

A M E R I C A N
A L L E G O R I C A L
P R I N T S :
C O N S T R U C T I N G A N I D E N T I T Y



YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

3 FEBRUARY - 31 MARCH 1996

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LAURA K. MILLS

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Foreword

The Yale University Art Gallery is fortunate to possess a fine collection of American prints. Principal among our holdings are wonderful groups of views, historic scenes, sporting prints, portraits, and various genre subjects, especially those made popular by Currier & Ives. But there is a growing collection of works rich in meaning that are emblematic and allegorical. Many of these were among the Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, but quite a number have been acquired in recent years. It is these last subjects—often passed over in traditional samplings of American printmaking—that we have singled out for the present exhibition. Implicit in their makeup is an underlying textual richness—an acknowledgment of the kinds of structures that have concerned art historians as well as this department's exhibitions in recent years. We are pleased that this exhibition will coincide with the 1996 meeting of the North American Print Conference in New Haven.

Laura K. Mills, National Endowment for the Arts Intern, has brought this exhibition to fulfillment in record time. Circumstances conspired to thrust upon her the entire responsibility for selection, research, and writing from the very first day of her internship last July. Her work on how our country sought to picture itself, its ideals, and its destiny in terms both traditional and innovative defines a new field of study in American prints. As curators, we cannot thank her enough for her unstinting efforts.

We and Ms. Mills would like to thank many of those who have helped in this endeavor. First among Americanists is Georgia B. Barnhill, Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Graphic Arts at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA. Ms. Barnhill not only generously lent two works in her care but, as always, made the vast visual resources of her department completely available. At the Library of Congress we were fortunate to encounter Tamera Johnson, Exhibitions Registrar, and Harry Katz, Curator of Popular and Applied Graphic Arts, who could not have been more helpful in finding a crucial work we had all but despaired of locating, much less borrowing. Carolyn Padwa, our Associate Registrar, kindly coordinated these loans, which helped fill important gaps in the exhibition. We also want to acknowledge the gracious help of our colleagues at Sterling Memorial Library, Ellen R. Cohn and Karin Trainer, and especially Theresa Fairbanks Harris and Jan Burandt of the

Yale Center for British Art and Mark Aronson of the Yale University Art Gallery, who conserved a good number of the works we now exhibit. Special thanks go to Rhonda West for matting the prints and to Sarah Ogilvie and Rachel Carr, Yale College 1998, for countless hours of research.

Lastly we owe a special debt to Lesley K. Baier for her thorough editing and to Sloan Wilson, who managed to take a jumble of papers and disks and process them into a remarkably usable design in a matter of days. And to our director Susan Vogel and our business manager, Louisa Cunningham, we are especially grateful for their crucial efforts to find the funds for this entire project.

Richard S. Field and Elisabeth Hodermarsky

*Curator and Assistant Curator of Prints,
Drawings, and Photographs*



23 Anonymous, *Europe-America*, 1804. Reverse-glass print

American Allegorical Prints

Laura K. Mills

The American Revolution promised independence from England, but it could not guarantee that a strong nation would be forged in its wake. A new unity—one based not on the ferment of revolt but on the realization of a common identity—was essential to achieving that goal. In the crucial, formative decades of the late 1700s and early 1800s, the thirteen newly formed states needed to put aside differences and sacrifice individual interests for the greater welfare of the United States. Guided by the founding principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, America had to nurture and project a national identity that reflected republican ideals of truth, liberty, justice, and democracy. The scope of this challenge is evident in an assessment by historian John Murrin: “Americans had erected their constitutional roof before they put up their national walls. Hovering there over a divided people, it aroused wonder and awe...This frenzy of self-congratulation owed its intensity to the terrible fear that the roof could come crashing down at any time.”¹

The walls of American national identity had to be constructed quickly, but firmly. On a grand scale, the erection of numerous public monuments and buildings did much to signal America’s legitimacy both at home and abroad. But in terms of sheer accessibility, it was the modest—albeit equally propagandistic—allegorical print that likely played a more significant role in the creation of a unified visual image of America.

Allegory may be defined as a narrative or image whose characters, objects, and actions make sense on a literal level but also suggest a more significant, figurative meaning. Chief among its devices are symbols, emblems, and personifications. American allegorical prints utilized varied iconographic references—some traditional and European, such as the mythological gods and goddesses of the ancient world—but many distinctly American, such as the deified images of George Washington. From the Revolutionary era to the Civil War, whenever there was a need to inspire patriotism and encourage unity, allegorical prints provided indispensable national symbols and popular heroes. In this manner they were instrumental in recounting America’s history and molding her identity.

Only after the nation had been securely established did allegorical prints acquire an additional function. They began to

address the needs and interests of the individual. This new focus mirrored a profound shift in American society, as aristocratic republican ideals were gradually exchanged for more democratic ones in which the common man was to play an extended role. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, both politics and religion allowed increasing opportunities for individual participation. Although quintessential elements of traditional allegorical prints persisted, especially when the fate of the Union was at risk, collective issues increasingly gave way to questions of individual morality. Visual guides to self-betterment, these later works offered evidence that Americans had the power not only to define a nation, but to improve their own lives in the process.

The American enthusiasm for printed imagery, well-established before the Revolutionary War, had been largely satisfied by works engraved and published in Europe.² As opposed to paintings, prints in various forms were available to a far larger population of Americans. Immigrants arrived in America with European prints. Others were available in the print shops that were located in the large eastern cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia by the 1760s. In smaller towns, local printers and tradesmen advertised their stock of imported prints in colonial newspapers. And foreign-born and trained artists like the Englishman John Smibert, who went to the colonies to practice and teach their craft, also brought collections of engravings.

As tensions rose with the passage of Parliamentary acts designed to restrict colonial trade and increase revenues for the crown, European printmakers deliberately catered to the American market with works sympathetic to the colonial cause. But after the Revolution, increasing numbers of printmakers and print publishers emigrated to America to seek better opportunities.³ Among them was the French team of Peter C. Verger and John Francis Renault, Sr., who established themselves in New York and in 1796 published *Triumph of Liberty* (cat. 4), “Dedicated to its Defenders in America.”

In spite of the ready supply of imported prints and the early attempts of American printmakers, such single-sheet engravings were too expensive for most. However, Americans had many other opportunities to encounter allegorical images. They proliferated as illustrations in books, magazines, and almanacs



7 Amos Doolittle, *The Hornet and Peacock, Or, John Bull in Distress*, 1813. Colored etching

(cat. 15); appeared in trade cards and political cartoons (cats. 7 and 8); figured prominently on membership certificates for various social, professional, religious, and philanthropic societies (cat. 39); and were major components of map cartouches, banknotes, and official seals (cats. 11, 18, and 19).

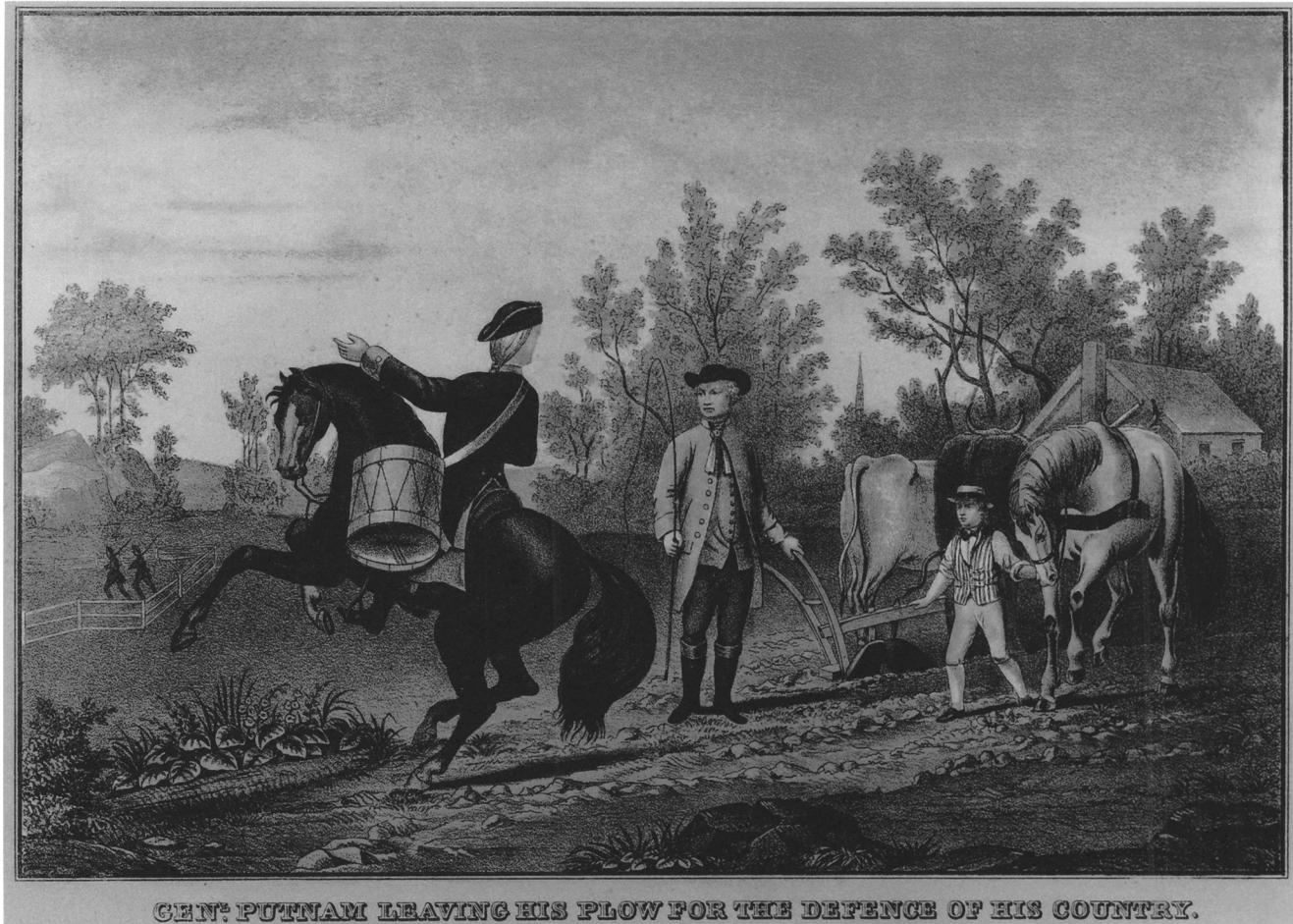
Among the most common illustrations in the American popular press were portrait engravings, which were frequently embellished with allegorical framing elements that emphasized patriotic virtues. Paul Revere's frontispiece engraving of Samuel Adams for *The Royal American Magazine* in 1774 (cat. 15) is a case in point.⁴ An oval portrait of the fiery Adams—after a painting by John Singleton Copley—is supported from above by the trumpeting figure of Fame. Although the engraving protested recent English parliamentary actions, Revere ironically borrowed its framework from an engraved portrait of Richard, Earl Temple, found in an English history book.⁵ He did, however, make a few telling alterations. He removed the British lion from the left side of the portrait, but kept the goddess Liberty. Identifiable by her liberty pole and cap,⁶ she stands on a book of "Laws to enslave America." In place of the armored soldier in Temple's portrait, Revere substituted the goddess Minerva, armed with the helmet, shield, and spear that pointed to her role as a personification of war. With her spear, Minerva subdues evil in the guise of a British soldier from the regiment responsible for the 1770 Boston Massacre. Revere's portrait of Adams thus highlighted the anger of the Boston Tea Party leader, an anger that was likely shared by the 1000 subscribers to the Boston-published magazine.

Allegorical prints often invoked the past in order to glorify the present. As Revere's inclusion of Minerva portends, American images of the early Republic were rife with allusions to classical Greece and Rome.⁷ For American leaders attempting to create a new republican nation, it seemed particularly meaningful to look to the art and monuments of these great ancient civilizations for inspiration. After all, republican ideology had its roots in the writings of Cicero, Tacitus, Plutarch, and other ancient Romans; and its realization required more than the mere replacement of a monarchy with a democracy. Social values such as benevolence, patriotism, and heroism had to be nurtured as well. Republicanism insisted that citizens seek to improve the welfare of society.⁸ As Benjamin Henry Latrobe, an architect of the United States

Capitol, said in 1811, "In Greece, perfection in the fine arts, freedom in government, and virtue in private life were cotemporaneous [sic]."⁹ And Thomas Jefferson declared that the classically designed Capitol "when finished will be a desirable monument to our infant republic, and will bear favorable comparison with the remains of the same kind of ancient republics of Greece and Rome."¹⁰

The anonymous colored lithograph of *Genl. Putnam Leaving his Plow for the Defence of his Country* (cat. 30) offers one of the more subtle demonstrations of the allegorical print's invocation of the past to exalt contemporary people and events. Created in 1845, it celebrated an event of April 1775. Israel Putnam is shown interrupted from his plowing by a soldier bringing news of the outbreak of the Revolution. The print's title indicates that this veteran of the French and Indian War will again come to the aid of his country. Although the narrative makes sense as a straightforward illustration from American history, Putnam's specific actions suggest that this print is more than a flattering portrait of the general. Indeed, by depicting Putnam's summons from the plow to Cambridge, the lithographer portrayed him in the guise of the Roman republican hero Cincinnatus, whose life was recounted in Livy's *History of Rome*.¹¹ Cincinnatus too had retired from civic duties; but when an emergency arose, he again helped defend Rome from invaders. Significantly, he had been plowing his field by the Tiber River when he received the call for assistance.¹² Although such a specific reference might seem obscure today, Cincinnatus was well known in Putnam's time. After the Revolutionary War, officers in the Continental Army formed the Society of Cincinnati, pledging to follow the example of the "illustrious Roman" as they returned to civilian life.¹³ Even later, a mid-nineteenth century historian compared Putnam with "Cincinnatus of Old."¹⁴ By equating Putnam's deeds with those of Cincinnatus, America constructed its own virtuous republican leaders.

Another important function of allegory was to embody abstract ideas in concrete form. Again, many American prints achieved this through reference to classical antiquity. Benjamin Tanner's engraving after John James Barralet's *America Guided by Wisdom: An Allegorical representation of the United States, denoting their Independence and prosperity* of ca. 1815 (cat. 10) illustrated ideals such as wisdom, liberty, and prosperity. Using imagery appropriated from European paintings, drawings, and allegorical handbooks—for example, George Richardson's 1778 English edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*—Tanner and Barralet reassured Americans of the existence of civilization and culture in the United States. Lest their message be missed, a detailed "Description" attached at the bottom of the print explained the components of the allegory.¹⁵ Thus if the viewer did not recognize the helmet, shield, and spear as attributes of Minerva, the key noted that "On the fore ground, Minerva, the goddess of Wisdom, is pointing to a Shield, supported by the Genius of America." The cornucopia in front of the personification of America—significantly attired in classical robes—was symbolic of America's prosperity. Contributing to this prosperity were industry—signified by the beehive and the female figure at a spinning wheel—and commerce, which was represented by the Roman god Mercury. The print's didactic key further informed the viewer that the equestrian sculpture of George Washington in front of a classical building was included to demonstrate "the progress of the liberal arts" in the new nation.



GEN: PUTNAM LEAVING HIS PLOW FOR THE DEFENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.

30 Anonymous, *Genl. Putnam Leaving his Plow for the Defence of his Country*, ca. 1845. Colored lithograph

The Development of National Symbols

In *The Tea-Tax-Tempest, or the Anglo-American Revolution* of ca. 1778 (cat. 2), attributed to the German engraver Carl Gottlieb Guttenberg, Father Time uses a magic lantern to project a view of the heated revolutionary activity in America. His audience of female figures personifying the four continents watches in astonishment. Such figures derived from a tradition dating to the end of the sixteenth century, when America joined the cultivated and elegantly dressed personifications of Europe, Africa, and Asia. In comparison to her “older” counterparts, however, America was often represented as a half-naked female dressed in feathers and tobacco leaves, armed with either a club or a bow and arrows. Suggestions of savagery and cannibalism were provided by the inclusion of human heads and other body parts, while an armadillo or other strange creature emphasized the exotic character of the New World.¹⁶

This popular representation of America as the Indian Maiden was standardized in eighteenth-century European emblem books, prints, paintings, textiles, and ceramics. Gradually liberated from any exotic attributes, she came to denote the thirteen rebellious colonies instead of an entire continent, as in Guttenberg’s print.¹⁷ His Indian Maiden is seated at a distance from the other continents, on bales of goods, indicating the importance of American trade. She watches her likeness reach symbolically for a liberty pole and cap while urging the American troops to pursue the fleeing British.

Despite the Indian Maiden’s uniqueness as a symbol, Americans rarely personified their country in that guise. In their

quest for land, they had provoked hostile relations with Native Americans and therefore lived in constant fear of attack.¹⁸ Moreover, the customary rendering of the Indian Maiden as savage and half-naked designated her as inferior to the countries of the “civilized” world. She was not a symbol with which the majority of Americans wished to identify themselves or their young republic.

Ironically, the figure Americans ultimately selected as a national symbol derived quite specifically from one identified with England. During the mid-eighteenth century, in an era of British nationalism and imperialism, the Roman goddess Britannia had reemerged as the symbol of mighty England. She was often paired with the goddess Liberty in English political prints, or else she held Liberty’s attributes, the pole and cap.¹⁹ Maintaining the notion of a classical goddess to personify the virtues of their new nation, American printmakers replaced Britannia with Columbia, whose name derived from the discoverer of the New World, Christopher Columbus.²⁰ Columbia too appeared in prints either with Liberty or in the guise of Liberty.²¹ (As was evident in Revere’s portrait of Samuel Adams and Guttenberg’s print, the figure of Liberty had already been adopted by the colonialists as a symbol of America’s fight for independence.) In other prints, Columbia occasionally put on the “habit and helmet of Minerva” (cat. 4) or simply appeared alongside the goddess of wisdom (cat. 10). Yet it was Columbia’s association with Liberty that endured. From the end of the Revolutionary War to the Civil War, when she is often shown



ii Anonymous, *Tree of Liberty*, 1846. Woodcut and wood engraving (transferred to stone and printed as a lithograph)

wearing the liberty cap and taking up the sword of justice (cf. cat. 12), the goddess known as Columbia, America, or Liberty was recognized in both America and Europe.²²

Although America's debt to England for this national symbol strikes us as ironic, the choice was not necessarily inadvertent. It in fact allowed America to assert its hard won equality with its mother country. America was no longer the naughty child in need of a reprimand, as she had been portrayed in a small Revolutionary War allegory by the English engraver Thomas Cook (cat. 3). Indeed, after the War of 1812, the Connecticut engraver Thomas Kensett rendered the nations as equal partners in *Let the Weapons of War Perish* (cat. 9). There the goddesses Britannia and Columbia are illustrated in identical poses, costumes, and hairstyles. Furthermore, they have similar attributes, in contrast to the old habit of English printmakers who reserved for Britannia all the accoutrements of knowledge, culture, and commerce.

If Columbia was obviously a derivative symbol for the new nation, the eagle was not. The American eagle figured prominently in the Great Seal, which was adopted by Congress in 1782 and quickly became the emblem of America in the time-honored European pairing of picture and motto.²³ As it appeared in *Tree of Liberty* of 1846 (cat. 11), published by Ensigns and Thayer, the Great Seal features the American eagle displaying a shield with thirteen stripes. In its talons, the eagle clutches a bundle of thirteen arrows and an olive branch with thirteen leaves, symbolic of war and peace. Above the eagle's head is a circle of light containing the thirteen stars of the thirteen states in the Union. In its beak is a banner with the Latin motto of thirteen letters, "E Pluribus Unum," which in English signifies the creation of one from many. As American as it might seem, the eagle was actually the traditional attribute of Jupiter, chief of the ancient Roman gods. In choosing the bald eagle—a species unique to America—as a symbol, America's leaders had once more associated their fledgling nation with the power and authority of classical antiquity.²⁴

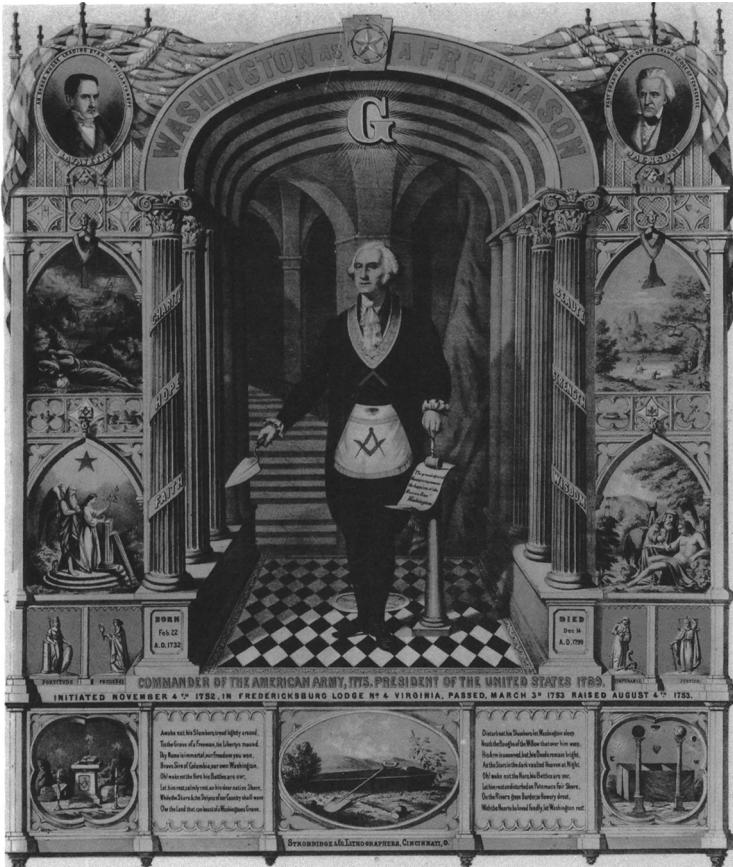
The Great Seal proved enormously popular, and the eagle soon appeared on everything from ceramics and furniture to advertisements promoting American products.²⁵ It was even paired with the female figure of Liberty in works like Edward Savage's *Liberty. In the form of the Goddess of Youth; giving Support to the Bald Eagle* of 1796 (cat. 5), which he engraved after his own painting in order that it might reach a larger audience. To Americanize Liberty, Savage attached the flag of thirteen stars and stripes to her pole and cap and situated her on "Beacon-Hill." There, above "a view of Boston harbor representing the Evacuation of the British fleet she crushes the symbols of tyranny."²⁶ Savage's title also indicated that his figure of Liberty was identified with Hebe, the goddess of youth, an association very appropriate for the new nation. In fact, scholars have suggested that when Savage was studying in London in 1791 he was inspired by William Hamilton's painting, *Hebe, Goddess of Youth*. In Hamilton's composition, Hebe offers a drink to her father Jupiter, who appears as an eagle. However, as Francis Trollope wrote in *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), the connection between America and the eagle was so strong that Americans may not have recognized the classical myth. "What the devil has Hebe to do with the American eagle?" asked a puzzled American when shown an image of Hebe with Jupiter in the guise of an eagle.²⁷

Popular Heroes: The Cult of George Washington

In addition to emblematic symbols of America, the new nation needed its own flesh and blood heroes. Printmakers played a major role in mythologizing America's founding fathers. To create a likeness the public would recognize, they copied contemporary portraits of important political and military figures and then added flattering allegorical imagery for a heroic effect. Revere's portrait of Samuel Adams was but one example of the genre. Yet it was George Washington whose popularity exceeded all others. Since the United States had become a nation before it had time to construct legends about its founders, Washington's deification began during his lifetime. In *The True Portraiture of his Excellency George Washington Esqr in the Roman Dress of 1783* (cat. 16), the American engraver John Norman commemorated Washington's victorious command of the American forces. Eschewing historical accuracy in favor of a heroicized context, he portrayed Washington not in his own uniform, on American soil, but in a suit of armor before a European battleground. Both of these were borrowed directly from a portrait of the sixteenth-century commander Sir William de la More, as depicted in John Guillim's *Display of Heraldry* (1669; cat. 17).²⁸ Norman needed only to replace de la More's head with Charles Willson Peale's likeness of Washington. An inscription indicates that he intended the image to be a model for a monument ordered by Congress.²⁹

Amos Doolittle's *A Display of the United States of America* of 1788–89 (cat. 18), with a medallion portrait of Washington surrounded by linked seals of the states, epitomizes another type of portrait print published throughout the first presidency. But it was the memorial print that completed Washington's deification. His death on 14 December 1799 sparked an unprecedented demonstration of national mourning. Any controversies that surrounded his last term in office were forgotten. Memorial services, processions, and funerals were held throughout the country in his honor; and poems, speeches, and songs were written as tributes to the father of the nation.³⁰ Memorial prints continued to be issued well into the nineteenth century. Many of these were transferred to textiles, ceramics, and other mediums. For example, a reverse-glass print, *Europe-America*, published in London in 1804, functioned as a memorial to Washington (cat. 23): a monument containing his profile portrait surrounded by his birth and death dates was included next to the figure of America.

The form of these Washington commemoratives ranged from simple portraits with birth and death dates to more complex allegories that set Washington's portrait among urns, obelisks, mourners, willow trees, and other funerary paraphernalia. Prior to 1800 such images were found mostly in American mourning miniatures painted on ivory or gravestone carvings.³¹ Enoch Gridley's *Sacred to the Memory of the truly Illustrious George Washington* of ca. 1800 (cat. 21) expressed the nation's pride in the deeds of its founding father. At the base of a marble obelisk, Columbia and a Revolutionary soldier grieve along with Fame, four genii, and Minerva, who supports an oval portrait of Washington copied from an engraved portrait by Edward Savage. In other types of tributes, Washington was apotheosized in a manner usually reserved for European monarchs or mythological heroes such as Hercules.³² A classically robed Washington ascended to the heavens in regal fashion in David Edwin's *Apotheosis of Washington* of 1800 (cat. 20). As he departed



40 Anonymous, *Washington as a Freemason*, 1867.
Colored lithograph



33 Anonymous, *Untitled [Memorial Print]*, ca. 1830.
Colored wood engraving

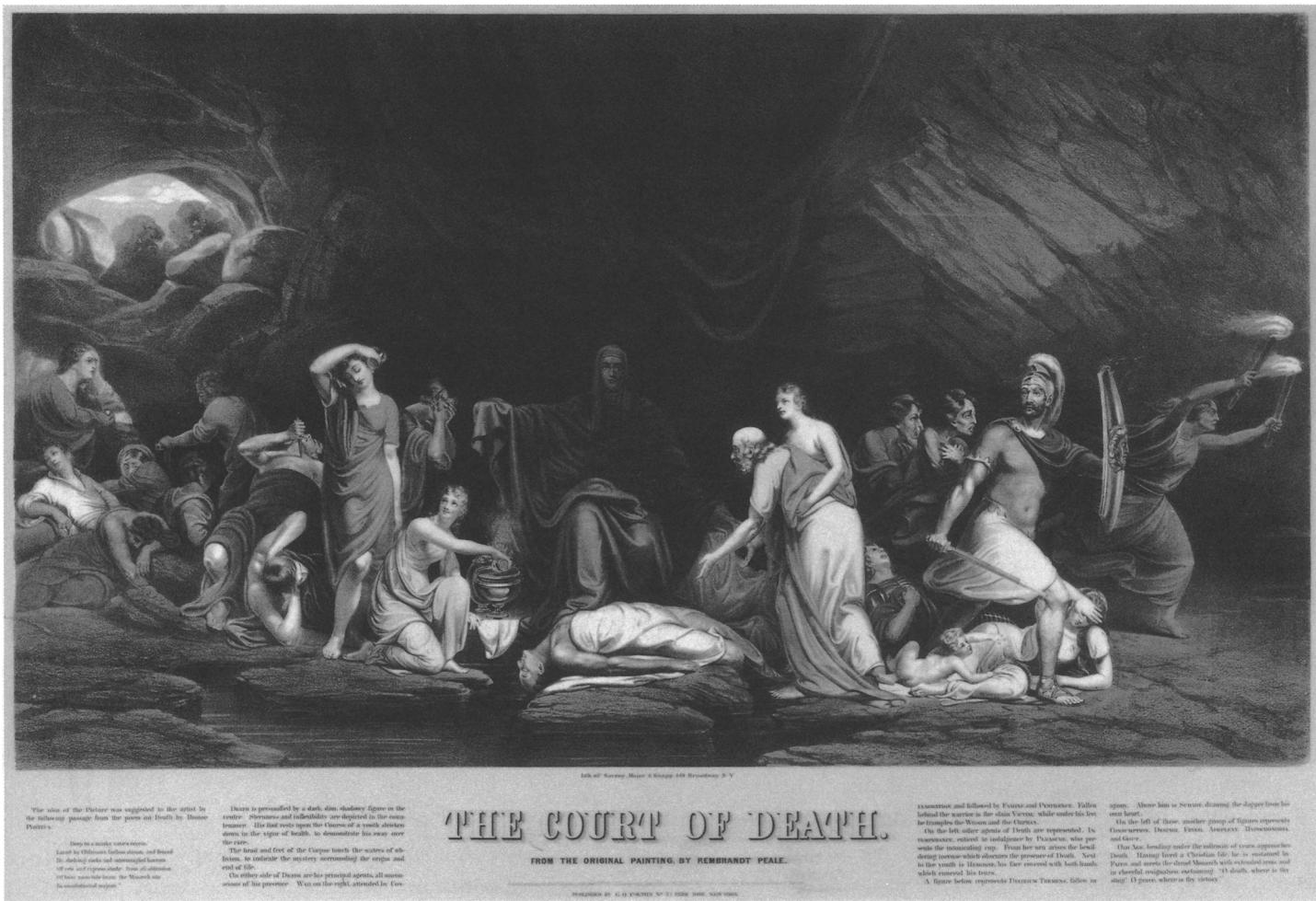
from his Mount Vernon estate, Washington was welcomed to heaven by shimmering light, a laurel crown, and greetings from his comrades.

After Washington's death, his likeness became a symbol of the United States and its accomplishments. Washington's history became the country's future. Surely, mourning prints expressed America's grief; but many also celebrated national progress in government, arms, and commerce.³³ For example, the trumpeting Fame in Gridley's engraving unfurled a list of American victories in the Revolutionary War. Gridley's inclusion of an oval portrait of Washington was repeated in prints published throughout the nineteenth century. Henry Dean, for example, praised Washington as well as Thomas Jefferson in his 1807 allegorical portrait of the latter (cat. 28). Dean's Goddess of Liberty holds a portrait of Jefferson, but "in remembrance of past services" she gazes at a portrait of Washington affixed to a memorial monument. In all such works, Washington's image functioned as an allegory of indispensable republican virtues.

The search for American heroes had only begun with the deification of Washington. Throughout the nineteenth century prints celebrated important American public figures during their lifetimes and mourned them after their deaths. *In Memory of the Lamented Hamilton* of ca. 1804 (cat. 27), an engraving printed on textile, incorporates a lengthy prose tribute among several mourning scenes. The oak tree with severed branches in the upper left symbolizes Alexander Hamilton's premature death that year in a duel with Aaron Burr.³⁴ A quarter of a century later in 1838, while Daniel Webster was a United States Senator, he was acclaimed in a print published by the New York engravers Woodcock and Harvey (cat. 29). An oval portrait of Webster was inserted in an allegorical framework lauding the senator's honesty. In a setting complete with a classical column and a view of the United States Capitol, a massive, sculpture-like figure of the ancient Greek philosopher Diogenes holds his lantern over the portrait. Diogenes's search for an honest man had implicitly ended with his discovery of Webster.

Abraham Lincoln, the "saviour of the Union," was also memorialized in an outpouring of printed images after his assassination in 1865. Many of these drew upon earlier designs.³⁵ Using Woodcock and Harvey's print of Webster, for example, H. B. Hall simply inserted Lincoln's portrait in order to memorialize him as "Honest Abe."³⁶ And D. T. Wiest's colored lithograph *In Memory of Abraham Lincoln. The Reward of the Just* of ca. 1865 (cat. 32) was copied directly from Barralet's 1802 engraving of *The Apotheosis of Washington*. In their efforts to quickly market an image of the sudden tragedy, Wiest and his publisher, William Smith, changed only the name on the sarcophagus and replaced the face of Washington with that of Lincoln. Although Liberty with her pole and cap was an appropriate symbol for the emancipator of the slaves, most of the other symbolism, such as the sad Native American at the base of Washington's tomb, was not. Similarly inappropriate were the American shield bearing fifteen instead of thirty-six stars, and the insignia of the Freemasons and the Society of Cincinnati, draped over the tomb.

Washington commemoratives not only inspired prints celebrating other national heroes, but also influenced the production of memorials for members of middle-class American families. Within years of Washington's death, the walls of homes everywhere contained mourning pictures honoring loved ones, executed in watercolor, needlepoint, or oils on silk and velvet by



41 Anonymous, after Rembrandt Peale, *The Court of Death*, 1859. Color lithograph heightened with hand coloring

amateur artists—many of them female.³⁷ A variety of mourning pictures also appeared in printed form, appropriately including a blank space on the memorial monument where the owner might inscribe the deceased's epitaph. One anonymous wood engraving was so inscribed with a young child's name and death date of 1828, and her mother's name and age upon her death in 1833 (cat. 33). The composition is set in a landscape dominated by a weeping willow tree, whose branches were emblematic of the resurrection because of their ability to regenerate after being cut.³⁸ The background sailboat alludes to the soul's voyage to heaven, while the church establishes religion as life's indispensable guide. A female mourner in a black Empire dress leans against a monument, topped with the urn representative of the departed spirit. The sheer numbers of such pictures commemorating the death of a father, mother, husband, wife, or child indicate the pride Americans took in memorializing their own family members in the same manner as they did American heroes.

Moralizing America

The epitaphs inscribed on mourning prints are sad recollections of how commonly parents suffered the loss of a child and how often women died young from complications of childbirth. Religion was a source of consolation for a people constantly reminded of the transience of life.³⁹ Protestantism had begun to distance itself from the Puritan belief in a wrathful God who had predetermined the fate of his sinful people. More optimistically, Protestantism now offered the hope of salvation for all human

beings. At religious revival meetings held throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, preachers urged audiences to change their sinful ways and lead a virtuous life in order to satisfy the requirements for salvation after death. Moralizing prints such as Albert Alden's *The Life and Age of Man. Stages of Man's Life, from the Cradle to the Grave* of ca. 1835–40 (cat. 34) reminded people of "their frail nature and the miseries that attend a sinful life." The fact that the American Antiquarian Society's copy of a similar Alden image, *The Life and Age of Woman. Stages of Woman's life from infancy to the brink of the grave* (cat. 35), was varnished suggests that it once hung on the walls of a home or perhaps a schoolroom, where its instructive message would have found a large audience.⁴⁰ Such prescriptive prints became exceedingly common in the days preceding the Civil War.⁴¹

Faith alone leads the voyager to heaven in Thomas Cole's moralizing series, *The Voyage of Life*, which was popularized by James Smillie's engravings. Cole described the meaning of his paintings in a text written for the exhibition of the series.⁴² The four ages of life are represented allegorically as a journey on the "Stream of Life." After a carefree childhood, the "Voyager" in *Youth* of 1848–49 (cat. 36) directs his course toward a castle in the clouds "emblematic of the day dreams of youth, its aspirations after glory and fame." Cole remarked that the youthful voyager in this scene had not yet experienced any of the hardships of life. However, in *Manhood* of 1860 (cat. 37), he encounters rough waters and must resist the "demon forms of Suicide, Intemperance, and Murder" and turn to God. Storm clouds have replaced the castle of *Youth*. "Glory and Fame" or material wealth do not lead to salvation. The voyager in

The idea of the Picture was suggested to the artist by the following passage from the poem on Death by Dante:
"Death is a master, death a tyrant,
He rules by violence, before whom all bend
His stony rocks and unmovable barriers
Of iron are represented; from all submission
There is no escape; the weak are
Inimidated, and the mighty are
Oppressed and humbled by Power and Punishment. To him
Belongs the empire of the world, while under his law
He tramples the weak and the strong."
On the left other agents of Death are represented. In
extreme left is the figure of Justice, who presides
over the trial of the dead. Next to her is the figure
of Ignorance, who obscures the presence of Death. Next
to Ignorance is Hercules, who has received with both hands
the mortal blow of Death, and is about to fall.
A figure below represents Faustus Turbina, fallen in
opposition. Above him is Sisyphus, dragging the dagger from his
own breast.
On the left of these, another group of figures represents
Grief, Despair, Doubt, Fear, Anguish, Despondence,
and Grief.
One Acc. leading under the name of voices appears here
in the form of a crowd of figures, who are represented as
Pain. These figures are the dead Monarchs with extended arms and
in cheerful resignation exclaiming "All death, where is thy sting?" "Dy grace, where is thy sting?"

Manhood looks heavenward for the help and “faith [which] saves him from the destruction that seems inevitable.”

An 1859 advertisement by Gardner Quincey Colton, announcing the publication of an instructive chromolithograph after Rembrandt Peale’s highly popular painting *Court of Death* of 1820 (cat. 41), maintained:

It seems impossible that such Engravings at such a price, embodying so much artistic beauty and fine moral sentiment—preaching so eloquent and impressive a sermon to the beholder and forming such a fine parlor ornament—should fail to find a rapid and ready sale. They are worth ten times their cost for the living lessons they teach on the evils of *War, Intemperance, Dissipation*, as also the triumphs of *Christian Faith* over the fear of *Death*.⁴³

Peale’s “Great Moral Picture” confirmed the inevitability of death but suggested that by turning away from the evils of the world a Christian could live to old age without fear of the next.⁴⁴ In an article titled “Original Thoughts on Allegorical Painting,” published in the Philadelphia *National Gazette* on 28 October 1820, Peale explained that instead of using traditional allegory “in which arbitrary symbols are associated with unnatural personifications” such as “Hope with her anchor,” *Court of Death* was a “continued metaphor, so disposed as to tell its own tale.” He hoped that the feelings and actions of his twenty-three personifications would easily reveal their meaning to a large audience not necessarily familiar with high art.⁴⁵ In order to communicate his sermon to both “the unlearned and the learned,” Peale avoided the “Mythology of the Ancients” and thus made an important step toward the democratization of allegory.⁴⁶ More than 32,000 people in Baltimore and Philadelphia paid twenty-five cents each to see *Court of Death* in 1820,⁴⁷ and the painting continued to tour the country for almost forty years. In 1858, 100,000 copies of the chromolithograph were printed by Sarony, Major and Knapp and sold by Colton for one dollar each.⁴⁸ Although even Peale continued to use personifications and symbols to carry meaning, allegories were increasingly grounded in more popular scenes and personages.

Temperance

The desire for self-improvement—material as well as moral—permeated American society in the mid-nineteenth century, encouraging reforms ranging from women’s rights to the abolition of slavery. But it was the temperance movement that was widely promoted through the graphic arts. In 1845, reflecting on the continued success of his *Court of Death*, Rembrandt Peale said, “I would lay claim to some little credit for the stand I took in reprobation of Intemperance, before the subject was introduced to popular notice.”⁴⁹ Peale’s inclusion of the personifications of Intemperance and Delerium Tremens, a medical condition resulting from the consumption of too much alcohol, was an early plea for temperance. The fate of the drunkard, however, was more directly and bluntly conveyed in the many prints published by engravers and lithographers after 1820. Most favored a sequence of images, reminiscent of Hogarth, to depict the tragic consequences of intemperance. The four vignettes of John Warner Barber’s *The Drunkard’s Progress, or the Direct Road to Poverty, Wretchedness & Ruin* of 1826 (cat. 42) begin with the drunkard’s morning drink and end with his family’s trip to the

almshouse. Biblical verses serve as further warnings to the viewer of the evils that accompany drinking.

The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, established in Boston in 1826, was not just concerned that such intemperance might hurt an individual’s chances for salvation. Founding members, who were predominantly leaders of industries and farming, feared that the effects of alcohol on the work force would hurt production and result in widespread crime and poverty.⁵⁰ In the 1830s the group broadened its goals to include total abstinence from beer, wine, and cider, in addition to previously banned strong spirits. At the same time, the Society attempted to target the entire population with their campaign for the “teetotal pledge.”⁵¹ Prints from the Boston firm of Pendleton’s Lithography—such as the pair, *Mortgaging the Farm* and *Lifting the Mortgage*, both of ca. 1826–31 (cats. 43 and 44)—were persuasive propaganda for the temperance movement. Instead of the dire outcome illustrated by Barber, *Lifting the Mortgage* offers the hope of escape from poverty. With his faithful dog by his side, the reformed drunkard signs the pledge promising abstinence. The recognizable personifications of Vice and Famine, wearing rags, have fled, and the drunkard’s family rejoices.

Material Progress

The rapid growth of industry and commerce, advancements in transportation and communication, as well the steady progress of westward expansion, were championed in nineteenth-century American prints. A popular image justifying America’s Manifest Destiny was Fanny Palmer’s colored lithograph, *Across the Continent. “Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way”* (cat. 47). It was published by Currier & Ives in 1868 just a year before the golden spike joined the Union and Central Pacific railroads. Although it lacks the quintessential ingredients of traditional allegories, it is more than an image of a western landscape. In Palmer’s print the train is surely symbolic of technological progress; the railroad’s important role in the settlement of the West is indicated by its prominent path through the picture. A steam locomotive pulling cars designated “Through Line New York-San Francisco” separates the landscape of white civilization, with its busy settlers, church, school, log cabins, and telegraph wires on the left, from the remaining wilderness occupied by dejected Native Americans and herds of buffalo on the right.

A chromolithograph published only a few years later by George A. Crofutt communicated a similar message of Manifest Destiny, but replaced Palmer’s train with an allegorical maiden (cat. 48). In order to increase subscriptions to his periodical, *Crofutt’s Western World*, this enterprising publisher of western guidebooks decided to offer a chromolithograph as a special bonus gift. Crofutt chose John Gast of New York to execute his ideas for this allegorical image celebrating American progress in 1872.⁵² Crofutt described the design of *American Progress* in the 1878–79 edition of *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide*. In the center of the print, a female figure in a flowing white gown personifies Progress. From the East she brings the tools necessary for the spread of civilization: a school book and telegraph wire, representative of education and communication. Below are scenes intended to record “at a glance the grand drama of Progress in the civilization, settlement, and

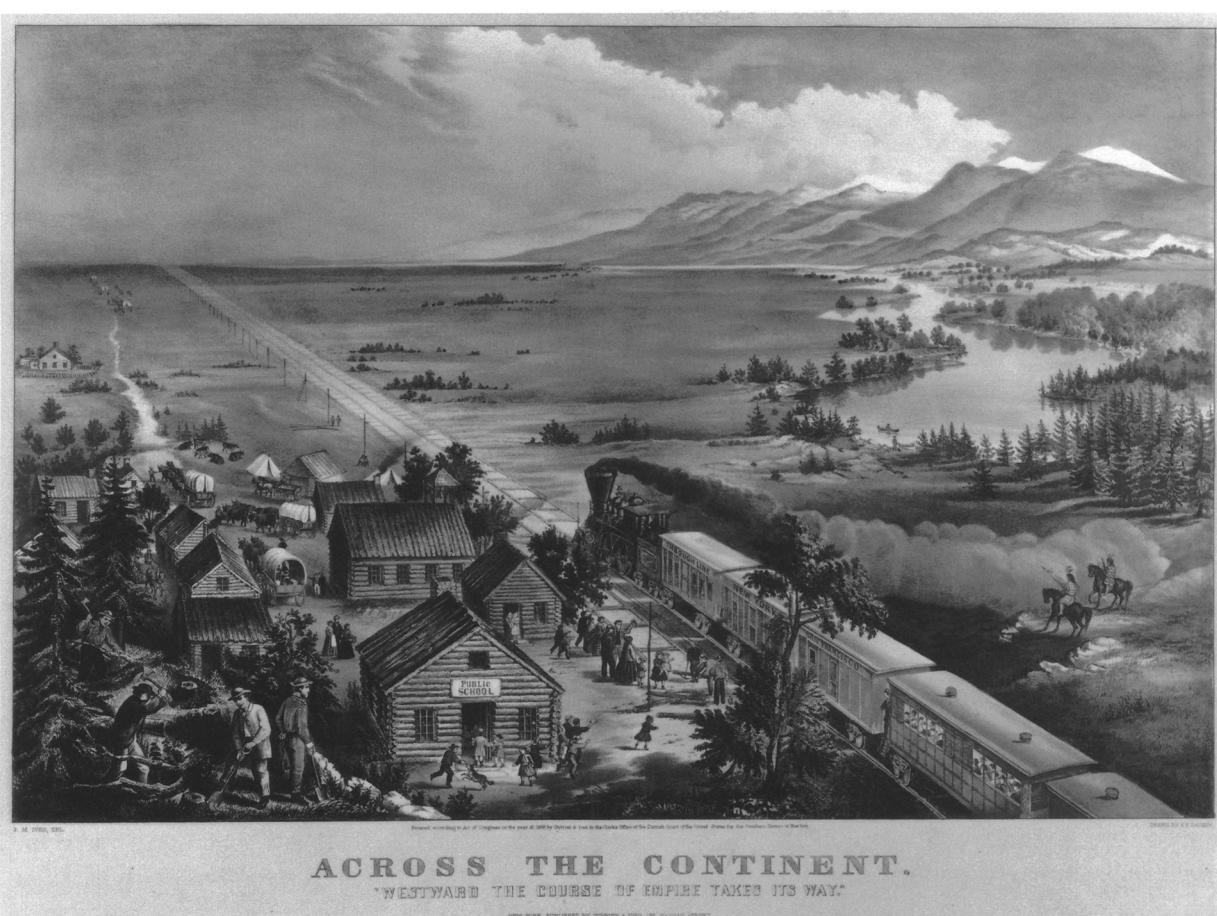
*He signs the pledge! once more within his house
Shall dwell sweet peace and dear domestic love.*

*While Vice and Famine flee before his news
His wife with tearful eyes thanks God above.*



Pendleton's Lithography, Boston.

LIFTING THE MORTGAGE.



44 Anonymous, *Lifting the Mortgage*, ca. 1826–31. Colored lithograph

47 James Merritt Ives, after Frances F. Palmer, *Across the Continent. "Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way."* 1868. Colored lithograph



52 John Sartain, after George Caleb Bingham, *The County Election*, ca. 1854. Engraving, mezzotint, and etching with stippling

history of this country."⁵³ Moving quickly from the right side of the picture to the left are groups of Easterners infiltrating the West: three transcontinental railroad lines, a Pony Express rider, covered wagons, a stagecoach, a hunter, and gold prospectors. Settlers have already built a cabin. Farmers plow their land. As Crofutt maintained, the obstacles to civilization, represented by Native Americans, a herd of bison, a bear, fox, wolf, and deer, give way to the advance of progress.⁵⁴

Democracy and Individualism

The steady growth of settlement in the Western territories embodied the most mythic qualities of the American national experience—individualism and democratic institutions. Ultimately these increased the participation of the people in government. Suffrage for white males had grown dramatically in the 1820s, as many states eliminated the property-holding requirement to vote or hold public office. Since presidential electors and state governors were now chosen by popular vote, more and more people became interested in politics and showed up to cast their votes on election day.⁵⁵ As a result, candidates began to mount campaigns to win the approval of the people.

Under the traditional banner of the "Whigs," the anti-Jacksonian Democrats decried the excessive use of executive power by identifying themselves with the American and English political parties that had battled King George III in the previous

century. Voters were inundated with Whig propaganda in parades, picnics, rallies, songs, almanacs, newspapers, pamphlets, and lithographs. Slogans and mudslinging overshadowed important national issues and characterized the Whig Party's campaign to defeat Andrew Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren. The Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison, was presented as an ordinary man of supposedly humble frontier roots. Party rhetoric emphasized his roles as Indian fighter in the 1811 Battle of Tippecanoe and as Governor of the Indiana Territory. He was "old hero Harrison, the Cincinnatus of the West, the plain dirt farmer."⁵⁶ Of course, the reference to Cincinnatus likened Harrison to the republican founders of the nation. An 1840 broadside in the collection of the Library of Congress included purported scenes from his life, such as "Harrison's humanity in war," "Harrison giving away his only blanket," and "Harrison Saving the Life of a Negro."⁵⁷ By way of contrast, the Whigs claimed that President Van Buren had made the White House a palace where he "doused his whiskers in French *eau de cologne*, slept in a Louis XV bedstead and sipped *soupe à la reine*." When the Democrats responded by suggesting that Harrison would rather drink cider and live in a log cabin instead of the White House, the Whigs had their new slogan, and the campaign of log cabins and hard cider was ignited.⁵⁸

Allusions to American politics were plentiful in prints that reproduced contemporary paintings. American audiences would have recognized the Whig campaigners in John T. Bowen's lithograph after William Hall's painting *Log Cabin Politicians*,

published in Philadelphia in 1841 (cat. 49). The signs depicted on the Harrison Hotel indicate that the barrel of “cider” had been tapped in hope that it would earn votes for General Harrison and his running mate, John Tyler. Although Harrison was defeated in 1836, the abundance of Whig propaganda in almanacs, newspapers, and lithographs certainly contributed to the victory of “Tippecanoe and Tyler, too” in 1840.

The act of casting the ballot was raised to mythic proportions in *The County Election* of ca. 1854 (cat. 52), a sumptuously rich engraving by John Sartain after the original oil by the Missouri artist and Whig politician, George Caleb Bingham. By intentionally presenting a mixture of American male citizens of varying ages, classes, and occupations, Bingham portrayed the ideal of universal male suffrage. As they wait in line to vote orally, the diverse group of citizens project different degrees of interest in the election. A gentleman in a white top hat reads the newspaper next to a group of three men engaged in a discussion, while in the left foreground a man enjoys Whig cider. Bingham wanted his large-scale painting to be reproduced by a highly skilled engraver.⁵⁹ Sartain’s sophisticated use of etching, engraving, stipple, and mezzotint successfully rendered its tone and descriptive detail. As did Sartain’s technique, Bingham’s profuse borrowings from European old masters helped to elevate his motley electorate to the realm of high art. His fondness for the theme of the election was very likely inspired by William Hogarth’s *Election Series*, such as *The Polling* from 1758. And many of his figural groupings, including the three debators, show a debt to Raphael’s *School of Athens*.⁶⁰

Although he set his election day on main street in a western town, Bingham intended his image to be representative of elections held anywhere in the United States, a fact that accounts for the location of the polling porch next to the “Union Hotel.” For the engraving, he instructed Sartain to change the name of the newspaper from the local *Missouri Republican* being read by the gentleman in the righthand corner to the *National Intelligencer*, a leading Whig newspaper published in Washington, D.C. “There will be nothing,” Bingham told Sartain, “to mar the general character of the work, which I design to be as *national* as possible—applicable alike to every Section of the Union, and as illustrative of the manners of a free people and free institutions.”⁶¹ By selling Sartain’s plate and the copyright for *The County Election* to the international print publishing firm of Goupil and Company, Bingham ensured the circulation of his image to an even larger audience.⁶² It was up to the viewer to decide whether universal suffrage best served the public interest. The banner hanging prominently over the polling porch is inscribed “The Will of the People [is] the Supreme Law,” and may be understood as either a celebration or criticism of the American election process. Below this, a voter swears before the judge that he has not voted anywhere else. Next to him, another voter, hands in pockets, ignores the ticket offered by a campaigning candidate and insists on voting as he sees fit. But what about the drunkard being carried to vote—very likely according to another’s wishes? *The County Election* omitted nothing.⁶³

Bingham certainly knew, as did other artists and printmakers, that prints were capable of reaching a broader audience than paintings. Whether their messages were located in the interpretation of complex symbols, literal scenes of everyday life, or a mixture of both, printed allegorical images reflected national principles, recorded historic events, and celebrated heroes. In addressing an 1845 meeting of the American Art-Union, J. T.

Headley championed the contributions of patriotic American art:

Every engraving, lithograph, and wood cut appealing to national feeling and rousing national sentiment—is the work of art; and who can calculate the effect of all these on the minds of our youth? Pictures are more powerful than speeches... Patriotism, that noblest of sentiments, for it is a sentiment as well as a principle, and governs more in that capacity than in the other, is kept alive by art more than by all the political speeches of the land.⁶⁴

Instructional and moralistic, celebratory as well as propagandistic, allegorical prints helped create a shared mythology that both united a people and shaped a nation.

Notes

1. John M. Murrin, “A Roof Without Walls: The Dilemma of American National Identity,” in *Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity*, ed. Richard Beeman et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 347.

2. The need for practical printed materials such as maps, almanacs, magazines, books, broadsides, banknotes, etc. encouraged native printing production. However, in the eighteenth century Americans could not hope to compete with sophisticated European productions of single-sheet engravings suitable for framing. These were largely imported. See Janet Flint, *The Print in the United States from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, 1981). Charles Willson Peale’s full-length mezzotint portrait of William Pitt from 1768 (cat. 14) is an exception. Peale was one of a few American artists who studied in London and mastered English mezzotint practices.

3. See Joan Dolmetsch, “European prints in eighteenth-century America,” *Antiques* 101 (May 1972): 858–63, and Joan Dolmetsch, “Prints in Colonial America: Supply and Demand in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” in *Prints in and of America to 1850*, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1970), 53–74.

4. For a discussion of early American magazines, see Peter J. Parker and Stephanie Munsing Winkelbauer, “Embellishments for Practical Repositories: Eighteenth-Century American Magazine Illustration,” in *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial Williamsburg: To Educate and Decorate*, ed. Joan Dolmetsch (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), 71–97.

5. Temple’s portrait appeared in volume 1 of the 3rd edition of *The Scot’s Scourge being a Compleat Supplement to the British Antidote to Caledonian Poison* in 1765. See Wendy Wick Reaves, “Effigies Curiously Engraven: Eighteenth-Century American Portrait Prints,” in *Prints of New England: Papers Given at the Seventh North American Print Conference*, ed. Georgia Brady Barnhill (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1991), 49. For an illustration of Temple’s portrait, see Clarence S. Brigham, *Paul Revere’s Engravings* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1954), pl. 34.

6. Liberty’s *pilleus libertatis* (liberty or Phrygian cap) was a short conical cap placed on a freed Roman slave’s head during a ceremony. Liberty often was seen with the *pilleus libertatis* placed on her *hasta* (staff). See Frank H. Sommer, “The Metamorphoses of Britannia,” in *American Art: 1750–1800 Towards Independence*, ed. Patricia E. Kane and Charles F. Montgomery, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1976), 42.

7. Americans borrowed this enthusiasm from Europe, where the eighteenth-century revival of classical antiquity had influenced everything from architecture, painting, sculpture, and the decorative arts to fashion in clothing. It was sparked by the discovery and excavation of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the 1740s. See Wendy A. Cooper, *Classical Taste in America 1800–1840*, exh. cat. (New York: Abbeville Press for the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1993), 8–9.

8. Bernard Bailyn et al., eds., *The Great Republic: A History of the American People* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co., 1977), 291–97.

9. Latrobe’s Anniversary Oration of May 8, 1811 to The Society of Artists appeared in *The Port Folio* in 1811.

10. Quoted in Cooper, *Classical Taste*, 16.

11. See Michael Kammen, “From Liberty to Prosperity: Reflections upon the Role of Revolutionary Iconography in National Tradition,” *American Antiquarian Society* 86 (1976): 237–72.

12. William S. Thomas, *The Society of the Cincinnati 1783–1935* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1935), 20.

13. Thomas Wyatt, “Life of General Joseph Warren,” *Graham’s Magazine* 36 (February 1850): 159.

14. Thomas, *The Society of the Cincinnati*, 26.

15. It is difficult to say whether the majority of Americans could understand the often highly complex allegories illustrated in prints. The fact that printmakers commonly included a description or key to an image’s meaning either on the print or issued separately in a newspaper advertisement or broadside suggests that an explanation was required for the audience’s understanding.

16. See especially chapter 6, “The Fourth Continent,” in Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 112ff., and chapter 4, “A Land of Allegory,” in Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the*

- Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 84–117. For a discussion of allegories of the four continents in different mediums, see Clare Le Corbeiller, “Miss America and Her Sisters: Personification of the Four Parts of the World,” *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 19 (1961): 209–223.
17. See George Richardson, *Iconology: or a Collection of Emblematical Figures Containing Four Hundred and Twenty-Four Remarkable Subjects, Moral and Instructive; in Which are Displayed the Beauty of Virtue and the Deformity of Vice* (1777–79; repr., New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), 33.
18. See John Higham, “Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 100 (1990): 55; Lester C. Olson, “The American Colonies Portrayed as an Indian: Race and Gender in Eighteenth-Century British Caricatures,” *Imprint: The Journal of the American Print Collector’s Society* 17 (Autumn 1992): 2–13; and Olson, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).
19. The image of Britannia first appeared on Roman coins during the Roman republic. Her association with Liberty is described for professional artists by Richardson in his English version of Cesare Ripa’s guide to allegorical representations: “The cap of liberty by her fide [sic], is an illusion to the happy constitution [sic] of this country, to the equity of the laws and freedom of the subiect [sic].” See Richardson, *Iconology*, 39. For further discussion of Britannia’s reemergence, see chapter 4, “The Allegory of Patriotism,” in Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
20. The first use of the name Columbia is unclear, but there is no doubt of the term’s popularity in the late eighteenth century. See the entry for cat. 26.
21. See Higham, “Indian Princess and Roman Goddess,” 45–79; E. McClung Fleming, “The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765–1783,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965): 65–81; Fleming, “From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783–1815,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967): 37–66; and Fleming, “Symbols of the U.S.: From Indian Queen to Uncle Sam,” in *Frontiers of American Culture*, ed. Ray Browne et al. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Studies, 1968), 1–24.
22. A slight variation is seen in the final lithograph of Kimmel and Forster’s allegorical Civil War series, *The End of the Rebellion of the United States 1865* from 1866; see the entry for cat. 12.
23. Frank H. Sommer, “Emblem and Device: The Origin of the Great Seal of the United States,” *Art Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1961): 57.
24. See Taylor, *America as Art*, 9–10; and Sommer, “Emblem and Device,” 72–73. For more information on seals, see Arnold Whittick, *Signs, Symbols, and Their Meaning* (London: Leonard Hill Books, Ltd., 1960), 40–66.
25. The eagle had also frequently served as the emblem of such European rulers as the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Although Benjamin Franklin was concerned that the seal would not be understood, the eagle was reproduced everywhere. See Elinor Lander Horwitz, *The Bird, the Banner, and Uncle Sam: Images of America in Folk and Popular Art* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1976), 39; and Taylor, *America as Art*, 9.
26. Edward Savage’s description [from an 1802 exhibition catalogue for the Columbian Gallery, New York], quoted in Louis C. Jones, “Liberty and Considerable License,” *Antiques* 74 (July 1958): 40.
27. See three notes by Howard Eaton Keyes, “Liberty in Chinese Taste: A Gallery Note,” *Antiques* 20 (November 1931): 298–99; “More Liberty and a Little Hebe,” *Antiques* 21 (June 1932): 257–59; and “Hebe Rediviva,” *Antiques* 28 (November 1935): 187. See also Jones, “Liberty and Considerable License,” 40–43.
28. Guillim’s *Display of Heraldry* was first published in 1611. See Wendy Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon: The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service and the National Portrait Gallery, 1982), 90.
29. Congress wanted a Roman equestrian statue of Washington, which may have been too difficult for Norman without a model to copy. See *Ibid.*, 16–17.
30. Opportunists in both America and Europe sensed a potential market in the grieving citizenry for memorial objects of all kinds. See Davida Tenenbaum Deutsch, “Washington Memorial Prints,” *Antiques* 111 (February 1977): 326. Even before Washington’s death, Mason Locke Weems, an itinerant preacher and peddler of religious books, began writing about the hero’s life and virtues, which he often exaggerated or simply invented to embellish his *Life of George Washington: With Curious Anecdotes, Equally Honorable to Himself and Exemplary to His Young Countrymen*. Weems was ready to sell his biography in 1800, and his speculation that mourning Americans would want to read about their hero proved correct. A century later over 50,000 copies had been sold. See Boorstin, *The Americans*, 341.
31. Deutsch, “Washington Memorial Prints,” 326. See also John Hill Morgan, “Memento Mori: Mourning Rings, Memorial Miniatures, and Hair Devices,” *Antiques* (March 1930): 226–30; and Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stone Carving and its Symbols 1650–1815* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), pls. 192 C & D.
32. Patricia Anderson, *Promoted to Glory: The Apotheosis of George Washington*, exh. cat. (Northampton, MA: Smith College Museum of Art, 1980), 36–37.
33. Wick, *George Washington*, 71.
34. Anita Schorsch, *Mourning Becomes America: Mourning Art in the New Nation*, exh. cat. (Harrisburg, PA: William Penn Memorial Museum, 1976), 4 (unpaginated).
35. Harold Holzer, *Washington and Lincoln Portrayed: National Icons in Popular Prints* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1993), 3.
36. Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Borritt, and Mark E. Neely, *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1984), xvi.
37. Schorsch, *Mourning Becomes America*, 14–16 (unpaginated).
38. *Ibid.*, 4.
39. Elizabeth Holt, “Revivalist Themes in American Prints and Folksongs,” in *American Printmaking Before 1876: Fact, Fiction, and Fantasy* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1975), 44.
40. Americans who could afford to purchase single-sheet prints often used them to decorate their homes. Prints were framed or backed with fabric and protected with varnish before being tacked on the wall.
41. For further discussion of religious prints, see Janet Flint, *The Way of Good and Evil: Popular Religious Lithographs of Nineteenth-Century America*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972).
42. Louis Legrand Noble included Cole’s description of *The Voyage of Life* in his biography of the artist. The quotations in this paragraph are from Noble, *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole* (1853; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 214–17.
43. See *A History and Description of Peale’s Great National Painting of the Court of Death from which 100,000 Colored Engravings Are Now Being Issued* (New York: G.Q. Colton, 1859), 2.
44. The quotation is from the title of the pamphlet that accompanied Peale’s *Court of Death* on tour. See *Great Moral Picture, the Court of Death, Painted by Rembrandt Peale of Baltimore* (New York: Conrad, ca. 1820).
45. See Rembrandt Peale, “Original Thoughts on Allegorical Painting,” *National Gazette* (28 October 1820), in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family* 3, ed. Lillian B. Miller (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, 1991), 847–52. Peale felt that “one of the most absurd styles of painting is that in which real scenes are confused with mythological and symbolical characters” (849).
46. “Rembrandt Peale: Letter on his *Court of Death*, 1845,” in *American Art 1760–1960: Sources and Documents*, ed. John McCoubrey (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965), 55.
47. Population statistics indicate that for the year 1820 there were 137,000 people living in Philadelphia and 63,000 in Baltimore. See Donald B. Cole, *Handbook of American History* (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, Inc., 1968), 115.
48. “By enclosing One Dollar, with three letter postage stamps (to pay the postage on the Engraving) the engraving will be forwarded by mail...” See *A History and Description of Peale’s Great National Painting*, 8.
49. “Rembrandt Peale: Letter,” 55.
50. Ian R. Tyrrell, *Sobbing Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800–1860* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 70.
51. *Ibid.*, 136–38.
52. J. Valerie Fifer, *American Progress: The Growth of Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth-Century West: The Life and Times of George A. Crofutt Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age* (Chester, CT: The Globe Pequot Press, 1988), 200–204.
53. George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt’s New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* (Chicago: Overland, 1878–79), 300.
54. Crofutt described the action in the print: “Fleeing from ‘Progress,’ and toward the blue waters of the Pacific, which shows itself on the left of the picture, beyond the snow-capped summits of the Sierra Nevadas, are the Indians, buffalo, wild horses, bears, and other game, moving westward—ever westward. The Indians with their squaws, papooses, and ‘pony lodges’ turn their despairing faces toward the setting sun as they flee from the presence of the wondrous vision. The star is *too much for them*.” *Ibid.*
55. Irwin Unger, *These United States: The Questions of Our Past* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 265.
56. Joseph B. Hudson, Jr., “Banks, Politics, Hard Cider, and Paint: The Political Origins of William Sidney Mount’s ‘Cider Making,’” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 10 (1975): 114.
57. See *Log Cabin Anecdotes*, illustrated in Reilly, *American Political Prints 1766–1876*, 154–55.
58. Hudson, “Banks, Politics, Hard Cider, and Paint,” 114. For more information on the campaign, see Robert Gray Gunderson, *The Log-Cabin Campaign* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957).
59. Of Sartain, who had emigrated from London to Philadelphia in 1822, Bingham wrote, “He has long had the reputation of being the best mezzotint engraver in the Union, and engraves very well in line also...” Quoted in Katharine Martinez, “John Sartain (1808–1897): His Contribution to American Printmaking,” *Imprint: The Journal of the American Print Collector’s Society* 8 (Spring 1983): 6.
60. Nancy Rash, *The Painting and Politics of George Caleb Bingham* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 129.
61. Quoted in Gail E. Husch, “George Caleb Bingham’s *The County Election: Whig Tribute to the Will of the People*,” *American Art Journal* 14 (1987): 12. Bingham’s friend James Rollins told the American Art-Union that the painting “would be admired alike by an exquisite connoisseur in the arts, the most enlightened statesman, and the most ignorant voter.” See Ron Tyler, “George Caleb Bingham: The Native Talent,” in *American Frontier Life: Early Western Painting and Prints*, ed. Alan Axelrod (New York: Cross River Press, Ltd., 1987), 38.
62. Martinez, “John Sartain,” 7.
63. See Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 92–99.
64. *Transactions of the American Art Union for the Year 1845* (New York: 1845), 14–15.

Checklist of the Exhibition

The Development of National Symbols

1

L'Amérique Indépendante, 1778
Jean Charles le Vasseur (1734–1816),
after Antoine Borel (1743–ca. 1810)
Engraving and etching with stippling,
515 x 374 mm (sheet)
Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Sterling
Memorial Library

In 1776 Benjamin Franklin went to France to negotiate a treaty between that country and the newly independent United States. The alliance between the two was signed on February 6, 1778, but Franklin remained in France until 1785. His popularity there is attested by portraits by Houdon and Greuze and by his inclusion in many French engravings.¹

Antoine Borel wanted to include a portrait of Franklin in his design for *L'Amérique Indépendante*, commemorating America's independence and the freedom of the seas. Although Franklin reluctantly agreed to the sitting, he insisted that the print be dedicated not to him, as Borel had planned, but to the American Congress. In response to Borel's request for an official seal for his print, Franklin sent two pieces of paper currency. Consequently, the linked ring of states surrounding a harp with the Latin motto at the base of the print was taken from an eight-dollar Continental note.²

In this allegory Franklin, wearing the toga of a Roman statesman, bids America as the Indian Maiden to rise. In reference to the country's newly won independence, the Indian Maiden clings tightly to a sculpture of Liberty, while a revolution rages on the right. Minerva protects Franklin and America with her shield. And with his club, Mars, the god of war, knocks down Britannia and Neptune, to the delight of Ceres and Mercury, representing Agriculture and Commerce. Although the French were sympathetic to America's desire for liberty, Neptune's broken rudder—inscribed with the English coat of arms—alludes to their ulterior motive in aiding the rebellion. Before the Revolution, trade between France and the colonies was prohibited. With Britannia literally rendered impotent, Borel's allegory acknowledges the economic self-interest that fueled France's support for America.³

1. Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), 218.
2. Charles Coleman Sellers, *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), 120–21 and 195–97.
3. Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 147.

2

The Tea-Tax-Tempest, or the Anglo-American Revolution, ca. 1778
Attributed to Carl Gottlieb Guttenberg (1743–1790)
Etching and engraving, 346 x 481 mm (plate)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.331

The Tea-Tax-Tempest, or the Anglo-American Revolution is attributed to Carl Gottlieb Guttenberg, a German engraver working in Paris. Guttenberg, who adapted the composition from a 1774 English print commenting on the news of the Boston Tea Party, signed the plate with his initials on the bales of food in the lower left corner.¹ Two illustrated medallions at the bottom of the print link the America Revolution to historic struggles against tyranny in Holland and Switzerland. The print attributes the cause of the American rebellion to the French cock, who is shown igniting the fire under the exploding teapot. It was therefore very likely made to commemorate the 1778 union of the French and the Americans against the English. (See the introductory essay for more information on the allegorical content of this print.)

1. See E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680–1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), no. 99.

3

Untitled [Revolutionary War Allegory],
ca. 1783
Thomas Cook (1744–1818),
after Thomas Stothard (1755–1834)
Engraving, 202 x 118 mm (sheet)
1993.1.42

The painter and illustrator Thomas Stothard was a member of the Royal Academy in London. Thomas Cook's engraving after Stothard's untitled allegory may well have been published in *Town and Country Magazine*, *Novelist's Magazine*, or another English periodical for which Stothard submitted drawings.¹ Its message, however, was certainly intended for an American audience. The print was likely engraved sometime between August 16, 1780, when Cornwallis defeated the Americans at the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, and September 3, 1783, when the Treaty of Paris granted America's independence from England. A memorial obelisk is inscribed with the name "Camden" as well as names of six other major encounters between the British and the Americans.

The allegory urges America to make peace with mother Britain, which is heralded as the source of "Religion, Language, Arts, & Commerce." Peace is personified as a maiden in white robes and an olive crown. She urges the naughty and naive Youth, America, to turn away from the fiend of War and look instead at the abundance that comes with peace, represented by a cornucopia in the right foreground. The maiden with hands clasped and eyes turned heavenward is most likely Religion, and the figure gazing out of the print and holding a liberty pole and cap must be Liberty. Without a key, it is impossible to identify the personifications on the right with absolute certainty. However, it is likely that the little genii reading books inscribed Astronomy, Grammar, and Husbandry are representations of Language and the Arts, while Commerce may be the third allegorical maiden on the right.

1. Michael Bryan, *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (New York: MacMillan, 1903–5), 133.

to an old poet, who is also paying his respects to the heroes, lies a dying hydra, representing the downfall of despotism. On the right, a despairing group of monarchs recoils at the sight of the Goddess of French Liberty atop an obelisk. An urn at its base contains the remains of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and the open book inscribed "Rights of Man" alludes to his political writings, which had deeply informed the ideals behind the French Revolution of 1789. Undoubtedly, the oak wreath that French Liberty extends toward the tomb of the Americans is intended as a gracious acknowledgment of America's struggle for freedom.

1. Quoted in Judy L. Larson, "Separately Published Engravings in the Early Republic: An Introduction to Copperplate Engraving and Printing in America Through 1820," *Printing History: The Journal of the American Printing History Association* 6 (1984): 13.

2. See the reproduction of the prospectus in E. McSherry Fowble, *To Please Every Taste: 18th-Century Prints from the Winterthur Museum* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1991), 159. David McNeely Stauffer also catalogued two states of this print, inscribed with an explanatory text, in *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel* (New York: Grolier Club, 1907), no. 3344.

For Americans, the eagle was a powerful national symbol, and the youthful goddess a reminder of the liberty they had won. Admiration for Savage's painting and print is evidenced by numerous copies in such varied mediums as needlework, watercolor, oils on velvet or silk, and reverse-glass prints.² Although the anonymous etching (cat. 6) was copied directly from Savage's print, it omits some of the details: the tiny sails are visible below Liberty, for example, but there is no view of the city of Boston. The printmaker also updated Savage's engraving by adding two stars to the flag, indicating the admission of Kentucky and Vermont into the Union in 1791 and 1792.

1. Louis C. Jones quotes Savage's description of the painting from an 1802 exhibition catalogue for the Columbian Gallery in New York City. See Jones, "Liberty and Considerable License," *Antiques* 74 (July 1958): 40.

2. For illustrated examples of copies of Savage's *Liberty*, see three articles by Howard Eaton Keyes: "Liberty in Chinese Taste: A Gallery Note," *Antiques* 20 (November 1931): 298–99; "More Liberty and a Little Hebe," *Antiques* 21 (June 1932): 257–59; and "Hebe Rediviva," *Antiques* 28 (November 1935): 187. See also Jones, "Liberty and Considerable License," 40–43.

4

Triumph of Liberty, 1796

Peter C. Verger (active in America 1795–1805/6), after John Francis Renault, Sr. (active in America 1781–1819)
Etching and engraving, 346 x 481 mm (plate)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.324

The French printmaking team of Renault and Verger, active in New York in the late 1700s and early 1800s, designed this allegorical tribute to the American—and French—revolutions. In a 1796 letter soliciting subscriptions for *Triumph of Liberty*, they flattered Americans: "Conscious of your taste for the arts and sciences, which your genius improves by spreading light over them, we are no less admirers of your patriotism, we thought it our duty to present you with the view of a Work, which ought to hand down to posterity both an attachment for the Republic, and love for the memory of those great men, who have so generously fallen victims to their country..."¹ A tomb in the engraving inscribed with the names of American Revolutionary heroes includes John Hancock, Joseph Warren, John Sullivan, and Israel Putnam. Two urns on the tomb memorialize the French favorite—Benjamin Franklin—and General Richard Montgomery.

Renault and Verger published a lengthy prospectus explaining the allegory to its American audience.² Below the memorial tomb, America in the guise of Minerva burns incense in tribute to those who fought for liberty. She holds the American flag and leans on a shield emblazoned with the eagle. Next

5
Liberty. In the form of the Goddess of Youth; giving Support to the Bald Eagle, 1796
Edward Savage (1761–1817)
Colored etching and engraving with stippling, 635 x 417 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.344

6

Liberty
Anonymous, after Edward Savage
Etching with stippling, 420 x 315 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.323

America's national symbol, the goddess Columbia, was frequently paired with Liberty or depicted in the guise of Liberty. As was mentioned in the introduction, Edward Savage Americanized the figure of Liberty in this engraving after his own painting of 1796 (cat. 5). Savage attached the original flag of thirteen stars and stripes to Liberty's pole and cap; and he situated her against a background of dark clouds and lightning on "Beacon-Hill" above "a view of Boston harbor representing the Evacuation of the British fleet."¹ Liberty wears a contemporary dress of white gossamer fringed in gold and bound around the waist with a patriotic red sash. With her bare feet she crushes the symbols of tyranny, which include a crown and shackles and the key to the Bastille.

7

The Hornet and Peacock, Or, John Bull in Distress, March 27, 1813
Amos Doolittle (1754–1832)
Colored etching, 225 x 332 mm (sheet)
Library Transfer, Gift of C. Sanford Bull.
1955.44.20

8

Brother Jonathan administering a Salutary Cordial to John Bull, ca. 1813
Amos Doolittle (1754–1832)
Colored etching, 248 x 389 mm (plate)
Library Transfer, Gift of C. Sanford Bull.
1955.44.24

The short and round figure of John Bull entered eighteenth-century English political cartoons as the representative Englishman. Brother Jonathan, a stereotype of the American citizenry, soon became his rival.¹ Both characters appeared in American prints published during the War of 1812, such as these etchings by the New Haven, Connecticut engraver Amos Doolittle. The two commemorated American naval victories, the first fought north of Surinam in February 1813 (cat. 7), the other at Lake Erie the following September (cat. 8).² Originally trained as a jeweler and silversmith, Doolittle produced engravings of the battles of Lexington and Concord as well as banknotes, bookplates, portraits, masonic certificates, maps, and other book illustrations (see cats. 18, 19, and 39).

It was difficult for America to maintain neutrality as the British boarded their ships and impressed American seamen into the British navy. Commerce suffered as legislators were forced to prohibit American merchants from trading with Europe. War was inevitable, but Americans had only a small navy. Any victory over the powerful British fleet was therefore very meaningful. The American *Hornet*, commanded by Captain James Lawrence, triumphed over the English *Peacock* after only fifteen minutes of battle. In Doolittle's etching, two small ships in the background provide a clue to the foreground activity: a half-bull, half-peacock creature is blubbering after being stung by a hornet, who reminds him that Americans were fighting for the freedom of the seas. Instead of depicting a hornet, a peacock, and the figure of John Bull, as William Charles of Philadelphia did in his cartoon of the same battle, Doolittle creatively combined the tail of a peacock, alluding to the British battleship, with the head of bull, an obvious reference to John Bull.³

Doolittle intended his political cartoons to inspire Americans with the confidence required to prevail over the British navy. He patriotically inscribed his name as the "Yankee Doodle-Scratcher," in the lower right of *Brother Jonathan*. Tiny ships in the background again serve as clues to the print's subject: in this case, Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's defeat of six British ships on the western end of Lake Erie on September 10, 1813. In the foreground, a young and fit Brother Jonathan is clearly victorious over the rotund and helpless redcoat Jonathan Bull, who is being forced to drink "Perry," a pear liquor that caused digestive problems and here doubles as an obvious allusion to Captain Perry.⁴

1. Winifred Morgan, *An American Icon: Brother Jonathan and American Identity* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated Press, 1988). John Bull was characterized as a "burly almost oafish squire, of simple manners and hearty living." See Herbert Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 97.

2. For information on this naval battle, see Irving S. Olds, *Bits and Pieces of American History* (New York: Privately Printed, 1951), 166. This print is also discussed in Georgia B. Barnhill, "Political Cartoons of New England, 1812–1861," in *Prints of New England: Papers Given at the Seventh North American Print Conference*, ed. Georgia Brady Barnhill (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1991), 84–86; and in William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor*, vol. 1 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933), 59–64.

3. See Lorraine Dwelling Lanmon, "William Charles and His War of 1812 Caricatures," in *Philadelphia Printmaking: American Prints before 1860*, ed. Robert F. Looney (West Chester, PA: Tinicum Press, 1976), 90–109.

4. Barnhill, "Political Cartoons of New England," 86.

9

Let the Weapons of War Perish, 1815

Thomas Kensett (1786–1829)
Published by Shelton & Kensett
Colored etching and engraving,
290 x 349 mm (plate)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.321

Thomas Kensett emigrated from England to New Haven in 1806. By 1812 he was employed as an engraver in the map and print publishing firm of Shelton & Kensett in Cheshire, Connecticut.¹ *Let the Weapons of War Perish* celebrated the end of the War of 1812, marked by the U.S. Senate's ratification of the Peace of Ghent on February 15, 1815. Although the print contains an urn and a monument decorated with laurel crowns honoring all the "departed heroes" in Britain and America who fought in the Napoleonic Wars, its primary purpose was to promote the union of the two nations.

By representing Britannia and Columbia in identical poses, costumes, and hairstyles, Kensett rendered the nations equal partners. "Long may Columbia, and Britannia shine," reads the inscription. Columbia proudly holds the Constitution of the United States, the document that unified the American people under the principle of democracy. The eagle appears at her side, and the British lion supports Britannia. Each goddess holds her nation's flag and extends an olive branch of peace to the other. The anchors on which they lean symbolize hope as well as the newly negotiated freedom of the seas. Kensett's inscription concludes by urging that the fruitful union of Columbia and Britannia serve as an example for other nations to follow.

1. Thompson R. Harlow, "Connecticut Engravers 1774–1820," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 36 (October 1971): 115 and no. 76.

10

America Guided by Wisdom: An Allegorical representation of the United States, denoting their Independence and prosperity, ca. 1815

Benjamin Tanner (1775–1848),
after John James Barralet (ca. 1747–1815)
Etching and engraving, 445 x 607 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.360

II

Tree of Liberty, 1846

Anonymous; published by Ensigns and Thayer, New York
Woodcut and wood engraving (transferred to stone and printed as a lithograph),
790 x 587 mm (sheet, irregular)
1988.1.155

The Liberty Tree became a symbol of American freedom at the time of the Boston Tea Party, when the Sons of Liberty hung an effigy of the Boston stamp collector from a great elm tree on the Common. When the Stamp Act was repealed in August of 1765, the tree was adorned with a copper plate inscribed "The Tree of Liberty." Other American colonies followed Massachusetts's example and adopted their own Liberty Trees.¹ In this lithograph of 1846, Ensigns and Thayer embellished the tree with the thirty-one state seals. Instead of the population statistics and numbers of senators and representatives listed on Amos Doolittle's *A Display of the United States of America* (cat. 18) and *A New Display of the United States* (cat. 19), their *Tree of Liberty* records the date each state entered the Union and boasts the miles of roads, railroad, and canals it had built.

Even without the allusion to liberty, a living, growing tree was an appropriate metaphor for the powerful and rapidly expanding United States. Eighteen more states had joined the Union since Independence, and Americans could look proudly upon the advances made in transportation and communication. Illustrated at the bottom of this print are scenes of the landing of Columbus at San Salvador in 1492 and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, Americans frequently recalled such "noble" deeds of past discoverers and early settlers in order to justify their own movement westward. Such images contributed to the myth that Americans were bringing civilizing influences—Christianity and democracy—into the wilderness, just as their forefathers had done.²

Personifications of American Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce are sheltered at the base of the Liberty Tree. In place of the traditional Greek goddess Ceres with a cornucopia, Agriculture is more popularly represented by a plow, rake, and bundles of straw. Likewise, the figure of Commerce is not Mercury or Neptune, but an average sailor sitting by an anchor and compass. Industry's attributes are the hammer, anvil, and wheel.

The *Tree of Liberty* was published in 1846, just at the time the Jacksonian Democrats

passed the Walker Tariff, which eliminated the increases of 1842. Although Northern industries were obviously in favor of the protective tariff, it hurt American exporters such as the Southern cotton farmers. This print, like another anonymous lithograph entitled *The Tree of Liberty*, was published in opposition to the Walker Tariff.³ The Liberty Tree, originally developed as a symbol in protest of a tax, would thus later be used as propaganda in support of a stronger tariff. It is likely that Ensign and Thayer's inclusion of the personifications of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry beneath the Liberty Tree's sheltering branches was also intended as a call for the protection of the government.

1. For more information, see Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Liberty Tree: A Genealogy," *The New England Quarterly* 25 (December 1952): 437–40.

2. See William H. Treutner, "The Art of History: American Exploration and Discovery Scenes, 1840–1860," *American Art Journal* 14 (1982): 4–31.

3. This second lithograph is in the Library of Congress. See Bernard F. Reilly, *American Political Prints 1766–1876: A Catalog of the Collections in the Library of Congress* (Boston, MA: G.K. Hall and Co., 1991), no. 1846–13.

I2

"*Proclamation of Freedom*," Jan. 1. 1863. *Reception of the News on the Arrival of the U.S. Village Mail-Carrier*, 1863
Thomas Doney (active in New York 1845–49), after Eugenio Honorius Latilla (1808–1861)
Published by William Pate, New York
Mezzotint, 540 x 686 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection,
by exchange. 1992.18.1

Because of its controversial nature, many image-makers waited until after Abraham Lincoln's assassination to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation (e.g., cat. 31). The New York publisher William Pate was unusual in issuing a print immediately after the "Proclamation of Freedom" was announced. In his apparent haste to circulate such a print, Pate allegedly reworked an existing plate engraved by Thomas Doney with a scene from the Revolutionary period: *Cornwallis is Taken! The Watchman's Cry—Philadelphia 1781*. Even this subject had been an adaptation of Eugenio Honorius Latilla's *Arrival of the Post in an English Country Village*. Although Pate replaced the nightwatchman's scroll and lantern with a copy of the "Proclamation" and a mail bag, most of the eighteenth-century costume and architecture, including the "Geo. Washington" Inn, were unaltered.¹

1. Information supplied by The Philadelphia Print Shop, 1992.

I3

The End of the Rebellion of the United States 1865, 1866
Attributed to Christopher Kimmel
Published by Kimmel and Forster, New York
Lithograph printed in black with grey lithotint, 586 x 749 mm (sheet)
Lent by the American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Massachusetts

Christopher Kimmel combined mythological and historical figures in his representation of the surrender of the Confederacy in *The End of the Rebellion of the United States 1865*. Columbia, crowned with stars of the Union, stands next to Liberty on a marble monument carved with portraits of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. This memorial tribute to both the father and the protector of the United States is a clear indication that the print postdates Lincoln's assassination. Thus Liberty, who proudly holds the American flag and wears the Phrygian cap, symbolizes Washington's service in the Revolutionary War as well as Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves. Columbia points to a freed slave, shackles broken, kneeling at the base of the monument. Beneath Columbia and Liberty, Justice guides the Union generals Butler, Grant, and Sherman, victorious over the Confederates on the right. While American flags wave freely in the background, Robert E. Lee surrenders his sword under the fallen palmetto tree entwined with a dead snake, symbolic of the Confederacy's demise.¹ A guilty-looking Jefferson Davis seems to consider fleeing with a bag of money, but an American eagle armed with thunderbolts prevents his escape.

Columbia's inclusion in this 1866 lithograph demonstrates the perseverance of allegorical representations of America in printed images. More significantly, her prominence indicates hope for the restoration of the Union at the end of the Civil War. Indeed, Columbia had been conspicuously absent from Kimmel and Forster's earlier lithograph, *The Outbreak of the Rebellion in the United States 1861*, an allegory of the initial separation of North and South.²

1. The palmetto was a state symbol of South Carolina, the first state to secede from the Union. Palmetto trees appeared on a sheet-music cover for *The Palmetto State Song*, "Music composed and Respectfully dedicated to the Signers of the Ordinance of Secession," in South Carolina on December 20, 1860. See Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, *The Confederate Image: Prints of a Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), fig. 3. Bernard Reilly, Curator of Prints and Photographs at the Library of Congress, informed me that the dead snake in *The End of the Rebellion* is a reference to the tyranny of the Confederacy, and that the live snake wrapped around the palmetto tree in *The Outbreak of the Rebellion* is wearing a crown.

2. For more information on and illustrations of Kimmel and Forster's allegorical Civil War prints, see Bernard F. Reilly, *American Political Prints 1766–1876: A Catalog of the Collections in the Library of Congress* (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1991), nos. 1865–6, 1865–21, and 1866–1; Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), 85; and Holzer et al., *The Confederate Image*, 177.

Popular Heroes

I4

Worthy of Liberty, Mr. Pitt scorns to invade the Liberties of other People, 1768
Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827)
Mezzotint; second state, 554 x 375 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.941

American printmakers rarely adopted the Indian Maiden when representing their country allegorically. In this mezzotint portrait of Britain's William Pitt, however, Charles Willson Peale personified America as a male Native American. In a broadside description accompanying this tribute to Pitt's defense of the rights of American colonists, Peale explained the allegory:

... An Indian is placed on the Pedestal, in an *erect* posture, with an attentive Countenance, watching, as America has done for Five Years past, the extraordinary motions of the British Senate. He listens to the Orator, and has a bow in his Hand, and a Dog by his side, to shew the natural *Faithfulness and Firmness* of America. It was advised by some to have the Indian drawn in a dejected and melancholy Posture: And considering the apparent Weakness of the Colonies, and the Power of the Parent Country, it might not perhaps, have been improper to have executed it in that Manner; but in Truth the Americans, being well founded in their principles, and animated with a sacred Love for their Country have never desponded.¹

Peale's representation of British Liberty was equally uncharacteristic. She is shown stepping on the petition "against Acts of meer Power, adverse to American Rights," written by the Stamp Act Congress in 1765.² Since he completed the print while studying in London with Benjamin West, Peale could not state his support for America's resistance more openly. Instead he alluded to past victories over tyranny by including in the background such details as Whitehall Palace, site of the execution of Charles I, who was beheaded in 1649 for interfering with British citizens' right to liberty.

John Singleton Copley, who received the mezzotint as a gift from the artist, described Pitt as "a true Patriot" and further commended the print's artistic excellence and "the fair prospects it affords of America's rivaling the

Continent of Europe in those refined Arts that have been justly esteemed the Greatest glory of ancient Greece and Rome.”³ Upon his return to Philadelphia in 1769, Peale sold twenty impressions at fifteen shillings each, but further sales did not meet his high expectations.⁴ Undoubtedly, Pitt had been a popular hero in America: two statues were erected in his honor in New York and Charleston in 1770. But as conflict with England increased, Americans likely preferred images of heroes from their own country.

1. The full text is included in Frank H. Sommer III, “Thomas Hollis and the Arts of Dissent,” in *Prints in and of America to 1850*, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, 1970), 150.

2. Ibid. Sommer suggests that Peale’s Roman toga was more than just a reference to his excellent oratorical skills. It was also an allusion to Brutus and therefore supported the theme of resistance to tyranny.

3. Quoted in Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale* (New York: Charles Scribner’s, 1947), 82.

4. Ibid.

15

Mr. Samuel Adams, 1774

Paul Revere (1735–1818)

Engraving for *The Royal American Magazine*,

130 x 105 mm (plate)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.198

16

The True Portraiture of his Excellency George Washington Esqr in the Roman Dress, 1783

Attributed to John Norman
(active 1748–1817)

Colored engraving, 329 x 195 mm (plate)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.966

17

The Portraiture and Coate Armour of Sr. William de la More, 1669

Engraving from John Guillim’s *Display of Heraldry*, 282 x 179 mm (plate)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.967

18

A Display of the United States of America,

1788–89

Amos Doolittle (1754–1832)

Etching and engraving with stippling;

1st of 6 states, 555 x 436 mm (sheet)

Library Transfer. 1954.18.47

This print represents the new national unity of the thirteen states of America, as joined together by the “The Present Constitution.”¹ A portrait of George Washington in civilian dress as “The Protector of his country, and the Supporter of the rights of mankind” appears in the center of fourteen linked rings. The Great Seal is enclosed in the ring above Washington’s head, and every other ring contains the seal of one of the thirteen states arranged in geographical order. The symbolic motif of linked seals was found on Continental Currency fractional notes and coins as early as 1776 and was very likely well known to Doolittle, who was an engraver of banknotes.² Its message here is clear: if the responsibility for governing the Union ultimately rested on Washington’s shoulders, it also depended on the participation of each state.

The state seals consisted of a combination of symbols, emblems, personifications, and ordinary objects celebrating the heritage of each state. Pennsylvania’s, for example, includes the American eagle, a ship denoting the importance of commerce, and a plow and three stacks of grain symbolic of the state’s agriculture. Around the rings enclosing each seal are the relevant state’s population statistics as well as the number of senators and representatives permitted it in Congress. The ring around The Great Seal itself indicates that the “total of inhabitants” in the United States in 1787 was 2,807,444.

Doolittle intended this first state of his *Display* to reach “Patrons of the Arts and Sciences in all parts of the World.” The engraving was a proud statement of the new nation’s accomplishments in the establishment of a republican government. During Washington’s presidency, Doolittle would record the continual growth and progress of the United States, issuing five additional states of the engraving that updated population statistics and added states newly admitted to the Union.

1. Charles Henry Hart, *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits of Washington* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1904), no. 840.

2. David P. McBride, “Linked Rings: Early American Unity Illustrated,” *The Numistat* (November 1979): 2374–93.

19

A New Display of the United States, 1799

Amos Doolittle (1754–1832)

Engraving, 533 x 422 mm (plate)

Library Transfer, Gift of C. Sanford Bull.

1955.44.26

Because of the popularity of his original *Display of the United States of America* (cat. 18), Doolittle decided to issue *A New Display of the United States* with a portrait of John Adams, the second president, in a square at the center. The inscription at the bottom of the print—“Printed and Sold Wholesale”—suggests that Doolittle anticipated a significant demand for the revised image. He discarded the motif of linked rings in favor of an arrangement of sixteen boxes containing the state seals, which in 1799 included Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee.¹ Although the Great Seal was removed from the new design, the American eagle proudly displaying its powerful wings remained. In its talons it clutched the familiar olive branch and arrow, but also a banner inscribed “MILLIONS FOR OUR DEFENCE NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE.”² This popular slogan referred to President Adams’s foreign policy, which demanded respect for America by projecting an image of a strong, unified, and independent American people.

To the annoyance of the French government, England and America signed the Jay Treaty in November 1794, effecting a peace that once again permitted trade between the two nations. In retaliation, the French began to seize American ships. And they insultingly refused to receive the American ambassador to their country, Charles Coleman Pinckney. In 1797 Adams sent John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and Pinckney to negotiate with the French. Charles Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, informed the American delegates via three secret agents that there would be no negotiations unless the United States loaned France twelve million dollars and paid a bribe of \$250,000 to Talleyrand. Pinckney’s outraged reply, “No, no, not a six-pence!” was alluded to in a toast honoring the returning John Marshall: “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!”

1. Doolittle published a smaller display honoring the anti-Federalist presidency of Thomas Jefferson in 1803. Around Jefferson’s portrait is the inscription, “Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, Supporter of Liberty, True Republican and Friend of the Rights of Man.” See William A. Beardsley, “An Old New Haven Engraver and His Work: Amos Doolittle,” *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 8 (1914): 144.

2. The quotation is listed in John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Passages, Phrases and Proverbs Traced to Their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature*, 16th edition, ed. Justin Kaplan (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992), 367. On its historical background, see Irwin Unger, *These United States: The Questions of Our Past*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 182–84.

20

- Apotheosis of Washington*, 1800
 David Edwin (1776–1841),
 after Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860)
 Published by Samuel Kennedy, Philadelphia
 Engraving with stippling,
 601 x 461 mm (sheet)
 The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
 1946.9.2134

In countless mourning prints, George Washington was apotheosized in a manner usually reserved for European monarchs or mythological heroes.¹ Here, garbed in a simple toga, Washington leaves his Mount Vernon estate and ascends to heaven on a mass of clouds. Revolutionary comrades Richard Montgomery and Joseph Warren welcome him, and a putto crowns him with a laurel wreath. Edwin's print was believed to have been based on a transparency painted by Rembrandt Peale.² A transparency was a thin, almost sheer textile illustrated with designs celebrating important events or people. It was attached to a frame and illuminated with a kerosene lamp. Transparencies were carried in parades or, as in Peale's apotheosis of Washington, displayed in a window.³

1. Patricia Anderson, *Promoted to Glory: The Apotheosis of George Washington*, exh. cat. (Northampton, MA: Smith College Museum of Art, 1980), 36–37.
 2. Wendy Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon: The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service and the National Portrait Gallery, 1982), no. 87. Peale's apotheosis was based on Robert Strange's engraving after Benjamin West's *Apotheosis of Prince Octavius and Alfred* from 1786. For an illustration of Strange's engraving, see Phoebe Lloyd Jacobs, "John James Barralet and the Apotheosis of George Washington," *Winterthur Portfolio* 12 (1977): 130.
 3. See Herbert Collins, *Threads of History: Americana Recorded on Cloth, 1775 to the Present* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 18.

21

- Sacred to the Memory of the truly Illustrious George Washington*, ca. 1800
 Enoch G. Gridley (active 1800–1818),
 after John Coles, Jr. (1776 or 1780–1854)
 Engraving with stippling,
 350 x 250 mm (sheet)
 The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
 1946.9.965

Memorial services, processions, and funerals were held throughout the country in honor of Washington after his death on December 14, 1799. In fact, *Sacred to the Memory of the truly Illustrious George Washington* of 1800 was copied from a design that embellished the orator's platform at a Brunswick, New Jersey funeral service for Washington. A Trenton newspaper from March 1800 described the

platform as a "beautiful emblematic obelisk, fifteen feet high" affixed with a trumpeting fame unfurling a list of Washington's victories in the Revolutionary War and "a picture of the General crowned with laurels."¹

A broadside issued in Boston in March 1801 endorsed the print, advertised subscriptions, and explained the actions of Fame, Columbia, a Revolutionary soldier, and other figures. Minerva, "the Goddess of Wisdom, in heathen mythology" holds an oval portrait of General Washington, to demonstrate that "he was always supported by Wisdom, in all his Measures and Transactions." Likewise, at the top of the obelisk an urn burned "with the incense of Memory and Love, which will never be extinguished." Americans could find an "Emblem of the Grief of all America" in the weeping figure of Columbia at the base of the obelisk.²

1. Quoted in Davida Tennenbaum Deutsch, "Washington Memorial Prints," *Antiques* 111 (Feb. 1977): 325.

2. Broadside quoted in Wendy Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon: The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service and the National Portrait Gallery, 1982), no. 81.

22

- Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious G. Washington*, 1801
 Thomas Clarke (active 1797–1801)
 Etching and engraving with stippling,
 208 x 201 mm (plate)
 The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
 1946.9.961

Viewers were clearly meant to be comforted by Thomas Clarke's *Sacred to the Memory of the Illustrious G. Washington*, which he published in Boston in 1801. A circular, floral border encloses a procession of mourners in a landscape significantly adorned with a weeping willow and a group of eternally green cypresses. The personification of Hope, leaning on an anchor, points heavenward. With her other hand, she consoles a female mourner weeping into a handkerchief. A grief-stricken man leans against a pyramidal monument inscribed, "G. WASHINGTON. There is Rest in HEAVEN" and embellished with a small oval portrait. Above Washington's image is the happy cherub, a motif that replaced the evil winged skeleton of death as decoration on New England gravestones during the second half of the eighteenth century.¹

1. Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stone Carving and its Symbols 1650–1815* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), pls. 55 and 192B.

23

- Europe-America*, 1804
 Anonymous; published as a mezzotint
 by P. Gally, London
 Reverse-glass print, 264 x 368 mm (sheet)
 1972.26.3

24

- America*, 1804
 Anonymous; published by P. Gally, London
 Colored etching and engraving,
 170 x 121 mm (sheet, irregular)
 Gift of Francis P. Garvan, B.A. 1897. 1932.3016

Published in London by P. Gally in 1804, these prints functioned as memorials to George Washington and were intended for the American market.¹ In both, a monument containing Washington's portrait surrounded by his birth and death dates is included next to the figure of America. She points to the open pages of a book being read by a black youth. Unlabeled in *Europe-America*, the book is identified in *America* as a biography of Washington. The virtuous lives of heroes such as Washington were intended to provide Americans with a model to emulate.

As in representations of the four continents, Europe is identified by her attributes of superior power, knowledge, and culture. Around her neck is the cross of Christianity, and at her feet are books, a palette, and a telescope. With her left hand resting on a globe, she commands the world and the seas. Two ships in the background suggest the importance of trade between the continents. The sketchy outlines of Great Britain's Union Jack are suggested on the flag flying from the ship returning to Europe, and the stars and stripes of the American flag wave from the other. America herself is personified as the goddess Columbia. Although her features are slightly darker, and the fashionable plumed feathers in her hair allude to the Indian Maiden with which the New World had long been identified, Columbia is now dressed in dainty slippers, a red robe, and a yellow tasseled dress instead of her old skirt of tobacco leaves and feathers. She holds an American flag with thirteen stars, not a bow and arrow. And the rattlesnake at her feet is emblazoned with Revolutionary War flags with the warning, "Don't Tread on Me." Clearly this new costume and attributes acknowledge America's status as Europe's equal.

The technique of reverse-glass printing used in *Europe-America* was known in the eighteenth century as "back painting on glass." It was popularized in England and continued in America, where this reverse-glass print of Gally's original mezzotint may have

been made. A print was soaked in water, laid face down on a piece of glass to dry, and then rubbed so that only the inked image and a thin layer of paper remained on the glass. This would then be varnished and painted. Mezzotints were preferred to engravings for making a reverse-glass print. With an engraving "all the strokes of the Graver are plainly visible," but a mezzotint transferred to glass could "hardly be distinguished from Limning."²

1. See Charles Henry Hart, *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits of Washington* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1904), nos. 832 and 833. Hart catalogued these prints at the New York Public Library. According to E. McClung Fleming, Winterthur owns a reverse-glass print of America similar to the right side of *Europe-America*. See Fleming, "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783–1815," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967): 52–53.
2. David Tremain, "Reverse Glass Prints: Their History, Technique, and Conservation," in *Proceedings of the Conference of Historic and Artistic Works on Paper October 3rd–7th, 1988*, ed. Helen Burgess (Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Government, 1994), 145. Reverse-glass prints were done by both printmakers and amateurs. An advertisement in a Boston newspaper from 1771 announced the sale of "A Variety of large and small Metzotinto Prints, plain and coloured...suitable for painting on glass, with the best London Crown Glass for that use."

25

Washington, 1845

Edmund Burke Kellogg (1809–1872) and Elijah Chapman Kellogg (1811–1881), Hartford Lithograph, 420 x 309 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.669

The Hartford lithographers E. B. and E. C. Kellogg published the *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* in 1844. It contained over twenty-five full-length silhouettes by William Henry Brown (1808–1883) of prominent Americans such as John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson. Although this lithograph of Washington was published a year later, it too may have been reproduced after a silhouette by Brown.

Significantly, *Washington* demonstrates the continuation of the commemoration of the nation's founding father forty-six years after his death. This stately image of an eagle holding a laurel-wreathed silhouette of Washington against a background of ocean and rocks is very likely an allegory of the ascension of Washington's soul to heaven. When Julius Caesar and other Roman emperors died, a ceremony was held in which an eagle was released. It was believed that the emperor's soul would ascend to God with the eagle. Similarly, in classical mythology, Jupiter in the guise of an eagle carried the shepherd Ganymede to Mount Olympus. During the

Renaissance this tale was regarded as an allegory of the soul's ascent to God.¹ In the Kellogg lithograph, then, Washington is apotheosized in the manner of ancient heroes.

1. James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 29 and 135.

26

The Landing of Christopher Columbus, 1800
David Edwin (1776–1841),
after Edward Savage (1761–1817)
Etching and engraving with stippling,
630 x 377 mm (sheet)
1960.9.44

Columbus's discovery of the New World in 1492 was designated as the beginning of American history by writers such as Joel Barlow, whose epic poem *The Columbiad* was published in 1807.¹ Hailed as a hero in the wake of Independence, he was honored with numerous namesakes: the goddess Columbia, two Revolutionary War ships named Columbia, the establishment of the nation's capital in the District of Columbia in 1790, Joel Hopkinson's patriotic song of 1798, "Hail Columbia," and the Philadelphia periodical *Columbia Magazine*, first published in 1796.²

David Edwin's engraving after Edward Savage is an example of the most popularly depicted Columbus subject in nineteenth-century American art.³ Dominating the scene is a full-length figure of the regally dressed explorer standing firmly on the new land, a "Drawn Sword," at his right hip, a plumed hat in his left hand. Behind him are the Spanish flag and more soldiers in plumed hats. Rowboats bring men ashore from the Niña, Pinta, and Santa María, anchored in the background. The inclusion of a priest holding a cross above the scene suggests that Columbus's noble purpose was not commercial gain but the spread of Christianity to the peoples of this New World. Finally, the kneeling figure closer to the water depicts Columbus himself in an earlier moment, kissing the earth and thanking God for a safe journey.

The inscription claims that Savage copied Columbus's portrait from "The Original Picture in the Collection of The Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence." Most likely this was a reference to Christofano dell'Altissimo's portrait of the explorer, commissioned by Cosimo de'Medici in the sixteenth century.⁴ Barbara Groseclose has suggested that Charles Willson Peale's 1779 painting, *George Washington at Princeton*, was also a source for *The Landing*.⁵ Certainly the posture of Columbus's upper body echoes that of

Washington, who stands confidently, right hand at his hip, left hand resting on a cannon. As Savage and Peale both worked in Philadelphia, it is likely that Savage knew the Peale portrait. And the analogy between Columbus, founder of a new world, and General Washington, founder of a new nation, must surely have impressed itself upon those seeking to valorize America's past and present.

1. See Barbara Groseclose, "American Genesis: The Landing of Christopher Columbus," in *American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Heinz Ickstadt (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992), 12; and Joel Barlow, *The Columbiad: A Poem*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: C. and A. Conrad and Co., 1809), 1.

2. See E. McClung Fleming, "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783–1815," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967): 59.

3. Silvio A. Bedini, *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 321.

4. In fact, no portrait of Columbus was ever painted from life. See William Elroy Curtis, *Christopher Columbus: His Portraits and Monuments* (Chicago: 1893), 8. Thomas Jefferson commissioned a copy of dell'Altissimo's painting when he was Minister to France in 1784. And Barlow too owned a copy of a Columbus portrait from a gallery in Florence; see Barlow, *Columbiad*, 19.

5. Groseclose, "American Genesis," 14.

27

In Memory of the Lamented Hamilton, ca. 1804
Anonymous
Engraving printed on textile,
515 x 625 mm (sheet)
1988.1.154

Nineteenth-century American prints often commemorated important public figures. After 1800, printed textiles mourning America's first president, celebrating a Revolutionary victory, or reproducing a document such as the Declaration of Independence, also became popular.¹ This example of that genre was most likely exported from England or France shortly after Alexander Hamilton met his end in a duel with Aaron Burr in 1804.² The American eagle and two putti support a banner emblazoned with a medallion portrait of Hamilton. Encircled by a laurel wreath, two classically robed female mourners lean against the ubiquitous funerary urn topped with Hamilton's bust. Three lengthy eulogies and four smaller mourning scenes surround the laurel.

1. Herbert Collins, *Threads of History: Americana Recorded on Cloth, 1775 to the Present* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 47; see also no. 36 for a similar textile inscribed "In Memory of Major-General Hamilton."

2. Printed textiles of important American people and events were produced in Europe, England, and America beginning

in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. However, England purposefully controlled the exportation of necessary machinery in order to make their own printed textiles affordable and plentiful. See Jane D. Kaufmann, "Calico Printing," in *Prints of New England: Papers Given at the Seventh North American Print Conference*, ed. Georgia Brady Barnhill (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1991), 135.

28

Untitled [Allegorical Portrait of Thomas Jefferson], 1807

Attributed to Henry Dean (1788–1849)
Etching and engraving with stippling,
399 x 457 mm (sheet)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.870

Frustrated by the lack of engravers in his native Salem, Massachusetts, penmanship professor Henry Dean took up the burin himself to execute plates for his books. He began by engraving and selling covers for writing books, illustrated with images of lions as well as the allegorical figures of Hope and Justice. He is further credited with this allegorical portrait of Thomas Jefferson. Dated January 15, 1807, it is the first single-sheet engraving published in Salem.¹

Dean's print is more than just a tribute to the third president, however. It is also a plea from Salem merchants for the "protection of American commerce," represented by "rays of glory" emanating from the goddess Liberty to a ship in the background. In 1803, when the Napoleonic Wars prompted the resumption of overt hostilities between the British and French, the former had renewed their policy of boarding American vessels and impressing American sailors into the Royal Navy. Commerce was further obstructed by British and French blockades, which resulted in the seizure of American cargoes. In response, Congress passed the first Nonimportation Act, outlawing the importation of English goods, in April 1806. And Jefferson's Embargo Act of December 1807 went a step further, banning the exportation of American goods to foreign ports. As a result, many New England merchants had to resort to smuggling. In Dean's engraving, Liberty tramples the symbols of monarchy and tyranny in her fight for freedom of the seas. Had this print been published after the Embargo Act, Jefferson no doubt would have lost his popular status in Salem as "Favorite of the People."

Dean's portraits of Washington and Jefferson are from well-known engravings after Gilbert Stuart and Rembrandt Peale. The allegorical figures of Britannia, Neptune, and Fame in the corners also appear on an

anonymous engraving titled *Washington Giving the Laws to America* in the New York Public Library.² It is very likely that both Dean and the anonymous engraver copied these figures from another prototype, possibly an English print or magazine illustration.

1. Norton attributes the allegorical portrait of Jefferson to Dean and mentions that Dean's lengthy inscription was appropriate for a penmanship professor. See Bettina A. Norton, *Prints at the Essex Institute* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1978), 45–46.

2. For an illustration, see Joshua C. Taylor, *America as Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 8. In Dean's print, both Neptune and Britannia are appropriate to the subject at hand: the request for the protection of American shipping commerce from the British. In comparison, they seem mere decorative afterthoughts in *Washington Giving the Laws to America*. Their inclusion has no bearing on the subject of Washington, in the guise of Moses, delivering the American Constitution to the people.

29

Daniel Webster, 1838

Frederick Woodcock and John Q. Harvey,
after a portrait by James Frothingham
(1786–1864)

Published by Woodcock and Harvey,
Brooklyn
Etching and engraving with stippling,
506 x 381 mm (sheet)

1986.2.52

30

Genl. Putnam Leaving his Plow for the Defence of his Country, ca. 1845

Anonymous

Colored lithograph, 275 x 377 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.169

The equation of Israel Putnam's deeds with those of Cincinnatus, a hero of the Roman Republic, was commonplace in nineteenth-century America. As detailed in the introduction, Cincinnatus had retired from civic duties to his farm alongside the Tiber River but was summoned from his plow to aid his countrymen once again. Putnam, a veteran of the French and Indian War, was also called away from his plowing at the outbreak of the Revolution. The subject was quite well known in the mid-nineteenth century. The Italian painter Constantino Brumidi in fact devoted two fresco murals in the United States Capitol in 1855 to the *Calling of Cincinnatus from the Plow* and the *Calling of Putnam from the Plow to the Revolution*.¹ Captain Montgomery Meigs, the engineer in charge of the Capitol decorations, had suggested the ancient tale of Cincinnatus for the first lunette, describing it as "a favorite subject with all educated Americans, who associate with that name the father of our country."² Brumidi's mural of Putnam,

however, was not assigned by Meigs. Indeed, its composition may have been inspired by this anonymous lithograph. Brumidi frequently referred to prints as sources for his murals in the Capitol. And in addition to compositional similarities, comparison of the two works reveals that Brumidi's soldier on horseback was directly copied from the lithograph.³

1. For illustrations of Brumidi's murals, see Michael Kammen, "From Liberty to Prosperity: Reflections upon the Role of Revolutionary Iconography in National Tradition," *American Antiquarian Society* 86 (1976): figs. 31 and 32.

2. Quoted in Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 72.

3. On Brumidi, see Charles E. Fairmen, *Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1927), 160–61. Barbara Wolanin, Curator, Architect of the Capitol, is currently writing a book on Brumidi. When I spoke with her about the similarities between our anonymous lithograph and Brumidi's mural, she suggested that Brumidi was inspired by the lithograph.

31

Emancipation Proclamation, 1865

Peter S. Duval and Stephen Orr Duval,
after Gilman R. Russell

Published by Gilman R. Russell, Philadelphia
Lithograph, 695 x 540 mm (sheet)

1990.1.49

After Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865, the Emancipation Proclamation served as an appropriate memorial tribute. In some prints, the text itself was arranged to evoke the likeness of Lincoln. More typically, as in the case of this lithograph by Peter and Stephen Duval, it was reproduced in calligraphic form and embellished with portrait and decorative details.¹ Gilman R. Russell, a Philadelphia penmanship professor who also published this print, was responsible for the inscription of the text, which appeared behind a portrait of Lincoln adapted from a photograph by Mathew Brady.² Tiny putti support a banner inscribed "Emancipation Proclamation Issued January 1st. 1863." Columbia, a freed slave, and the American eagle sit among a group of flags on top of this banner. While Columbia puts away her sword, announcing justice has been won, the American eagle clutches an olive branch in its talons and holds a laurel crown for Lincoln in its beak.

1. The Philadelphia lithographic firm of P. S. Duval and Son (Peter S. Duval and Stephen Orr Duval) produced examples of both types. See Louis A. Warren, "Calligraphic Lincoln Portraits," *Lincoln Lore* 626 (7 April 1941). For an illustration of Duval's calligraphic portrait of Lincoln, see Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), fig. 44.

2. Russell had already used this composition in 1856 for an image of George Washington surrounded by the Declaration of Independence. And he repeated this Washington image in 1876 for the nation's centennial. See Holzer et al., *The Lincoln Image*, 99; and, for an illustration, see Harold Holzer, *Washington and Lincoln Portrayed: National Icons in Popular Prints* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1993), 233.

32

In Memory of Abraham Lincoln. The Reward of the Just, ca. 1865
D. T. Wiest, after John James Barralet (ca. 1747–1815)
Published by William Smith, Philadelphia
Colored lithograph, 853 x 605 mm (sheet)
A. Conger Goodyear, B.A. 1899, Fund.
1979.83.3

Just like George Washington, Abraham Lincoln was deified in countless prints after his assassination on April 14, 1865. The sanctified pair frequently appeared together, as on the carved memorial monument in *The End of the Rebellion of the United States 1865* (cat. 13). In fact, D. T. Wiest's *In Memory of Abraham Lincoln* of ca. 1865 was copied directly from John James Barralet's engraving, *The Apotheosis of Washington*, of 1802. In their haste to meet the expected demand for memorial images, Wiest and his publisher, William Smith, simply altered the name on the sarcophagus and inserted a likeness of Lincoln. The key figures in Barralet's original apotheosis had been described in an advertisement from 1800.¹ One wonders how many of these Christian and classical references would have been understood by viewers sixty years later. Certainly the figures of the weeping Columbia and the Native American were recognizable, but the "mental virtues Faith, Hope, and Charity" in the left background were likely to have seemed more abstruse.

1. Advertisement quoted in Wendy Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon: The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service and the National Portrait Gallery, 1982), no. 101.

33

Untitled [Memorial Print], ca. 1830
Colored wood engraving,
305 x 406 mm (sheet)
Gift of Mrs. John Hill Morgan. 1945.337

In contrast to the nineteenth-century mourning art of Europe and England, that of America honored ordinary citizens as well as great heroes. Besides expressing grief, mourning prints were a means of celebrating the accomplishments of both families and the nation. Relatives of the deceased could purchase countless varieties of memorial prints, which customarily included a blank space on a monument suitable for an epitaph. This wood engraving was inscribed with the name of three-year-old Emeline Jenness, who died in 1828, as well as that of her forty-six-year-old mother, Sally Jenness, who died in 1833. The symbolic garden setting, with a weeping willow tree and flower bushes, served as a comforting reminder of the promise of salvation.

An unusual copy of the same wood engraving, memorializing an Anna Marie McKenzie who died before her first birthday in 1836, is in the collection of The Peabody Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts. Instead of the customary handwritten inscriptions, however, the name of the deceased and a short poem were added by letterpress: "This lovely bud, so young and fair, / Called hence by early doom; / Just came to show how sweet a flower / In Paradise would bloom."¹

Since it was common for printmakers to pirate each others' designs, it is not surprising to find as well a lithograph almost identical to our wood engraving inscribed "To the Memory of Susannah K. Palmer who died December 12, 1811" and published by William S. Pendleton of Boston in 1835. An example of Pendleton's lithograph at the National Museum of History and Technology at the Smithsonian includes the same four-line poem written by hand.²

1. Bettina A. Norton, *Prints at the Essex Institute* (Salem, MA: Prints at the Essex Institute, 1978), 18–19.
2. Ann Golovin in the Division of Social History at the National Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, kindly supplied me with the inscription on their Pendleton lithograph. Its date can be approximated as 1835 on the basis of William S. Pendleton's address; see Sally Pierce and Catherine Slatterback, *Boston Lithography 1825–1880* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1991), 148–49. For an illustration, see Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1931), pl. 114.

Moralizing America

34

The Life and Age of Man. Stages of Man's Life, from the Cradle to the Grave, ca. 1835–40
Albert Alden (1812–1883)
Wood engraving, 501 x 348 mm (sheet)
Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund. 1988.71.1

35

The Life and Age of Woman. Stages of Woman's life from infancy to the brink of the grave, ca. 1835–40
Albert Alden (1812–1883)
Wood engraving, 476 x 600 mm (sheet)
Lent by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Moralizing prints such as Albert Alden's *The Life and Age of Man* and *The Life and Age of Woman* offered visual and verbal instructions for leading a Christian life. The arch beneath the steps of life in the former illustrates temptations offered by the devil and the inscription, "Resist the Devil and he will fly far from you." A sinner enjoys a feast at the devil's table while a good Christian wisely chooses the arm of an angel. A verse below the image links the eleven ages of life to animals, from the lamb to the ass. And Alden's alphabetical poem at the bottom offers specific guidelines from A to Z for avoiding sin: e.g., for the letter D, "Do not give credit to human glory / Since that the best of all is transitory; / But on thy Saviour, Jesus Christ believe, / Rely on him, sin shall not thee deceive."

In the archway of *The Life and Age of Woman*, a lesson is delivered to a young girl who stands before an open Bible. "The virtuous woman is a crown to her husband," quotes her mother from the twelfth chapter of Proverbs. The additional texts indicate the importance of a suitable role model: "since the child / strives to imitate the example of her elders, aim- / ing with tottering steps and a faint comprehension / to do every thing as they do it. This places in / the hands of those who walk before such tender / plants weighty obligations to see that they do not / give an evil bias to the sapling that years of after / instruction may be unable to rectify."

The Life and Age of Woman was protected with varnish, perhaps in advance of being hung on a schoolroom wall. In fact, Alden frequently illustrated guidelines for young pupils, including several childrens' books by Peter Parley (pseudonym for Samuel Griswold Goodrich): *The Everyday Book for Youth of 1834*, for example, was a children's almanac with daily lessons.

The use of a sequence of upward and downward steps to represent the stages of life began in the sixteenth century and was soon linked with the older tradition of associating animals with the different ages of man.¹ Often there was humor in this correlation: the silly goose, for example, was frequently used to represent old age, although Alden selected the wise owl.

The centuries-old concern for the soul's destination after death contributed to the broad appeal of step prints, which developed a varied but readily understood iconography.² Alden's pairing of a living tree with youth and a withered, bare tree with old age, for example, is found in a seventeenth-century Dutch step print, where its meaning is no less certain.³

The pyramid of steps became a popular nineteenth-century device for representing other subjects. *The Seven Stages of Matrimony*, published by E.C. Kellogg & Co., employed steps to show the progress of marriage rising from a couple's courting days to the wedding ceremony at the summit and then declining to divorce.⁴ And *The Drunkard's Progress*, a temperance print published by Nathaniel Currier in 1846, evokes the same device to demonstrate the downfall of the drunkard from "Step 1. A Glass with a Friend," to "Step 9. Death by Suicide."⁵ The steps were also used in advertisements. In a broadside of ca. 1840 for "Dr. Parmenter's Magnetic Oil," which claimed to cure rheumatism, the steps show the progress of healing.⁶ In this case, though, patients take the prescribed oil at the top of the pyramid; cured, their descent without the aid of crutches marks a positive development, not a decline.

1. The latter association originated in fifteenth-century Germany. See Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 153–54.

2. Step prints were very popular in America in the nineteenth century. An undated Currier & Ives lithograph, *The Life & Age of Man: The Stage of Man's Life from the Cradle to the Grave* at the Yale University Art Gallery includes the same eleven verses describing the different ages of life.

3. Samuel Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 149.

4. See figs. 6 and 7 in James Brust, "Prints of Questionable Taste That Nathaniel Currier Would Not Sign," *Imprint* 20 (Spring 1995): 10.

5. See Gale Research Company, *Currier & Ives: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Detroit, MI: 1984), no. 1767.

6. See A. Hyatt Mayor, *Popular Prints of the Americas* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1973), no. 70.

36

The Voyage of Life—Youth, 1848–49
James Smillie (1807–1885),
after Thomas Cole (1801–1848)
Published by the America Art-Union,
New York
Etching and engraving, 470 x 673 mm
(plate, irregular)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore E. Stebbins,
Jr., B.A. 1960. 1969.82c

37

The Voyage of Life—Manhood, ca. 1860
James Smillie (1807–1885),
after Thomas Cole (1801–1848)
Published by B.B. Russell, Boston
Etching and engraving, 476 x 668 mm
(plate, irregular)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore E. Stebbins,
Jr., B.A. 1960. 1969.82d

James Smillie's engravings popularized Thomas Cole's moralizing series of paintings, *The Voyage of Life*. On the occasion of the 1848 lottery of the four oils, the American Art-Union issued 20,000 impressions of Smillie's *The Voyage of Life—Youth* for distribution to its members.¹ The Reverend Gorham D. Abbott, who eventually purchased the paintings for his female seminary in New York, employed Smillie to engrave the remaining images.² In a pamphlet that he published on *The Voyage of Life* in 1856, Abbott spoke of its popularity, asserting that "The name of the series has become familiar as 'household words' all over our country..."³

As was explained in the introductory essay, Cole represented the four ages of life allegorically in a voyager's journey on the Stream of Life. Abbott, who valued the series for its moral teachings, believed that its power was its ability to address people of "all ages and classes and conditions in life." The viewer thus became the voyager in this "Discourse on human life;—its opening; its fascinations, temptations, trials, dangers; and to the Christian voyager, its peaceful glorious end."⁴

1. See Paul D. Schweizer's chronology in *The Voyage of Life By Thomas Cole: Paintings, Drawings, and Prints*, exh. cat. (Utica, NY: Museum of Art, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, 1985), 50.

2. For information on the various editions of engravings after Cole's series, see Paul D. Schweizer, "'So Exquisite a transcript': James Smillie's Engravings after Cole's *Voyage of Life*," Parts One and Two, *Imprint: The Journal of the American Print Collector's Society* 11 (Autumn 1986): 2–13; and 12 (Spring 1987): 13–24.

3. The Reverend Gorham D. Abbott, *The Voyage of Life: A Series of Allegorical Pictures, Entitled "Childhood," "Youth," "Manhood," and "Old Age," Painted By The Late Lamented Thomas Cole, of Catskill, New York, From the Originals, in Possession of Rev. Gorham D. Abbott, Spingler Institute, N.Y.* (New York: Spingler Institute, 1856), 1.

4. Ibid., 2.

38

Autumn, 1860
Charles Fuhr (b. 1832), after Felix Octavius Carr Darley (1822–1888)
Published by M. Knoedler, New York,
for Goupil and Co.
Lithograph in black with brown tint stone
and hand coloring, 464 x 534 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.534

Since the late eighteenth century, prints representing the four seasons had been popular in America. They typically included scenes of rural life or women dressed in clothes appropriate to each season.¹ Charles Fuhr's *Autumn* was the third lithograph in F. O. C. Darley's *American Farm Scenes*, published by M. Knoedler in New York for the international firm of Goupil and Company in 1860. In this idyllic harvest scene, a family sits in the foreground happily husking corn, while a black slave leads a cart pulled by two oxen.²

Although Darley does not explicitly link his seasonal farm scenes with the four ages of man, this pairing was a well-known practice. As the sixteenth-century verses by Thomas Tusser explain, "The yere I compare, as I find for a truth,/ The Spring unto childhood, the Sommer to youth,/ The Harvest to manhood, the Winter to Age:/ All quickly forgot as a play on the stage."³ Thomas Cole's *Voyage of Life* series (see cats. 36 and 37) is a more overt example of this tradition.

1. For examples, see E. McSherry Fowble, *Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680–1880: A Selective Catalogue of the Winterthur Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 221ff and 489ff.

2. The New York Public Library owns the other three prints in *Darley's American Farm Scenes*. I am indebted to Nancy Finlay, who kindly sent me a clipping from the Boston bookdealer Goodspeed's October 1934 brochure, which advertised the series and illustrated *Spring* and *Winter*.

Darley's compositions were not original. In 1853, Nathaniel Currier published lithographs of the four seasons by Fanny Palmer, whose illustrations of farmyards, animals, and seasonal chores were also known as *American Farm Scenes*.

3. Quoted in Samuel Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 154.

39

[Masonic Certificate], ca. 1799
Amos Doolittle (1754–1832)
Etching and engraving on vellum,
303 x 233 mm (plate)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1981.5.3

The Freemasons were a secret and benevolent fraternal organization determined to teach moral values to members and to society at large. Freemasonry originated in seventeenth-century England, when the stonemasonry guilds began accepting men who were not

associated with the trade, but who were amateurs interested in architecture and philosophy. The traditional tools and architectural principles of the stonemasons, in addition to mathematical principles, were used to symbolize masonic teachings.¹ By the middle of the eighteenth century, Freemasonry had spread to Europe, and in America masonic ideals of brotherhood and equality helped to unite the new nation. Freemasonry symbols often appeared—together with Columbia, the eagle, and George Washington, who was himself a member—on household objects ranging from ceramics to furniture.² In this manner, the organization's moral principles were communicated to American society.

Early American engravers such as Paul Revere, Abner Reed, and Amos Doolittle often engraved membership certificates for the Masonic Lodges. Doolittle was also responsible for the engravings in Jeremy Cross's book, *The True Masonic Chart or Hieroglyphic Monitor* (1819), which was the first attempt to provide standardized illustrations of masonic emblems. Cross explained that "Tools and implements of architecture, and symbolic emblems, most expressive, are selected by the fraternity, to imprint on the mind wise and serious truths."³

"Brother Amos Doolittle," as he signed this Masonic Certificate for the Grand Lodge of Connecticut, was himself a member of the Hiram Lodge in New Haven.⁴ The certificate's bilingual French and English text was made a requirement by the Grand Lodge in 1797. French and often Spanish were included to insure that the text would be understood and its American bearer welcomed by fellow Masons when he was traveling abroad. The phrase "ne varietur" (lest it should be changed) alongside the columns at the left was intended for the bearer's official signature, required to prevent the certificate being used by anyone other than the signer: "Thomas Couch," in this instance.⁵ The official seal of the Grand Lodge of Connecticut is affixed to the lower right corner.

The supports of Freemasonry are represented in the Ionic, Doric, and Corinthian columns, which corresponded with Wisdom, Strength, and Beauty. Fortitude with her helmet and broken pillar stands on the Ionic column, while the whispering figure of Prudence, another cardinal virtue, appears on the Corinthian column to the right. Charity, personified by the group of mother

and children at the lower left, was the most important theological virtue for the Free-masons. Five stonemasonry tools are scattered at the bases of the columns. The spade indicated that truth was only discovered through hard work or death; the plumb rule was a symbol of uprightness.

1. Barbara Franco, "Masonic Imagery," in *Aspects of American Printmaking 1800–1950*, ed. James F. O' Gorman (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 1–2.

2. *Introduction to Masonic Symbols in the Decorative Arts* (Lexington: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum of Our National Heritage, 1976), 31. This book includes an excellent glossary of Masonic symbols.

3. Jeremy Cross, *The True Masonic Chart* (New Haven: Flagg and Grey Printers, 1819), 36.

4. Doolittle's design was adapted from an English membership certificate engraved by Thomas Harper in 1792. John D. Hamilton illustrates a Masonic apron that was also based on Harper's membership certificate in *Material Culture of the American Freemasons* (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum of Our National Heritage, 1994), 105.

5. Ibid, 170–71.

The True Masonic Chart, "Geometry, the first and noblest of sciences, is the basis on which the superstructure of freemasonry is erected."⁴ The vignette enclosed in gothic tracery above the personifications of Fortitude and Prudence shows Father Time and a weeping virgin reading a book.⁵ Washington stands in the Temple of Solomon, whose columns, tiled floor, and steps symbolize different virtues: the black and white squares of the floor, for example, are emblematic of good and evil.⁶ Likewise, the many symbols and vignettes in the surrounding framework can be systematically interpreted with the aid of Cross's book or other contemporary glossaries of masonic symbolism.

1. John D. Hamilton, *Material Culture of the American Freemasons* (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum of Our National Heritage, 1994), 39.

2. Information provided by John D. Hamilton, Curator at the Museum of Our National Heritage.

3. Owned by the Museum of Our National Heritage, it is illustrated in Hamilton, *Material Culture of the American Freemasons*, 45.

4. Jeremy Cross, *The True Masonic Chart* (New Haven: Flagg and Grey Printers, 1819), 45.

5. This symbol of mourning originated in an engraving by Amos Doolittle in Cross's book.

6. Barbara Franco, "Masonic Imagery," in *Aspects of American Printmaking 1800–1950*, ed. James F. O' Gorman (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 7.

40

Washington as a Freemason, 1867
Anonymous; published by Strobridge and Co. Lithographers, Cincinnati
Colored lithograph,
531 x 432 mm (sheet, irregular)
1987.1.3

Anti-masonic feelings arose in the 1830s after the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, a former Mason who in 1826 had published a book revealing the organization's secret rituals. The suspicion that he was murdered resulted in the formation of the Anti-Masonic political party, whose goal was to eliminate the involvement of secret groups in national affairs. It wasn't until after the Civil War that Freemasonry regained strength.¹

Perhaps in an effort to reclaim some of their former popularity, the Masons commissioned colored lithographs that illustrated masonic teachings and were adorned with portraits of prominent former members.² *Washington as a Freemason* includes as well portrait busts of the Marquis de Lafayette and Andrew Jackson. And a *Masonic Chart*, also published by Strobridge and Company, contains similar vignettes of Jacob's dream and the Good Samaritan.³

Although the inscription on the bottom of this lithograph mourns the passing of the hero, Washington's image was included primarily as an endorsement of Freemasonry. He rests a gavel on a parchment inscribed, "The grand object of Masonry is to promote the happiness of the Human Race." The large letter "G" in rays of light above Washington's head is not a tribute to the man, but to the subject of Geometry. As Cross explained in

41

The Court of Death, 1859
Anonymous, after Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860)
Printed by Sarony, Major and Knapp; published by Gardner Quincy Colton, New York
Color lithograph heightened with hand coloring, 473 x 711 mm (sheet)
Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund. 1992.102.1

Inscribed below image: The idea of the Picture was suggested to the artist by / the following passage from the poem on Death by BISHOP PORTEUS: "—Deep in a murky cave's recess, / Laved by Oblivion's listless stream, and fenced / By shelving rocks and intermingled horrors / Of yew and cypress shade: from all obtrusion / Of busy noon-tide beam, the Monarch sits / In unsubstantial majesty." / DEATH is personified by a dark, dim, shadowy figure in the / centre. Sternness and inflexibility are depicted in the countenance. His foot rests upon the CORPSE of a youth stricken / down in the vigor of health, to demonstrate his sway over / the race. / The head and feet of the Corpse touch the waters of ob- / livion, to indicate the mystery surrounding the origin and / end of life. /

On either side of DEATH are his principal agents, all uncon- / scious of his presence. WAR on the right, attended by CON- / FLAGRATION, and followed by FAMINE and PESTILENCE. Fallen / behind the warrior is the slain VICTIM; while under his feet / he tramples the WIDOW and the ORPHAN. / On the left other agents of Death are represented. IN- / TEMPERANCE, enticed to indulgence by PLEASURE, who pre- / sents the intoxicating cup. From her urn arises the bewil- / dering incense which obscures the presence of Death. Next / to the youth is REMORSE his face covered with both hands, / which conceal his tears. / A figure below represents DELERIUM, fallen in / agony. Above him is SUICIDE, drawing the dagger from his / own heart. / On the left of these, another group of figures represents CONSUMPTION, DESPAIR, FEVER, APOPLEXY, HYPOCHONDRIA, / and GOUT. / OLD AGE, bending under the infirmity of years, approaches / Death. Having lived a Christian life, he is sustained by / FAITH, and meets the dread Monarch with extended arms and / in cheerful resignation, exclaiming, "O death, where is thy / sting! O grave, where is thy victory!"

Temperance

42

The Drunkard's Progress, or the Direct Road to Poverty, Wretchedness & Ruin, 1826
John Warner Barber (1798–1885)
Colored woodcut, 237 x 375 mm (sheet)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.588

John Warner Barber's four vignettes in *The Drunkard's Progress* are typical of the sequence of images commonly employed to depict the tragic effects of intemperance.¹ Barber's narrative begins with the drunkard's morning "medicinal" drink and ends with his family's trip to the almshouse. Each scene was accompanied by a commentary below and Bible verses above. The third vignette of "The Confirmed Drunkard," for instance, depicts the drunk in a stupor, raging at his wife and family in his now destitute home. A hat and two wigs are strategically placed in the broken panes of the window to keep out the cold. A jug and glass are on the table, and a deed above the fireplace explains that the home has been mortgaged.

In their crusade against drinking, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance followed the example of the American Tract Society and distributed

thousands of copies of inexpensive temperance tracts or leaflets illustrated with woodcuts. Barber used the same four images from his 1826 *Drunkard's Progress*, in slightly modified form, for *Barber's Temperance Tracts*, published in New Haven, Connecticut in 1870.² There he arranged the vignettes in "Four Downward Steps" on a fold-out page and compared them with the "Progress of Temperance or Four Upward Steps." Thus in contrast to the hopelessness illustrated in "The Confirmed Drunkard," its counterpart on the third upward step illustrates the accomplishments of the temperance movement.

1. Sinclair Hamilton catalogued Barber's *Drunkard's Progress* in *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670–1870*, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 42–43 and no. 1478.

2. John Warner Barber, *Barber's Temperance Tracts* (New Haven, CT: J.W. Barber, 1870).

Lifting the Mortgage offers the same protagonist an escape from poverty and the almshouse. He is now a reformed drunkard. With his dog at his side to symbolize faithfulness, the man signs the temperance pledge, promising "total abstinence." The recognizable personifications of Vice and Famine from outside the grog shop have fled, and the drunkard's family rejoices. With hard work, the mortgage on the family farm will be paid back as well. Temperance reformers hoped that the example in Pendleton's prints would encourage more Americans to sign the pledge.¹

1. This contrasting pair of Pendleton prints, as well as Barber's matching of the "Four Downward Steps" in the *Drunkard's Progress* with the "Four Upward Steps" of temperance (cat. 42), were inspired by William Hogarth. The popular moral pictures of this eighteenth-century English artist frequently illustrated such opposites as industry and sloth.

43

Mortgaging the Farm, ca. 1826–31
Anonymous; published by Pendleton's
Lithography, Boston
Colored lithograph, 202 x 252 mm (plate)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.1828

44

Lifting the Mortgage, ca. 1826–31
Anonymous; published by Pendleton's
Lithography, Boston
Colored lithograph, 202 x 252 mm (plate)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.1829

The rise of lithography in the United States during the 1820s allowed images to be reproduced easily, inexpensively, and in great numbers. It was a far more "democratic" medium than engraving. The Boston firm of Pendleton's Lithography published the pair, *Mortgaging the Farm* and *Lifting the Mortgage*, which were easily understood warnings of the consequences of intemperance. In *Mortgaging the Farm*, the protagonist, wearing a maroon jacket and blue trousers, is seen offering a drink to a friend outside a grog shop. Farmers and laborers are neglecting their work, having cast aside their hoes and pitchforks. A cart of hay is abandoned outside the shop, whose sign reads "Entertainment for Man and Beast." The lithograph's title implies that the drunkard's neglect of his farm in favor of the bottle will result in its mortgage. And two drunks in torn and ragged clothes slumped on benches outside the grog shop allude to his eventual fate.

Material Progress

45

The Death of Miss Mc.Rea, 1834
William James Bennett (1787–1844),
after William Page (1811–1885) and
Jacob C. Ward (1809–1891)
Published by Lewis P. Clover, New York
Colored aquatint, 490 x 610 mm
(sheet, irregular)
The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.
1946.9.348

In July 1777, Jane McCrea was murdered while en route to Fort Edward to marry David Jones, an officer in the British army. Supposedly under the protection of Mohawk guides, McCrea and her chaperone were separated from the group, and McCrea was shot. Subsequently, the Mohawks presented her scalp to the British to collect a reward. The incident received considerable publicity and served to increase American anger toward the British. Even American Tories were concerned about the British practice of employing Native Americans as mercenaries.¹

Chapter six of *The Columbiad* (1807), Joel Barlow's patriotic poem of the history of the United States, includes the story of McCrea's murder, illustrated with an engraving by Robert Smirke. Future depictions relied on Barlow's text and Smirke's composition.² The three figures in the right foreground of William James Bennett's 1834 aquatint, for example, resemble Smirke's two Mohawks, one swinging a tomahawk and the other brandishing a scalping knife.

In Barlow's poem, McCrea's story is told through the character Lucinda, who sees her bridegroom fall from his horse in battle and foolishly leaves the safety of the camp to find him:

She starts, with upturn'd eyes and fleeting breath,
In their raised axes views her instant death,
Spreads her white hands to heaven in frantic prayer,
Then runs to grasp their knees and crouches there...

Does all this eloquence suspend the knife?
Does no superior bribe contest her life?
There does: the scalps by British gold are paid;
A long-hair'd scalp adorns that heavenly head;³

At first glance, one might wonder why Bennett included such a gruesome scene from America's past in a work that otherwise seems to be a landscape. The answer lies in the inscription "With an accurate view of the place where it occurred," which links the print to the practice of commemorating the sites of Revolutionary War events. Bennett included the pine tree with its shorn upper branches that marked the site of the murder at Fort Edward and later became a memorial to McCrea.⁴ Of equal significance is the fact that Bennett's print participated in the demonizing of Native Americans in the early nineteenth century, in order to more easily justify their elimination as obstacles to the spread of white man's civilization. *Across the Continent. "Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way"* (cat. 47) and *American Progress* (cat. 48) both illustrate the fate of American Indians as the white man stole their lands in the name of progress. Even before Andrew Jackson became President in 1828, he had massacred countless Native Americans and seized tribal lands as commander of the Tennessee militia during the War of 1812. His Indian Removal Act of 1830 was designed to remove all the southeastern tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River. They were offered western lands in exchange for their eastern ones, but any who refused were forced to leave by American troops. No wonder that *The Death of Miss Mc.Rea*, published at just this time, found a ready audience.⁵

1. Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., "The Murder of Jane McCrea: The Tragedy of an American Tableau d'Histoire," *Art Bulletin* 47 (December 1965): 478 and 483.

2. Ibid., 487. The Yale University Art Gallery also owns Nathaniel Currier's 1846 lithograph of the *Murder of Miss Jane McCrea A.D. 1777*.

3. Joel Barlow, *The Columbiad: A Poem*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: C. and A. Conrad and Co., 1809), lines 661–64 and 669–72. Barlow's footnote 41 explains the circumstances behind "the tragical catastrophe of a young lady of the name of Macrea, whose story... is well known. It made a great impression on the public mind at the time, both in England and America" (175).

4. Edgerton, 491.

5. For an excellent article on depictions of Native Americans in American art, see Brian Dippie, "The Moving Finger Writes," in *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1992).

46

Settlement of Immigrants in Missouri,

ca. 1860

Edward Sachse (1804–1873)

Published by E. Sachse and Co., Baltimore

Lithograph in black with brown tint stone
and hand coloring, 452 x 606 mm (sheet)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.533

The painter and lithographer Edward Sachse emigrated from Germany to the United States with his family and brother Theodore around 1847. Shortly afterwards, the two brothers formed the lithographic firm of E. Sachse and Company, which they operated in Baltimore, Maryland until 1873.¹ Their *Settlement of Immigrants in Missouri* reassured immigrants that the new country would be even better than the old. An idyllic scene includes a newly built log cabin in a clearing near the shore. A welcoming fire in the hearth sends smoke from the chimney, and a woman in a rocking chair on the porch watches two small children and a dog as she does her sewing. Nearby a man chops kindling and another woman hangs laundry on the line to dry. A passing steamboat suggests that civilization is not far away. And in a scene reminiscent of the Flight into Egypt, three visitors on horseback—a man with a woman in blue holding a child—approach the clearing.

In the contemporaneous book *Where to Emigrate and Why* (1869), Frederick B. Goddard extended an invitation to foreigners to settle in the new western states and territories. Both his text and the accompanying illustrations by Alfred Waud advertised the West as a peaceful and civilized country, thus countering any negative stories of pioneer hardships or Indian attacks. "During the last two years more than 600,000 sturdy immigrants have landed upon our shores, and there is no ebb to the flowing tide. Our land is ringing with the din of her eternal improvement; cottages are springing up far away to the west...," Goddard claimed.² Waud's illustrations included cultivated farms, a general store, houses, churches, steamboats, and trains. Clearly Sachse's lithograph belongs to this genre, serving as propaganda to persuade immigrants that the West offered opportunity, happiness, and freedom.

1. George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 554.

2. Quoted in Patricia Hills, "Picturing Progress in the Era of Westward Expansion," in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*, ed. William H. Treutner (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Museum of American Art, 1991), 123.

47

Across the Continent. "Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way," 1868

James Merritt Ives (1824–1895),

after Frances F. Palmer (ca. 1812–1876)

Published by Currier & Ives, New York

Colored lithograph, 462 x 692 mm (plate)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.1361

48

American Progress, 1873

John Gast (active 1870s, Manhattan)

Published by George A. Crofutt

Chromolithograph, 375 x 486 mm (sheet)

Library of Congress, Prints of Popular and Applied Graphic Arts

Democracy and Individualism

49

Log Cabin Politicians, 1841

John T. Bowen (ca. 1801–1856),
after William Hall (active 1837–40)

Published by G. W. Burgess and Co.,
Philadelphia

Colored lithograph, 500 x 608 mm (sheet)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.632

50

Bargaining for a Horse, 1851

Charles Kennedy Burt (1823–1892),

after William Sidney Mount (1807–1868)

Published by the American Art-Union,
New York

Engraving, 357 x 427 mm (sheet)

1986.2.102

Allusions to American politics commonly appeared in prints that reproduced paintings. *Bargaining for a Horse*, engraved by Charles Kennedy Burt after William Sidney Mount's 1835 painting—originally known as *Farmer's Bargaining*—was distributed to members of the American Art-Union in 1851. The image depicts two men who stand in front of an almost empty farmyard shed. The younger man in the top hat has stopped his own whittling to watch his rival, an older man wearing a farmer's straw hat. As the title of the engraving indicates, the men are negotiating for the saddled horse tied to a wooden fence behind them.

By the third decade of the nineteenth century "horsetrading" was a term used to characterize risky economic deals as well

as the practice of crafty politicians who promised favors in order to earn votes.¹ This image was popular enough to warrant a second painting as well as a lithograph in 1855. In 1853, Mount had written in his diary, "If I should paint another *Farmer's Bargaining*, I must have one of the figures in the act of cutting towards his body to clinch the bargain."² Even the most ordinary actions of Mount's characters were filled with meaning.

1. Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 29.

2. Quoted in Alfred Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 266. This second variation on the theme of horsetrading was appropriately called *Coming to the Point*.

51

The "Herald" in the Country, 1854

Claude Thielley (1811–1891),

after William Sidney Mount (1807–1868)

Published by M. Knoedler, New York

Colored lithograph, 460 x 355 mm (sheet)

The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

1946.9.530

In addition to the single-sheet engraving issued by the American Art-Union (cat. 50), ten colored lithographs after Mount's paintings were produced in France.¹ Mount's 1853 oil originally known as *Politics of 1852, or Who Let Down the Bars* was sold to Goupil and Co. and published as a lithograph in conjunction with M. Knoedler in New York, London, Paris, and Berlin in 1854.² Goupil and Co. requested the revised title of *The "Herald" in the Country* to appeal to an international audience unfamiliar with American politics.³ In the image it appears that a gentleman from New York has been caught poaching and has cleverly distracted the farmer's attention from the dead game in the lower left by discussing the contents of *The New York Herald*. In Mount's own notes regarding the engraving of the image he wrote, "The Sturdy old farmer looks as if he was asking—'Come tell us what the news is, Who wins now, and who loses?'"⁴

According to the original title, Mount's image was an allusion to the 1852 election of the conservative democrat, Franklin Pierce. Although the farmer and the New

Yorker are each standing on opposite sides of a fence, they appear to be forgetting their differences. The phrase "*Who Let Down the Bars*" is Mount's commentary on the southern Whigs, who deserted their party to support Pierce. Such sectional divisions resulted in the eventual collapse of the Whig Party. Scholars have suggested that although Mount was a conservative democrat himself, his belief in party unity strongly condemned such acts of disloyalty.⁵

1. Engravings after paintings by Mount were also published as illustrations in popular gift books and magazines. See the list of prints after Mount in Alfred Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 480–81.

2. Alfred Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America: William Sidney Mount* (Washington, DC: H.K. Press, 1968), no. 34.

3. The firm wrote to Mount on March 21, 1854: "Our house in Paris requests us to send them a good title for the print." *Ibid.*

4. Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount*, 32.

5. Barbara Groseclose, "Politics and American Genre Painting of the 19th Century," *Antiques* 120 (1981): 1214. See also David Cassidy and Gail Schott, *William Sidney Mount: Works in the Collection of the Museums at Stony Brook* (Stony Brook, NY: Museums at Stony Brook, 1983), 63.

52

The County Election, ca. 1854

John Sartain (1808–1897),

after George Caleb Bingham (1811–1879)

Engraving, mezzotint, and etching with stippling; proof, 563 x 766 mm (plate)

1994.1.17



THE END OF THE REBELLION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1865.

- 13 Attributed to Christopher Kimmel, *The End of the Rebellion of the United States 1865*, 1866. Lithograph printed in black and gray.
Lent by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Design and Typography by Sloan Wilson
Printing by Hull Printing Co., Inc.

