smith Brothers' manuscript file, collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (#470581). Reps, *Views and Viewmakers*, 6, 8, 39. See also Breskin, "Visualizing the Nineteenth-Century" for a study of the subscription book of George Holbrooke Baker, *View of Sacramento*, in 1857.
  77. Interestingly, once published, the prints often stayed in the towns they depicted. In 1881 Dorothy Stevens asked her sons for extras to give to an acquaintance. Dorothy Stevens to Joseph Stevens Jr., October 14, 1881, Cape Ann Museum Library & Archives. Likewise, among the damaged items from the 1864 Gloucester fire were 200 copies of Lane's 1859 lithograph being stored at Procter Brothers. The records of the Witherle store in Castine, which are at the Harvard Business School library, show personal purchases by Witherle family members of Lane's print of Castine but do not indicate that the print was sold by the store: May 5, 1859, and June 28, 1859, Daybook, vol. 34, Witherle & Company Special Collection, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School.
  78. Martha McNamara and Georgia Barnhill called my attention to this valuable source. In the 25 volumes, cities such as New Bedford, Louisville, Savannah, and Cincinnati are represented. Smith Brothers' subscription books, collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (#470581).
  79. *Gloucester Telegraph*, January 21, 1835, and August 15, 1835. "We trust our citizens, and those who have gone from among us to other places, will duly appreciate the

- labors of Mr. Lane, and render his sketch not only a source of pleasure, but of profit to him.” Reproduced: (Historical Materials—19th-Century Documentation), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
80. Joseph L. Stevens Sr. to Fitz Henry Lane, January 29, 1851, Cape Ann Museum Library & Archive, reproduced: “Joseph Stevens, Sr. and Dorothy Little Stevens” (Historical Materials—People), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
81. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, January 28, 1859. A newspaper article from 1864 reported on the Gloucester fire and the fact that 200 Lane prints burned. These were the remainder from those initially printed. An 1859 article indicated that 300 were printed, although there could have been several printings. *Gloucester Telegraph*, June 24, 1859; *Gloucester Telegraph*, February 24, 1864.
82. Complete subscription list and mailing for *Castine*, from *Hospital Island*, manuscript, 1855, Wilson Museum, Castine, ME (A00787-1a-1d). Reproduced: “Castine, from Hospital Island” (catalog entry for inv. 448), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
83. *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, November 15, 1866, 1, as reproduced: Beckman, Milwaukee Illustrated.
84. Joseph L. Stevens Sr. to Fitz Henry Lane, January 29, 1851, Cape Ann Museum Library & Archive, reproduced: “Joseph Stevens, Sr. and Dorothy Little Stevens” (Historical Materials—People), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
85. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, February 8, 1861. This is consistent with the drawing. Martha Oaks and Sarah Dunlap have pointed to the way Lane’s works depict an earlier time. Reproduced in “Town Parish” (catalog entry for inv. 127), *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/catalog/index.php>.
86. Margaretta Lovell has traced the idea of national memory as related to historic events. *Gloucester Telegraph*, June 30, 1860, as in Margaretta Lovell, “‘Fitz Henry Lane, Spectateur de l’Histoire’ (‘Watching History—Fitz Henry Lane and the Revolutionary Past in Antebellum New England’),” in *Refaire L’Amérique: Imaginaire et Histoire des États-Unis* ed. Didier Aubert and Héline Quanquin (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2011), 56–57. See also Erik Ronnberg, “Views of Fort Point,” for a description of the changes of the area. (Essays & Literature) *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. <http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/essays>.
87. *Cape Ann Advertiser*, December 2, 1859. This article may be describing the painting given to the city and later destroyed by fire.
88. Will of Fitz H. Lane, signed March 10, 1865. Filed October 3, 1865. Essex County Probate Records, vol. 424, leaves 34 and 35 as reproduced: “Funeral & Burial” (Historical Materials—Fitz Henry Lane Biography) *Fitz Henry Lane Online*. [http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical\\_material](http://fitzhenrylaneonline.org/historical_material).
89. Simon Schama has discussed landscape and memory as a cultural pattern. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996). Most informative to my study has been Jean-Philippe Antoine’s distinction between the transfer of information and the act of remembering. Jean-Philippe Antoine, “Inscribing Information, Inscribing Memories: Morse, *Gallery of the Louvre*, and the Electromagnetic Telegraph,” in Peter John Brownlee, ed., Samuel F. B. Morse’s *Gallery of the Louvre and the Art of Invention* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Terra Foundation for American Art, 2014).
90. Simultaneously during this period, vision as a physiological phenomenon was increasingly tied to the individual body rather than to an objective truth. Bellion, Citizen Spectator, and Brownlee, “Ophthalmology, Popular Physiology.”

## EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

### *Sicilian Vespers*

c.1832

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Pendleton's Lithography, Boston  
Published by Charles Bradlee, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum  
Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1978

### *Love Among the Roses*

1833

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
W. S. Pendleton, Boston  
American Antiquarian Society

### *Pretty Pet*

c. 1833

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
W. S. Pendleton, Boston  
Samuel Putnam Avery Collection, Print Collection,  
Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art,  
Prints and Photographs, The New York Public  
Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

### *View of an Old Building at the corner of Ann St., Boston, Mass.*

1835

Lithograph on paper; hand-colored  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Pendleton's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum

### *Burbankville to Blackstone River*

c. 1836

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
T. Moore's Lithography, Boston  
American Antiquarian Society

### *Millbury Village*

c. 1836

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Moore's Lithography, Boston  
American Antiquarian Society

### *The Nahant Quadrilles*

1836

Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Published by John F. Nunns, Philadelphia  
American Antiquarian Society

### *The Salem Mechanick Light Infantry Quick Step*

1836

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Published by Ives & Putnam, Salem, Mass.  
American Antiquarian Society

### *View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.*

1836

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn from nature and on stone by F. H. Lane  
Lithograph by Pendleton's, Boston  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Gift of Gilbert L. Patillo

### *View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.*

1836

Colored lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by Pendleton's  
Lithography, Boston  
Collection of Roswitha and William Traves

### *Captn. E. G. Austin's Quick Step, "Yankee Ship and a Yankee Crew"*

1837

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Published by Parker & Ditson  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Gift of E. Hyde Cox, 1994

### *National Lancers with the Reviewing Officers on Boston Common*

1837

Lithograph on paper; hand-colored  
Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane from a  
drawing by C. Hubbard  
Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Collection of Hope and Robert Bachelder

### *View in Boston Harbour*

c.1837

Lithograph on paper; hand-colored  
Drawing attributed to F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
T. Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum

### *View in Boston Harbour.*

#### *Dedicated to the Tiger Boat Club*

c. 1837

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
T. Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Bequest of Charles Hichcock Tyler

### *View of the Great Conflagration that took Place on the Night of Saturday, 14th January 1837*

1837

Lithograph on paper; hand-colored  
Drawn by William H. Wentworth from an  
original sketch by Thomas H. Wentworth  
Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Thomas Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum  
Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1979

### *View of the City of Washington*

1838

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
T. Moore Lithography, Boston  
Library of Congress, Prints and  
Photographs Division

### *Lawrence Quick Step*

1839

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
Drawn by F. H. Lane.; lithograph by  
Moore's Lithography, Boston  
Published by Keith & Moore, Boston  
American Antiquarian Society

### *The Ariel Waltz*

c. 1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph attributed to  
E. W. Bouvé, Boston by the Boston Athenaeum  
Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston  
American Antiquarian Society

*The Mad Girl's Song*

1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography  
 Published by William H. Oakes, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*The Maniac*

1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 Thayer's Lithographic Press  
 Published by Parker & Ditson, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*The Norfolk Guards Quick Step*

1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 Sharp & Michelin Lithography  
 Published by William H. Oakes, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*The Old Arm Chair: A Ballad*

1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston  
 Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston  
 Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
 Museum Purchase, 2012

*The Pesky Serpent. A Pathetic Ballad*

c. 1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 Sharp & Michelin Lithography  
 Published by William H. Oakes, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*Song of the Fisher's Wife*

1840

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 Sharp & Michelin Lithography  
 Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*View of the Battle Ground at Concord, Mass.*

1840

Lithograph on paper; hand-colored  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston  
 Boston Athenaeum  
 Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr.

*Worcester House*

c. 1837

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 Moore's Lithography, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*The Mariner's Return, A Song of the Sea*

1841

Lithograph on paper (sheet music)  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 E. W. Bouvé, Boston.  
 Published by George P. Reed, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*William H. Harrison Memorial*

1841

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston  
 Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

*Alcohol Rocks*

1842

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn by F. L. Lane; lithograph by  
 E. W. Bouvé, Boston  
 Library of Congress, Prints and  
 Photographs Division

*John H. W. Hawkins*

1842

Lithograph on paper  
 From an original portrait painted by T. M. Burnham  
 Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 J. C. Sharp Lithography, Boston  
 Library of Congress, Prints and  
 Photographs Division

*The Fulton Iron Foundry*

c. 1842-45

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
 J. C. Sharp Lithography, Boston  
 Courtesy of Historic New England  
 Gift of the Estate of Miss Maria H. Thacher,  
 1942.1140

*Wm. H. Ladd's Eating House, No. 1,  
Lindall St. Boston*

c. 1842-45

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane; lithograph  
 by J. C. Sharp's Lithography, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*Middlesex Mills, Lowell, Mass.*

1843

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph  
 by J. C. Sharp Lithography, Boston  
 Collection of the Lowell Historical Society

*Middlesex Mills, Lowell, Mass.*

Unattributed

c. 1843  
 Oil on canvas  
 After F. H. Lane's lithograph  
 Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
 Gift of American Textile History Museum, 2017

*View of the Great Western & New York Depot  
at South Cove, Boston*

c. 1843-46

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph  
 by C. Cook's Lithography, Boston  
 American Antiquarian Society

*George W. Simmons' Popular Tailoring  
Establishment. "Oak Hall." Boston*

1844

Lithograph on paper  
 Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph  
 by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston  
 Published by Mead & Beal, Boston  
 Boston Athenaeum  
 Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1981



*A View of Newton Corner as seen from Fiske Hill*  
1844-48

Lithograph on paper; tinted  
Sketch by A. Conant; lithograph  
by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum

*American Vessels No. 1*

c. 1845  
Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Lane & Scott Lithography, Boston  
Shelburne Museum  
Bequest of Electra Havemeyer Webb, 1961

*Auxiliary Steam Packet Ship Massachusetts*  
1845

Lithograph on paper, tinted  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum

*Horticultural Hall, School St. Boston*  
c. 1845

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum  
Harris Fund, March 1955

*Steam Packet Ship Mass. In a Squall,  
Nov. 10, 1845*

c. 1845  
Lithograph on paper, tinted  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Lane and Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum

*View of New Bedford From the Fort near Fairhaven*  
1845

Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane from a sketch by A. Conant  
Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Published by A. Conant  
American Antiquarian Society

*View of Newburyport from Salisbury*  
1845

Lithograph on paper; tinted and hand-colored  
Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane from a sketch by  
Albert Conant (1821-1883)  
Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Published by A. Conant, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum  
Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1980

*View of Gloucester (From Rocky Neck)*  
1846

Lithograph on tinted paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Lane & Scott Lithography, Boston  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Gift of Mrs. William Procter, 1946

*Departure of the Jamestown, for Cork Ireland,  
R. B. Forbes, Commander*  
1847

Lithograph on paper; frontispiece of *The Voyage of  
the Jamestown on her Errand of Mercy*  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Lane & Scott Lithography, Boston  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Museum Purchase, 1992

*View of Norwich, from the West Side of the River*  
1849

Colored lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Sarony & Major Lithography, New York  
Published by A. Conant  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Gift of Edward L. Stone, 1972

*View of Providence, R.I. 1848*  
1849

Lithograph on paper; tinted with hand-coloring  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Scott's Lithography, Boston  
Boston Athenaeum  
Anonymous gift in honor of  
Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1972

*View of Baltimore, from Federal Hill*  
1850

Lithograph on paper, printed with buff ink,  
hand-colored paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
Sarony & Major, New York  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik  
Collection of American Watercolors and  
Drawings, 1800-1875

*The Antelope*

Fitz Henry Lane (1804-1865)  
1855  
Oil on canvas  
Collection of Charles Butt

*Steam Demi Bark Antelope*

1855  
Lithograph on paper, colored  
From a painting by F. H. Lane; drawn on stone  
by John Perry Newall  
Lithograph by J. H. Bufford Lithography,  
Boston, for the *Nautical Magazine*  
Courtesy of The Mariners' Museum & Park,  
Newport News, Virginia

*Castine from Hospital Island*

1855  
Graphite on paper (six sheets)  
Drawn by F. H. Lane  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Gift of Samuel H. Mansfield, 1927

*Castine, from Hospital Island*

1855  
Colored lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
L. H. Bradford Lithography, Boston  
Published by Joseph L. Stevens, Jr.  
Collection of Roswitha and William Traves

*View of Gloucester, Mass.*

1859  
Lithograph on paper  
Drawn by F. H. Lane; lithograph by  
L. H. Bradford & Co.  
Published by Procter Brothers, Gloucester  
Collection of the Cape Ann Museum  
Gift of Mrs. Percy C. Procter, 1940



Figure 29. *Love Among the Roses*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane.  
Lithograph by W. S. Pendleton's Lithography, Boston, 1833. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 30. *Pretty Pet*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by W. S. Pendleton's Lithography, Boston, c. 1833. Samuel Putnam Avery Collection, Print Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



Figure 31. *Burbankville to Blackstone River*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by T. Moore's Lithography, Boston, c. 1836. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 32. *Millbury Village*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston, c. 1836. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 33. *The Nahant Quadrilles*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston, 1836. Published by John F. Nunns, Philadelphia. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 34. *Capt. E. G. Austin's Quick Step "Yankee Ship and a Yankee Crew."* Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston, 1837. Published by Parker & Ditson. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of E. Hyde Cox, 1994.



Figure 35. *Lawrence Quick Step*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithography by Moore's Lithography, Boston, 1839. Published by Keith & Moore, Boston. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 36. *Salem Mechanick Light Infantry Quick Step*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithography by Moore's Lithography, Boston, 1836. Published by Ives & Putnam, Salem, MA. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 37. *The Old Arm Chair: A Ballad*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston, 1840. Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Museum purchase, 2012.



Figure 38. *The Mad Girl's Song*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston, 1840. Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston, 1840. American Antiquarian Society.





Figure 39. *The Maniac*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music).  
Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Thayer's Lithographic Press.  
Published by Parker & Ditson, Boston, 1840.  
American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 40. *Song of the Fisher's Wife*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music).  
Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Sharp & Michelin Lithography.  
Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston, 1840.  
American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 41. *The Pesky Serpent. A Pathetic Ballad.* Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Sharp & Michelin. Published by William H. Oakes, Boston, c. 1840. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 42. *The Norfolk Guards Quick Step.* Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Sharp & Michelin. Published by William H. Oakes, Boston, 1840. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 43. *The Mariner's Return, A Song of the Sea*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by E. W. Bouvé, Boston. Published by George P. Reed, Boston, 1841. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 44. *The Ariel Waltz*. Lithograph on paper (sheet music). Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph attributed to E. W. Bouvé by the Boston Athenaeum. Published by Oakes & Swan, Boston, c. 1840. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 45. *View in Boston Harbour. Dedicated to the Tiger Boat Club.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston, c. 1837. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Charles Hitchcock Tyler.



Figure 46. *View in Boston Harbour*. Lithograph on paper, hand-colored. Drawing attributed to F.H. Lane. Lithograph by T. Moore's Lithography, Boston c. 1837. Boston Athenaeum.



Figure 47. *View of the City of Washington*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by P. Anderson. Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by T. Moore's Lithography, Boston, 1838. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 48. *View of Lowell, Mass.* Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by T. Moore's Lithography, Boston, c. 1837. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 49. *National Lancers with the Reviewing Officers on Boston Common*. Lithograph on paper, hand-colored. Drawn by C. Hubbard. Drawn on stone by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Moore's Lithography, Boston, 1837. Collection of Hope and Robert Bachelder.





Figure 50. *View of the Battle Ground at Concord, Mass.* Lithograph on paper, hand-colored. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by B. W. Thayer & Co. Lithography, Boston, 1840. Boston Athenaeum. Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr.

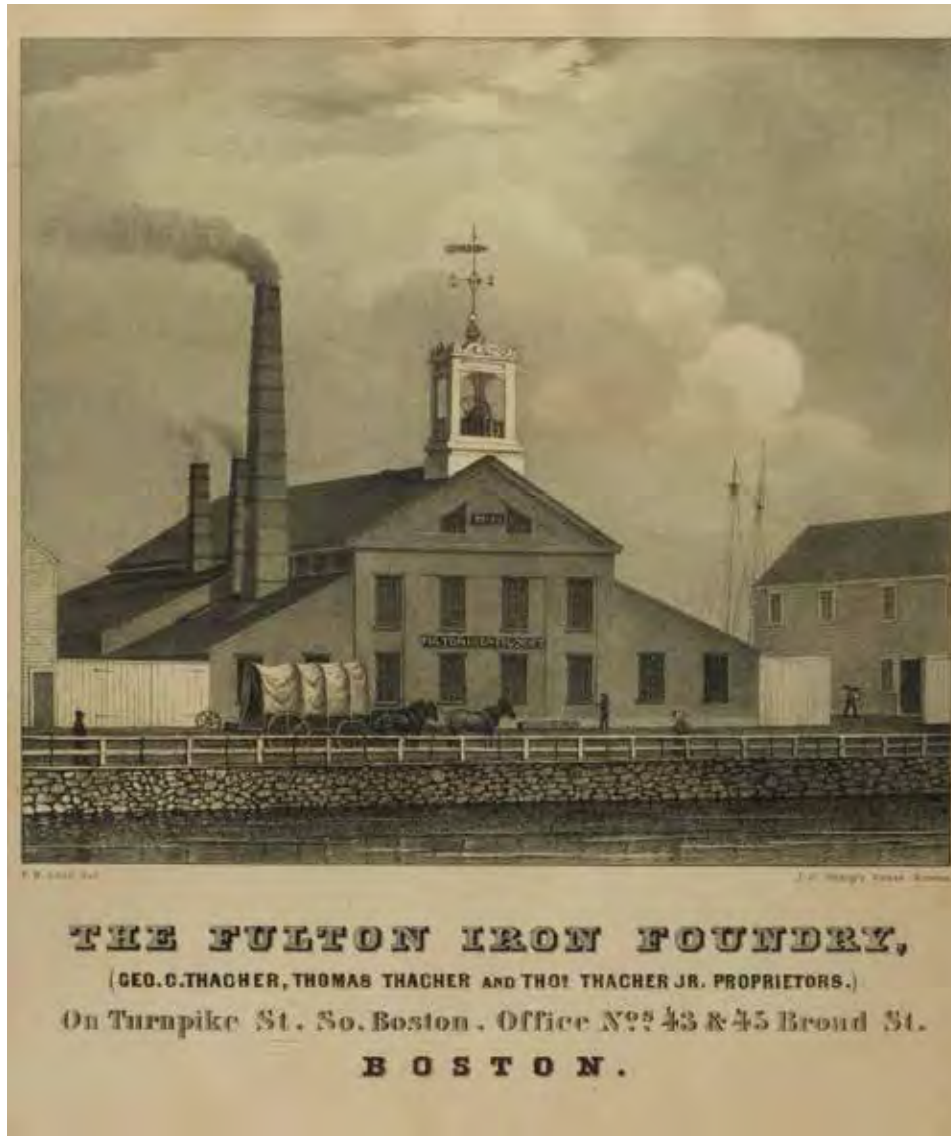


Figure 51. *The Fulton Iron Foundry*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by J. C. Sharp Lithography, 1842-1845. Courtesy of Historic New England. Gift of the Estate of Miss Maria H. Thacher, 1942.1140.



Figure 52. *Middlesex Mills, Lowell, Mass.* Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by J. C. Sharp Lithography, Boston, 1843. Collection of the Lowell Historical Society.



Figure 53. *View of Newburyport from Salisbury*. Lithograph on paper, tinted and hand-colored. Drawn by F. H. Lane from a sketch by A. Conant. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1845. Published by A. Conant. Boston Athenaeum. Gift of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1980.



Figure 54. *View of New Bedford from the Fort near Fairhaven*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane from a sketch by A. Conant. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston. Published by A. Conant, Boston 1845. American Antiquarian Society.



Figure 55. *Auxiliary Steam Packet Ship Massachusetts*. Lithograph on paper, tinted. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1845. Boston Athenaeum.



Figure 56. *Steam Packet Mass. In a Squall, Nov. 10, 1845*. Two-toned tinted lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1845-1846. Boston Athenaeum.







Figure 57. (facing page) *American Vessels No. 1*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston, c. 1845. Shelburne Museum, Gift of Electra Havemeyer Webb, 1961

Figure 58. (above) *Departure of the Jamestown for Cork, Ireland, R. B. Forbes, Commander*. Lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lane & Scott's Lithography, Boston. Frontispiece to R. B. Forbes, *The Voyage of the Jamestown on her Errand of Mercy*. Boston, 1847. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Museum purchase, 1992.

DRAWN FROM NATURE & ON STONE



VIEW OF PROVIDENCE, R.I. 1846



Figure 59. (facing page) *View of Providence, R.I. 1848*. Lithograph on paper, tinted with hand-coloring. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Scott's Lithography, Boston, 1849. Boston Athenaeum. Anonymous gift in honor of Charles E. Mason, Jr., 1972.

Figure 60. (above) *View of Providence, R.I. from the South, 1849*. Tinted and hand-colored lithograph drawn by Charles Burton after Edwin Whitefield. Printed by F. Michelin. Boston Athenaeum.



Figure 61. *View of Norwich, from the West Side of the River.* Colored lithograph on paper. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Sarony & Major Lithography, New York. Published by A. Conant, 1849. Collection of the Cape Ann Museum. Gift of Edward L. Stone, 1972. Conservation funded by Wendy Shadwell's Bequest to the American Historical Print Collectors Society.



Figure 62. *View of Norwich*. Oil on canvas by Fitz Henry Lane. Undated. Private collection.

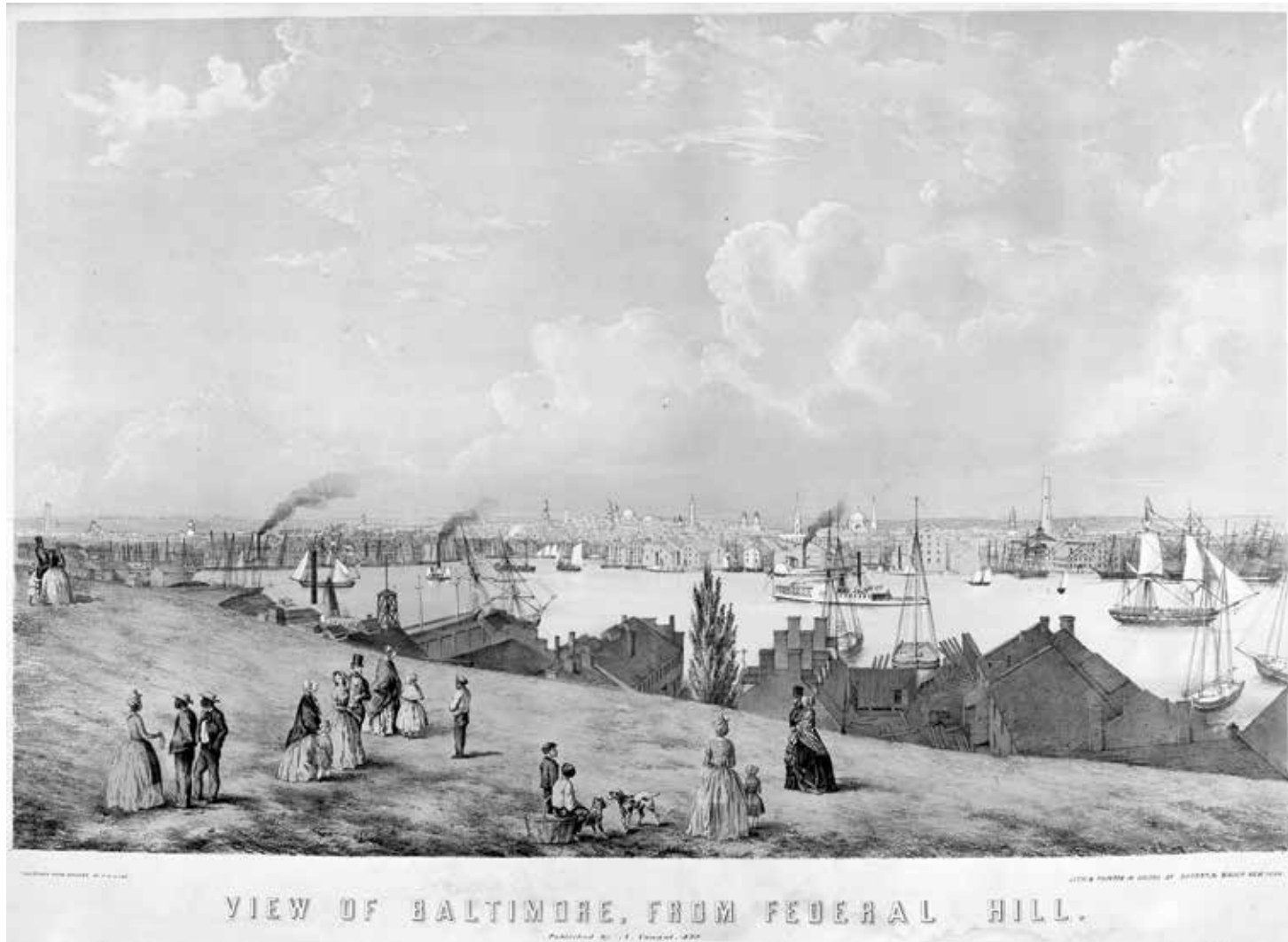


Figure 63. *View of Baltimore, from Federal Hill.* Lithograph, printed with buff tint and hand-coloring. Drawn by F. H. Lane. Lithograph by Sarony, Major and Knapp, New York. 1850. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Watercolors and Drawings, 1800-1875.



Figure 64. *Baltimore*. Oil on canvas by Fitz Henry Lane. Undated. Private collection.



Figure 65. *Steam demi bark Antelope*. Colored lithograph on paper. From a painting by F. H. Lane. Drawn on stone by John Perry Newall, 1855. Lithograph by J. H. Bufford Lithography, Boston, for the *Nautical Magazine* of The Mariners' Museum & Park, Newport News, VA.





Figure 66. *The Antelope*. Oil on canvas. Painted by Fitz Henry Lane, 1855. Collection of Charles Butt.





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