

# *John Henry Bufford*

## *American Lithographer*

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### I

THE SIGNIFICANCE of John Henry Bufford (1810–70) in the history of the graphic arts in America is threefold. He was a prolific and successful lithographic artist, a major printer and publisher of prints, and an employer, colleague, and teacher of sorts of a number of notable American artists, Winslow Homer among them, who found in his shop the barebones equivalent of a school of art.

Bufford was among the earliest recruits to the new medium of lithography in America, in 1829 joining the Pendleton brothers, who pioneered the process in Boston. He remained a lithographer for the rest of his life, first as an artist and then as a printer and publisher. The length of his intimate association with both the art and the business of the medium was matched (and exceeded) by only one other person who could trace his roots to the founding years of the 1820s: Nathaniel Currier (1813–88).<sup>1</sup> Late in life both men were ideally suited

The author wishes to thank Samuel Bufford Wagner of San Francisco, a descendent of John H. Bufford's brother James, and Marc D. Thompson of Alexandria, Virginia, a descendent of John H. Bufford, for sharing Bufford family genealogical and biographical information. Mr. Wagner has kindly allowed the publication of the only known photographs of John Bufford and his sons. Without the thoughtful aid of both Mr. Thompson and Mr. Wagner even so brief a biographical sketch of Bufford as appears here would not be possible. The author wishes to thank Mrs. Bettina Norton of Boston for reading early drafts of the article and for helpful suggestions made from her own authoritative knowledge of the history of lithography in Boston.

<sup>1</sup>The careers of most early American lithographers are summarized in Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (New York: Doubleday, 1931), and in George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957). A very few lithographic

to sum up a period of extraordinary vitality in American printmaking, but if either man ever considered writing a memoir of his career, there is no record of it. For neither do we have anything like an appreciable body of personal or business papers.

Though Bufford and Currier were successful and apparently friendly competitors over many years, the careers of the two men differed in a number of important ways. Of the two, for example, only Bufford was an active pictorial artist, drawing hundreds of lithographs over a quarter of a century, while Currier drew few, if any, after his very earliest years as a lithographer.<sup>2</sup> Of the two, it was Currier who became a celebrated publisher and remained the luminary of American lithography, chiefly through the line of prints he published between 1840 and 1880, while Bufford enjoyed no personal fame of any sort. In the twentieth century, the name of Currier's firm after 1856, Currier & Ives, has become a watchword for collectors and a household term for the general public, while Bufford's ubiquitous imprint arouses little special interest.

Unlike Currier, Bufford scarcely exists as a historical figure. He has not been provided with even such vital statistics as years of birth and death in the entries concerning him in the standard biographical dictionaries of American artists. Indeed, until now, our only glimpse of the man has been that

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artists, such as Benjamin F. Nutting of Boston, worked on stone in the 1820s and also as late as the 1860s, but these artists had only intermittent affiliations with the medium and did not share the continuing concern with the art, technology, and business of lithography that characterized Bufford, Currier, and their chief rivals.

<sup>2</sup>The American Antiquarian Society, in its print, map, music, and book collections, has perhaps the single most comprehensive collection of Bufford's work as a lithographic artist. Unless otherwise noted, all of the prints mentioned are in AAS collections. The notion that Currier was an active artist is widespread, though there is little evidence to support it. I have found no pictorial work on stone which can be confidently credited to him. Charles Henry Taylor's miscellaneous notes based on conversations with Currier's acquaintance Charles Hart include a reference to Currier as a specialist in 'printing'; by printing I think Hart meant the art of lettering inscriptions on stone. Charles H. Taylor Papers on American Lithography, Graphic Arts Department, American Antiquarian Society.

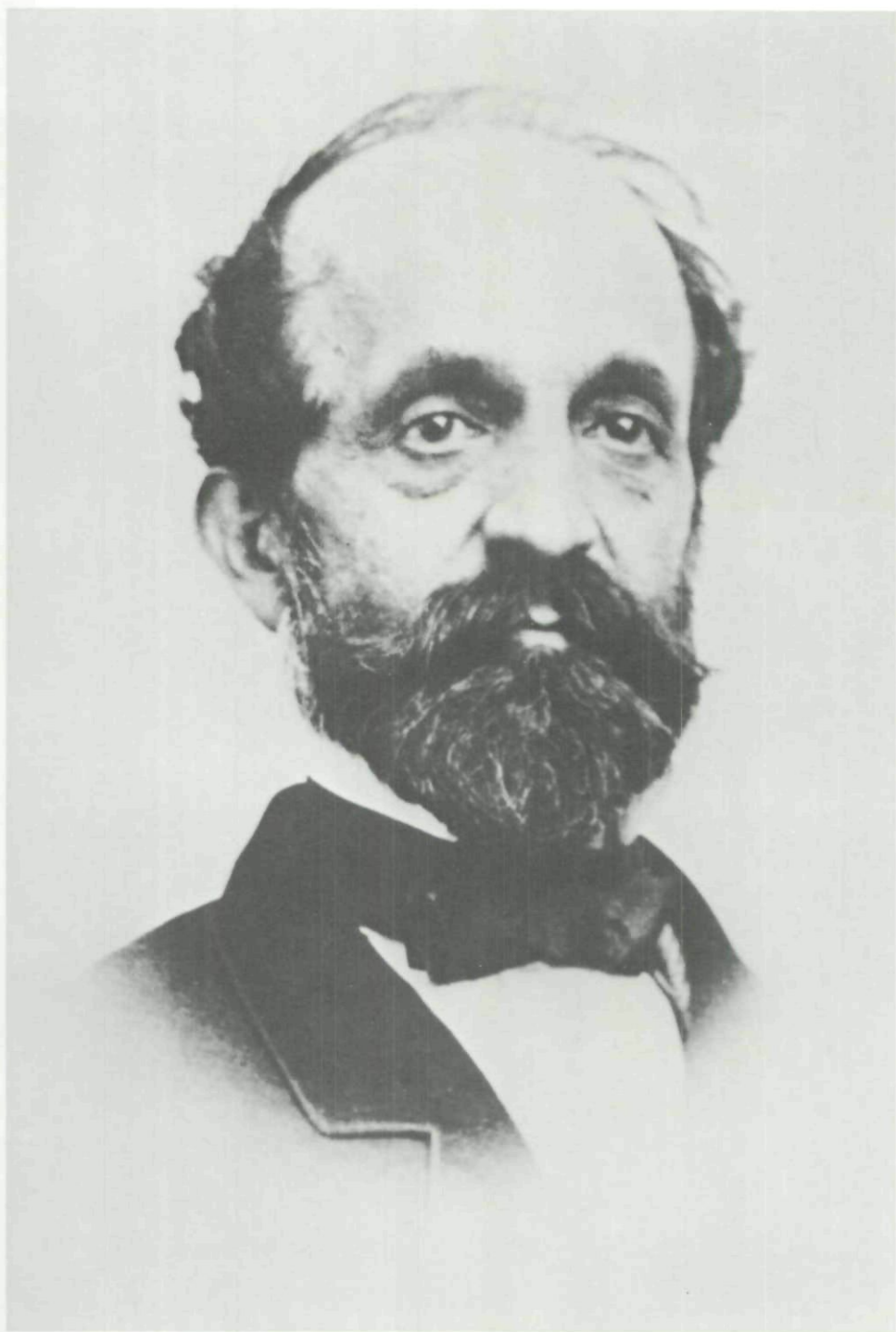


Fig. 1. John Henry Bufford. Photograph by S. Masury, Boston, ca. 1860.  
Collection of Samuel Bufford Wagner.



Fig. 2. John Henry Bufford, Jr. Photograph by Boynton & Co., Boston, ca. 1870. Collection of Samuel Bufford Wagner.

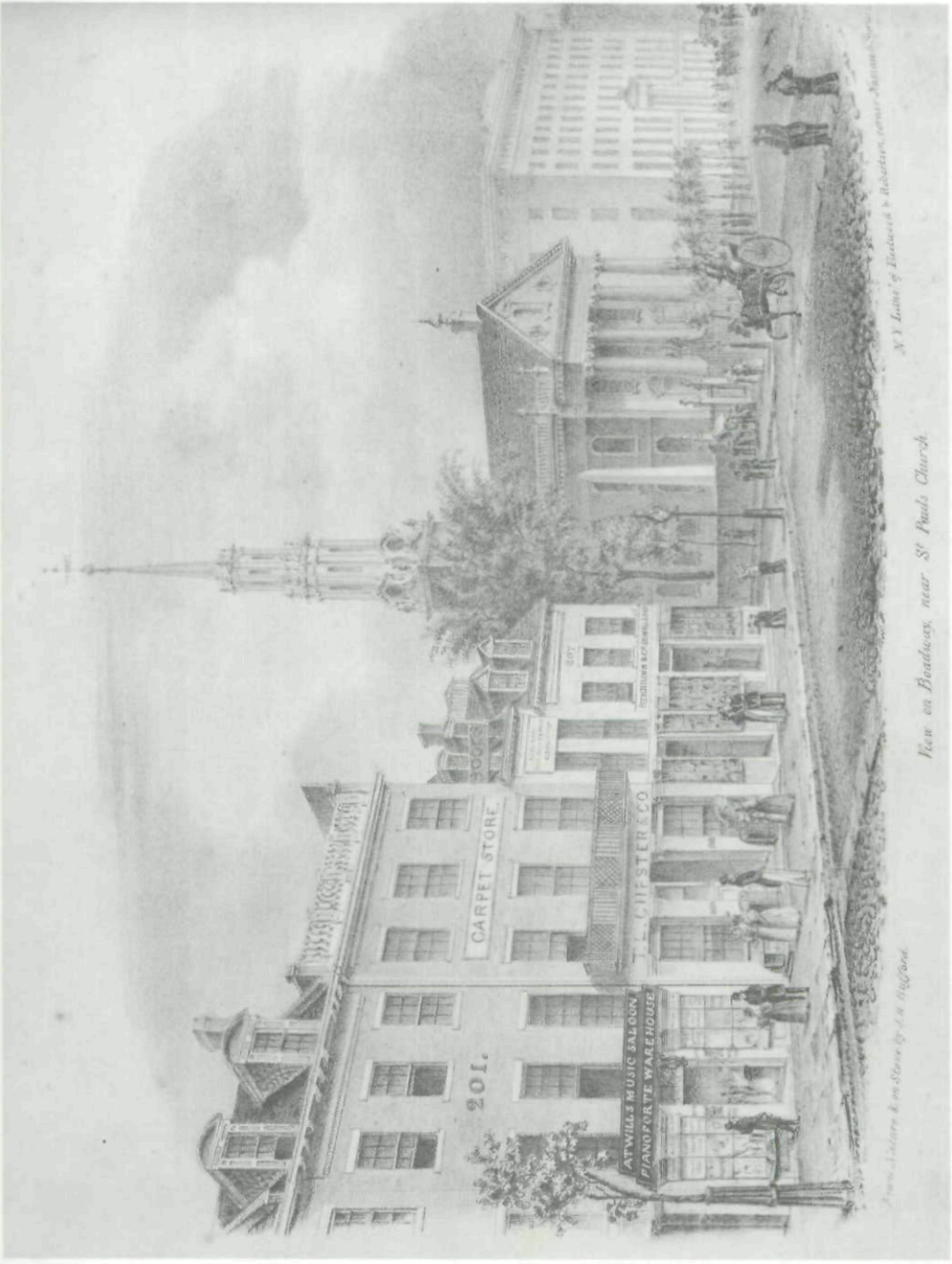


Fig. 3. Frank Gale Bufford. Photograph by Clarke's Union Photographic Gallery, New York, ca. 1875. Collection of Samuel Bufford Wagner.



VIEW OF THE GREAT CONFLAGRATION OF DEC 16<sup>th</sup> AND 17<sup>th</sup> 1835, FROM COENTIES SLIP.

Fig. 4. J. H. Bufford, *View of the Great Conflagration of Dec 16th and 17th 1835; from Coenties Slip*. Lithograph printed by Nathaniel Currier, 25.4 x 32.2 cm., 1835. Library of Congress.



*View on Broadway, near St. Paul's Church.*

Fig. 5. J. H. Bufford, *Broadway Sights*. Lithograph printed by Fleetwood and Robinson, 16 x 24.2 cm., 1835. Title page vignette from the song 'Broadway Sights' by W. L. Latham (New York: Atwill, 1835). American Antiquarian Society.



Fig. 6. Joseph E. Baker, *Bufford Artist at Work*. Lithograph printed by J. H. Bufford's Lithographic Establishment, 14.5 x 11.3 cm., 1874. Plate from the *Boston Directory* for 1874. American Antiquarian Society.



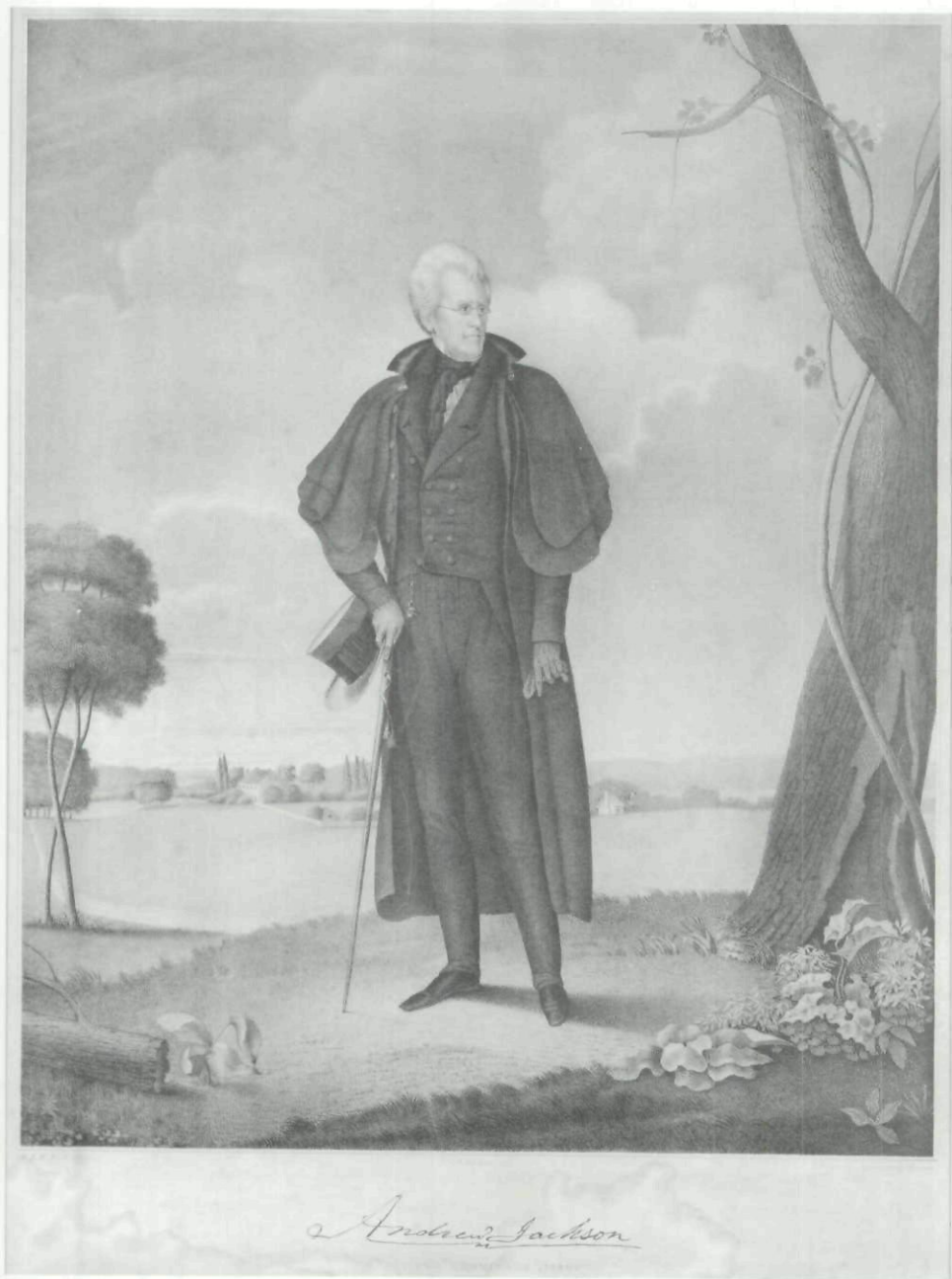
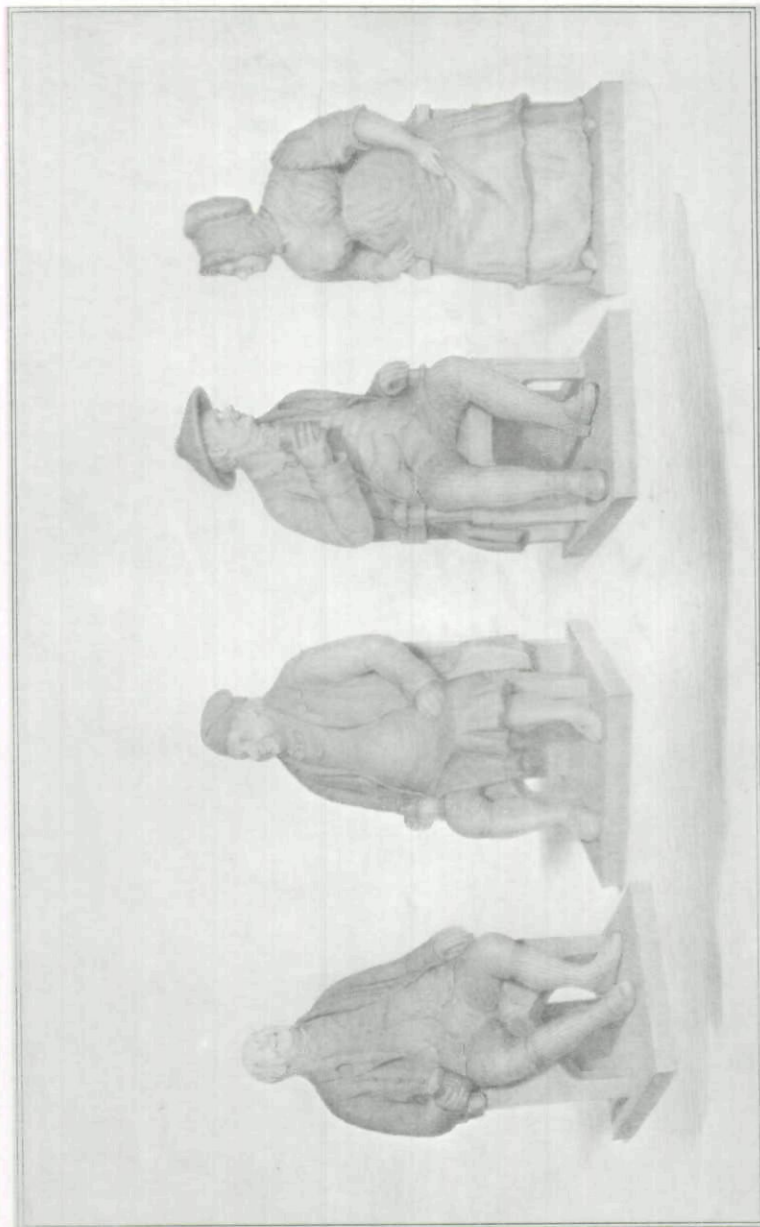


Fig. 7. J. H. Bufford, *Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage*. Lithograph (after the painting by Ralph E. W. Earl) printed by William Pendleton, 59 x 43 cm., 1832. American Antiquarian Society.



Engraved by J. H. Bufford

The O'Shanter group of 1866

The O'Shanter group from the celebrated group by James S. Shaw  
copy right secured

Fig. 8. J. H. Bufford, From the Celebrated Figures Tam O'Shanter. . . Lithograph printed by William Pendleton, 22.5 x 32.8 cm., 1833. American Antiquarian Society.

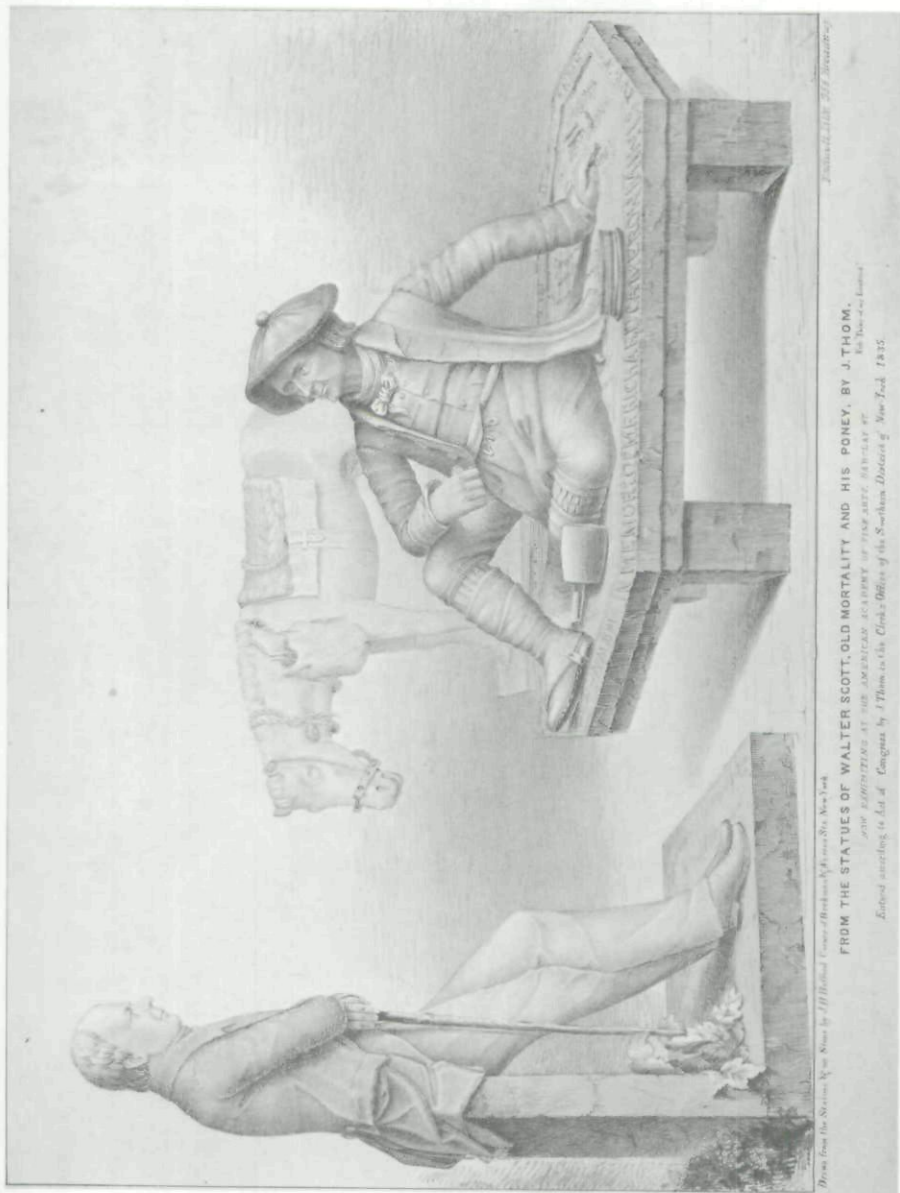


Fig. 9. J. H. Bufford, *From the Statues of Walter Scott*. . . . Lithograph printed by George Endicott, 36 x 37.8 cm., 1835. American Antiquarian Society.



**LOVE, THE POLYPHONIST,**

As depicted by him in the "Pony" contained in the "Pony" and at the Middle Chamberline, Derby.  
 As depicted by him in the "Pony" contained in the "Pony" and at the Middle Chamberline, Derby.  
 "LOVE IN ALL SHAPES" AND "DINNER AT 5 PRECISELY"  
 New York, at the 41, Broadway, New Orleans, at the 11, Orleans, and 11, Orleans, and 11, Orleans.

Fig. 10. J. H. Bufford, *Love, the Polyphonist*. Lithograph printed by B. W. Thayer & Co., 23.5 x 38.5 cm., 1840. American Antiquarian Society.

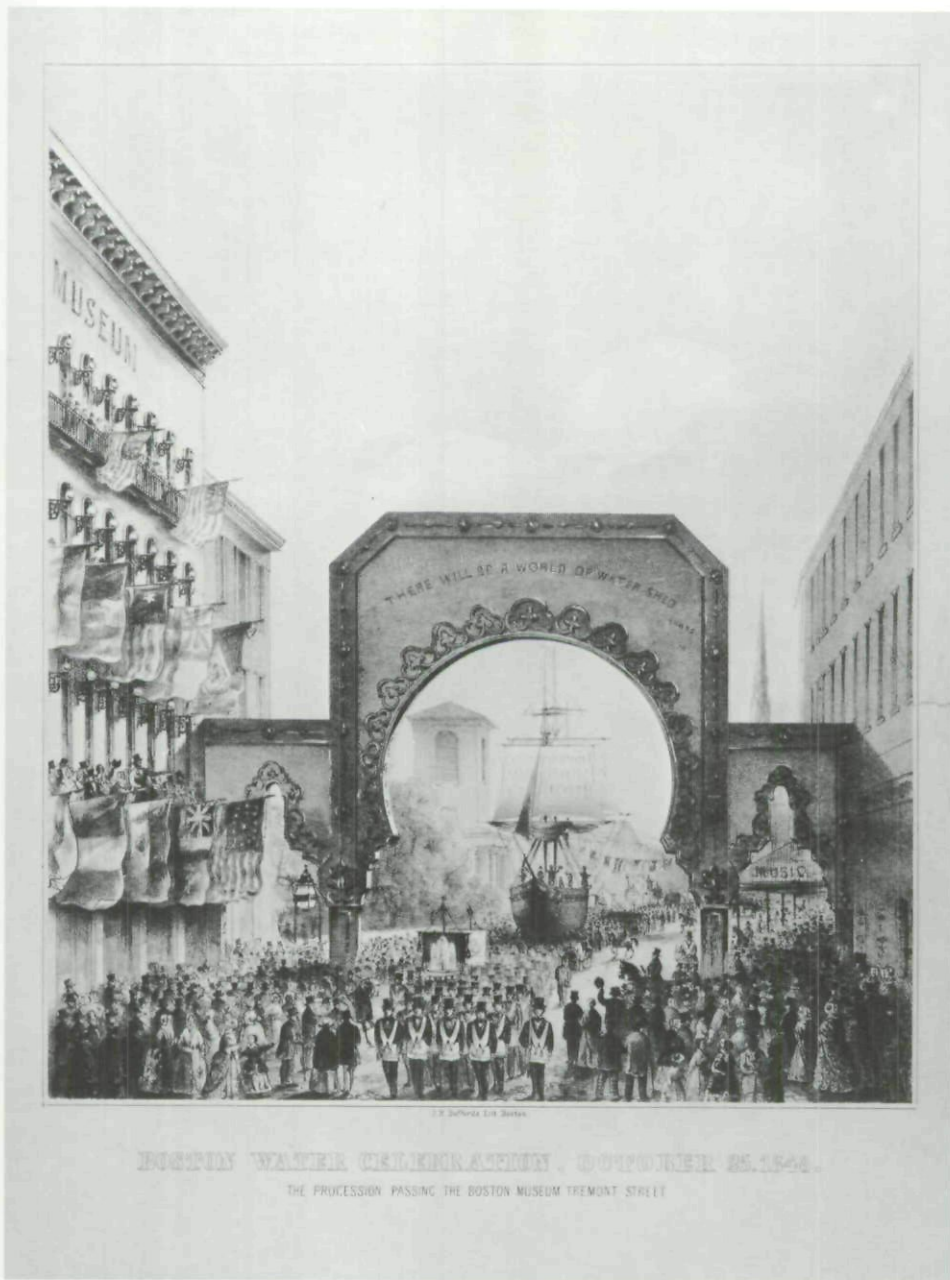


Fig. 11. J. H. Bufford, *Boston Water Celebration*. Lithograph printed by Bufford, 36.8 x 28.5 cm., 1848. Boston Athenæum.



Fig. 12. Samuel Worcester Rowse, *View of the Water Celebration*. Lithograph (after a drawing by Benjamin F. Smith, Jr.) printed by Tappan & Bradford, 51.1 x 89.5 cm., 1849. Bostonian Society.

dim reflection found in Winslow Homer's grumbles to interviewers in 1878 and 1903 relating to his two years as an apprentice to Bufford in the mid-1850s. Homer, who even by the year of the earlier interview was well established as a painter and had a reputation for independence, commented then that 'the slavery at Bufford's' had convinced him never again to bind himself to an employer. 'From the time I took my nose off the lithographic stone, I have had no master, and never shall have any,' a remark which only obliquely, if at all, tells us anything of Bufford himself.<sup>3</sup> We shall need to look to original sources and the prints themselves to learn more of the man.

## II

John Henry Bufford was born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on July 27, 1810, the son of Henry (1780-1854) and Mary Gale (1784-1839) Bufford and the grandson of Nicholas Beaufort (1739-84), who is thought to have been born in Boston and whose name appears as Boufford in New Hampshire in 1776-77.<sup>4</sup> Henry Bufford settled in Portsmouth as a young man and remained there for the rest of his working life practicing his trade of sign painting and gilding.<sup>5</sup> His work as a figurative painter in the ornamental sense probably contributed to his son John's early interest in pictorial art.

There is a possibility that young Bufford took lessons in drawing from a rival of his father's, John S. Blunt (1798-1835), a Portsmouth sign painter who by the mid-1820s was

<sup>3</sup>George Sheldon, 'American Painters—Winslow Homer and F. A. Bridgman,' *Art Journal* 4 (August 1878):224-26. John W. Beatty, 'Recollections of an Intimate Friendship,' in Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 214.

<sup>4</sup>Except where otherwise noted, biographical and genealogical information about the Buffords has been supplied from family records in the collections of Samuel Bufford Wagner of San Francisco, Calif., and Marc D. Thompson of Alexandria, Va.

<sup>5</sup>Henry Bufford is listed in the *Portsmouth Directory* for 1821, 1827, 1834, 1839/40, and 1851, the only editions published in his lifetime.

well on his way to recognized standing as a fine artist.<sup>6</sup> In 1825 Blunt proposed to open a drawing school for young men and women in Portsmouth, then a town of about seventy-five hundred persons, and although it is not clear that the school ever materialized, or that if it did, that John Bufford ever attended, Blunt remains the most likely drawing teacher for Bufford outside his own family.<sup>7</sup> Further, through exhibitions at the Boston Athenæum, Blunt had associations with Boston artists that may have helped arrange John's apprenticeship to William Pendleton, the Boston lithographer, though there is no evidence that Blunt was in fact an intermediary in this regard.<sup>8</sup> All that is certain is that Bufford entered the Pendleton shop in 1829. At this point he joined the young Nathaniel Currier who had been apprenticed to Pendleton a year earlier.<sup>9</sup>

The brothers William and John Pendleton had set up shop in Boston in 1825. Four years later when Bufford arrived the shop was still struggling to establish lithography's practical advantages as a commercial printing process and also to demonstrate its superiority as a means for reproducing artists' drawings.<sup>10</sup> The shop was a small one, as were all lithographic printing operations in the 1820s, and as a result Bufford and Currier had opportunities to learn every aspect of the business, from the art of drawing to the craft of printing, a breadth of experience which would contribute to each man's

<sup>6</sup>Blunt advertised in the business section of the *Portsmouth Directory* for 1827 (p. 81, on which also appeared Henry Bufford's ad) that he was available to execute portrait, miniature, military standard, landscape, marine, masonic, and fancy paintings in addition to plain and ornamental signs. Blunt's lamentably short career is summarized by Nina Fletcher Little in 'J.S. Blunt, New England Landscape Painter,' *Antiques* 54 (September 1948):172-74.

<sup>7</sup>*Portsmouth Journal*, April 2, 1825.

<sup>8</sup>Mabel Munson Swan, *The Athenæum Gallery* (Boston: Boston Athenæum, 1940), p. 203, where Blunt is erroneously listed as Joseph S. Blunt.

<sup>9</sup>Harry T. Peters, *Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American People* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1942), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>David Tatham, 'The Pendleton-Moore Shop—Lithographic Artists in Boston, 1825-1840,' *Old-Time New England* 62 (Fall 1971):29-46.



later success with his own firm. Apprentices in the next decade would find themselves more narrowly trained.

When Bufford's apprenticeship ended, probably in 1831, he stayed on with Pendleton as one of the small group of artists who worked for the shop.<sup>11</sup> In 1832 Pendleton seems to have viewed Bufford as his most capable draughtsman.<sup>12</sup> By late spring 1835 Bufford had left Boston and was in business for himself as a lithographer in New York at 152 Broadway, later moving to 10 Beekman Street and several locations on Nassau Street.<sup>13</sup> While maintaining his own business for five years in New York, he also drew for two other lithographers. One of these was his old friend Currier, who after an abortive venture in Philadelphia in 1833 had opened a shop in New York and thereafter limited most of his own work on stone to lettering while calling on Bufford and other free-lance artists for pictorial work. Bufford's other occasional employer was George Endicott (1802-48) who had opened a lithographic printing business in New York in 1828.

For the rest of the decade Currier, Endicott, and Bufford were the three chief printers of lithographs in New York and of the three only Bufford seems to have worked regularly as a pictorial artist. He drew so many lithographs for Currier and Endicott that we might conclude that he was no more than an artist-for-hire were it not for the specific claim on some of his own lithographs that he had printed them himself, and for receipted bills for job printing he did for others.<sup>14</sup> He published few of the lithographs he drew; for the most part he

<sup>11</sup>Artists who drew on stone regularly or occasionally at the shop during Bufford's years there included Currier, Seth and John Cheney, Thomas Edwards, David Claypoole Johnston, James Kidder, Fitz Hugh Lane, Benjamin F. Nutting, and Moses Swett.

<sup>12</sup>See note 33.

<sup>13</sup>*New York Directory* (Longworth's) for 1835/36, 1836/37, 1837/38, 1838/39, and 1839/40. Addresses other than those listed in the directories are found on some Bufford lithograph imprints. He moved his shop regularly, though always within the same neighborhood.

<sup>14</sup>Bufford to Alexander Jackson Davis, December 1, 1836, and November 13, 1839, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, American Antiquarian Society.

left to Currier, Endicott, and a host of book and music sellers the task of conceiving the prints and the risk of publishing and selling them. For some of these publishers he drew large framing lithographs—prints of suitable subject, size, and finish to warrant their display in a parlor or their preservation in a portfolio—but the greater part of his effort was devoted to turning out a vast quantity of illustrations for books, periodicals, and music. He was typical of American lithographers in the 1830s in his dependence for survival on jobs that later would condescendingly be deemed commercial illustration rather than fine art, though at the time such distinctions were not made as categorically as they came to be after the Civil War.

The range of his activity in New York can be fairly sampled by considering three of the genres in which he regularly worked: replication of existing pictures, views of disasters, and illustrations for music. In the first category his task was to copy his source, usually a drawing or a print, as closely as possible, though often on a different scale, a job done by tracing and free approximation until the development of photo-mechanical processes of reproduction in the last third of the century. There was little opportunity for individual expression in these assignments but the great variety of pictures to be copied broadened Bufford's knowledge of what was good and bad in pictorial style. During 1836 he lithographed some of the folio plates for Alexander Jackson Davis's set of architectural plans and views, *Rural Residences*, published in 1837, and then some months later, in quite a different style, he copied onto stone the quasi-primitive views of the Adirondacks which illustrate Ebenezer Emmons's report on the geology of New York published in New York State Assembly Document 200 (1838). In 1839 for the New York edition of John Delafield's *Inquiry into the Origins of the Antiquities of America* he copied onto stone, printed on tissue paper, and joined together the sections comprising the book's seventeen-

foot folding frontispiece which reproduces an array of Aztec symbols. The regularity with which Bufford received important jobs of this kind testifies that he had established himself in New York as a reliable and painstaking copyist.

As a copyist Bufford necessarily needed to adapt and confine his drawing style to the sources from which he worked. He had rather more freedom for individual expression in some of the original subjects he drew for publishers. Notable among these are a number of views which purport to record disasters involving frightful losses of life and property, and which as a type of print are, of course, antecedents of the twentieth-century news photograph. In their rough execution and sometimes faulty drawing Bufford's disaster prints show the signs of having been rushed to publication, which they doubtless were, since the public's interest in such grim affairs was then, as now, often short-lived.

Bufford's earliest disaster view is *Ruins of the Planters Hotel, New Orleans*, published by Currier not long after the collapse of the hotel in May 1835. The view was probably adapted from an eyewitness sketch since there is no reason to think that Bufford ever visited New Orleans, and further, the inscription lacks the specific claim that he had sketched it from nature. He prominently lettered just such a claim on several of his prints of this period, including his view of the aftermath of a major holocaust in New York, *Ruins of the Merchants Exchange N.Y. after the Destructive Conflagration of December 16 & 17, 1835*, and its companion *View of the Great Conflagration . . . from Coenties Slip*, both published in New York by Bufford and John Disturnell. These newsworthy pictures of major disasters preceded by almost five years the several rival versions by Currier, Bufford, and others of the burning of the steamship *Lexington* in Long Island Sound in January 1840, the most widely distributed news picture of its generation.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Currier's *Lexington* lithograph is probably the original and exists in two versions,

The lineage of the disaster print in America runs back to colonial almanac and broadside cuts and also includes Henry Pelham's and Paul Revere's engravings of 1770 of the Boston Massacre, but the genre began to flourish vigorously only in the 1830s when it became evident that lithography would allow a news picture to be drawn, printed in a large edition, and sold cheaply within a few days of the event, a kind of timeliness which had not been possible with the older printmaking processes. Though Bufford's disaster lithographs of 1835 rank among the earliest in America, he rarely attempted these subjects after 1840, either as artist or publisher. Perhaps the sale of his prints had been disappointing, or pictorially worthwhile disasters were in short supply.

He was a prolific illustrator of music throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Though we might expect that he would have better opportunities for pictorial invention in this genre than he had found in reproducing academic illustrations or documenting awful occurrences, he was in fact seldom asked in his New York years to do anything more than to copy illustrations from British music. His title vignette for Charles Jeffery's 'Portuguese Mariner's Song,' published in New York by J. L. Hewitt in 1835, is such a case, having been taken without much change from the London edition published by D'Alemaine. The sole significance of this bit of copy work is that it is among Bufford's very earliest efforts in New York, having been printed by the firm of Stodart & Currier, which dissolved by April 1835. He copied many portraits of singers, actresses, and idealized young ladies for use on music titles, perpetuating the few virtues and many failings of his varied sources so thoroughly that it is difficult to conclude from these prints much of anything concerning his own skills.

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both drawn on stone by William K. Hewitt. The popularity of the view was sufficient to warrant the coloring of a new stock as late as eleven months after the incident. Peters, *Currier & Ives*, p. 15. Bufford's version of the scene, which closely follows Currier's, is among his last New York prints since he was at work in Boston by May 1840. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 11, 1840.

We can take a better measure of Bufford's talents from his few original music illustrations of the period, a small body of graphic art that contributes notably to our pictorial record of New York City in the 1830s. His vignette for D. Johnson's 'Carrier Dove,' published by Atwill, has an engaging bird's-eye view of lower Manhattan, a happy touch which has nothing to do with the song it supposedly illustrates. A more carefully articulated drawing is a view of Broadway including St. Paul's Church and the old Astor House drawn for the title page of W. L. Latham's 'Broadway Sights,' (fig. 5) a song published in 1835 by Atwill, whose shop is shown in the illustration.

Aside from prints of these and other kinds, and city directory entries, the only significant evidence of Bufford's busy years in New York are two receipted bills in the manuscript collections of the American Antiquarian Society related to his work for A. J. Davis's *Rural Residences*.<sup>16</sup> The bills provide important documentary evidence of lithographers' charges for drawing and printing in the 1830s and one receipt, dated November 13, 1839, is among the last evidence of Bufford in New York. For reasons unknown, but very likely relating to the intensity of competition provided by Currier, Endicott, and other lithographers, Bufford pulled up stakes early in 1840 and returned to Boston.

### III

During his New York years Bufford had maintained at least family ties with Boston. In 1836 he had married Anna Melora Thayer of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Two sons were born to the couple: Frank Gale (1837-1912) and John Henry (1841-93), who was called Henry John within the family. Both sons in time joined their father in the management of his business. His wife's brother, Benjamin W. Thayer,

<sup>16</sup>See note 14 above.

thought enough of Bufford's accomplishments in New York to form a partnership with him and John E. Moody, a lithographic artist and copperplate engraver, to operate a new lithographic printing firm, B. W. Thayer & Company. An advertisement in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* for May 11, 1840, reported the firm to be practicing its business. Thayer, who was not an artist, apparently funded the enterprise and one way or another remained associated with his brother-in-law's finances to the end of his life.<sup>17</sup>

Rather than start from scratch, Thayer and his partners bought out the going business of Thomas Moore, owner since 1836 of the former Pendleton shop. This was the same shop at 204 Washington Street that Bufford had joined as an apprentice in 1829 and now, after half a decade in New York, he returned to preside over the old place as chief artist and general manager. The shop prospered despite the quickening competition of the times—where Moore had only a single local competitor in 1838, the new Thayer shop had four in 1840. No doubt in response to this, Bufford reduced the shop's outlay for artist services by taking it on himself to draw the lion's share of the firm's lithographs, supplanting within a year the small company of draughtsmen, including Fitz Hugh Lane, who had served Moore so well.<sup>18</sup> After 1841 no artist seems to have worked for Bufford with anything approaching regularity until 1848 when John P. Newell arrived as an apprentice and stayed until the mid-1850s. It is clear enough from the prints of these years that Bufford paid a dear price as

<sup>17</sup>Suffolk County, Mass., Probate Court Records for 1870. On October 17, 1870, Thayer was appointed administrator of Bufford's estate. I am indebted to Bettina Norton who reported to me the several entries concerning the Bufford estate in the 1870 records.

<sup>18</sup>Artists who worked for Moore between 1836 and 1840 included Benjamin Champney, Robert Cooke, David Claypoole Johnston, Fitz Hugh Lane, Benjamin F. Nutting, and William Rimmer. Eastman Johnson, later well known as a painter, worked at the shop in or around 1840, but whether he served Moore or the Thayer Co. or both is not known, nor are any lithographs by his hand from this period. Champney and Cooke, who worked for the Thayer Co. until mid-1841, seem to have been the last to leave.

an artist for this voluminous productivity, for his drawings are often so summary in design, shallow in substance, and hurried in execution that they could scarcely have helped his reputation as a graphic artist, and probably hurt it. On those less frequent occasions when he devoted enough time to an assignment, the results could be as outstanding as his *Boston Water Celebration. October 25. 1848* (fig. 11), a print which will be discussed below.

In 1843 Bufford began printing in colors from multiple stones, being evidently the first to follow his Boston rival William A. Sharp, who in 1839 had introduced the practice of color printing by lithography to this country from England.<sup>19</sup> In 1845, B. W. Thayer & Co. dissolved and was succeeded by a new partnership consisting of Bufford and A. G. Dawes, who is not known to have been an artist.<sup>20</sup> The new firm, which continued at the old location, was named J. H. Bufford & Company in deference to Bufford's stature within the trade, and this remained the firm's name until 1851 even though Dawes's association seems to have lasted for only a year or two. In 1850 Thayer reappeared as a partner and the following year, for reasons that are not clear, the two brothers-in-law once again altered their arrangements and set up two separate and competing firms. Thayer remained at 204 Washington Street and resurrected the old name of B. W. Thayer & Co., which had not seen service as an imprint since 1845. A few blocks away at 260 Washington Street, Bufford opened a new printing operation. Free at last from partners,

<sup>19</sup>The first lithograph printed in colors in Boston by Sharp is the portrait of the Reverend Francis W. P. Greenwood, drawn and printed in 1839. Sharp also printed in colors the plates for Morris Mattson, *American Vegetable Practice* (Boston: D. L. Hale, 1841). Sharp's work is the subject of a study by Bettina A. Norton, 'William Sharp, Pioneer Color Lithographer,' in *American Prints of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, forthcoming). Early examples of color printing by Thayer & Co. are music title pages for L. Nolcini, 'Osceola Quick Step' (Boston: Henry Prentiss, 1843), and Adam Kurek, 'Winchester's Quick Step' (Boston: Charles Keith, 1843).

<sup>20</sup>The new partnership is advertised in the *Boston Directory* for 1845 (s.v. *Bufford and Dawes*).

he dropped the *℄ Co.* from his most recent firm name and left it simply J. H. Bufford's Lithography.<sup>21</sup>

In taking over the old operation at 204, Thayer became owner of the shop's stones, many of which still bore drawings by Bufford. Some of these were the property of publishers who kept them standing at the shop for use in new printings of books and music. As orders warranted, Thayer printed from these stones, always taking care to remove any non-Thayer imprint and to add his own in its stead. Though this was normal practice among printmakers at the time, it has made it difficult for present-day scholars to date accurately the many Thayer and Bufford lithographs for which the imprint is the sole clue to the year of the print's original publication.

To entangle matters further, at least for historians, Thayer in 1853 sold the old shop to Samuel and John Chandler, who operated it until 1856 when they sold it in turn to Frank F. Oakley, who continued at the same spot until 1863. During all these years, the Chandlers and Oakley printed from several stones which still held Bufford drawings of the 1840s. For example, a view of the Tiger boat crew working out in Boston waters, signed on stone by Bufford, originally appeared in 1840 with a Thayer imprint as the title page illustration for Joseph P. Knight's song 'Arouse Ye Gay Comrades,' published in Boston by Parker and Ditson. Sixteen years later the same vignette, slightly worse for wear but with Bufford's signature as artist still clearly evident, appeared with Oakley's imprint as the title illustration for William Clifton's piano piece 'Our Boat Sits Lightly on the Wave,' published in 1856 by Oliver Ditson. (A different Ditson edition of this music has a lithograph drawn by W. K. Hewitt.) A more fully documented history of the passage of ownership of Bufford's

<sup>21</sup> *Boston Directory* for 1846 through 1852. Thayer is listed as a lithographer in 1846 and 1847, at 208 Washington Street, nearby Bufford's shop, but no prints with his imprint from these years are known. He may have been only a print seller. In the *Boston Directory* for 1854 he is listed as a broker.



drawings on stone, with the attendant transformation of printers' imprints, is found in the several states of the folio plates which illustrate William Oakes's *Scenery of the White Mountains*, a book whose sustained popularity brought forth new printings year after year. The first edition, published in Boston in 1848 by Little & Brown, has lithographs (after drawings by Isaac Sprague and others) which were both drawn on stone and printed by Bufford, his imprint appearing on each plate. For more than a decade thereafter, subsequent printings of the book utilized impressions from the same stones taken in turn by Thayer, the Chandlers, and Oakley, each of whom eradicated his predecessor's imprint and added his own in its place.

It is unlikely that Bufford fretted very much about this loss of credit for his old drawings. He was busy in his own shop developing a new stock of prints with new stones and presses, and he had also shifted the emphasis of his efforts. While he continued to be a complete lithographic job printer, he put an increasing amount of his energies into printing and publishing original framing prints of high quality, and in doing so he was following the lead of Currier whose pioneering work in publishing and merchandising lithographs in New York in the 1840s had succeeded grandly. By the late 1850s Bufford had become a major publisher of framing prints and his efforts were boomed a few years later by the *Boston Traveller* in a column which reads like an advertisement and whose claims must be taken with a grain of salt.

Bufford's lithographs are sold wherever the flag of our country waves, and in foreign lands as well, and have carried into the homes of the people the rarest gems of modern art, transferred in a style frequently superior to the bright original. Engravings costing twenty, thirty, forty dollars a copy, or more, are reproduced in lithograph[y] at a quarter of their cost; and even the common prints, that used to disgrace the poor man's parlor, are now superceded by tinted or colored lithographs which, though cheaper, are true to the nicest details of nature and science. . . .

Bufford's splendid lithographs cover hundreds of subjects from those of the card photographs, and the chromo-gems with their brilliant colors, up to the most finished and magnificent conceptions of genius. Through general agencies in all the large cities, and subordinate sales rooms in myriad towns and hamlets, tens of thousands of these lithographs have been sent broadcast over the continent. The result has been invaluable in educating the people up to a true taste, and in fostering their love for the beautiful. None but the best artists are employed; men who are alike able to originate, and to detect and correct the faults of artists from whom they chance to copy, and nearly a hundred people find their employment under their lead. The house has therefore a deserved celebrity standing at the very head of the business this side of the water.

The catalogue published by Mr. Bufford . . . will show the wonderful variety . . . of his issues. . . . The large drawing room prints are about a hundred in number, and among those of lesser size are some extremely rich chromo-lithographs of American scenery.<sup>22</sup>

In 1864, when this column appeared, Bufford had been a major publisher of prints for about a decade, but he had been the artist of execution for only a few of them, and these all before 1855. By that year the size of his operation required that he devote his attention to the art of management and leave the art of drawing to his ever-growing staff. Further, as he ceased to be an active artist, he was certainly keenly aware that his skills as a draughtsman, which twenty years earlier had been much in demand, could not now match those of the new generation of better-trained graphic artists. In the competitive world of picture printing of the 1850s—to which the wood engravings of the new pictorial weeklies had added their own high standards, as could be seen each week in the numbers of *Ballou's Pictorial*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and *Harper's Weekly*—Bufford could no longer afford an artist with skills as limited as his own.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>*Boston Evening Traveller*, March 18, 1864, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>*Ballou's* predecessor, *Gleason's Pictorial*, appeared in Boston in 1850. Like its

Bufford began gathering his staff in the late 1840s. The first artist of significance to work for him seems to have been John Perry Newell (c. 1831–98), who, as noted earlier, had been apprenticed to the shop in 1848. A native of Newport, Rhode Island, Newell later became a skillful marine artist, whose harbor and sailing views were lithographed and sold by the Bufford firm as late as the 1870s. In an undated letter to the Bufford brothers sometime after their father's death in 1870, Newell recalled his former master and some of the prints he considered to be important examples of the shop's work.

In the year 1848—April 26th—I was first introduced to your father, with letters, for the purpose of learning the art of lithography. I look back with pleasure to making the acquaintance and enjoying the friendship of that gentleman who has done so much for lithography . . . a man who devoted . . . his whole lifetime [to the art] and who won by his straightforward dealings the approbation of all and endeared himself to so many. I think he was one of the earliest publishers of lithographic subjects in this country. Those [early prints] I can remember having seen were in black, touched with water colors. Perhaps the first that I heard him speak of as meeting with success was the great fire in New York [of] December 17, 1835. [Later memorable prints were] the arrival for the first time of the Great Western in New York from Liverpool . . . the burning of the Lexington in 1840 . . . the burning of the Ocean Monarch at sea, from an English print. The view of the antiquarian structure in Newport, the Old Mill, was published for the first time from a drawing I myself made in 1857. . . . I made the first view of Newport, which was lithographed in tints at his establishment, 313 Washington Street, the first publication of that kind, followed by views of Bristol and Providence, and Fall River.<sup>24</sup>

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rivals in New York, *Leslie's* which appeared in 1855 and *Harper's* (1857), *Gleason's* pictorial format was made possible by a new technology which allowed high speed printing of electrotype replicas of wood engravings. The pictorial weeklies were modeled on the *Illustrated London News*, which began publication in 1842.

<sup>24</sup>Newell to the Bufford brothers, undated but after September 1870, collection of Marc D. Thompson, Alexandria, Va.

Though Newell was a skilled view-maker, he was not as versatile or capable as the artists who joined the shop in the 1850s. Emile Masson (fl. 1850-62), an able comic artist, worked for Bufford in the early 1850s while also contributing designs for wood engravings to *Gleason's Pictorial*. His caricature of the Austrian pianist Alfred Jaell, printed by Bufford, is a fair example of his wit and fluent draughtsmanship. Leopold Grozelier (1825-65), who had emigrated from France about 1850 and settled in Boston by 1853, produced for Bufford and other lithographers many miniature portraits copied from daguerreotypes, a kind of subject which became a staple of the Bufford shop in the late 1840s and remained so until cheap photographic means of reproducing photographic images were introduced in the 1860s. It would be unfair to associate Grozelier solely with portrait drawing, however, since he was a splendid copyist of all subjects. His *Western Life. The Trapper*, after the painting by Charles Deas, a lithograph printed by Bufford and published by M. Knoedler about 1855, is an outstanding example of the art of translating and reducing a color painting to a black-and-white print.

Between 1854 and 1857 Bufford took on as apprentices Joseph Foxcroft Cole (1837-92), who was later a distinguished painter, Joseph E. Baker (1835-1914), who made a career of lithographic drawing, and Winslow Homer (1836-1910).<sup>25</sup> Homer's eagerness to be freed from his apprenticeship no doubt stemmed from his resentment at receiving the standard apprentice wage of five dollars a week for his clearly superior talents, but it also must have reflected his impatience with the copywork nature of his assignments, for unlike Grozelier he balked at any need to submerge individuality of expression. The capacity to reproduce exactly another person's pictures, faults and all, which was one of Bufford's

<sup>25</sup>While examples of Baker's and Homer's work for Bufford are well known, Cole's is not. His pictorial decoration of the lithographed extra-title to George Bowler's *Chapel and Church Architecture* (Boston: J. P. Jewett, 1856), signed on the stone, upper right, and plate 9, signed lower right, gives some slight measure of his skill.

strengths in the early years of lithography, was now scorned as being not much of an art at all by Homer, who was representative of his generation in this regard. Still, however disgruntled some of Bufford's artists of the 1850s and 1860s may have been with their lots, they contributed to a memorably high level of accomplishment for the shop. If Bufford had left the drawing table out of appreciation for the new high standards for popular illustration, he now rigorously determined that his staff artists would meet those standards.

For her popular biography of Winslow Homer, Jean Gould conjured up from Homer's grumbles a Bufford who was a stern and forbidding taskmaster, his watch eternally in his hand as he sought to give life to the motto 'Time is Money,' a characterization which is perhaps as fair as any in view of the paucity of facts about the man, though it does not quite square with Newell's fleeting memorial assessment.<sup>26</sup> Though Miss Gould was not aware of the only known likeness of Bufford (fig. 1), a photograph taken in the 1860s, it would not have been of much help. It shows a tired and humorless countenance which reveals little of the man who marshalled the talents to create the hundreds of major prints that issued forth from his shop over the years.

Bufford's high standards of the 1850s and early 1860s began to falter in the decade after the Civil War. As new processes of pictorial reproduction began to produce satisfactory pictures cheaply, Bufford and most of his fellow lithographers lowered their standards for drawing and printing as they struggled to survive. There had been earlier challenges to lithography—ingenious attempts to devise new kinds of printing matrices were plentiful throughout the nineteenth century—but none had seriously threatened the dominance of lithography in most of its preferred applications. But when a workable means of photolithography arrived in the late 1850s, making it possible to reproduce a photographic image cheaply

<sup>26</sup>Jean Gould, *Winslow Homer* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1962), pp. 30–36.

and virtually without limit, the challenge of the camera took on a new seriousness, calling into question the very need for pictorial draughtsmen. Although in fact it took several years for photolithography to be refined to a point of commercial usefulness, a flood of other photomechanical processes arrived in the 1860s, a few caught on, and by the mid 1870s there were a number of feasible and often cheaper alternatives to hand-drawn lithography for most jobs. Despite its own advances in technology, stone lithography had become by the 1880s an old-fashioned process reserved for a diminishing number of special uses. A broad sampling of hand-drawn, stone-printed American lithographs of the 1870s and 1880s speaks loudly of the decline of both the art and the craft of the medium.

Well before this—probably in the late 1850s—Bufford's sons had joined him in the management of his business. In 1864 they became partners and the new firm name of J. H. Bufford & Sons made its first appearance in the *Boston Directory*. An advertisement in the following year's *Directory* noted that the firm sold 'pictures, picture-frames, passe-partouts, maps, extention albums, and photographs,' and claimed that the Buffords' collection of photographs was the largest in the United States.<sup>27</sup> While this may have been an exaggeration, it nevertheless underlines the importance photographs had come to assume for print sellers. (There is no reason, however, to think that the Buffords themselves ever practiced photography.) Beyond selling photographic prints, the Buffords are certain to have maintained subject files for their artists to consult in devising pictures. The files are bound to have included many unique daguerreotypes and collodion photographs, all of which apparently were dispersed or destroyed late in the century.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Boston Directory* for 1865, Advertising Dept., p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> Nothing amounting to a pictorial archive appears in *List of Property of the Trustees . . . of the Bufford's Sons Lithographic Company* (Boston, 1890), published for the auction sale of the business on December 10, 1890. Collection of Marc D. Thompson, Alexandria, Va.

A New York branch office was opened in 1865 and managed by Frank Bufford.<sup>29</sup> In 1866 father and sons dissolved their partnership; John Bufford became manager of the fledgling New England Lithographic Steam Printing Company in Boston while his sons continued as Bufford Brothers, Print Sellers, in Boston and New York.<sup>30</sup> By 1868 Bufford was back with his sons and the reunion brought forth yet another variation of an old theme as the new partnership was named John Bufford's Lithographic Establishment.<sup>31</sup>

Though Bufford may now have been short on modern steam-powered presses, he was long on seniority in his trade and he and his sons began to stress the point. 'Established 1840' notes their advertisement for the 1870 *Boston Directory*, while 'Established 1836' was claimed the next year, the firm evidently having overcome any reluctance to admit New York beginnings for Boston's oldest lithographic house. History was revised again for the 1875 *Directory* when the Bufford brothers rolled the date back to the middle of their father's apprentice days and settled on an easily remembered 'Established 1830.' These *Directory* advertisements included lively drawings by Joseph E. Baker. For the 1874 issue he drolly portrayed himself at work in the shop touching up a face on a colossal stone, closely watched by a trio which may include the Bufford brothers (fig. 6).

Their father saw only the earliest of the Baker series. In the midst of his active life he contracted pneumonia and died of it on Saturday, October 8, 1870, at his home in Roxbury, aged sixty. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* in its brief obituary on the tenth noted his pioneering role in American lithography. His sons continued the business and had some prosperous years before the firm failed in 1890, also aged sixty, at

<sup>29</sup> *New York City Directory* for 1865.

<sup>30</sup> R. G. Dun credit ledgers, vol. 68, p. 274, Manuscript Department, Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

<sup>31</sup> *Boston Directory* for 1865 through 1869.

least as reckoned from the preferred founding date. Its property was sold at auction on December 10 of that year.<sup>32</sup>

#### IV

We can understand some of the reasons for Bufford's relative obscurity by noting Currier's progress in New York during the decades Bufford worked in Boston. Beginning about 1840, Currier charted a course for his business that differed markedly from those of his rivals. He virtually eliminated job printing in favor of the publication of a continuing series of framing prints on subjects drawn from American life, conceived, drawn, printed, and hand-colored at his shop or under his close supervision, prints which his aggressive sales force then sold in every corner of the land. Few of his rivals attempted to achieve a similar unity of product and none of them seems to have comprehended modern merchandising as well as he did.

Currier's unity of product rested on three things. First, he insisted on staying with what were after 1850 old-fashioned but sure techniques of printing and hand-coloring while his competitors struggled with variable success to adapt to rapidly arriving advances in technology which often, as in the case of color printing, took decades to perfect. Second, Currier's location in New York, which was both the art and commercial center of the nation, allowed him to recruit and hold a staff of resourceful designers and artists on whom he repaid their employer's fairness and generosity with long, loyal service. Third, and most important, Currier had unerring skill in taking measure of both the fleeting and the abiding in American popular taste. He developed subjects to serve most genteel and many vulgar vagaries of the American public's interest in itself. The best known of these subjects are the romantically idealized depictions of everyday life in an Eden-

<sup>32</sup>See note 28, above.



like America, images which, framed and unframed, brightened walls in American homes for half the nineteenth century and which in the twentieth have been endlessly reproduced on Christmas cards, calendars, fabrics, dishware, and stage sets, to mention but a few of their reincarnations. These gentle fictions of life in America which were so strongly embraced by Currier's contemporaries and which have maintained such a powerful hold on the imagination of generations of Americans since constitute a rich and consistent body of information about how Americans chose to view themselves, but if we seek to know the history of lithographic printing in America, and the trials and accomplishments of the general run of graphic artists, Bufford's prints are by far the more accurate guide. Bufford's life and work is not the stuff myth is made of; Currier created a lasting myth through his prints, and has become part of it.

## V

It will be useful in concluding this brief sketch of John Bufford to examine five prints drawn by him which fairly represent his strengths as a graphic artist at several points in his career and which also explain something of the place of lithographs in American life during his years of activity.

In the spring of 1831, William Pendleton was asked to make a lithographic copy of one of Ralph E. W. Earl's full-length oil portraits of his uncle-in-law, President Andrew Jackson, who was to run for reelection the following year.<sup>33</sup> Anyone with political sense understood the need in the coming campaign to distribute widely a dignified and imposing image of Jackson to counter the disparaging caricatures which had been published during his first term. While the print had

<sup>33</sup>My account of the history of this lithograph is taken from the Thomas Hovey Gage Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. In William Pendleton's letters to Gage, he assures him that his best artist (Bufford) is working on the portrait.

political value for Jackson's supporters, its importance to Pendleton was of a different sort. It was the largest lithograph (image 16 x 22 inches) he had yet attempted and its edition of almost a thousand impressions was probably also a shop record for a broadside print (as opposed to a book or music illustration.) The function of the print ensured that it would be prominently displayed throughout the land, attesting for better or worse to the quality of the shop's work. With so much resting on a good job, we are compelled to believe that in assigning Bufford the task of copying the painting onto stone, Pendleton was calling on his most proficient available draughtsman. It is true that Boston's David Claypoole Johnston was a better all-around artist and had already, earlier in 1831, shown his considerable skill at serious graphic portraiture in his lithograph of Daniel Webster adapted from Chester Harding's painting, but Johnston's anti-Jackson cartoons were so widely known and admired—at least by Whigs—that to have asked him to portray the president respectfully would probably have offended Jackson, Earl, and Johnston alike.<sup>34</sup> Because he was a satirist at heart, Johnston's instinct was to parody Earl's attempt to ennoble Jackson which is precisely what he did in a detail of his etching *Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures*, published in 1831 as Bufford, to Johnston's certain knowledge, worked away at his task.

Bufford progressed with infinite slowness, much to the dismay of everyone concerned, but when *Andrew Jackson at the Hermitage 1830* (fig. 7) at last appeared in March 1832, the result of the long labor pleased everyone. By the standards of the time it is a fine lithograph, richly and carefully executed on stone and well printed. If the pictorial design seems laconic and linear to an extent which brings American primitive painting to mind, it is Earl who bears the responsibility for

<sup>34</sup>Among Johnston's anti-Jackson cartoons are the lithograph *The Cracked Joke. A Late Student* (1827) and the etchings *Richard III* (ca. 1828) and *Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures* (1831), impressions of which are in the Print Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

it and Bufford who gets credit for so faithfully capturing and translating these qualities to the black-white tonality and smaller scale of the print. The painter's goal, we can be sure, was to show Jackson as a citizen of simple but noble dignity, a man close to the land, unmoved by strife, and free of the trappings of urban sophistication. To that end Earl devised and Bufford followed a straightforward portrayal which was devoid of details and ornamentation that might smack of either over-refinement or European aristocratic conventions. Further, since the print's purpose was one of political image making aimed at the male electorate, there was no sense in obscuring it with the sort of pictorial eloquence which might have seemed right for ladies' gift books but which could only weaken Earl's forthright, manly concept. Jackson's actual appearance—a tall, lean, erect body topped by a mane of white hair—was imposing enough to need little help from artists. Earl understood and Bufford underlined this special strength of their subject.

Skill in copying paintings and prints does not necessarily go hand in hand with drawing from nature, however, and Bufford had mixed results when he worked directly from the three-dimensional world. He dealt best with inanimate objects, as can be seen in many of his views of buildings. Inanimate human figures, as found in sculpture for example, presented few problems either, or so we judge from his two lithographs depicting statuary groups by the Scottish sculptor James Thom. Bufford's *From the Celebrated Figures Tam O'Shanter, Souter Johnny, the Landlord and the Landlady*, printed by Pendleton in the spring of 1833 when the statues were exhibited at Harding's Gallery in Boston, shows the figures arranged in a row as though on a shallow stage beneath a portrait of their creator in verse, the poet Robert Burns.<sup>35</sup> It is proficient work but less impressive than Buf-

<sup>35</sup>The Burns group is shown in a similar arrangement by David Claypoole Johnston in his wood engraving design for *People's Magazine* (Boston) 1 (September 21, 1833): 105. The group's present location is unknown.

ford's later depiction of a second Thom group, *From the Statues of Walter Scott, Old Mortality and his Poney* (fig. 9), printed by Endicott in 1835, in which Bufford invests the figures with a great sense of life even while making it clear that they are pieces of statuary.<sup>36</sup> The careful, linear rendering of the group stands in marked contrast to the cruder drawings of Bufford's disaster views of the same year. The difference is one between having unlimited time to observe and record stationary objects and needing rapidly to summarize a world in motion from recollection, sketches, and imagination.

The origins of the Thom prints are not clear. They may have been ordered by the sculptor for sale at his exhibitions though it is also possible that Bufford took it upon himself to publish them, capitalizing on the popularity of the statues. Origins are less of a puzzle in the case of *Love, the Polyphonist* (fig. 10), one of Bufford's first efforts after his return to Boston and his partnership with Thayer. This print was very probably commissioned by William E. Love, the British actor whose one-man show opened at the Concert Hall in Boston on April 16, 1840. Bufford depicts Love in several of the multiple roles he assumed by changes of voice (polyphony) and costume. During the first weeks of Love's three-month run at the Concert Hall, the admission fee of twenty-five cents entitled each patron to a copy of a souvenir book about the actor. By the first week of June, the stock of the book was exhausted and in its stead patrons were offered a 'spirited engraving' of Love. That 'engraving' was almost certainly Bufford's lithograph.<sup>37</sup>

There are two earlier group portraits of Love and his characters, both by the English lithographer George Madeley, and while neither was copied outright by Bufford, all three

<sup>36</sup>The Scott group has been an ornament of Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, since the middle of the nineteenth century. It is reproduced in *Sculpture of a City* (Philadelphia: Fairmount Park Art Association, 1974), pp. 36-39.

<sup>37</sup>*Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 6, May 12, 30, 1840.

prints are similar in spirit and concept—the actor surrounded by his creations.<sup>38</sup> In his version, Bufford like Madeley used caricature to capture something of Love's comic characterizations. The print also shows the sketchlike drawing style which came to dominate Bufford's original work beginning in 1840. The quickness of execution and avoidance of fine detailing made possible the prodigious output of his first decade back in Boston, but it also often resulted in tired and clumsy pictures. Gone in *Love* is the careful composition and meticulous drawing of the Scott print, and in its place is a pictorial style which hangs awkwardly between the ingenuousness of naive art and the sophistication of academic practice. Like many of the practical artists of his day, Bufford had learned enough of the conventions of academic art to succeed in his own world of commercial printmaking, and also enough so that by twentieth-century standards he seems not to qualify for consideration as a primitive artist, though to be sure, a chief merit of some of his best original work is the naivete of his figure and face drawing.

Another time-saver for Bufford in the 1840s was his increasing reliance on a four-square method of composition in which figures and objects are set out frontally in planes parallel to the surface of the print, creating a boxed-in design. This elementary means of establishing pictorial space works well enough in the Thom and Love prints, for there it approximates the enclosed space and frontal orientation of the stage and the exhibition booth, but most of Bufford's subjects did not profit from being cast in such terms. A chief fault of many of Bufford's designs in the 1840s is that he has provided no effective pictorial connection between the viewer's world and the world of the print. A major exception to this generalization is *Boston Water Celebration. October 25. 1848* (fig. 11), one of Bufford's most winning efforts. The Water

<sup>38</sup>Impressions of the Madeley lithographs are in the Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University.

Celebration marked the culmination of more than two decades of planning and construction to bring water almost twenty miles from Lake Cochituate to a central water system in Boston.<sup>39</sup> To create a convincing document of a memorable occasion, Bufford chose a tried-and-true compositional scheme that would unite the pictorial space of the print with that of the viewer. The diagonal axis given to Tremont Street carries it from the distance to our very feet and it draws us into the crowd while the advancing procession marches out of the past and into our world. King's Chapel and the spire of Park Street Church rise in the distance while the foreground is dominated by the Moorish arch designed for the occasion by Hammatt Billings, the Boston architect and illustrator. Moses Kimball, proprietor of the Boston Museum which is shown at left, commissioned the arch, and may have ordered the print as well, but whatever its origins, it is enough to say that this pictorial souvenir of an extraordinary occasion stands among Bufford's best work as a graphic artist. Neither the summary faces nor the awkwardness of the figures gets in the way of the picture's success in capturing and conveying the sense of place and the spirit of the event; indeed, the artless straightforwardness is in tune with all we know of the Celebration.

While Bufford was at work on his *Water Celebration*, a younger lithographic artist, Samuel Worcester Rowse (1822–1901), was drawing on stone a large, minutely detailed view of the crowds which spread over Boston Common following the procession to see the turning on of the water fountain. Rowse's *View of the Water Celebration* (Bostonian Society, fig. 12), after a design by Benjamin F. Smith and printed by Tappan & Bradford, is a good example of the new emphasis younger graphic artists were giving to a pictorial naturalism that emulated the optical reality of the camera. In 1848 it was clear enough that this emphasis would be the wave of the

<sup>39</sup> *Boston Post*, October 24, 25, 27, 1848.

1850s, and that lithographic artists would in the future need to be much better draughtsmen than the early shops had required.

To the new generation of graphic artists Bufford's view of the procession down Tremont Street must have seemed quaintly old-fashioned and rather primitive in its details. Bufford understood this as well as anyone and set about assembling a staff of young men with requisite talents to work in the new style—Rowse was among the first—and it was probably with a sense of relief a few years later that he quit the drawing table and moved to his front office for good.

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