

Nineteenth Century

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Editorial

The Record

How words metamorphose over time interests me. Take the word ‘record’: as the descriptor of a specific object it is fading from the lexicon. It is becoming an abstraction again. Before there were flat, round, black discs with a hole in the middle, the record was an idea. It usually referred to a body of accumulated writing. Then all-of-a-sudden, the noun had a figure, a form, a weight, a thickness. And that form, when twirled beneath a needle, often brought us great joy.

With time, that ‘record’ has been nudged aside by the eight-track tape, the cassette tape and later the compact disc. Now, when you hand a CD to someone in their twenties they will likely smile indulgently and shake their head. Precisely sixty years ago this May, the British musical comedy duo Flanders and Swann, announced to their audience at London’s Fortune Theatre, “We are recording this show tonight, stereophonically, for posterity.” Michael Flanders

goes on to say, in his delicious dry manner, “So, wherever you are sitting now, that’s where you will be on the record.” Their enormously popular show, called *At the Drop of a Hat*, was in its third year at the Fortune and their record of the same name shortly became a huge success. Its combination of delightful animal songs (such as the *Gnu Song*) and topical numbers such as *Design for Living* made for “a witty and educated diversion.” The record also helped this editor, then still in his first decade, deduce quite a lot about the adult world. I listened to both sides of it, over and over.

As with dozens of other words in their pre-song patter–farrago, tucket, roundelay—it took me many years to understand what the word ‘posterity’ meant (I am still a little unclear about ‘tucket’). With this issue, like Messrs. Flanders and Swann, we also announce that we are making a record, in a manner of speaking, for posterity. The Victorian Society in America has debuted its new website, VictorianSociety.org. There one may access, at the drop of a hat—or more precisely at the drop of a drop-down menu—an ever-expanding collection of our back issues. The website is the brainchild of the society’s president Kevin Rose, who was also the brainchild’s midwife. Now, in addition to being archived on EBSCO and the Internet Archive, *Nineteenth Century* is readily viewable in context, making it even more accessible and retrievable.

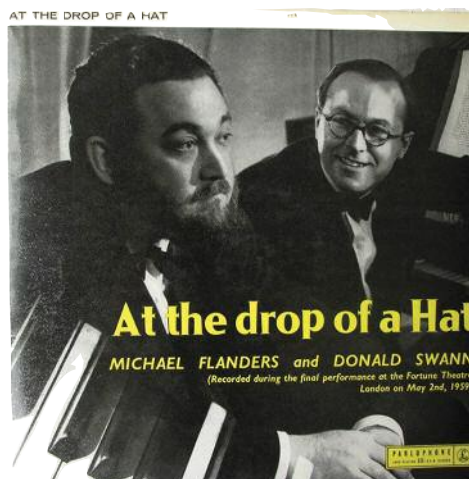
In this particular issue we examine a culturally important but forgotten house in Baltimore and an almost forgotten stained glass artist in San Francisco. We feature a piece about one of Mr. Tiffany’s important genre-style oil paintings that significantly establishes proof of its proper dating, many years later than art historians have assumed. In each of these features we are setting the original kind of record straight.

And we have an article about a type of clothing for nineteenth-century American women who traveled, often unaccompanied. They sought an over-garment, usually worn with a hat and veil, that would protect them from dust, soot and the unwanted advances of men. With the addition of hat and veil, women could cover themselves from head to toe. This sounds remarkably similar to apparel worn in other parts of the world today, making our reporting about a historic fact surprisingly timely.

It is in this same vein that Flanders and Swann’s work resounds today. And their creations, like *Nineteenth Century*, are now also fully accessible on the internet. You can go to iTunes and download *At the Drop of a Hat* for \$4.99 or you can play an individual song from that album for free. One such melodious roundelay is *Misalliance*, a political commentary concealed in a song about flowering vines. In bardic strophes the right-twining bindweed and the left-twining honeysuckle fall in love, propose marriage, are spurned by their families, and perish—having pulled themselves up by their roots—“deprived of that freedom, for which we must fight, to veer to the left or to veer to the right.”

The record revolves and evolves, the object becomes an idea again. The flat black platter and the printed page become a click on a screen. But the content remains—and endures.

Warren Ashworth



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Cover: Hall with staircase and stencil designs by
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Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*, 1872. Oil on canvas. 27 1/2 x 38 1/2 (69.9 x 97.8 cm). Gift of Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation, 1921 (21.70). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, USA. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY. According to the author's research, the actual date of the painting is 1915.

Double Trouble

LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY'S *SNAKE CHARMER OF TANGIER, AFRICA*

Roberta A. Mayer

Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933) was a lifelong painter; his oil paintings and watercolors can be found in museum collections across the country. In 1979, Gary Reynolds curated the first focused exhibition of Tiffany's paintings at the Grey Art Gallery at New York University and published a related catalogue, which remains a significant resource.¹ Yet, in many secondary publications, Tiffany's paintings are mentioned only as an introduction to his spectacular career in the decorative arts. This often gives the impression that his interest in the brush and palette was an early, passing phase. To the contrary, Tiffany continuously exhibited his paintings in major venues for decades.

As an historian of American art and decorative arts, I began researching Tiffany's paintings a few years ago in preparation for an invited lecture, and this evolved into an ongoing project.² I have made many new discoveries along the way, but one of the most surprising was that Tiffany's *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, has been incorrectly dated for nearly forty years. It was not completed in 1872, as previously concluded by Reynolds; rather, it was painted by Tiffany in 1915 specifically for his 1916 retrospective exhibition. As I shall try to explain, this realization has implications for understanding Tiffany's lifelong career as a painter.

The Painting in Question

Tiffany's *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa* is an oil on canvas that captures an open-air Moroccan courtyard with a dirt floor. An intense blue sky appears above a green and red cornice and bright light is reflected from white columns. A doorway towards the back is partially covered by rustic straw canopies. Although the overall palette is quite dark, it is a daylight scene, perhaps late afternoon. The subject of the painting, the snake charmer, stands in a partial silhouette on a carpet with his back to the viewer. He holds two snakes—one in his left hand held high, wrapping around his bare arm and writhing toward his bearded face, and one in his right hand draped by his side. The group surrounding the snake charmer includes two tambourine players, one flutist, and an apprentice carrying the wooden box used to transport the snakes. A small, captivated audience of local men, women, and children is gathered at the left.

The painting was donated to the Met in 1921 by the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation, but with minimal documentation. The title of the painting was noted, but not the date.³ The 1929 stock market crash followed by the bankruptcy of Tiffany Studios and the death of Louis Comfort Tiffany in 1933 marked the end of an era, and the painting languished until the 1950s, when Robert Koch began working on his doctoral dissertation. Koch later published the Met's painting in his book, *Louis C. Tiffany: Rebel in Glass* (1964) but did not give it a specific date.⁴ Yet, he placed it in the 1870s after concluding that it had been exhibited at the Philadelphia International Exhibition in 1876, familiarly known as the Centennial Exhibition.



Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa* (detail), 1872. Oil on canvas. 27 1/2 x 38 1/2 (69.9 x 97.8 cm). Gift of Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation, 1921 (21.170). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY. The author has noted the mark after Tiffany's signature can be read as "15."

In 1979, when Gary Reynolds curated the Tiffany exhibition at the Grey Art Gallery, he determined that the Met's *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa* was painted in 1872. He based this date on contemporary newspaper descriptions (discussed below). When the Metropolitan Museum of Art's curator Doreen Bolger Burke published her work in 1980, she noted that the *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa* was signed, but she could not decipher the mark after Tiffany's signature.⁵ Nevertheless, she accepted Reynold's research and agreed that the painting dated to 1872.

My research, however, led me to a very different conclusion about this painting. In fact, the mark after Tiffany's signature is completely legible if it is read as "15." For the early Tiffany scholars, this date would have seemed far too late for such a major work. Even if they considered it, they clearly dismissed it in their final assessment. But Tiffany was prolific in 1915, creating at least nineteen paintings that year in preparation for his 1916 retrospective exhibition. I believe that the Met's *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa* is a 1915 copy by Tiffany of a painting that he first exhibited in 1872 and then apparently sent to the Centennial Exhibition. In other words, there were two exhibition paintings of a Moroccan snake charmer that were extremely similar in composition; the early painting is now lost, and the much later autograph replica is the one at the Met.⁶

Tiffany's Early Training as Painter

By 1872, Tiffany had gained a reputation as a young and promising artist who flaunted his French training. As a teenager, he had studied with George Inness (1825-1894) at the Eagleswood Military Academy in Perth Amboy, New Jersey.⁷ By 1863, he had also met Samuel Colman, Jr. (1832-1920), a summertime neighbor at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.⁸ Colman, an established painter-traveler, was an early mentor and lifelong friend. Then, in 1867-68, Tiffany spent several months in Paris studying with genre painter Léon Charles Adrien Bailly (1826-1871).⁹ During this time, he also visited the studios of artists like Léon Adolphe Auguste Belly (1827-1877), who painted traditional academic subjects, along with Barbizon landscapes and Orientalist compositions.¹⁰

The end of Tiffany's Parisian training was marked by the

Salon of 1868. There, Tiffany exhibited a *nature morte* (still life), but more importantly he absorbed the breadth and eclecticism of contemporary French painting.¹¹ Not only did Tiffany come to understand the intersection of realism and photography, but he could see that academic nudes and traditional history paintings were still popular. The Salon of 1868 also included decorative allegorical panels, Orientalist compositions, highly polished still life paintings inspired by seventeenth-century Dutch masters, as well as landscapes of Naples, Normandy, and the forest of Fontainebleau. Eventually, Tiffany would try his hand at all of these artistic themes. Furthermore, he was also an adept photographer by 1877.¹²

After his return to New York, Tiffany fully embraced his identity as an easel painter. In December 1869, he took studio #28 at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) at East Twenty-Third Street and Fourth Avenue in New York City, which was located across the street from the National Academy of Design.¹³ Then, in late July 1870, Tiffany set out for what was to be a yearlong sketching trip with fellow artist Robert Swain Gifford (1840-1905). Following some of Colman's paths, the two traversed England, France, Spain, Morocco, Malta, Egypt, and Italy.¹⁴ The trip did not go entirely as planned and was cut short owing in part to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in France, the excessive heat and fears of yellow fever in Spain, and Tiffany's bout with the measles in Egypt. But their time in Morocco—nearly three weeks—seems to have been revelatory and productive. Writing from Tangier in a letter that was published in the *New York Evening Post*, Gifford noted: "One of the principal attractions on market day is the 'snake charmer,' and he really does some remarkable things with his trained reptiles."¹⁵

Some of their experiences in Morocco paralleled those of Samuel Clemens; his wildly popular *Innocents Abroad* came out as a book in 1869. Likewise, Amelia Perrier, a young English woman who traveled solo to Spain and Morocco, published her impressions in *A Winter in Morocco* (1873). The Italian writer Edmondo de Amicis (1846-1908) published *Marocco* in 1876; several editions and translations of this book followed.

The main street in Tangier ran from the waterfront through the *petit socco* (little market) and then to the *grand socco* (large market) outside the *medina* (the old walled city). Although wider than most of the meandering streets in the old city, it was steep and paved unevenly with large stones, making it somewhat difficult to walk. The *petit socco* contained many small stalls where fruit, vegetables, flowers, eggs and poultry could be procured. Perrier noted the refuse, dead animals, flies, and mangy dogs.¹⁶ Clemens added that the city was full of cats.¹⁷

On Thursday and Sunday, the *grand socco* throbbed with life as vendors offered their goods amidst crowds of people and animals. Horses, donkeys, and mules stood tethered, and droves of camels passed through. This is the scene that Tiffany captured in his *Market Day Outside the Walls of Tangiers, Morocco* (1873), now at the Smithsonian American Art Museum.¹⁸ Perrier pointed out two types of popular entertainers in the *grand socco*—the storytellers that usually attracted a well-to-do audience and the snake charmers that captivated the poor.¹⁹

The snake charmers, then known as *Eisowys*, were followers of an Islamic cult founded by Mohammed ben Aissa; today they are recognized as an order of the Sufi Muslims.²⁰ Their marketplace performance followed a routine. Tambourine playing attracted an audience, and then a tambourine was passed to collect coins. With a sufficient crowd, the charmer pulled a succession of snakes out of his leather bag, with breaks to collect more coins. The first snake was lethargic, but the creatures selected were more active as the coffers swelled. The

performance came to a crescendo as the charmer skewered his cheek, a seemingly violent gesture, but one that had been done so many times that Perrier likened it to a woman wearing pierced earrings. The charmer then twisted multiple snakes around his neck and arms, inviting them to inflict their venomous poisons. For whatever reasons, the reptiles did not, and the spectacle ended with this seeming miracle. Not surprisingly, the snake charmers also attracted the attention of commercial photographers. Tancrède R. Dumas, for example, sold images of a snake charmer and his entourage theatrically posing in a studio setting.

The titles of Tiffany's paintings suggest that he and Gifford explored some of the environs around Tangier, but they apparently did not go to other cities in Morocco. The country had no railway lines at this early date, and this may have posed some restrictions. On September 11, Gifford had reported, "We have worked very hard since we came. It is impossible not to do so everything is so full of beauty."²¹

On September 26, 1870, the two artists made their way back to Gibraltar and continued their travels. In February 1871, a few months earlier than planned, they were back in New York City.²² That year, Tiffany was made an Associate National Academician at the National Academy of Design, and he joined the National Society of Painters in Water Color, where Colman was president. In addition to the Academy, Tiffany became a regular exhibitor at the Brooklyn Art Association and the Century Club (later Century Association). Although he was only twenty-three-years old, his professional painting career began to build momentum, and his paintings began to sell.²³

Tiffany never returned to Morocco, but his visit predated other well-known American Orientalists. Frederick Arthur Bridgman (1857-1928) made his first tour of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia in 1872-73.²⁴ Edwin Lord Weeks (1849-1903) was in Morocco in 1875-76, and John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) went for the first time in 1880.

Tiffany's Snake Charmer, c. 1872

By January 1872, Tiffany and Gifford had enough work from their travels for a private exhibition at their YMCA studios. This event was followed by at least two receptions. Gifford reported that more than 500 people had attended on a Tuesday and Wednesday afternoon—"the best and most highly cultivated people in the city."²⁵ The *New York Evening Post* covered the initial event in an article titled "Africa as a Field for Art-Study," noting that the subject was novel for American painters. The stated goal was "the delineation of the ruins and present abodes of the semi-barbarous nations of northern Africa, their mosques, places of burial and the manners and customs of the inhabitants."²⁶ To emphasize the French context, the author mentioned the famous Orientalists Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) and Henri Regnault (1843-1871), highlighting Regnault's studio at Tangier and his premature death in the Franco-Prussian War. The implication was that Tiffany and Gifford were at the cutting edge of a new wave of American Orientalism based explicitly on modern French models.

And although "realism" was the purported aim of Tiffany and Gifford, French Orientalist genre paintings were not straightforward reportage, but rather carefully constructed compositions designed to focus attention on the exotic "other."²⁷ Some of the elements in a painting might come from the artist's observational sketches, but the detailed costumes, decorative objects, exotic architecture, and even some of the figures were often copied from commercial photographs. This method of crafting Orientalist paintings was a practice of both Gérôme and Regnault that Tiffany emulated.²⁸

By August 1872, Tiffany had finished a painting inspired by the snake charmers he had seen in Morocco, and it was mentioned several times in newspaper reviews. On August 6, 1872, the *New York Herald* noted that the painting was in John Snedecor's gallery: "A characteristic work by Tiffany represents an Eastern snake charmer exhibiting his skill to a gaping group of spectators. There is much local feeling in the scene, but the coloring is somewhat exaggerated."²⁹

Beyond the formal description, the author emphasized that Tiffany's scene was "the essence of nature itself," a passage alluding to the influence of modern French realism.³⁰ Then, on September 15, 1872, the *New York Times* gave a vivid description:

At Snedecor's gallery we find a striking picture by L. C. Tiffany, which we suppose may be entitled "The Snake-Charmer," showing an interior of a partially ruined building with two massive marble columns standing out boldly from the dark background. Near the centre [sic] is the snake-charmer, with wild face and black shock of hair, the reptile he holds in his hand writhing around his head. The spectators are grouped beneath the walls. This is certainly one of the most notable pictures in every way that Mr. Tiffany has yet produced, and appears to be a great advance on any of his previous efforts. We have not, however, been afforded a sufficiently close view of it to be able to speak positively on this point.³¹

It appears that Tiffany's painting was then sent to an exhibition at the Brooklyn Art Association. On December 20, 1872, the *Brooklyn Eagle* reported:

The *Snake Charmers* is one of Mr. Tiffany's Eastern studies. It presents the interior of a courtyard with a company of Arabs grouped around a snake charmer. It is very broadly painted and strong in its effects of light and shade. It is, perhaps, as finely studied as any work on Exhibition, but as a realization of a disagreeable Eastern diversion, is too matter of fact to be pleasant.³²

The following year, the painting was apparently sent to Boston, where it was displayed at the gallery of Doll & Richards. On April 18, 1873, the *Boston Daily Traveler* took note of the painting and offered a tepid review of the modern style:

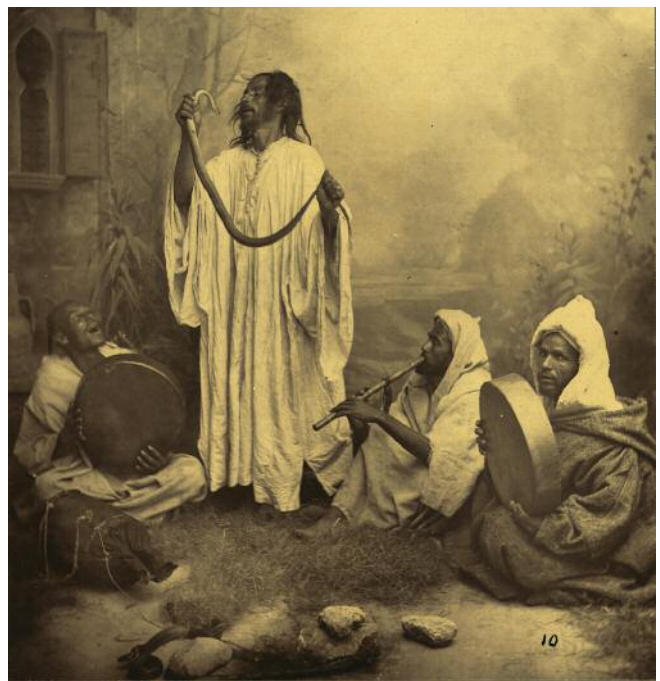
Tiffany's *Snake Charmer* is very suggestive. Warm in color, and broad in light and shade. This style has been followed by certain young artists, resulting only in mannerism. The effort to adopt a suggestive style, as a follower, will inevitably lead into mannerism, for the suggestiveness of the master is to express his ideas in his own way, while the follower gets only the form and manner without the spirit. Like the suggestive writer or speaker, this kind of painter is useful for study, but not safe to imitate.³³

Then, as Koch recognized, Tiffany sent an oil painting titled *Snake Charmer at Tangiers* [sic], *Africa* to the Philadelphia International Exhibition of 1876.³⁴

Taken together, these newspaper descriptions provided the evidence that Reynolds and Burke used to date the Met's painting to 1872. This research was compelling at the time, but as I will now explain, it was also incomplete.

Tiffany's 1916 Retrospective Exhibition and the Aftermath

As the twentieth century unfolded, Tiffany began to look backwards and think about ways to preserve his artistic legacy. By then, he was internationally famous for his glass, enamels and



Tancrede R. Dumas, *Snake charmers, Morocco, Tangiers*, c. 1860
Albumen print. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

jewelry, textiles, interiors, architecture, and landscape design. In 1914, he published *The Art Work of Louis C. Tiffany*, a sumptuous, limited edition volume that has served as a model for many subsequent studies of Tiffany's career. The book began with an illustration of the large 1911 portrait by Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida (1863-1923), with Tiffany posing as an easel painter in his lush gardens at Laurelton Hall.³⁵ This country estate in Oyster Bay, Long Island, was envisioned to become a museum dedicated to the breadth of Tiffany's achievements.³⁶

In 1916, Tiffany organized a retrospective exhibition at Tiffany Studios, which included 143 paintings, along with a wide range of decorative objects.³⁷ This exhibition accompanied Tiffany's well-publicized masque, "Quest of Beauty," staged for his sixty-eighth birthday. In selecting paintings, Tiffany chose examples from more than four decades of work, spanning from 1869 to as late as 1916. The paintings on display were all listed in the accompanying exhibition catalogue. Most astonishing, nineteen of these paintings were dated 1915, and were therefore executed explicitly for the retrospective exhibition. Of those completed in 1915, one was titled *The Snake Charmer*. That painting, which clearly resembles the one at the Met, can be seen in an Underwood & Underwood photograph of the exhibition.³⁸ Finally, there were no other snake charmer paintings listed, and no paintings at all from 1871-73, the period that would have included the earlier *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*.

After the 1916 exhibition, many of the paintings went to Laurelton Hall. In 1918, Tiffany created the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation to give young artists the opportunity to paint at Laurelton Hall, and the picture gallery there supported that mission.³⁹ An insurance inventory conducted in 1919 shows that Tiffany's *Snake Charmer at Tangier* of 1915 was one of the oil paintings in the picture gallery.⁴⁰ Insured for \$2,000.00, it was among Tiffany's most valuable canvases. Then in 1921, the Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation donated a painting with this title to the Met. Clearly, the Met received a painting that Tiffany had completed in 1915, not 1872.



Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), preparatory sketch for *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*, c. 1872. Oil on canvas mounted on board. 21 1/8 x 17 5/8 in. (53.7 x 44.8 cm). Purchase, Walter Hoving and Julia T. Weld Gifts and Dodge Fund, 1967 (67.654.111). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, USA. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.



Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), *Moorish Café in a Court at Tangiers, Africa*, n.d. Oil on canvas. 7 3/4 x 10 1/4 in. (sight). Private collection.

New Evidence and Conclusion

Before concluding, I would like to mention two more related discoveries. In 1967, the Met acquired an unsigned, undated, oil sketch of the same architectural setting that appears in Tiffany's *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*.⁴¹ The attribution to Tiffany is secure because it was included within a collection of more than 350 design drawings from the studios of Louis C. Tiffany.⁴² The oil sketch is damaged and has not been previously published, but it suggests that Tiffany saved his preparatory studies (or perhaps unfinished works) inspired by Morocco. This work, together with his skills as a photographer, may explain how Tiffany was able to replicate his compositions across time.

Then, quite recently, a small, undated oil painting by Tiffany was auctioned at Rago's in Lambertville, New Jersey.⁴³ The architectural setting is nearly identical to the Met's snake charmer painting, but in Tiffany's script, the title appears on a paper label on the verso: *Moorish Café in a Court at Tangiers,*

Africa. The painting was once owned by Robert Koch, but curiously he never published it. Stylistically, it recalls other small Orientalist paintings that Tiffany produced in the early 1870s.⁴⁴ With respect to both size and title, the painting seems to specifically align with one owned by Robert M. Olyphant and sold at auction in 1877 as *Moorish Court, Tangiers*, 8" x 10".⁴⁵ It is also noteworthy that Tiffany exhibited a painting titled *A Moorish Court Scene* at the National Academy of Design in 1874.⁴⁶ The key point is that Tiffany did not present this painting as a study for the *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*, but rather as a compositional variation with the same architectural setting. It provides further evidence that Tiffany was comfortable working in series and replicating ideas in the 1870s, just as he did again in later years.

Based on this detective work, I now believe that Tiffany painted at least two versions of the *Snake Charmer at Tangier, Africa*—one in 1872 (now lost), and one in 1915 for Tiffany's retrospective exhibition (now at the Met). The fact that Tiffany replicated this work in 1915, four decades after the original was painted, attests to the value the painter saw in this work as part of his artistic legacy.



Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Gary A. Reynolds, *Louis Comfort Tiffany: The Paintings* (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 1979).
2. Roberta A. Mayer, "Lockwood de Forest and Louis Comfort Tiffany: A Tale of Two Painters," *Insight and Inclusion: Expanding Visions of American Art*, Initiatives in Art and Culture, New York City, May 16, 2015. My thanks to Lisa Koenigsberg for the invitation to lecture on this topic.
3. My thanks to Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen for sharing this information.
4. Robert Koch, *Rebel in Glass*, 3rd ed. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1964, 1982), 26.
5. Doreen Bolger Burke, "Louis Comfort Tiffany," in *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. 3. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 76.
6. For a broader view on the production of autograph replicas, see Julie Codell and Linda K. Hughes, eds., *Replication in the Long Nineteenth*

- Century: Re-makings and Reproductions* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).
7. Doreen Bolger Burke, "Louis Comfort Tiffany and his Early Training at Eagleswood, 1862-1865," *American Art Journal* 19 no. 3 (Summer 1987): 29-39.
 8. My thanks to Michael Burlingame for sharing this information.
 9. James David Smillie diary, November 29, 1867, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; "Liste de passagers partis pour Brest et le Havre par le steamer Saint-Laurent," *New York Courier de Etats-Unis* no. 284 (December 2, 1867), 3; "Americans Registered in Paris," *Anglo-American Times*, January 4, 1868, 16; "Americans Registered in Paris," *Anglo-American Times*, February 15, 1868, 16; "Americans Registered in Paris," *Anglo-American Times*, March 28, 1868, 19.
 10. [Charles de Kay], *The Art Work of Louis C. Tiffany* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914), 8.
 11. *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie*, 1868, 165, no. 1326 Nature morte. Listed as "Jiffany" [sic] (Louis).
 12. "Louis C. Tiffany and His Work in Artistic Jewelry," *International Studio: An Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* 30, no. 117 (November 1906), 33. Tiffany claimed that he, along with Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904), was one of the first to take instantaneous photographs of birds and animals in motion; Muybridge's famous animal locomotion series was initiated in 1877.
 13. "The 'Association Building,'" *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), October 3, 1871, 4; see also Christine I. Oaklander, "Studios at the YMCA: 1869-1903," *Archives of American Art Journal* 32, no. 3 (1992), 14-22.
 14. For letters from this trip, see Robert Swain Gifford Papers, 1866-1901, Mss 12, Sub-group 1, Series A, Sub-series 2, Folder 13, Box 3: Outgoing, New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library; for more on Colman's travels, see M. Elizabeth Boone, "Samuel Colman, Washington Irving, and the Landscapes of Southern Spain" in *Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 13-35.
 15. "American Artists in Northern Africa. Tangier and its People," *Evening Post* (New York), November 9, 1870, 1.
 16. Amelia Perrier, *A Winter in Morocco* (London: Henry S. King, 1873), 74-75.
 17. Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), *Innocents Abroad* (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 1869), 87.
 18. See Cara Seitchek, "Market Day Outside the Walls of Tangiers, Morocco," *American Art* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2000), 90-95; Alastair Duncan, *Louis C. Tiffany: The Garden Museum Collection* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2004), 49. Of note, this painting is thought to have been based on a photograph in Tiffany's possession bearing the annotation "Tangiers, May 5th, market day." It is not a standard commercial photograph, and Duncan assumed that Tiffany was the photographer, but May 5 is not consistent with Tiffany's September 3 arrival in Tangier. The photograph is now in the collection of the Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art.
 19. Perrier, 83-86.
 20. Ibid., 87. The Eisowys are now known as Aissawa or Issawa.
 21. Robert Swain Gifford to [Francis "Fannie" Eliot], September 11, 1870. Robert Swain Gifford Papers.
 22. James David Smillie diary, February 11, 1871.
 23. See, e.g. "Art Notes," *Evening Post* (New York), November 18, 1872, 1; "American Society of Painters in Water Colors," *Evening Post* (New York), February 11, 1873, 2.
 24. Ilene Susan Fort, "Frederick Arthur Bridgman and the American fascination with the exotic Near East." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1990, 97.
 25. Robert Swain Gifford to Mrs. Lydia Swain, January 21, 1872. Robert Swain Gifford Papers.
 26. "Africa as a Field for Art-Study," *Evening Post* (New York), January 22, 1872, 2.
 27. See Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 33-59.
 28. A clear example of Tiffany's use of commercial photography as a reference for painting can be detected in his Orientalist watercolor of circa 1873 now identified as *Dignity in Servitude*, (private collection). The background of this painting was based on the public fountain at Azap Kapi in Constantinople in Turkey, which Tiffany did not see during his 1870-71 tour of Europe and North Africa. His source had to be a commercial photograph and was almost certainly an image by the Abdullah Frères.
 29. "Art Matters," *New York Herald*, August 6, 1872, 3.
 30. Ibid.
 31. "Fine Arts: Our Picture Galleries," *New York Times*, September 15, 1872, 3.
 32. "Fine Arts—The Association Exhibition—Concluding Article," *Brooklyn Eagle*, December 20, 1872, 2.
 33. "Art Items," *Boston Daily Traveler*, April 18, 1873, 1.
 34. United States Centennial Commission, *International Exhibition. Official Catalogue Department of Art*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: John R. Nagle, 1876), 24, 26. Of note, Tiffany's oil paintings are only listed in the third edition of this catalogue and therefore may have been on view for a brief time. See also Joel Dorman Steele, *Popular History of Our Country* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Gay Bros. & Co., 1877), xlii. My thanks to Kimberly Orcutt for sharing this research.
 35. [de Kay], frontispiece.
 36. See Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, with contributions by Elizabeth Hutchinson, Julia Meech, Jennifer Perry Thalheimer, Barbara Veith, and Richard Guy Wilson, *Louis Comfort Tiffany and Laurelton Hall: An Artist's Country Estate* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
 37. *The Art Work of Louis C. Tiffany: Retrospective Exhibition* (New York: Tiffany Studios [February] 1916).
 38. See Alastair Duncan, Martin Eidelberg, and Neil Harris, *Masterworks of Louis Comfort Tiffany* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 8-9.
 39. Jennifer Perry Thalheimer, "For the Advancement of Art: The Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation," in *Louis Comfort Tiffany and Laurelton Hall: An Artist's Country Estate*, 202-215; See also *Catalogue of the Tiffany Gallery*, ([New York]: Louis Comfort Tiffany Foundation, October 11, 1918), Charles Hosmer Morse Museum. This printed catalogue lists no. 3 *Snake Charmer at Tangiers* [sic] as an oil painting dated 1905. Here, the date is probably a typographical error.
 40. Picture Gallery, Laurelton Hall insurance inventory, 1919, Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art.
 41. Louis C. Tiffany, preparatory sketch for *Snake Charmer at Tangiers*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 67.654.111. My thanks to Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen for providing access to this sketch.
 42. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "Design Drawings from the Studios of Louis Comfort Tiffany: An Introduction," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 51 (2016), 147.
 43. Rago, "Early 20th C. Design: Modern Ceramics + Glass," Lambertville, New Jersey, May 19, 2018, Lot 1246.
 44. See e.g. Roberta A. Mayer and Howard Zar, *Becoming Tiffany: From Hudson Valley Painter to Gilded Age Tastemaker* (Tarrytown, NY: Lyndhurst, 2018), 13.
 45. R. Somerville, "Mr. Robert M. Olyphant's Collection of Paintings by American Artists, to be sold at auction," December 18-19, 1877, Lot 19. Accessed on July 23, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/b1503294>
 46. Maria Naylor, ed., *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Records, 1861-1900*, vol. 2. (Arizona, Tombstone: Tombstone Epitaph for Kennedy Galleries, 1973), 937. In 1874, Tiffany exhibited four paintings, including no. 312, *A Moorish Court Scene*. As far as I can tell, it received no mention in the press, suggesting that it was a small work and of less interest to the critics than his other three paintings—no. 203, *A Study of a Studio*; no. 314, *Clouds on the Hudson, A Study from Nature*; and no. 339, *Moorish Guard at the Prison Gate, Tangier, Africa*.



Duster, linen, c. 1860. Courtesy of Museum of the City of New York.

Cleanliness, Economy, Fashion and Protection:

AMERICAN WOMEN AND THE DUSTER COAT, 1860-1890

Rebecca Jumper Matheson

On May 30, 1870, Texan Mary Jane Harris Briscoe was on a train bound for California. As the train rattled over the rails, she tried to hold her pencil steady as she recorded in her travel diary,

Got to New Orleans at half past 2, made a rush for City Hotel, had a poor dinner, and the most miserable apology for tea that I ever tasted. Had a hunt for dusters. Could find none.¹

En route between Texas and California, Briscoe had hoped that the major regional shopping city of New Orleans would be the place where she and her daughter could acquire a simple yet crucial element of many women's ensembles for traveling in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: the duster.

A duster was a light-weight overcoat, worn to protect the clothing underneath from dust and grime, especially in travel. While both men and women wore garments called dusters, the duster was not a unisex coat. The women's version of the duster was sometimes influenced by menswear yet followed the silhouette of women's fashion. In histories of dress, dusters are most often mentioned as protective gear for traveling in early open automobiles.² However, although dusters were understandably associated with automobile travel in the public memory, the duster was not a garment newly invented for turn-of-the-twentieth-century motoring. The twentieth-century motoring duster evolved from nineteenth-century styles. Dusters had already been worn as one option for protective clothing when traveling, particularly by train, during the last several decades of the nineteenth century.³ American women of the nineteenth century, like Briscoe, chose to wear dusters for many reasons, including cleanliness, economy, fashion, and protection.

The purpose of Briscoe's train trip was both to visit family and to attempt to recover a debt from her brother in California.⁴ To connect with the transcontinental railroad lines, Briscoe first traveled from Harrisburg, Texas to Galveston via riverboat; on this part of the journey she records, "had a pleasant trip down the Bayou. Cool enough on deck for our shawls."⁵ Shawls had been the most fashionable form of women's outerwear during the nineteenth century to that point, ranging from the precious cashmere shawls of the early decades to simple garments more appropriate for travel. Even as semi-fitted outer garments such as the dolman began to replace the shawl as the height of

fashion in the 1870s, female travelers continued to make use of the practical shawl, which could double as a blanket.⁶

Briscoe then sailed on a steamer from Galveston to New Orleans, where she would begin her train journey. Briscoe's diary expresses the modern perception of time that many nineteenth-century train travelers reported: the sense of being rushed. Crowds plus timetables equaled a scramble for necessities, from Briscoe making "a rush" to the City Hotel to eat, to a time-pressured "hunt" for the duster she wanted for the next segment of the trip, to the challenge of procuring the desired train tickets.⁷ Briscoe's diary shows that she expected to be able to purchase a ready-to-wear duster, already made up and in a shop. In the end, Mary Jane Harris Briscoe did get the sleeping car berth she wanted, but she had to continue the trip without the protection of a duster.



Mary Jane Harris Briscoe, c. 1868. J.P. Blessing & Bro. Courtesy San Jacinto Museum of History.

Cleanliness

The concept of protective travel clothing, such as the duster, is especially relevant for women. Nineteenth-century gender roles placed greater burdens on women's self-presentation: a well-dressed and well-groomed appearance was one of the markers of respectability. Even a reform-minded writer like Mary Eliza Haweis urged her readers in 1878,

A woman ought to care what she wears for her own sake and for the sake of those about her. It is a fault, not a virtue, to be reckless as to the impression one leaves on the eye, just as it is a fault to be indifferent to the feelings of others.⁸

Historian Sarah H. Gordon asserts that for middle class Americans of the nineteenth century, it was important to project respectability on the train, and they created complex systems to communicate their class status. Diarist Sarah Morgan, preparing to flee Baton Rouge, Louisiana during the Civil War, wrote of the clothing she had packed:

we had better leave at once, with what clothing we have, which will certainly establish us on the footing of ladies, if we chance to fall among vulgar people who never look beyond.⁹

For Morgan, and women like her, the clothing she wore was a tool for communicating an identity of respectability, particularly when encountering strangers. Clothing could help travelers establish themselves as respectable, although manners and behavior were a necessary adjunct.¹⁰

Cleanliness was also key, although it was notoriously difficult to maintain in travel. Attempting to stay as clean during travel was more of an imperative than a choice; cleanliness was thought to reflect on the character of the person. Dusters were often made in a shade of tan that showed dirt less than a darker or lighter color would.¹¹ The garment name itself also contains its chief preoccupation: dust. Expanding American train lines brought with them a destabilizing rapidity of movement; the physical accumulation of dust represents all the different places a traveler has been. Late-nineteenth-century travelers were also concerned that dust might be linked to transmission of tuberculosis.¹² A turn-of-the-century article in *Scientific American* stated, "Nearly one-fourth of all deaths are from consumption, principally distributed by dust."¹³ Cleanliness was a matter of both moral respectability and physical health, and American female travelers of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries went to great lengths to maintain social standards.

To keep up appearances, especially regarding cleanliness, women were willing to add a duster—yet another layer of clothing—to their ensembles. Fashion historian Joan Severa locates the duster's predecessor in "dust-colored" linen hooded traveling cloaks of the 1860s.¹⁴ The loose fit of the duster allowed it to be purchased ready-to-wear, as Briscoe had desired. Cloaks, mantles, and other forms of outerwear were some of the earliest types of ready-to-wear clothing available for American women, starting in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵ Dusters of the 1860s, such as two from the collection of the Museum of the City of New York, were shaped like cloaks, with both the sleeves and the skirt cut full to allow for the width of women's dresses underneath. This style continued into the early 1870s. These early dusters are fairly simple in terms of ornamentation. One duster has scalloped edges on collar, sleeve edges, and patch pockets, while the other duster from this period, in a crepe fabric, is unadorned other than two decorative buttons on each patch pocket. These patch pockets, located on each hip, represent an aspect of functional duster style that would continue throughout the decades, even as the silhouette of the garment changed.

The washable nature of dusters in linen or cotton made them an appealing choice for the sake of cleanliness. In 1871, *Godey's* "Chit Chat on Fashions for June" included a segment on "wash goods," including linen travelling dresses and dusters:

Linen suits are universally used for travelling, but some ladies do not like them; for these, the Glengary cloak is used for a duster, to entirely cover over a handsome travelling suit; or, if not worn in travelling, is worn when driving over a dusty road. The cloak should be long enough to cover the entire dress, to be made of either gray or brown linen.¹⁶

Women could exercise some personal choice and still present a respectable and stylish appearance. While *Godey's* takes the practical stance of advocating washable linen suits for summer travel, the editorial voice also recognizes that some women might not prefer a linen suit. Despite its light weight, breathability, and washability, linen's tendency to wrinkle easily was a deterrent to some women when choosing a fabric for a main garment. For those desiring the benefits of linen, a

wrinkled duster might be better than a whole wrinkled suit.

For example, in an epistolary short story titled "Manners Upon the Road: Of an Expensive Pleasure," from 1871, the narrator describes arriving vacationers as "dusty" and recounts watching them,

Happily, too, an omnibus with jaded passengers in rumpled dusters presently arrives, and we all gaze at them with intense interest.¹⁷

The wrinkling, or rumpling, of the linen duster was a negative; however, the duster could be removed and the suit underneath would hopefully still be neat and clean, allowing the wearer to present a respectable appearance at her destination.

Economy

Dusters were also an economical choice. In 1874, *Harper's* advocated home-sewn gray dusters:

Linen dusters used to protect handsome traveling dresses are of dark undressed gray linen, cut by either of the patterns published in the *Bazar* for waterproof cloaks. They should be long enough to conceal the dress entirely."¹⁸

While dusters were available for ready-to-wear purchase, women could also sew them at home using patterns such as those provided by *Harper's Bazar* or one of the pattern companies. The traveling dresses praised as "handsome" would have been made of finer materials including camel's hair and cashmere. On the other hand, the *Harper's* editor declares that,

[c]omfortable traveling suits of gray linen are chosen by plain people, as they are inexpensive, and their freshness can be renewed in the laundry.¹⁹

A woman wearing a linen traveling suit was probably less likely to choose to wear a duster, as the suit itself could be laundered; with costly and non-washable fabrics an all-covering duster was a practical economic choice to protect the more valuable textile underneath.

The June 1875 issue of *Harper's* also mentioned a traveling set that could be purchased "at furnishing stores" that contained a long gray linen duster and striped cambric skirt, packaged in a square black wicker basket. The set of duster, skirt, and basket was available for \$9.00. The article advised that the duster and skirt could be worn "over a good traveling suit, or in long journeys by rail to take its place altogether."²⁰ This indicates that the type of transportation and duration of the journey could affect women's choices in selecting traveling gear, and that a duster might actually replace a traveling suit in a woman's clothing budget. An 1878 article similarly noted that for women who

do not care to provide themselves with a special traveling dress, they use any short suit, and protect it from dust with a traveling cloak of linen, mohair, or pongee.²¹

This speaks obliquely to the financial reason why women might choose to wear a duster—buying an inexpensive ready-to-wear duster or sewing one at home was much less expensive than having a special traveling suit made. An alternative to the traveling suit was wearing a short suit—most likely a walking suit—that the traveler already owned, plus a duster. What was

not acceptable was to wear old, worn or frayed clothes that the traveler was “wearing out.” Harper’s censured English women for wearing such clothes for travel, instead of adopting the American ideal of “trim, neat costume of substantial fabric and quiet color, made in the simplest manner...”²²

Fashion

The year 1875 marked a change in duster silhouette, with the newest fashions in dusters taking the menswear-inspired Ulster form, which was especially appropriate for train travel.²³ In the early 1870s, several factors came together to facilitate overland travel in the United States. Train tracks were laid at a furious pace, and transcontinental railroad journeys became a reality. Train cars became increasingly luxurious, and sleeping cars were added to trains on many long-distance routes.²⁴ At the same time, the silhouette of women’s fashion contracted, becoming more streamlined. The bustle, and then the princess line, replaced the cage crinoline. Not only were both these styles easier to maneuver in the narrow confines of a train carriage, they also allowed for women to adopt a more tailored, menswear-inspired duster coat as an overgarment.

A tan linen duster, c. 1878, from the collection of the Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT) is an example of a more fitted duster from just a few years after Briscoe’s journey, which also conforms to the *Harper’s* writer’s idea of neat, trim, quiet, and simple. The front of the FIT duster is double-breasted, with 1 1/8” self-fabric buttons of the tan and a darker brown fabric used also as piping. Patch pockets on each hip would have provided the traveler with a place to quickly store necessary items at hand. The front of the duster hangs loosely, but the back of the garment has princess line seams, fashionable in the late 1870s and first years of the 1880s between the two bustle periods. A slight fullness from knee to hem at the center back is emphasized by a series of four downward arrow pointed shapes. The hem is flounced to accommodate a flounced dust ruffle of a princess-line dress underneath. The Museum at FIT also has two 1880s dusters that share many of these same characteristics as the one dated c. 1878: tan linen fabric with a darker brown fabric used for piping, patch pockets on each hip, and a type of metal button covered with self-fabric (and in two of the three cases, also the brown trim fabric). The 1878 duster proves that even a very utilitarian garment could still follow the fashionable silhouette—and, in fact, shows how fashion demanded it. The narrow lines of the 1878 duster would have made it impossible to button properly over a full bustle; in contrast, a duster cut to accommodate a large bustle would have drooped without it. Fashionable and utilitarian clothing are sometimes artificially divided; this duster demonstrates that they were actually intertwined in women’s wardrobes.

A duster made in gray mohair was illustrated in the French fashion publication *Le Coquet* in 1889.²⁵ This duster has a high collar, a contrast fabric on the lapels, and extremely wide, cloak-like sleeves. The skirt is cut very simply, but with ample allowance in the back to accommodate the large bustle of the 1880s. A similar style is described in *Good Housekeeping* in 1885 by Georgiana H. S. Hull:

Most of the traveling or other dusters are in gray alpaca or mohair, or some cool glacé fabric that sheds dust.

These are...so arranged that the opening for the sleeves extends to the waist, forming large openings for the arms, making it a very easy matter for one to take off or put on without assistance. Traveling costumes made of these materials are preferred for coolness and cleanliness to silk or wool, but when traveling short distances in a drawing room car there are some charming styles of cream-colored pongee traveling cloaks, ulsters, or loose polonaises which will be used through September.²⁶

This article points to several themes regarding choice of duster. First, it shows how duster styles were affected by changes in fashion. It touches on the concern about dust and cleanliness, and argues that fabrics which will “shed” dust, are preferable to the implied alternative of attracting and holding in the dirt. Another concern, particularly for a woman traveling alone, is the ease of putting the duster on or taking it off without help; certainly a woman did not want to have to depend on the assistance of strangers in any aspect of dressing, even help with slipping on a coat. The article also discusses comfort factors, such as coolness, which was preferred in warm-weather travel. Finally, it notes that women could choose different outerwear depending on the length and luxuriousness of the journey. While economical and practical, changes in the silhouette of dusters were related to larger fashion trends.

Protection

Menswear-inspired dusters also served a protective function for female travelers, especially for women traveling alone. The Ulster-style duster was the type of duster *Harper’s* advocated for gentlemen, and the magazine also encouraged female readers,

Linen dusters for protecting the traveling suit are made like gentlemen’s Ulster overcoats, in the way lately described, with pointed hood and a belt buttoned behind.²⁷

Onboard American trains, menswear-based outerwear may have been especially important for women as most sleeping cars were designed in the open section style popularized by George Pullman.²⁸ In these liminal spaces between public and private, the armor of a menswear-inspired duster could assist a woman in establishing her personal space.

At least in fiction, dusters were imagined to grant a woman a kind of classless anonymity, preventing her from being a target for theft. A veil paired with a duster created a look almost like being in disguise: the anonymous and unassuming female traveler, who could be either a wealthy woman or one of modest means. In the 1881 novel *The Georgians* by Henrietta Hardy Hammond, two of the characters wear “gray veils and long dusters” when exiting a train and entering an open carriage.²⁹ Their traveling companion puts her veil up and is recognized, but as they leave theirs down, they are mistaken for her maids.³⁰

In addition to presenting an apparently egalitarian, classless façade, the duster could also de-emphasize a woman’s femininity. Robert Howe Fletcher’s 1891 short story, “The Johnstown Stage,” describes a woman traveling alone with her baby by stagecoach; the woman is “in a long linen duster, and with a veil over her face.”³¹ A lieutenant who volunteers to drive the stage coach is then surprised when “the shrouded form”



L to R: Back and front view of a linen duster c. 1878, with princess-line seaming in contrast piping. Courtesy Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT). Duster, possibly linen, c. 1860. Courtesy of Museum of the City of New York. A grey mohair duster (on right), as illustrated in *Le Coquet: Journal de Modes*, 30 March 1889.

speaks with

the voice of a gentlewoman. It startled him with a swift suggestion of perfumed lace and six-button gloves, of waltz music, yachting, and low-murmured words in dim conservatories.³²

The lieutenant had made incorrect assumptions about the woman's class when observing the outward layers of duster and veil; he probably took for granted that she was a working- or middle-class woman. While the veil is certainly gendered female, the menswear-inspired form of the duster contrasts with "perfumed lace and six-button gloves." In traveling, a woman could not sally forth in lace; she would have been too vulnerable, particularly for a woman traveling without a male companion, as in this case. Instead, she adopted the sturdy and protective covering of a duster.

Female travelers in Jeanette H. Walworth's 1888 novel, *That Girl from Texas*, wear dusters for multiple reasons, including cleanliness, fashion, and protection. Walworth mentions the problem of dust, beginning with the novel's opening scene, as Flo Dorsey arrives in New York after a three-day railroad journey from Texas. Flo stands in front of the hall hat-rack, and wipes "some of the dust and grit of railroad travel out of her eyes and off her temples."³³ Walworth's description evokes different consistencies of particulate matter, from the fineness of dust, to the larger pieces of grit, and is explicit as to how the dirt accumulates on the body: on the temples, and even in the eyes. Another character, Bella Newcome, wears a duster for a railroad trip between Newport and New York City. Arriving at her destination in New York, Bella stands in front of her dresser to "get rid of a little of this railroad grime..."³⁴ Walworth describes Bella as "standing in front of the glass, rapidly ridding herself of veil, hat, duster, gloves, and all the other impedimenta of travel."³⁵

Walworth's description here is helpful for two reasons: first, it describes the duster along with other, appropriate accessories that form a complete fashionable travel ensemble; and second,

Walworth comments on these items as impedimenta. With the veil down, a woman wearing veil, hat, duster, gloves, and more would have been completely covered in multiple layers, with no bare skin exposed anywhere on her body, not even on her face. The traveler ventured out on multiple layers designed to protect her from unwanted intrusions: natural (such as the alkali dust in parts of the west), mechanical (such as soot from the train), and social (such as overtures of the kind Carrie Meeber receives from Drouet on the train in the opening chapter of *Sister Carrie*).³⁶ Historian Amy G. Richter argues that nineteenth-century cautionary tales about social interactions with strangers on the train served to warn women that "the anonymity of the trains endangered them because it freed men from the fetters of their reputations and tempted women to compromise their own."³⁷ Richter further proposes that in response to these and other pressures of train travel, nineteenth-century Americans created a culture of "public domesticity" in the train cars, in between the thoroughly public space of a street and the privacy of home.³⁸ I argue that clothing was a tool women used for negotiating these liminal spaces, and the duster was particularly useful for creating a protective barrier between the woman and the potential dangers of her unfamiliar surroundings.

Dust, dirt, and train soot all represent microscopic, dislocated fragments of place. At the end of Mary Jane Harris Briscoe's journey from Texas to California, she might still have within her clothing the alkali dust of Utah, the soil of Kansas, and the soot of the locomotive that transported her there. The duster was a means of warding off the physical accumulation of travel, to arrive at one's destination looking fashionable, fresh, clean, and respectable—untouched by the trip. Gender roles in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America demanded that women pay particular attention to issues of cleanliness and respectability, and the economical duster was one means for women to maintain these standards through the challenges of travel.



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Notes

1. Mary Jane Harris Briscoe, *Journal*, San Jacinto Museum of History, Briscoe papers MC 056, Box 135, Folder 1 – Journal, Trip to California 1870 and Woodstock, Ontario 1873.
2. James Daniel Cole and Nancy Diehl, *The History of Modern Fashion*, (London: Laurence King, 2015), 76, 93; Phyllis G. Tortora and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume*, 423–424; R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Costume*, 348. Alden O'Brien discusses dusters in the context of motoring, but acknowledges that they had been a travel staple since the 1860s. Alden Swift Tullis O'Brien, "Don't Leave Home Without It: Travel Clothing in America 1850–1939" (Master's thesis, Fashion Institute of Technology, 1989), 76.
3. Alden Swift Tullis O'Brien, "Don't Leave Home Without It," 76.
4. Laura Lyons McLemore, *Adele Briscoe Looscan: Daughter of the Republic* (Ft. Worth: TCU Press, 2016), 58.
5. Ibid., 59; Mary Jane Harris Briscoe, *Journal*, San Jacinto Museum of History, Briscoe papers MC 056, Box 135, Folder 1 – Journal, Trip to California 1870 and Woodstock, Ontario 1873.
6. Daniel James Cole and Nancy Diehl, *The History of Modern Fashion*, 28, 33.
7. Mary Jane Harris Briscoe, *Journal*, San Jacinto Museum of History, Briscoe papers MC 056, Box 135, Folder 1 – Journal, Trip to California 1870 and Woodstock, Ontario 1873.
8. Mrs. H. R. [Mary Eliza] Haweis, *The Art of Beauty* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878), 14.
9. Charles East, ed., *Sarah Morgan: The Civil War Diary of a Southern Woman* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 99.
10. Sarah H. Gordon, *A Passage to Union: How the Railroads Transformed American Life, 1829–1929* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 226.
11. Phyllis G. Tortora and Keith Eubank, *Survey of Historic Costume*, 423.
12. Marni Kessler, "Dusting the Surface, or the *Bourgeoise*, the Veil, and Haussmann's Paris," 53–54.
13. C.D. Zimmerman, "Dust—Is It Dangerous?" *Scientific American* 88, no. 16 (18 April 1903): 299.
14. Joan Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840–1900* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995), 204.
15. Sandra Ley, *Fashion for Everyone: The Story of Ready-to-Wear 1870s–1970s* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 29; Caroline Rennolds Milbank, *New York Fashion: The Evolution of American Style* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989), 18.
16. "Chit Chat on Fashions for June," *Godey's Lady's Book*, June 1871, 583.
17. "Manners Upon the Road," *Harper's Bazar*, 12 August 1871, 496.
18. New York-based *Harper's Bazaar* adopted the current spelling in its November 1929 issue. Prior to that, it was spelled *Harper's Bazar*. "New York Fashions: Traveling Dresses," *Harper's Bazar*, 11 July 1874, 443.
19. Ibid.
20. "New York Fashions: Traveling Dresses," *Harper's Bazar*, 12 June 1875, 379.
21. "New York Fashions: Pleated Blouse, Plain Draped Over-skirt, and Demi-Trained Skirt," *Harper's Bazar*, 27 July 1878, 475.
22. Ibid.
23. "New York Fashions: Traveling Dresses," *Harper's Bazar*, 12 June 1875, 379; "New York Fashions: Gentlemen's Fashions," *Harper's Bazar*, 19 June 1875, 395.
24. John H. White, Jr., *Wet Britches and Muddy Boots: A History of Travel in Victorian America* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 449–450.
25. "No. 1978 – Cache-pousière et jaquettes d'été," *Le Coquet: Journal de Modes*, 30 March 1889, 146–147.
26. Georgiana H.S. Hull, "The Fashions: Early Autumn Consideration and Comment," *Good Housekeeping*, 19 September 1885, 5.
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28. For a more detailed discussion of the logistics of the open section car, see Rebecca Jumper Matheson, "'Ways of Comfort': Women's Dress for Long-Distance Train Travel in America, 1870–1915," *Dress* 43, no. 1 (2017): 30–31, 36–40.
29. Henrietta Hardy Hammond, *The Georgians* (Boston: James E. Osgood, 1881), 24.
30. Ibid.
31. Robert Howe Fletcher, *The Johnstown Stage, and Other Stories* (New York: D. Appleton, 1891), 9.
32. Ibid., 10.
33. Jeannette H. Walworth, *That Girl from Texas* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke, 1888), 13.
34. Ibid., 112.
35. Ibid.
36. Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* (New York: Signet Classic, 1980; New York: Doubleday, Page: 1900), 8–9.
37. Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 39.
38. Amy G. Richter, *Home on the Rails*, 60.



Entrance to hall with leaded glass by unknown maker and stencil designs by Lockwood de Forest, Garrett Mansion c. 1922. Hughes Company. Annual Record Photographs, Archives and Manuscripts Collections, The Baltimore Museum of Art. AR1.1.1

Gilding an Antebellum Baltimore Townhouse

THE LOST MANSION OF JOHN WORK GARRETT AND MARY ELIZABETH GARRETT

Lance Humphries and Roberta A. Mayer

As president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad since 1858, John Work Garrett (1820-1884) was the “Railroad King” of Baltimore, a Gilded Age titan of wealth, power, and fame.¹ When he died, his estate of approximately \$17,000,000 was divided equally between three of his four children—Robert Garrett II (1847–1887), T. Harrison “Harry” Garrett (1849-1888), and Mary Elizabeth Garrett (1854-1915).² Mary had a close, though constricting, relationship with her father, who recognized and nurtured her natural aptitude for the business of managing the railroad. However, given the gender limitations of the era, she worked with him behind the scenes. Her windfall came at the age of thirty, and although she preferred to live a quiet, private life, she immediately attracted attention as “the wealthiest unmarried lady in America.”³ As she matured, she became a generous philanthropist, supporting the Bryn Mawr School for Girls in Baltimore, John Hopkins University as a center for the education of female medical students, and Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania.⁴ Later in her life, she made substantial donations to the women’s suffrage movement.

Mary’s inheritance included her father’s Baltimore townhouse at 101 West Monument Street on Mount Vernon Place in Baltimore, along with the country estate of Montebello outside the city and a “cottage” at Deer Park, in western Maryland.⁵ At the time, the townhouse was in the midst of a major construction project by the New York City architectural firm of McKim, Mead & White.⁶ Over the next few years, Mary finished her father’s plans for the addition of a conservatory and picture-gallery. She also embarked on a major renovation of her own, first working with McKim, Mead & White and their many contractors, and then bringing in Lockwood de Forest (1850-1932) and Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933). When completed, the house featured some of the most exotic décor of the era and served as an inspiring gathering place. In 1906, for instance, the house was used as part of the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, hosting Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, and Jane Addams.⁷ Then, from 1923 to 1929, it was the first location of the Baltimore Museum of Art. In other words, Mary Garrett’s house was an extraordinary Baltimore landmark.

Today, the Baltimore homes of Mary’s brothers are preserved as cultural treasures. Robert’s Mount Vernon Place mansion survives as the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion, and Harry’s home, Evergreen, is now a museum and library maintained by Johns Hopkins University. In sharp contrast, Mary’s extraordinary townhouse was stripped and demolished almost as soon as the Baltimore Museum of Art moved out. In the years since, this building has attracted some scholarly attention, but not with the full range of available information.⁸ With shared

documents and new insights, we explore how this lost monument was shaped by three generations of the Garrett family, culminating with Mary’s ambitious renovation and adventurous artistic decorating.

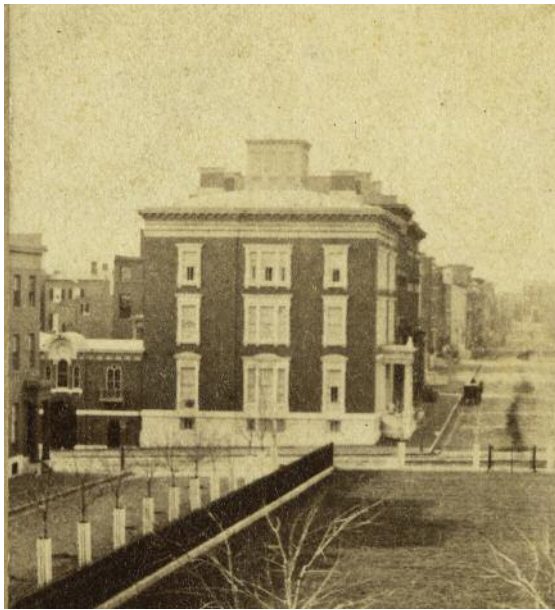
In the Beginning

Mary Elizabeth Garrett’s Mount Vernon townhouse was completed in 1856 for her grandfather, the Irish immigrant and merchant Robert Garrett I (1783-1857), his second wife Elizabeth Stouffer (1791-1877), and their children who were still at home.⁹ Robert Garrett I died shortly thereafter, having never taken possession of the dwelling, but this prominent structure at 77 West Monument Street (renumbered 101 West Monument Street in 1887) remained in the family for decades.

In choosing to build on the corner of Mount Vernon Place, Garrett had signaled his arrival among Baltimore’s elite. The centerpiece of Mount Vernon Place was the prominent Washington Monument designed by architect Robert Mills (1781-1855); construction began in 1815. After the four surrounding squares or “places” were officially laid out in 1831, the neighborhood around the monument and nearby to the west became the most fashionable residential area for Baltimore’s richest merchants through the late 1830s and 1840s.

The Garrett townhouse, along with the next two houses to the west, were apparently designed by Louis L. Long.¹⁰ The two latter houses were built of brownstone—the favored material for the largest Baltimore mansions of the mid-1850s. The Garrett dwelling, however, was constructed with red brick and marble. These materials harkened back to some of Baltimore’s Classical-Revival mansions from the 1830s and ‘40s, but the Garrett house was far from old fashioned. Grand in scale, it was designed in the Italianate style with exceptional architectural detailing.

Our understanding of Long’s exterior design for the main block of the house is based on documents, photographs, and prints that span from around 1860 to 1880, right before its major renovation. One of the earliest images was captured in the 1850s by photographer George W. Dobbin. Relatively square in plan, with a slight bow on the back, the main house was situated on a corner lot. The three-and-a-half-story structure, fifty-two feet wide, presented a symmetrical, five-bay front façade along West Monument Street. The central bay of the front was slightly recessed, as was the central bay on the side that faced Cathedral Street—and this second point is important because it was later replaced with a three-story bow. Although the house was constructed from brick, the imposing size and generous use of marble gave it a strong street presence. The ashlar chamfered basement and water table, the entrance



L to R: View of the Garrett Mansion, Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, Maryland, c. 1859. George Washington Dobbin, photographer. Courtesy Maryland Historical Society. Hughes Company, Baltimore Museum of Art, Old Exterior. Mary Garrett Residence, 101 West Monument Street, c. 1923-29. Digital positive from glass negative. The Photography Collections, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, P75-54-N54g

portico and sweeping double stairs, the window frames (some with segmental pediments), and the heavy classical cornice that defined the roofline were all beautifully carved from this creamy white stone. Originally, the house had sash windows with rectangular lights. Visible in period photographs and maps, the main house also had four interior chimneys, as well as a large fenestrated cupola on the roof.

The back of property is less well documented, but it included a curious wing that ran along Cathedral Street and hemmed in the backyard. Whether this was part of the original construction is not known, but it was in place shortly thereafter, and the clearest illustration was published by Sachse & Co. in 1880.¹¹ It had a basement and one unusual floor that extended from the main house to a rear stable. This floor appears to have had a small room attached to the main house, followed by a barrel-vaulted space with three elongated, round-headed windows facing the street, and then a flat-roofed hyphen attached to a two-and-a-half-story stable with a large arched street entrance.

As for the interior, the original architectural plans are lost, but the house was probably similar to other extant Baltimore townhouses. The main entrance would have led to a small foyer that opened into a hall with a staircase that ascended the three stories and into the attic. The ambient light for the stairs came from the rooftop cupola and may have been filtered through a laylight of stained glass. On the first floor, the hall typically provided access to four major rooms, including a double parlor, dining room, and perhaps a library. The second floor may have held several more informal living spaces, as well as bedroom chambers, more of which would have been found on the third floor, and servant's quarters were likely in the attic. The interior architectural elements would have derived from Greco-Roman traditions.

As a widow, Elizabeth resided in the Mount Vernon townhouse along with two of her three adult children, Henry Stouffer Garrett I (1818-1867) and Elizabeth Barbara Garrett (1827-1917).¹² When Henry died in 1867, he left his entire estate,

including the Mount Vernon townhouse, to his younger brother, John Work Garrett, then living nearby on East Mount Vernon Place. However, John did not take possession of the property for many years, instead allowing his mother and sister to continue to live there. His mother died there in 1877, and then his sister stayed on. Around 1881, John Work Garrett apparently asked his sister to move to his smaller dwelling at 12 East Mount Vernon Place so that he could finally take possession of his father's mansion.¹³

John Work Garrett

In 1881, Elizabeth Barbara Garrett moved out of the Mount Vernon townhouse, and John Work Garrett with his wife, Rachel Ann Harrison (1823-1883), assumed their rightful possession of the property, and almost immediately embarked upon an ambitious construction campaign.¹⁴ In so doing, Garrett initiated one of the first major Gilded Age renovations of the antebellum townhouses in the Mount Vernon Place neighborhood.¹⁵

John Work Garrett began to consult with Stanford White (1853-1906) of the New York architectural firm of McKim, Mead & White in June 1882.¹⁶ Although one of the most prolific, accomplished, and influential architectural partnerships of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the renovation of the Garrett townhouse was one of their early projects. In fact, the firm had only existed since 1879 when twenty-six-year-old White became a partner. Yet, the firm had a growing reputation. They had designed Isaac Bell's summer house in Newport, Rhode Island; it is now a National Historic Landmark recognized for introducing American Colonial-revival, shingle style architecture. White had also begun to work with his slightly older peer, Louis Comfort Tiffany. They were, for example, part of the team that had completed the dazzling Veterans Room at the Seventh Regiment Armory in New York City in 1881.

John Work Garrett certainly knew many New Yorkers, especially since the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad had played a key role in the preserving the Union during the Civil War, and he had

probably seen the Seventh Regiment Armory. But McKim, Mead & White had also begun to make inroads into Baltimore. In 1882, the firm completed a chateausque mansion, still extant, in brick and brownstone on the corner of St. Paul and Preston Streets in the Mount Vernon neighborhood for Ross R. Winans (1850-1912), a capitalist, whose father and grandfather had made their fortune building railroads in Russia.

The introduction of Stanford White into Garrett's Baltimore circle must have been compelling. In fact, by July 1883, his son Robert Garrett, who had married Mary Sloan Frick (1851-1936), also began to work with Stanford White on the overhaul of two existing houses on West Mount Vernon Place to create an entirely new mansion; it was later expanded by John Russell Pope (1874-1937) and, as noted earlier, survives today as the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion.¹⁷ Likewise, around this time, the firm of McKim, Mead & White began work on the First Methodist Episcopal Church (now Lovely Lane United Methodist Church) in Baltimore.¹⁸

John Work Garrett's idea was to tear down much of the rear wing and construct a conservatory and a picture-gallery which would be among the finest in the country, competing with and complementing the nearby collection of William T. Walters (1820-1894), now part of the Walters Art Museum. Ultimately, these would be just two of the most prominent painting galleries surrounding Mount Vernon Place, noted in the Gilded Age to be the location where the city's "most precious treasures of art" were clustered.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the plans for Garrett's project are not in the two major archives for McKim, Mead & White—neither the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library nor the New York Historical Society has architectural drawings. But, the project is recorded in the firm's bill books. By May 1883, a building permit was filed, indicating that things were progressing.²⁰

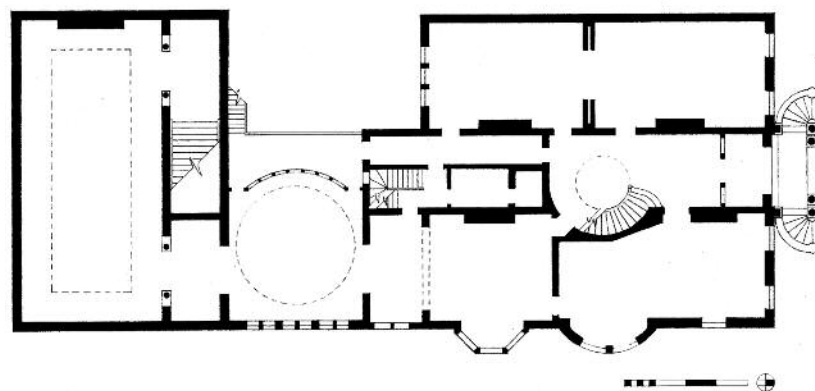
The Garrett family seems to have spent the summer of 1883 abroad, returning to Baltimore in the fall. But tragedy struck in October when Rachel was seriously injured after being thrown from a carriage near Montebello.²¹ She passed away later that year. By September 1884, John Work Garrett, who never truly recovered from his grief and despair, had also died. His death at age sixty-four came as a shock to many and was covered widely across the nation.²² The *Baltimore American* published an extensive obituary, which included a detailed description of Garrett's art gallery, then under construction:

A broad stairway and spacious vestibule are of Italian statuary marbles, with columns and decorations of the finest bronze, cast from the designs of the masters. The picture gallery will be a magnificent room, rich also in marble and bronze, and the light from above into the gallery and conservatory is admitted through vaulted ceilings, the glass of which is to be set in elaborate frames of solid, beaten brass. A magnificent mosaic floor, from an Italian design, is being laid, which will be one of the most noteworthy examples of this art work in the country. It is understood that considerably over one hundred thousand dollars has been appropriated for these improvements, and the arrangements made for a grand entrance to the gallery from Cathedral street confirms the belief that it was Mr. Garrett's intention, and in fact his chief desire, that not only should the gallery be one of which the city might be proud, but one that the people might enjoy and be personally benefitted by.²³

Mary Elizabeth Garrett

When Mary inherited the Baltimore townhouse, she not only continued the work that her father had started with McKim, Mead & White, but took on her own substantial renovation of the main house, also under the firm's guidance. When the father/daughter project formally concluded in 1886, over \$180,000.00 had been paid to McKim, Mead & White and their subcontractors (which did not include Lockwood de Forest or Louis C. Tiffany).²⁴ In February 1886, *The American Architect and Building News* reported:

Miss Mary Garrett has recently occupied her residence, on the corner of Mt. Vernon Place and Cathedral Street, which has been for several years in the hands of the same architects [i.e. McKim, Mead & White]. The interior has been entirely remodeled, and a conservatory and fireproof picture-gallery added. The house is one of the older structures in the city, and is of charming Italian design. It is of brick, painted a delicate cream tint. The basement, and all door and window enrichments, and other exterior details, are of white marble. The interior is sumptuously fitted up, and the picture-gallery wainscoting is dark oak, carved, and inlaid with Italian designs in satinwood. The glazed gallery leading to it from the library is polished Sienna marble, with a domed ceiling, having a frieze and cornice of polished brass. The dining-room is said to have cost \$30,000, and is entirely in dark oak, richly carved.²⁵



Reconstructed floorplan of the Garrett Mansion, showing first floor as expanded and renovated by Stanford White for John Work Garrett and Mary Elizabeth Garrett. Plan by W. Peter Pearre.

The information in this quote is not entirely accurate but it is useful in understanding the later maps and photographs.

The new picture-gallery and conservatory ("glazed gallery") are annotated in the 1890 Sanborn map.²⁶ Likewise, the map includes the new three-story bow windows and a bay window on the first floor along Cathedral Street, as well as the disappearance of the bow at the back of the house. The exterior of the house in 1886 was probably quite similar to its appearance in the 1920s. The eclectic brick wing was replaced with one in a classical design that better complemented the 1850s house, and all of the exterior brickwork was now painted a soft cream color, not only to pull the building together into a more monolithic

whole, but to hide the alterations to the brickwork.

The marble ashlar basement was continued along the length of Cathedral Street. On the ground level, there were several entrances, including a separate doorway directly below the picture-gallery, presumably including a vestibule with the “broad stairway” of marble mentioned in John Work Garrett’s obituary. The picture-gallery had a solid surface of brick facing the street; the natural light came from the skylights on the roof. The exterior façade of the new conservatory was fully surfaced in marble and articulated with six transomed windows that shared a single sill. However, as will be discussed, this room did not lead to the library, as suggested by *The American Architect and Building News*, but rather to the dining room, which began with two vertical transomed windows and then continued into the original house where a bay window had been added. Therefore, the overall exterior design of the conservatory and dining room extension in the new wing was unified by a rhythm of windows and a delicate classical balustrade along the roof.

The interior of the new wing was photographed in the 1920s after the house was being used as the Baltimore Museum of Art. As documented in numerous images, the Renaissance-inspired picture-gallery was an impressively large room, possessing matching alcoves framed by columns on the ends of the north wall; the alcove near the fireplace on the west wall possibly led to the entrance staircase, while the one on the east granted access to the conservatory. As mentioned in Garrett’s obituary, the room was finished with dark oak, including inlaid wainscoting, along with a massive and highly carved fireplace. The obituary also suggested that the columns in the gallery were to be made of bronze, but the extant photographs suggest that the alcove columns may have been carved wood. The cove at the ceiling was decorated with painted arabesques, and the gallery was illuminated through lay lights of leaded glass.

Likewise, the conservatory had an impressive glass dome with a brass frieze and cornice. The polished Sienna marble on the walls and the rich mosaic floors described in the press are obvious. The view shown here is looking from the east towards the west; the back corner of the main house can be glimpsed outside the clear, leaded windows, which were found on both sides of the room.

Although the overall redesign of the rest of the main house is

not as well documented, the evidence suggests that the remodeling encompassed work on every floor. In fact, one of the most dramatic exterior/interior changes was the expensive addition of a three-story bow on the side facing Cathedral Street. Likewise, almost all of the windows in the building were switched out from multi-pane, wooden sashes to sashes with leaded glass. Additional chimneys added on the roof suggest that the third floor was broken up into smaller spaces. The roof cupola was removed and replaced with a restrained classical balustrade that enclosed a much smaller skylight.

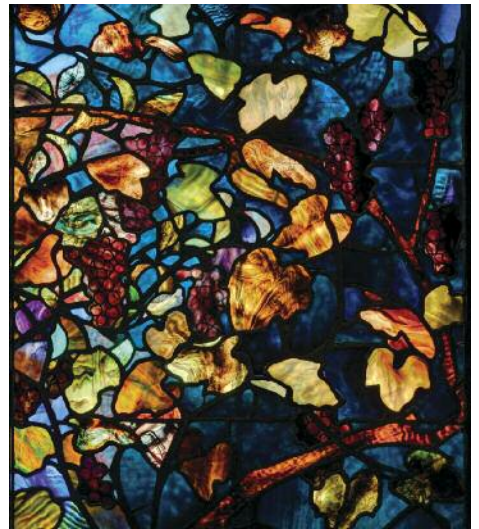
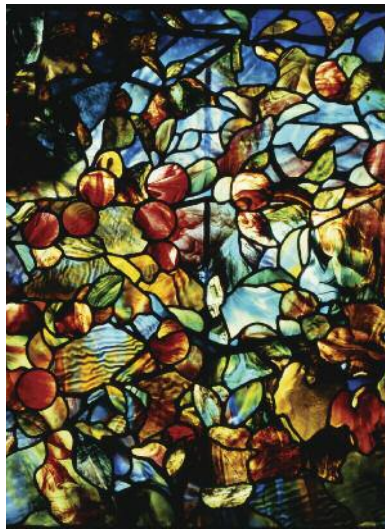
The changes that McKim, Mead & White made to the rooms of first floor are the best documented because the Baltimore Museum of Art subsequently used them as exhibition spaces. The main staircase in the entrance hall was redesigned into a lighter Colonial Revival style, capped by a dome (later decorated by Lockwood de Forest) with a gas-lit chandelier. Behind the main hall, a new addition on the rear (replacing the earlier bow) contained a service staircase, and in this rear middle area were likely pantries, as well as a service elevator.²⁷ Although not well documented, elsewhere in the main block, door casings and trims were likely replaced and updated as they were in the entrance hall.

On the first floor, opposite the exterior bow shape was an angled wall that allowed this space to be incorporated into a sitting room at the front northeast corner of the house. Its initial décor is unknown, but as we shall see, this is where Lockwood de Forest created one of his most elaborate East Indian interiors. Behind this sitting room was the Renaissance-inspired dining room. This room was not photographed as frequently, but some of the carved oak woodwork and leather-lined walls can be glimpsed behind exhibition panels. It is also clear that the dining room was largely in the main block of house but continued into the new wing. Interior photographs show that a large, richly carved rectangular opening was needed to structurally support the rear wall of the main house to accommodate this design. Altogether, the dining room had five transom windows—three in the new bay window and two in the new wing. At the back of the dining room were leaded-glass doors to the conservatory.

On the right (west) side of the main hall were two rooms of nearly the same length. The front room likely served as a parlor, and it seems to have been least altered room on this floor. Behind



L to R: The picture-gallery fireplace and dining room of the Garrett Mansion, c. 1922-29. Hughes Company. Annual Record Photographs, Archives and Manuscripts Collections. The Baltimore Museum of Art. AR1.1.5 and AR1.14.1



L to R: Hughes Company, The Conservatory of the Garrett Mansion, 1922. Digital positive from glass negative. The Photography Collections, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, P75-54-1182g. Leaded glass windows in the transoms of the dining room near the conservatory. Louis C. Tiffany, *Red Apples on a Branch; Autumn Leaves*. Tiffany Glass Company c. 1885-86. Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art. Note: the Baltimore Museum of Art provided images of these windows from the exterior side. The authors have reversed these to show the interior view.

it was the library, which was ornamented in a mixture of Renaissance detailing with touches of Colonial Revival in the bookcases and overdoor decorations.²⁸

The two superintending builders were John Marshall and William Ortwine, both of Baltimore. They likely had local brick masons, stone masons, and general carpenters under their purview, whose names are not recorded, but the specialty contractors were listed in the McKim, Mead & White bill book.²⁹ With the exception of the furniture manufacturer and interior designer P. Hanson Hiss & Co. (who may have supplied some interior trims), and the Hahl Manufacturing Co. (suppliers of electrical and mechanical equipment), both of Baltimore, all the other contractors were from New York. The mosaic floors and marble walls in the conservatory were executed by Pasquali & Aeschlimann. Joseph Cabus took charge of most of the architectural woodworking, with some contribution from Herter Brothers; this no doubt included the dining room which, as noted above, was reported to cost \$30,000.00 The gas fixtures came from Archer & Pancoast, the fireplaces were fitted by W. H. Jackson & Co., and decorative leather was supplied by C. R. Yandell & Co. Interestingly, at this time nearly all of these

suppliers were also working with McKim, Mead & White on the Mount Vernon Place house of Robert and Mary Frick Garrett (the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion).³⁰

Neither de Forest nor Tiffany are listed in the McKim, Mead & White bill books for Mary Garrett's renovation and therefore Mary must have hired them independently at the time her major structural work was coming to completion. Mary probably met them both through her network of New York City friends, which included Julia Brasher de Forest (1853-1910) and Julia's cousin Louise ("Lou") Wakeman Knox (1851-1904).³¹ Julia's brother was Lockwood de Forest, who had partnered with Louis C. Tiffany in the short-lived firm of Tiffany & de Forest Decorators. In the summer of 1882, de Forest had just returned to New York City after an extended business trip to India and an added excursion to Nepal.³²

The early published histories of the Baltimore Museum of Art suggest that Mary started working with de Forest in 1881; however, this is a misunderstanding of the fact that de Forest started his woodcarving and metalworking business in Ahmedabad, India, that year. Rather, she started working with de Forest around 1885; his records refer to "Miss Garrett's



Leaded glass windows in the transoms of the dining room bay of the Garrett Mansion. Louis C. Tiffany, *Vase with Flowers; Flower, Fish and Fruit; Bowl with Fruit and Flowers*. Tiffany Glass Company c. 1885-86. Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art. Note: the Baltimore Museum of Art provided images of these windows from the exterior side. The authors have reversed these to show the interior view.

panels,” which were probably the pierce-carved teakwood tracteries in her East Indian sitting room.³³ By then, de Forest was operating his own import and decorating business at 9 East Seventeenth Street in New York City with a specialty in carved East Indian teakwood from Ahmedabad.³⁴

It seems that shortly after Mary Garrett began working with de Forest, she hired the firm of L. C. Tiffany & Co. to create leaded-glass windows for the dining room. The *Real Estate Record and Builders Guide* reported on her commission as it was underway in 1886:

These are effects in color, the designs being arrangements of fruit. In one of these the fruit on each side is flanked globes in which are suggestions of gold-fish. Nothing better illustrates the resources of the glass than the liquidity of the globes with its red gleams.³⁵

Most of these windows can be seen in period photographs of the Cathedral Street façade—three were in the bay window transoms and two were in transoms in the new wing.³⁶ The floral designs in the bay, which included Tiffany’s *Flower, Fish, and Fruit*, were unified with sinuous ribbons.³⁷ The latter two windows depict ripe apples on a branch, and autumn leaves with grapes, respectively.

Interestingly, the double doors between the dining room and conservatory were also fitted with a large vertical leaded-glass panel featuring a floral arabesque entwined with undulating ribbons. These were likely destroyed, and the maker is unknown, but it is worth noting that there were other glass designers besides Tiffany who worked with the Garretts. For example, the now obscure New York firm of P. F. McMahon provided leaded-glass windows for the Garrett-Jacobs Mansion and may have contributed some work to Mary’s Garrett’s townhouse as well.³⁸

After Tiffany’s windows were installed, de Forest’s major work for Mary Garrett was in 1887, while she was traveling through Europe with her long-time Baltimore friend and companion, Julia Rebecca Rogers (1854-1944).³⁹ He coordinated the cleaning and re-hanging of some of the paintings within her gallery, but his most remarkable projects involved installing the “new” sitting room and designing a painting scheme for the entrance hall. This pushed her project well beyond the refined but more conventional flourishes her brother and sister-in-law were accomplishing nearby with nearly the same architects and suppliers.⁴⁰

As with the other rooms in the house, the sitting room was photographed in the 1920s. At that point, the furniture and decorative elements were gone, but the room itself was very much intact. The interior architecture included pierce-carved teakwood panels that emulated the stone mosque tracteries that de Forest had discovered in Ahmedabad; these were incorporated into a chimneypiece and between the front windows. The fireplace surround featured perforated metalwork, probably copper to match the frieze. There were a series of niches and brackets designed for the display of objects, as well as cusped arches added to the windows. The bow on Cathedral Street was fitted with a large teakwood cusped archway flanked by columns.

The walls, which seem to have been lined with fabric, and the ceiling were completely ornamented with painted and applied patterns. As for the colors, de Forest sent Garrett a number of samples that he proposed for the stenciled designs, the survival of which are relatively rare. His descriptions, along with the

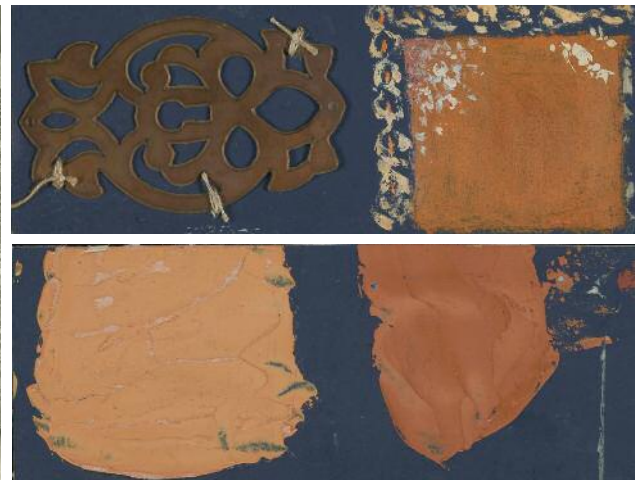
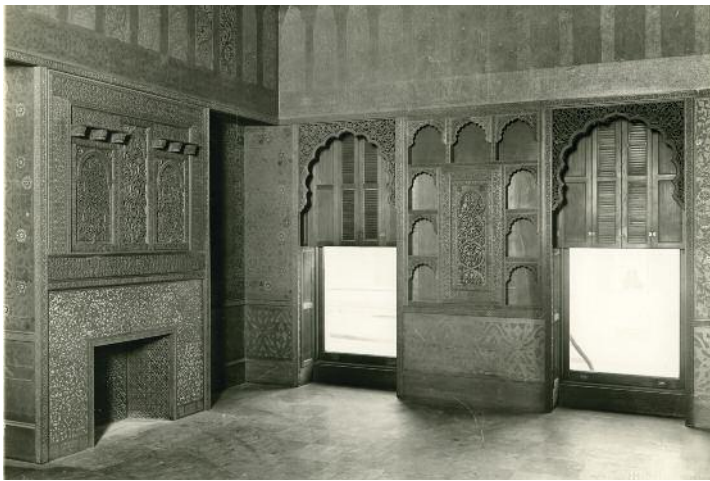
extant interior photographs, indicate a blue frieze that was overlaid with panels of perforated copper that curved into the cove of the beamed ceiling that was embellished with decorative floral bosses as well as panels of perforated copper over blue paint. Below the frieze, he had the walls stenciled with designs in orange, light yellow, and blue. His palette seems to have been inspired by the handwoven carpets from Egypt and India that he sold at his shop. The furniture for the room included the carved teakwood sofa, side chairs, tables, and hanging seat that were later moved to Bryn Mawr College.⁴¹ In one of his three surviving letters to Mary Garrett, de Forest wrote, “I want to get a very rich room but very quiet...”⁴²

De Forest also designed bold stenciled patterns for the hall. The dark Colonial-revival architectural woodwork was almost certainly part of the McKim, Mead & White renovation, but de Forest’s Orientalist patterns were probably in colors that were similar to the sitting room, with perhaps some architectural gilding. The elegant sweeping staircase led to an upper floor where McKim, Mead & White’s dome held a dramatic Archer & Pancoast gas-lit chandelier consisting of 150 gas lights in three tiers.⁴³ De Forest had the dome gilded and patterned with dark and light blue paint like “that in the old mosaics.”⁴⁴ At some point in Mary’s campaign of work, likely under McKim, Mead & White’s guidance, the front door and sidelights of the entryway were fitted with leaded glass, but like conservatory/dining room doors, and the leaded glass found elsewhere, their maker is unknown.

Given de Forest’s intense focus on the sitting room and hall, it is not surprising that the lavish \$30,000.00 oak dining room created under the purview of McKim, Mead & White received scant attention in his letters. Moreover, with its leather wall coverings and Renaissance-inspired wood carvings, there were few opportunities for de Forest to add decorative flourishes. But he does mention Tiffany’s transom windows. In one of his letters to Garrett, de Forest noted, “As to lighting the stained glass in the dining room at night I fear that it is not practicable.”⁴⁵

Over the next few years, Mary Garrett’s expenditures on the house continued to make national headlines. Suppliers were quick to advertise their involvement with this spectacular project, and they continued to do so as Mary’s fame as an heiress grew. For instance, the Baltimore firm of Hugh Sisson & Sons installed marble stairs, probably for the entrance of the picture-gallery.⁴⁶ Bartlett, Hayward & Co., also in Baltimore, completed the heating system; they had similarly installed heating at her brother’s house.⁴⁷ In 1890, it was announced that Mary had spent \$6,000.00 on a bathroom lined in Mexican onyx. This work was likely done by Hugh Sisson & Sons, as they installed a similar bathroom in her brother’s house.⁴⁸ That year, Mary also held a reception to showcase the introduction of electricity into the house. The 150-light, three-tiered chandelier in the hall dome was fully electrified. The picture-gallery with more than sixty large paintings was lit by electrical bulbs, the harsh light filtered with ground glass. The conservatory received a single light that was heavily shaded to produce a moonlight ambience. In the alcove-like passage between the conservatory and the picture-gallery, light was “thrown upon the pictures as in a cyclorama.”⁴⁹

In 1891, Mary and Julia Rogers had a disagreement that ended their friendship.⁵⁰ At that point Garrett returned to her old circle of Baltimore friends, which included M. Carey Thomas



L to R: Sitting room designed by Lockwood de Forest, Garrett Mansion, c. 1922. Hughes Company. Annual Record Photographs, Archives and Manuscripts Collections. The Baltimore Museum of Art. AR1.1.4. Paint samples for the Garrett Mansion, c. 1887. Lockwood de Forest Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.

(1857-1935), who was then Dean of Bryn Mawr College.⁵¹ By the late 1890s, the two rented rooms in the Ava apartment building for their New York excursions, and the Ava was immediately adjacent to de Forest's home at 7 East Tenth Street.⁵² In the fall of 1904, Garrett moved into the Deanery of Bryn Mawr College bringing with her the East Indian furniture that de Forest had provided for her Baltimore townhouse along with many other possessions. There, Garrett quietly funded many new projects for the College that continued to involve de Forest. However, she would, on occasion, return to her Baltimore mansion as she did in 1906 to host dignitaries such as Susan B. Anthony and others.

The Aftermath

When Mary died in 1915, her will gave M. Carey Thomas life use of the Baltimore townhouse.⁵³ The property was supposed to revert to Johns Hopkins University upon Thomas's death. Instead, Thomas first leased, then sold the building to the Baltimore Museum of Art, which had incorporated in 1914.⁵⁴

In 1922, the Museum purchased a collection of East Indian metalwork from de Forest's auction at the American Art Association.⁵⁵ Then, beginning in 1923, the Museum held regular exhibitions on the first floor of the Garrett house.⁵⁶ Other uses were found for the upstairs rooms, and the basement for a time hosted the Baltimore Handicraft Club. In 1929, after the Baltimore Museum of Art moved to its new building designed by John Russell Pope, Mary's townhouse was demolished in order to erect a twelve-story apartment building on the site.

Notes

1. Kathleen Waters Sander, *John W. Garrett and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 301-2.
2. For a genealogy of the Garrett family, see James Archer Abbott, Earle Havens, Bodil Ottesen, Susan G. Tripp, *Evergreen: The Garrett Family, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), viii.
3. E.g. "Richest in the Land. Miss Mary Garrett the Wealthiest Unmarried Lady in America," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, October 4, 1884. Similar articles appeared across the country.
4. "Mary Elizabeth Garrett," *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Quarterly* (January 1917): 126-130; "Celebrating the Philanthropy of Mary Elizabeth

Today, a glimpse of Mary Garrett's highly artistic interiors can be found in the five Tiffany windows as well the major architectural elements of de Forest's teakwood sitting room that were salvaged and are preserved in the collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art.⁵⁷ The new documentary and photographic evidence presented here allows us to envision the exuberant Gilded Age transformation that John Work Garrett and Mary Elizabeth Garrett brought to their antebellum Baltimore townhouse.



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Garrett: Champion of Women in Medicine—A Chronology of Major Dates in the Life and Philanthropy of Mary Elizabeth Garrett," The Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, accessed November 1, 2018, www.medicalarchives.jhmi.edu/garrett/chronology.htm; see also Kathleen Waters Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett: Society and Philanthropy in the Gilded Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

5. Sander, *John W. Garrett*, 301.

6. McKim, Mead & White Architectural Records Collection, ca. 1875-1950, PR 42, Series VII: Financial Records, Subseries V.1, Volume: FR-2, Bill book April 1884-May 1887, 343, New-York Historical Society, N.Y., N.Y. Statements for the project were rendered from June 30, 1882 to May 29,

- 1886; see also Leland M. Roth, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White 1870-1920: A Building List* (New York: Garland, 1978), 62, no. 314. Note that the photograph for no. 314 is labeled incorrectly. It is not the John W. Garrett house, but rather the Robert Garrett house. Roth also incorrectly notes that the John W. Garrett house is extant, which also refers to the Robert Garrett house.
7. Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 242-43.
 8. See *Ibid.*, 26-27, 116-18; Sander, *John W. Garrett*, 230. Sander's history of the Baltimore townhouse in her work on John Work Garrett is the most recent, and the authors thank her for generously sharing her research. At the same time, some of her interpretations contain erroneous information or misimpressions that need correction. Specifically, John Work Garrett acquired the Baltimore townhouse in 1867, but he did not move in until 1881. McKim, Mead & White began working with John Work Garrett in 1882, not in the 1870s. The superintending architect was John Marshall, not Henry Rutgers Marshall. Lockwood de Forest and Louis Comfort Tiffany were hired by Mary Elizabeth Garrett in the mid-1880s, not by John Work Garrett in 1881.
 9. Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 26; Lance Humphries, catalogue entry for "Robert Garrett House," *The Baltimore Townhouse 1780-1865* (in progress).
 10. George A. Frederick, "Recollections of George A. Frederick: To Mr. J.B. Noel Wyatt, President, and The Baltimore Chapter A.I.A., 1912," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. Frederick attributed the Robert Garrett house to Long. Unfortunately, a building account for this dwelling cannot be found in the available newspapers. Although Long's work is poorly documented, he seems to be best remembered for his Catholic churches. See also James T. Wollon, Jr. and John McGrain, "Louis L. Long," *Baltimore Architecture Foundation*, accessed November 2, 2018, baltimorearchitecture.org/biographies/louis-l-long/.
 11. The main house and the rear wing are further documented in prints, photographs, and plats, here listed in chronological order:
 - Langenheim Brothers, "Cathedral, Baltimore, Md.," 1856, glass stereograph, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California, accessed November 18, 2018, www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/128887/langenheim-brothers-frederick-and-william-langenheim-cathedral-baltimore-md-american-1856/?dz=0.5000,0.2479,0.90. The Getty Museum dates this photograph to 1856, but that may be a copyright date on Langenheim's label and design. At the same time, the photograph was likely taken shortly after this date.
 - "Panoramic view of the city of Baltimore from the top of the Washington Monument," by E. Sachse & Co., lithographer, from the *1863 Illustrated Album of Baltimore City*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed November 12, 2018, www.loc.gov/item/2003656668/
 - "E. Sachse, & Co.'s bird's eye view of the city of Baltimore 1869," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed November 12, 2018, www.loc.gov/resource/g3844b.pm002540/
 - Baltimore, Maryland (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Co., 1879-80), Vol 1 (1879), sheet 7.
 - A. Sachse & Co. Lithographers & Printers, "The city of Baltimore City, Md. in 1880 View from Washington Monument looking south," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., accessed November 12, 2018, loc.gov/resource/g3844b.pm002541/
 - "Mt. Vernon Place, southwest from Washington Monument [carriage in foreground]," 1880. New York Public Library Digital Collections, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library, New York, New York, accessed October 31, 2018, digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-6680-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99
 12. The dwelling was then identified with Henry, who was unmarried and was considered the head of this household as one of his father's principal heirs. In 1862, Elizabeth's younger son, John Work Garrett, moved to an 1850s-era townhouse at 50 (now 12) East Mount Vernon Place, and at that point the entire family was within a short walking distance, as their houses were on opposite sides of the Washington Monument.
 13. Humphries, "Robert Garrett House"; *Wood's Baltimore City Directory* (Baltimore: John W. Woods), see 1881 and 1882. In the 1881 directory, John Work Garrett is at his 50 (modern 12 East) Mount Vernon Place address and his sister, Elizabeth Barbara Garrett, at 77 Monument Street. These addresses are switched in the directory for 1882.
 14. Contemporary sources do not seem to suggest why Garrett at this late date in his life, with some of his children married and on their own, was intent on securing a larger house, let alone making significant investments in it. However, while Garrett had been making his fortune with the expansion of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, he apparently also desired to leave an imposing legacy in the built environment. In 1879, the firm had commissioned an elaborate commercial building at the corner of Baltimore and Calvert Streets in downtown Baltimore to hold their many offices and departments. Designed by Baltimore architect E. Francis Baldwin (1837-1916), the seven-story High Victorian Gothic structure with a mansard roof was reaching completion in the late fall of 1882. At the time, it was the tallest office building in the city. See "A Splendid Building," *Sun* (Baltimore), November 15, 1882. The article details the construction history and suppliers.
 15. See Humphries, *The Baltimore Townhouse*. After the Civil War, the city of Baltimore had continued to expand northward, but Garrett's reinvestment as well as those made by the Brown (of the firm of Alexander Brown & Son) and Abell families (owners of the *Sun* papers), among others, insured that Mount Vernon Place and its surrounding area remained the premier residential location in the city through the Edwardian period.
 16. McKim, Mead & White Architectural Records Collection, bill book April 1884-May 1887, 343, 345. Note, all of the McKim, Mead & White subcontractors for the project were summarized on June 4, 1886 when the project was completed by Mary Elizabeth Garrett, so the specific decisions made by John Work Garrett are not clear.
 17. Roth, nos. 315-316, 62. Note that Roth incorrectly indicates that the building was demolished.
 18. *Ibid.*, no. 291, 58.
 19. "Mr. Garrett's Art Gallery and Conservatory," *Sun* (Baltimore), May 12, 1883. John Work Garrett's art collection is not well researched. The "treasures" quotation is found in "Dr. Reuling Old Masters," *The Art Collector: A Journal Devoted to the Arts and the Crafts*, 2, no. 1 (November 1, 1890), 2. Reuling in this period lived next door to the Garrett mansion.
 20. "Brief Locals," *Sun* (Baltimore), May 14, 1883.
 21. "Accident to Mrs. Garrett. From the *Baltimore American*, Oct. 12," *New York Times*, October 13, 1883.
 22. E.g. "Mr. Garrett's Remains," *Sun* (Baltimore), September 27, 1884; "Mr. Garrett's Active Life," *New York Times*, September 27, 1884.
 23. "Mr. Garrett Dead," *Baltimore American* (Supplement), September 27, 1884, 5.
 24. Roth, 62; McKim, Mead & White Architectural Records Collection, bill book April 1884-May 1887, 345. Roth reported a total of \$150,356 for the renovations of John Work Garrett and Mary Elizabeth Garrett. However, the project summary of contractors plus commissions indicates a total of \$180,706.
 25. Civis, "The Year's Work in Baltimore," *American Architect and Building News* 19 no. 528 (February 6, 1886), 69; See McKim, Mead & White Architectural Records Collection, bill book April 1884-May 1887, 356. Mary Elizabeth Garrett's final bill from the firm was in June 14, 1886, after they had reconciled all their major accounts and expenses.
 26. *Insurance Maps of Baltimore, Maryland 2* (New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., 1890), sheet 55, image 38, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C., accessed November 19, 2018, hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3844bm.g3844bm_g03573189002; Blanchard Randall to Henry F. Kent, April 15, 1922, Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York.
 27. The reconfigured rear of the building is evident on the Sanborn maps and the extant photographs of the new conservatory. The elevator, described as "hydraulic," is noted in "Elevators in Private Houses," *Sun*

- (Baltimore), October 11, 1887. The article also mentions the new elevators in Robert Garrett's mansion, and the Brown and Graham family mansions one block north of Mary Elizabeth Garrett's project. Robert Garrett's elevator was produced by the Otis firm.
28. See Photograph Collection, Box 1, Series 1. Photographs—Annual Record, 1923-1927, Library and Archives of the Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland. The front room by the time it was photographed appears to have had some alterations, in that the extant photographs show a chair rail and baseboard, as well as ceiling cove, inconsistent with the time period of the 1880s renovations. It may be work done when the museum moved in. The two front windows exhibit trim and decorations that could be from the first period of the house. No photographs are known of the fireplace wall. The library is documented in several photographs, but none currently show the fireplace wall in full—only fragmentary views of the chimney breast and overdoors.
 29. McKim, Mead & White, bill book April 1884-May 1887, 345.
 30. Unlike the Mary Elizabeth Garrett project, extensive documentation survives for her brother Robert's renovations of his townhouse by McKim, Mead & White. In addition to similar bill book references in the McKim, Mead & White papers, the principal proposals from many of these firms, and others, are found in Garrett Papers, MS. 797, Box 16, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.
 31. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 181, 233; Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 90-91; see also Jennifer Perry Thalheimer, "Intimate Blending: Louis Comfort Tiffany's Life and Art," in *Tiffany at Lafayette* (Easton, PA: Lafayette College, 2016), 57-64. Louise Wakeman Knox became Tiffany's second wife in 1886.
 32. Roberta A. Mayer, "Lockwood and Meta de Forest in India, Kashmir, and Nepal," *Archives of American Art Journal* 52, nos. 1-2 (Fall 2013): 44-57.
 33. Ledger, 1880, Lockwood de Forest Papers, Series 5.1, Box 2, Folder 40, Image 39 (microfilm 2733, frame 622), Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., accessed November 15, 2018, www.aaa.si.edu/collections/lockwood-de-forest-papers-7429/subseries-5-1/box-2-folder-40; See also "Unique in Decoration: Hindu Wood Carvings Used in Interior Housefurnishings," *New York Times*, November 24, 1895. According to this article, "several large panels richly carved" were installed in the library, but this seems incorrect because the library was appointed with Colonial-Revival style bookcases. The article notes another room was "entirely finished in teakwood"—which matches later photographs of the sitting room.
 34. Roberta A. Mayer and Carolyn K. Lane, "Disassociating the 'Associated Artists': The Early Business Ventures of Louis C. Tiffany, Candace T. Wheeler, and Lockwood de Forest," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 8 no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2001): 2-36. De Forest's early clients included his great uncle and mentor, the painter Frederic Edwin Church (1826-1900). He also attracted the attention of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86), one of the most prominent American architects of the day. In addition, he worked closely with Tiffany and White as the Tiffany family mansion was being constructed on the southwest corner of Madison Avenue and 72nd Street in New York City, a project that spanned 1882 to 1885.
 35. "Notes Architectural and Decorative," *Real Estate Record and Builders Guide*, March 13, 1886, 317. The project may have been initiated with the firm of L. C. Tiffany & Co., but this publication date indicates that it was completed by the Tiffany Glass Company, which had incorporated on December 1, 1885.
 36. Tiffany's windows had support rods that faced the interior of the Garrett dining room. The images of these windows provided by the Baltimore Museum of Art do not show the support rods because the exterior sides were photographed; the colors that appear here are due to the studio backlighting. As noted in the figure captions, we have reversed the images from the Baltimore Museum of Art to convey the correct interior arrangement and composition of these windows, but given Tiffany's frequent use of plating, or layering glass, the original visual experience of the colors would have depended on the intensity of the exterior ambient light and was probably subtler.
 37. See also Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "A Museum of His Own: Tiffany's Leaded Glass Windows," in *Louis Comfort Tiffany and Laurelton Hall: An Artist's Country Estate* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 143; Horace Townsend, "American and French Applied Art at the Grafton Galleries," *The Studio* 17 (June 1899), 39, accessed November 29, 2018, digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/studio1899b/0054/image. As Frelinghuysen notes, Tiffany retained the original cartoon for Mary Garrett's largest window; the cartoon was exhibited in 1899 at the Grafton Galleries as *Flower, Fish, and Fruit*. He created a similar window (now destroyed) for his living room at Laurelton Hall.
 38. See Garrett Papers.
 39. Horowitz, 75. Mary Garrett's friends in the 1870s included the "Friday Evening" group, five Baltimore women, all well-educated, who met every second Friday for about a year to work on a joint novel. They began to convene in 1878, and the other members were Julia Rebecca Rogers, M. Carey Thomas, Mamie Gwinn and Bessie King.
 40. Lockwood de Forest to Mary Garrett, June 10, 1887; Lockwood de Forest to Mary Garrett, June 17, 1887; Lockwood de Forest Papers, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 23, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., accessed November 15, 2017, www.aaa.si.edu/collections/lockwood-de-forest-papers-7429/series-1/box-1-folder-23
 41. The de Forest furniture that Garrett owned in Baltimore and later moved to Bryn Mawr College is discussed and illustrated in Mayer, *Lockwood de Forest*, 141-154, 181-184.
 42. Lockwood de Forest to Mary Garrett, June 17, 1887.
 43. "Miss Garrett's Picture Gallery," *Electrical World* 15 no. 6 (February 8, 1890), 103.
 44. Lockwood de Forest to Mary Garrett, June 17, 1887.
 45. Lockwood de Forest to Mary Garrett, July 19, 1887.
 46. "Baltimore: Hugh Sisson & Sons," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (supplement, October 27, 1888), 14.
 47. John H. Mills, *Heat 1* (Boston: Press of American printing and engraving Company, 1890), n.p.
 48. See "Personal," *Boston Journal*, November 28, 1890; Hugh Sisson & Son to McKim, Mead & White, July 24, 1885, Garrett Papers. The firm notes that Robert Garrett's onyx bathroom will be priced differently unless the steps are treated like those in "Miss Garrett's" bathroom.
 49. "Miss Garrett's Picture Gallery." Like her father's art collection, Mary Elizabeth Garrett's collection has not been well studied.
 50. Horowitz, 233.
 51. *Ibid.*, 184-86.
 52. Mayer, *Lockwood de Forest*, 144-46.
 53. Horowitz, 424.
 54. *Ibid.*, 451. Thomas transferred the principal to Johns Hopkins University in exchange for an annuity.
 55. Warren Wilmer Brown, "The Baltimore Museum of Art: Its Evolution and Future," *Art and Archaeology* 19 no. 5-6 (May-June 1925), 249; the pieces for the museum were purchased at auction by Blanchard Randall, see *Rare East Indian Persian and Syro-Damascan Art and Curios forming the Private Collection of the widely known artist and connoisseur Lockwood de Forest, Esq. of New York City* (New York: American Art Association, November 24-25, 1922), Lockwood de Forest Papers, Series 6, Box 3, Folder 1, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., accessed December 28, 2018, www.aaa.si.edu/collections/lockwood-de-forest-papers-7429/series-6/box-3-folder-1
 56. See Publication Collection, Box E1, Series 5. Ephemera, 1923-1929, Library and Archives of the Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland. The west front room was Gallery A, the library was Gallery B, the East Indian sitting room was Gallery C, the dining room was Gallery D, the conservatory was Gallery E, and the picture-gallery was Gallery F.
 57. The Tiffany windows are Baltimore Museum of Art acc. nos. 1979.173-177, and the teak fragments acc. nos. 1939.222.001-010.



Stairwell window of the William Carson Mansion, Eureka, California, created by John Mallon's Pacific Art Glass Works, c. 1885. Courtesy Ingomar Club.

“Distinctively Californian”

JOHN MALLON AND THE ARTISTIC LEGACY OF THE PACIFIC ART GLASS WORKS, 1858-1897

Jim Wolf

The history of the Pacific Art Glass Works is one of the great untold stories of art glass design and production in the United States.¹ It was founded in 1858 and remained in continuous operation until founder John Mallon's death in 1897. One article describing his achievement stated:

...the establishment of the art glass industry in San Francisco by John Mallon...marked an epoch in the history of California.²

As the first stained glass studio in California, the contribution of Mallon's studio to the architectural arts of the Pacific Coast has left a truly monumental legacy.

Despite the company's early dominance of architectural glass production in the area, and its extraordinary artistic and technical accomplishments, the reputation of Mallon and his preeminent Victorian California studio continues to be largely unknown and uncelebrated in historical overviews of American art glass. In many cases, the studio's glasswork is unidentified or incorrectly attributed, undermining the value of this architectural ornament as an important feature of many Pacific Coast heritage landmarks.

John Mallon's achievements mirrored the spirit of the American West and the grit and determination of its pioneer residents. Born in Ireland in 1828, John Mallon was the son of Peter Mallon, a farmer who had the good sense and fortune to bring his family to America in 1832. His family settled in New York, where John had the opportunity to attend public school and receive a sound early education. The sudden death of his father in 1839 “rendered it necessary for him to leave school and devote his energies to the sterner realities of life.”⁴ This episode pushed Mallon to become self-sufficient at an early age and, despite the odds against him, succeed in business.

Mallon was accepted into an apprenticeship with Joseph Stukenell & Brothers, a New York glass firm. Here he was immersed into the art and craft of all branches of the glass trade, including the decoration of tableware, lamp shades, and gas light globes, as well as the more practical work associated with sheet glass cutting. Later Mallon would boast that this period was one of remarkable personal success, as he mastered in three years what an ordinary apprentice would require nine years to complete. Propelled by confidence in his own capabilities, he opened his own glass cutting business in New York on 34th Street and soon had a staff of seven to ply his trade.

When news reached New York that gold was discovered in British Columbia, on Canada's Pacific Coast, Mallon was overtaken by Fraser River “gold-fever,” convinced that he too

could strike it rich. Unmoved by the well-founded pleas of his young wife Elizabeth, friends and family to abandon pursuit of this irrational quest, he sold the glass business to fund the expedition. Mallon sailed south to make the journey via the Isthmus of Panama to the West Coast. After arriving in San Francisco in September 1858, Mallon learned that the gold rush bubble had burst, and that continuing north to British Columbia would prove futile and financially disastrous. Too embarrassed to return home, and too proud to admit his foolishness, Mallon decided to remain in the city to find work in the glass trade and sent for his wife to join him. Mallon established a new company as a sole proprietor, initially

MEDAL AWARDED AT
PARIS EXPOSITION.

PACIFIC
Art Glass Works

JOHN MALLON.

Nos. 1211, 1218 and 1215 Howard Street, between
8th and 9th Streets, San Francisco.

Church Windows a Specialty.

GLASS CUTTING WORKS AT 19 FREMONT STREET.

PETER L. MALLON, MANAGER.

Advertisement for Pacific Art Glass Works, as seen in *Our Society Blue Book*, 1891-1892. Published by Hoag & Irving, San Francisco.

limited to all of the techniques that were generally termed in the period as “glass cutting,” and which included: etching, bevelling and grinding the surface of the glass with decorative patterns, graphic images, numbers and lettering.

To grow the capacity of the business, Mallon established a partnership with experienced art glass worker named Robert Boyle who took charge of a new glass-staining department in 1861. The firm of Mallon & Boyle found immediate success as the first and only ornamental art glass firm on the Pacific Coast. The business thrived by offering a wide selection of products and services, and by 1869 had a staff of ten employees. Sadly, disaster struck on the evening of June 18, 1871 when a fire broke out at the works and destroyed the almost-new glass machinery.⁵ Mallon was forced to start over again to rebuild the business entirely on his own, as the partnership with Robert Boyle was dissolved by mutual consent in the wake of the fire.⁶ Although the fire was a significant setback, it was the loss of Boyle’s expertise in glass staining that proved to be the most significant new challenge facing Mallon, as skilled art glass workers were a rare commodity.

Soon enough the company was thriving again, mirroring San Francisco’s and California’s building development as the entire Pacific Coast region grew more populous due to its connection to the transcontinental railway. But while the new transportation route to the east brought growth and prosperity, it also brought more competition. Art glass supply firms could now directly import, and advertise, the foreign glass of Europe as well as American glass produced in eastern cities. The quality of imported stained glass from across the Atlantic, especially for church memorial windows, was considered superior, and it was competitively priced. Mallon also faced competition from a flood of ornamental glass manufactured from eastern American studios and even new ‘one-man’ California art glass firms.⁷

To overcome the competition Mallon needed to dominate the stained-glass trade with unique quality production that could compete in this new market reality. He realized that there was significant profit to be made supplying a high-end product to an increasingly wealthy clientele served by talented architects and contractors. This could not be accomplished through a rudimentary skillset of mediocre glass cutting and leading; it required ornamental glass production marked by a variety of decorative design methods and outstanding technical skills.

One of the specialized decorative elements mastered by the studio was glass etching, grinding and polishing elaborate surface decoration on sheet glass. The popularity of this type of decoration mirrored the widespread popularity of this decorative technique throughout the Victorian period that included glass tableware and other household products. Many local press accounts stated that Mallon’s work exceeded any glass cutting of its type accomplished by eastern firms. Perhaps the most complex example of engraved glass crafted by the firm was a large frosted crystal glass sheet with the great seal of California cut into its surface. Exhibited in 1877 at the 12th annual exhibition, held by the Mechanic’s Institute of San Francisco, it was pronounced as “...one of the most difficult

pieces of cut work ever executed...in America.”⁸

The expertise developed by Mallon’s bevellers and etching staff was also put to good use in the manufacture of the art glass design work for high-end windows. Some of the most distinctive windows produced by the studio featured finely crafted bevelling and glass etching incorporated into the design work. This aspect lent the windows a high-degree of texture and sparkle and is one of the distinguishing features of the studio’s production.

The loss of Robert Boyle proved extremely challenging as it was almost impossible to induce qualified art glass designers and artists from larger eastern cities with established studios to California. San Francisco’s fledgling art community did not have many opportunities for young artists to earn a living. Mallon was forced instead to look further afield to Europe, and he successfully imported artists that he selected from “Italian, French and Bavarian studios” to San Francisco.⁹ The use of foreign artists immediately infused Mallon’s early art glass designs with a distinctly sophisticated style that could compete with any other American studio.

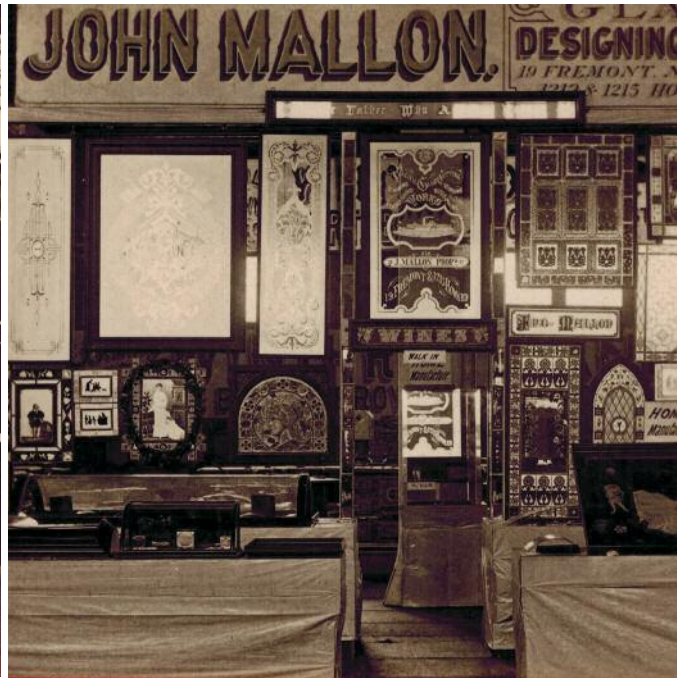
As a method of insurance against any future loss of newly-recruited artists, Mallon turned to his own family. His eldest daughter Josephine was trained in local art schools to lend her talented hand to painting glass in the studio. Mallon also decided that his eldest son Peter would be trained as an artist and stained-glass designer to manage and unify the art glass division’s artistic output. Peter Mallon had the opportunity to study and train figurative art under

...one of the most skillful and accomplished masters of the art that Europe could afford... [and]...his enthusiastic love of the art, together with his natural genius, enabled him soon to master this most difficult of all art work.¹⁰

One of Peter Mallon’s teachers was Ernest Etienne Narjot (1826-1898), the famous pioneer artist of California. Born in Saint-Malo, France, Narjot studied as a classical artist in Paris. He arrived in California in 1849 at age 23 to work in the gold fields but soon returned to painting. Narjot met Mallon after settling in San Francisco, and was convinced to work for him on a part-time basis when commissions with painted figure work required his skills. Narjot added a very capable and experienced hand to the studio’s capacity for artistic design and glass painting on a grand-scale.

Self-promotion was identified by John Mallon as key to expanding his business. It was imperative that his art glass was seen by the public, as well as marketed directly to members of the wider architectural and building profession. Initially these efforts were challenging, given the embryonic state of artistic appreciation in California:

The encouragement he met with in his efforts to introduce decoration on glass was at first very small indeed. The people had little taste for art, and little thought for decoration of any kind. Under these circumstances Mr. Mallon set himself systematically to work to create the taste he found was lacking, to educate the public up to an appreciation of the beautiful and the artistic. He made up many samples of windows and other artistic work, and placed them all over town, in situations where they could not but attract the attention of the



L to R: View of John Mallon's art glass exhibit at the Mechanic's Fair, c. 1880. In the lower left portion of the exhibit is displayed a piece titled "The Graduate" that was later exhibited in 1889 at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Courtesy The Society of California Pioneers.

public. In this way he got them interested in the matter, caused them to inquire into it, and so, slowly but surely, he developed a taste for artistic glass decoration.¹¹

As an early advertiser in the trade publication *The California Architect and Building News*, the official journal of the California Association of Architects, John Mallon curried favor with the all-important architectural fraternity. He also responded regularly to advertised tenders by local architects for glass suppliers to ensure that the studio had a volume of regular work to sustain the business. As architects came to know Mallon personally, they valued the opportunity to work directly with the firm's designers to complete their own artistic vision for their buildings by selecting the design of the art glass.

Mallon also promoted his ornamental glass products to architects, the building trades and the wider public by participating in the San Francisco Mechanic's Institute annual exposition of California's agricultural, industrial and commercial production. These 'fairs,' which included hundreds of exhibitors from across the state, were held over four weeks and could attract over 10,000 visitors. The company proudly advertised the glass work exhibited at the fair as a product of San Francisco, ensuring that its art glass was declared by the press to be "distinctively Californian".¹²

Mallon's public exhibitions delighted visitors' senses with colour, light and creativity. He included fun-house mirrors along with the walls of legitimate glass product, a shrewd ploy to maximize attention and gather a crowd. His exhibit at the 1886 Mechanic's Institute fair deservedly garnered a gold

prize, and the *San Francisco Examiner* summed up the visual effect of his efforts:

No one should fail to see the exhibit at the Mechanic's Fair of Mr. John Mallon. It embraces the different etchings on sheet and plate glass, and beautiful designs of cut glass, highly polished and finished...The radiant revival of medieval art is extensively illustrated by the great number of beautiful stained-glass subjects and mountings. They make one really imagine they are in a fairy land of the most beautiful hues and colours. Aladdin's dazzling cave of splendor fades, flickers and waxes dim when compared with the resplendent radiance of exquisite gems, harmoniously arranged in relief to the central pictures of the different windows to be seen at Mr. Mallon's booth.

Mr. Mallon's skill, perseverance and money expended on this art-glass branch for the last ten years would astonish the most lavish speculator. It may be said that the work is not only as good as Eastern art glass, but equal today to any European imitations, as we have seen them side by side on many occasions. In fact, this work has rounded into such a degree of perfection that admiration seems to teem in on every side. No one feels that their residence is complete without some of Mr. Mallon's art glass work.¹³

In 1886, the United States formed a commission for the Exposition Universelle to be held in Paris in 1889 and appointed recognized design experts to adjudicate and select the best submissions of art and industrial production in America. John Mallon's art glass panel was accepted and sent to be exhibited alongside other decorative arts manufactured

by the legendary firms of Tiffany & Company, John LaFarge and Healy & Millet. The subject of the selected exhibition piece was a refined young woman in her “graduating costume.” The studio was careful not to reveal to judges and critics that the model for this artwork was actually Miss Rose Julian, a popular contortionist and acrobat well known on San Francisco’s vaudeville stages, and whose handsome figure and beauty John Mallon had long admired.¹⁴

Peter Mallon described the special artistic and technical qualities justifying the selection of this art glass panel for the Exposition Universelle:

It is but a few inches square, and is surrounded by a tasteful border of colored glass. The perfect ease and grace of the figure, so difficult to attain in glass painting, is very striking, but it is the marvelous delicacy and perfection of the shading and tinting that elicit the highest admiration and wonder of the beholder. The shading of the dress, especially, is a great triumph of artistic skill. Being white the dress could not of course be shaded by the ordinary processes; but the ready ingenuity of the younger Mr. Mallon...invented a new process, which produced the most perfect and admirable results; and the picture as it stands could scarcely be duplicated in any other establishment in the world. So

produced in California; the Mallons proved that their studio could compete with the best art glass produced anywhere in the world.

It is difficult to quantify the production of Pacific Art Glass in the absence of any surviving historic business records. However, newspaper accounts prior to 1900 establish that Mallon’s art glass business was among the largest in the United States, and by far the largest west of the Rocky Mountains. At its height, the company maintained a glass-cutting shop at 19 Fremont Street, a large art glass studio and factory at 1211-1215 Howard Street, and a combined showroom and business office located at 26 O’Farrell Street. In 1888 the studio had 36 staff who were by all evidence satisfied with their employment, organizing an annual family celebration with dinner and dancing.¹⁷ An 1890 industrial survey of San Francisco reported that three art glass firms employing a total of 60 employees were responsible for production valued at \$900,000. Pacific Art Glass, based on its size, would likely have accounted for more than 50% of this total.

While Peter Mallon had been trained to design and paint, he increasingly assumed the role as the manager of the firm, and travelled extensively to garner commissions. New



L to R: Leland Stanford, Jr. memorial window as seen at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Sacramento. *Struck It Rich* features a depiction of J.W. Marshall discovering the first gold nugget on the American River. It was installed in the 1891 James Scobie residence, San Francisco. Courtesy Henry Ohloff Society. Window in the 1889 Sara Winchester House. Courtesy of the Winchester Mystery House.

fine was much of the work on this miniature that it had to be painted with the aid of a magnifying glass. It was fired seven times and cost three months labor, and it is valued at \$1,000.¹⁵

The art piece was awarded a grand bronze medal by the Exposition’s judges, a tremendous achievement.¹⁶ Following the award, the firm boasted of its triumph with advertisements illustrated with images of the medal. No longer could anyone dismiss the artistic and technical merit of the art glass

designers with the talent and expertise to ensure that fresh and new styles of window designs were consistently developed. The studio employed at least three identified designers in this period: Harry R. Hopps, a native of San Francisco, Henry Roy, a Frenchman and Edward Storti, an Italian.¹⁸ The bulk of the firm’s art glass window designs can be directly attributed to these individuals, who would have worked collaboratively. Because the style of the company’s



Detail of window at the William Carson Mansion, 1885, Eureka, California. Courtesy of the Ingomar Club.

window installations ranged widely during this period, it can be inferred that the designers lent their own sense of artistic vision and individual style to their assigned commissions.

The high quality and elevated reputation of Pacific Art Glass garnered commissions from the most wealthy and influential taste-makers of San Francisco, and John Mallon was successful in serving the most prominent tycoons of California. San Francisco architects Wright and Sanders called upon the firm to supply the famous 1877 Mark Hopkins mansion built on Nob Hill, with Mallon executing 130 large pieces of bent glass for its many spectacular curved bay windows and the conservatory.¹⁹ At the gargantuan mansion of J.C. Flood "Linden Towers" built at Menlo Park, the firm created a "superb ceiling light" for the main hall that was over twenty feet in diameter, incorporating the signs of the zodiac. It was described by the *San Francisco Newsletter* to be "...one of the most perfect performances we have ever seen...the design being most chaste and beautiful."²⁰

Pacific Art Glass also received many commissions for the production of church window designs. Peter Mallon boasted to the press in 1884 that the firm had already supplied over 141 churches on the Pacific Coast.²¹ Early documented examples show designs that incorporated traditional English styles, including many with complex and beautiful grisaille decorations. The studio's commissions for this window type spanned work for small countryside chapels as well as for the largest churches of San Francisco. Over time, the firm's

offerings for church windows became ever more elaborate and unique with beautiful figure and scene painting. Two examples of memorial windows designed in 1889 remain preserved at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Sacramento. The Leland Stanford Jr. window, which feature angels, and the C.A. Haymond window, which depicts St. Cecilia, were celebrated as "...the finest specimens of their kind now on the Coast, and excel, in the judgment of the best critics, most of the stained-glass windows that have come from Europe."²²

The studio's output throughout the 1880s and 1890s found pride of place in the extravagant gilded age mansions of San Francisco, California, along the Pacific Coast from Mexico to British Columbia, and even as far away as Hawaii and Australia.²³ Residential windows created by the designers of Pacific Art Glass were notable for their exuberant colour and texture with rich assemblies of 'Bohemian' jewels, and bevelled work of superb design and technical execution in robust American style. Their art glass reflected the era's joyous embrace of a multitude of literary inspirations, historic styles, cultures, and use of riotous colour combinations.

In a number of residences that survive with the original installations of the Pacific Art Glass Works, a cohesive design theme is featured. In the 1885 William Carson residence located in Eureka, California, the "crazy-quilt" pattern is used to striking effect and set off more typical painted roundels featuring birds and botanical imagery. Feature windows include figures in medieval garb and characters in popular



Window at the Robert Dunmuir residence, "Craigdarroch," Victoria, British Columbia, 1890.

literature, such as Margaret from Goethe's *Faust*; others represent the ancient arts of painting, music, drama and science. Similarly, in the extravagantly decorated Montezuma Villa built in San Jose in 1887 for the musician Jesse Shepherd, heavily jewelled windows are linked with colours of deep purple and reds. Clear glass roundels are expertly painted with portraits of composers, and allegorical figures.

In contrast to themed installations, the 1891 James Scobie residence of San Francisco (now known as the Henry Ohlhoff House), located at 601 Steiner Street, features a collection of windows installed without any semblance of design cohesion. Instead, the disparate art glass pieces demonstrate the full range of the design and technical capabilities of the Pacific Art Glass Works. Front door lights are a swirling extravagance of bevelled crystal glass in an abstract aesthetic design. A stair hall window panel depicts James W. Marshall finding the first gold nugget on the American River, which ignited the California Gold Rush. Titled *Struck it Rich* this finely painted artwork is notable for its depiction of Californian flora and fauna.

Many of the most unusual window designs of Pacific Art Glass Works is attributed to the imagination of Harry Ryle Hopps (1869-1937), who had a lifelong career of creating innovative glass and design work.²⁴ Hopps began his apprenticeship working with Peter Mallon and became one of the studio's lead designers from 1887-c.1895. Along with Peter Mallon, he gained national press attention for the creation of windows exhibited in the California room of the Women's Pavilion at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which featured cacti executed with the soft tones of the California desert.²⁵

The unique design qualities of window designs by Hopps

provide the ability to locate previously unattributed additional works from Mallon's studio. For example, Hopps' distinctive aesthetic has been matched in both the 1889 Sara Winchester residence of San Jose, California and the 1890 Robert Dunsmuir residence "Craigdarroch" located in Victoria, British Columbia. The oldest section of the Winchester residence includes exquisite panels of art glass including an expertly bevelled front door panel featuring fleur de lis designs. The large collection of art glass at Craigdarroch includes many aesthetic movement panels that are outstanding examples of the studio's clever designs. These windows incorporate stylized botanical themes, rich coloring, jewels and patterned glass that comprise one of Canada's most elaborate Victorian-era art glass collections.

Pacific Art Glass was at the height of its influence and production in 1892 when the studio's fortunes shifted, largely due to the worldwide financial crisis that hit the building trades of the Pacific Coast particularly hard. John and Peter Mallon were forced to take on new partners and sell shares to create a new firm that was incorporated as the Pacific American Decorating Company.²⁶ It also tried to further advance a patented technique that Peter Mallon had discovered for the decoration of glass by the "hygroscopic process," which allowed photographic images to be reproduced through chemical etching with exquisite coloring. Despite these efforts, the company was already in financial crisis when a chemical explosion and ensuing fire in 1894 destroyed the main factory and offices on Howard Street, including the company's records and design portfolios—a \$50,000.00 loss.²⁷

The company was able to obtain insurance funds and rebuild; however, much had been lost and the influence of the

company diminished. One of the last known commissions secured by John Mallon was won through an 1896 competition to design a large dome for San Francisco's City Hall.²⁸ The following year John Mallon died suddenly of heart failure, leaving the business without its founder and its driving force. One newspaper eulogized that

few men in this city were better known than John Mallon and none were more favorably known. He was generous to a fault, public-spirited and successful in his business affairs.²⁹

That year, Peter Mallon and his partners sold the family company to a new glass firm named Ingersol and Glaser, ending the dynasty of the pioneer art glass firm of California and the Pacific Coast.

John Mallon was an instrumental and monumental force in the early production and development of art glass design, and the success of his firm in garnering extravagant commissions to supply churches, commercial buildings and residences of the gilded age is evident in surviving examples of their work. The 1906 San Francisco earthquake and subsequent urbanization of the Bay Area destroyed many of the studio's largest and most prominent commissions in its

home city. However, many windows remain unidentified and undocumented, scattered in many historic landmarks throughout the Pacific Coast and beyond. It is hoped that overtime more of the studio's work will be found in order to more fully study the work of its talented designers. The prominence and artistry of the Pacific Art Glass Works, and its significant influence and legacy on the art and architecture of San Francisco, is a story that remains to be discovered and celebrated.



Jim Wolf is an architectural historian and heritage conservation planner based New Westminster, British Columbia. As a specialist in the history of architects, architectural designers, decoration and manufacturers of the Pacific Coast, he has authored and contributed to award-winning books on local architecture and urban history including *Royal City: A Photographic History of New Westminster* and *Building the West: The Early Architects of British Columbia*. He is currently working on a number of projects including a biography of architect Samuel Maclure and documenting the architectural design and construction history of Craigdarroch Castle in Victoria, B.C..

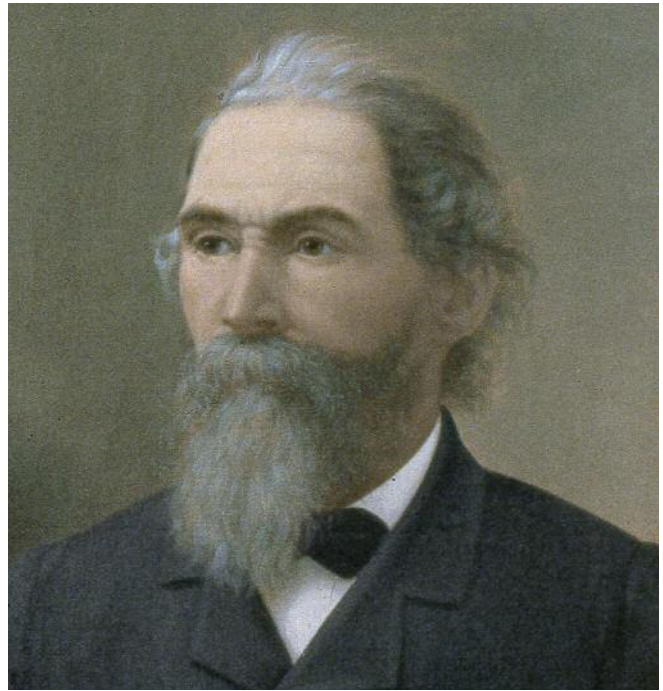
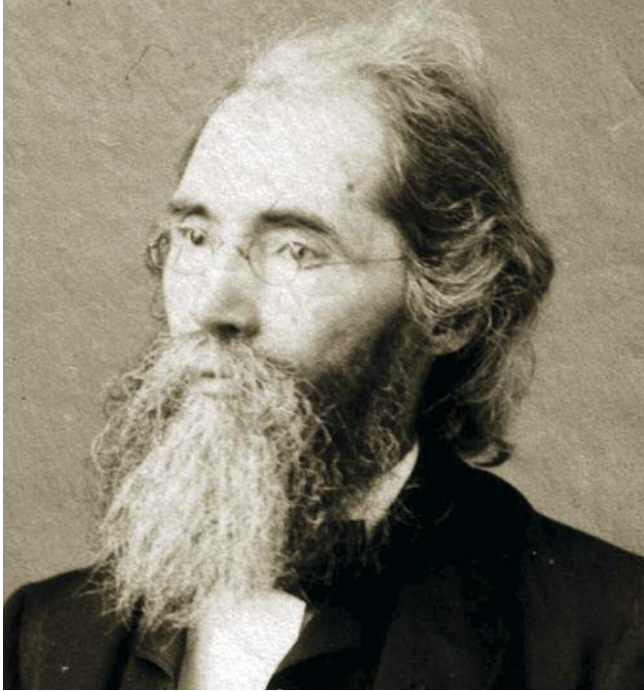
Notes

1. For the purpose of this article the use of the company name has been standardized as "Pacific Art Glass Works." It is noted that the firm operated under various names and titles including these under the approximate dates: John Mallon, 1858-1861; Mallon & Boyle, 1861-1872; John Mallon & Company, 1872-1880; Mallon Art Glass Works, 1881-1883; Pacific Art Glass Works, 1884-1891; and the Pacific-American Decorating Company, 1892-1896.
2. "Ingersol & Glaser," in *San Francisco*, (San Francisco: Pacific Art Company, 1904-05), 146.\
4. George H. Morrison, 1888 "Biographical Sketches of John Mallon. Based on notes furnished by Peter L. Mallon to George H. Morrison concerning the art glass manufacturing company established by his father in San Francisco, 1858." Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
5. *The San Francisco Examiner*, "Local Brevities," June 19, 1871.
6. *Daily Alta California*, "Notices," September 2, 1872.
7. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year 1877*: (San Francisco, H.G. Langley, 1877). This publication includes (see page 962 of the Business Directory) the following names in addition to John Mallon, under the listing of 'Glass Stainers-Ornamental': A.J. Burgeon, Wilhelm Holst, Robert Mills and Thomas O'Neil.
8. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, "At the Pavilion," August 18, 1877.
9. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, "Painting and Staining Glass," August 31, 1881.
10. Morrison.
11. Morrison.
12. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, "Mechanic's Fair," September 12, 1891.
13. *San Francisco Examiner*, "Art Glass," September 25, 1886.
14. *San Francisco Examiner*, "She Used To Be A Contortionist," November 24, 1896.
15. Morrison.
16. "Awards Presented to the citizens of the U.S., September 29, 1889," in *Official Catalogue of the United States Exhibit; Commission to the Paris Exposition 1889*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1889) 125.
17. *San Francisco Chronicle*, "Glass Stainer's Entertainment," September 9, 1889.
18. The list of known designers of Pacific Art Glass Works were culled from the 1890 San Francisco Directory which listed occupations and the business names of their employer. It is noted that very little biographical or attributed art could be found on Edward Storti who was born in Italy, or designer Henry Roy, who was born in France.
19. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, "At the Pavilion," August 18, 1877.
20. *San Francisco Newsletter*, "The New Mansion at Menlo Park," July 15, 1880.
21. *Los Angeles Herald*, "Local Brevities," February 12, 1884.
22. *Sacramento Daily Union*, "Christ is Risen," April 22, 1889.
23. "Ingersol & Glaser," in *San Francisco*, (San Francisco: Pacific Art Company, 1904-05), 146.
24. The biography and later work of Harry Ryle Hopps is provided in: Edith Hopps Powell, *San Francisco's Heritage in Art Glass*, (Seattle: Salisbury Press, 1976).
25. *The Homemaker*, "Notes of Various Interests," March 24, 1892.
26. *The Morning Call*, "Decorated Glass and Porcelain," March 24, 1892.
27. *San Francisco Call*, "A Quick Blaze," July 14, 1894.
28. *San Francisco Call*, "Mallon Got the Plum," July 22, 1896.
29. *San Francisco Call*, "John Mallon's Sudden Death," November 23, 1897.

Preservation Diary

Hunting up Images: John Burgum and the Artistry of Carriage Painting

Merri McIntyre Ferrell



L to R: John Burgum (1826-1907). Photograph courtesy of the Burgum Family. John Burgum, (1826-1907), Self Portrait, c. 1880. Oil on canvas. The Edwin G. Burgum Collection, New Hampshire Historical Society.

Carriage painting was a specialized skill that contributed to the aesthetic appearance of horse-drawn vehicles. As summarized in M. C. Hillick's *Practical Carriage and Wagon Painting*:

Its chief attainments are, firstly, to preserve the structural parts of the vehicle from the action of the elements; secondly, from the remorseless and gnawing tooth of service; thirdly, to aid in making the vehicle really beautiful, a work of art.¹

Ranging from simple color applications to complete pictorial programs, carriage painting was an integral part of the larger system of carriage manufacturing. Describing the requisites of the carriage painter, Hillick wrote:

He must know well how to build a beautiful and durable surface. He should be a first-class colorist, understanding all the features of color mixing and fully conversant with the laws of harmony and contrast. He will likewise find it necessary to be an unexcelled master of the varnish brush, a skilled striper, wagon letterer, and decorative painter of established ability.²

Carriage painters transformed utilitarian vehicles into works of art by using colors and a wide range of ornamental devices. Surviving examples of carriage painting are rare. Original surfaces are often removed in the process of overly zealous restoration or neglected to the point of total deterioration. Other than brief references, there are few artifacts or documents representing American carriage painters. Because of the preservation efforts of organizations such as the New Hampshire Historical Society and institutions that have conserved vehicles, we are able to study and appreciate the work of carriage painter, John Burgum.

John Burgum was born in Birmingham, England in 1826. At age 14 he apprenticed with clock dial painter, Christopher Wright.³ He completed his apprenticeship under Wright's successor, John Wright Fletcher in 1846, becoming a Journeyman. Burgum immigrated to America in 1850. Almost immediately after arriving in Boston, Massachusetts he was hired as ornamental painter for a carriage firm in Roxbury. Soon afterwards, he was recruited by George Main, foreman of the painting department at the J. S. & E. A. Abbot & Company



L to R: Ledge / Gypsy Wagon, c. 1880. Detail of a seascape prior to and after conservation on the rear panel of the Ledge Wagon, c. 1880. The overall pictorial program on this vehicle is stylistically similar to Burgum's art. The seascape is based on Burgum's sketches from nature. Courtesy of the Long Island Museum

in Concord, New Hampshire.⁴ In addition to painting coaches for the Abbot-Downing Company, Burgum also painted Gypsy wagons, circus wagons, fire fighting vehicles and omnibuses. He worked for other companies including the Amoskeage Manufacturing Company, Manchester, New Hampshire that made firefighting equipment.

Abbot-Downing dissolved in 1847 and Lewis Downing formed a partnership with his sons under the name of L. Downing & Sons. Abbot operated a competing business as J. S. & E. A. Abbot & Co. Lewis Downing retired in 1865 and his sons rejoined their father's former partner as Abbot-Downing Company in 1873 and continued to make horse drawn vehicles until around 1905.

During its long history extending from original founders and their sons, the company made a variety of vehicles but specialized in commercial coaches. These were used to transport passengers on established stage routes that multiplied because of the growth of the railroad. Not only did the railroad ship coaches to distant locations, it also expanded the development of western towns and cities. These coaches were also used to deliver passengers from train stations to hotels that were being built as national tourism proliferated. Although associated with the American West because of popular media, their coaches were used throughout the East and Midwest.

Public stage coaches were among the most extensively decorated of all horse drawn vehicles. They were often painted with various popular ornamental devices and lettering that announced destinations or proprietors of the stage. Abbot-Downing was one of America's premier manufacturers of public coaches and ornamental painters were important members of their labor force.

By the 1870s the company received commissions from all parts of America, South

America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. One of their most famous orders was from the Wells Fargo Company. On April 15, 1868, thirty-eight coaches on fifteen flatbed cars pulled by the locomotive *Pembroke* from the Boston & Concord Railroad departed Concord. It included:

four long box cars, containing 60 four-horse set harnesses from James H. Hill & Co.'s celebrated harness manufactory, and spare work for repairing the coaches, such as bolts, hubs, spokes, thorough-braces, etc., all consigned to Wells, Fargo & Co., Omaha and Salt Lake City, the whole valued at \$45,000. The coaches are finished in a superior manner, the bodies red, and the running part yellow. Each door has a handsome picture, mostly landscapes, and no two are alike. They are gems of beauty, and would afford study for hours. They were painted by Mr. J. Burgum.⁶



Top to bottom: Benjamin Carr, *Photographic View of Coaches Shipped by Abbot, Downing & Company, Concord, NH, April 15, 1868*. John Burgum, *An Express Freight Shipment of 30 Coaches, April 15, 1868*. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

The growth of the carriage industry during the nineteenth century was concurrent with advances in paint technology. Carriages in particular required special properties for paint since the surfaces needed to be durable as well as aesthetically pleasing. Painting horse-drawn vehicles was a complicated process. Carriages in general are an assemblage of parts and materials and it was the task of the painter to unite those parts into a visually cohesive whole. This could be accomplished by using uniform or contrasting colors or basic devices such as striping. For commercial vehicles that featured eye-catching or thematic pictorial programs, the process was even more challenging. Ornamental paintings were compartmentalized by structural sections of the vehicle such as doors or crest panels and unified by decorative devices such as scrollwork and striping. Burgum may have specific orders such as the Railway Express Company's request for bull dogs—their company logo—to be painted on doors and seat risers. Other orders would simply say “ornament up neat and tasty”⁷ leaving the selection of decoration and pictorial program to Burgum's artistic judgement.

Burgum used a variety of resources to create designs and decorations. Carriage paintings like other aesthetic expressions were influenced by changing tastes and fashion. The visual vocabulary used to decorate carriages was influenced by many sources. By the nineteenth century, an era known for eclecticism, ornamental options proliferated. For carriage painters, trade journals and other print media provided seemingly endless resources for guidelines and instructions as well as ornamental and pictorial models.

During this time advancements in mass produced printing processes increasingly democratized art. Reproductions of paintings as prints were available as single prints or as illustrations in publications. In Burgum's diaries he refers to “hunting up images” during his frequent trips to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to purchase prints. As described by his son Edwin (1858-1948), who joined his father in coach painting while a young boy:

My father's paintings were often copies of pictures in black and white. He could always see colors in black and

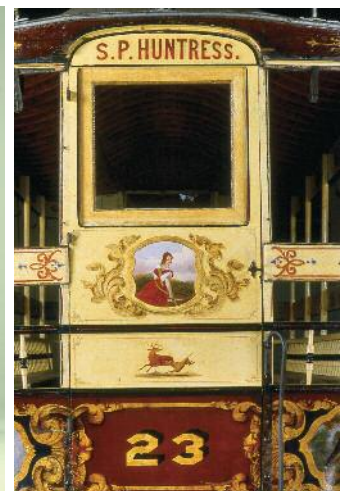
white print and would often remark ‘what beautiful coloring that is’ thinking you could see as he did.⁸

An example of how Burgum used prints for his carriage ornamentation is evident on *Grace Darling*, a 23-foot long omnibus made by the Concord Carriage Builders in 1880 for Simeon Parsons Huntress who operated a livery service in South Berwick, Maine.⁹ Huntress' name is painted in block letters above the door. Referencing his name, Burgum painted Diana, goddess of the hunt on the panel below the window. Her dress and hair style are from 1860s, a seemingly incongruous image for a vehicle made in 1880.

The figure was copied from an engraving by Jean Sartain (1808-1897) entitled *Cheerfulness* that was published in a book called *Memory's Gift*. Sartain was a veteran engraver who was born in London and immigrated to the United States in 1830. He engraved banknotes and book illustrations. Burgum would have been familiar with his engravings in books and as independent works of art.

The left rear corner of *Grace Darling* is decorated with a painting of a stag copied from *Monarch of the Glen*, one of the most famous and most frequently reproduced paintings by Edwin Landseer (1802-1873). Landseer was among the most popular artists of Victorian England. His subjects included romantic landscapes of Scotland as well as animals, particularly the household pets of Queen Victoria.

Monarch of the Glen was painted in 1851 and commissioned to hang in the Palace of Westminster for The House of Lords. However, once completed, they refused to pay him and the painting was sold to private collectors. It was exhibited several times in London and was reproduced frequently as a print and other media on everything from sleigh robes to Canadian Pacific Railway posters. It decorated biscuit tins and was used as a decal to decorate sleighs and trade vehicles. The original painting was sold in 1916 to the Pears soap company and later to the John Dewar & Sons distillery. One hundred years later it was sold to the National Gallery of Scotland for the equivalent of eight million dollars. The monumental image of the powerful stag against the backdrop of the Scottish highlands made it an especially popular image in



L to R: *Grace Darling* Omnibus, c. 1880. Concord Carriage Company, Concord, New Hampshire. Rear view of the *Grace Darling* with detail of the Huntress. Courtesy of The Long Island Museum. Gift of St. Paul's School, 1952.



L to R: Detail of the Huntress on the omnibus *Grace Darling*. Courtesy of The Long Island Museum. Jean Sartain, *Cheerfulness*. Author's collection.

the nineteenth century. Burgum's copy of the original on *Grace Darling* is framed by a gold leaf border and scroll work. In his diary entry dated June 30, 1880 he wrote:

worked on the Barge 19 hours. Painted *Monarch of the Glen* on the corner and put the lights on one corner and painted flowers in another.¹⁰

their destination. The landscapes are framed by wide gray stripes with aesthetic-style terminations.

One of the landscapes features a shipwreck on a beach. It corresponds to Burgum's sketch from July 31, 1879 with the notation "sketch of the wreck on the beach near the Farragut Hotel." This and other paintings indicate that some of his



L to R: *Monarch of the Glen*, as seen on the corner of *Grace Darling*. Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), *Monarch of the Glen*, c. 1851. Courtesy of the National Galleries of Scotland.

He painted a bouquet of flowers inside the door above the company name. This decoration can be traced to a "prick pattern" in the collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Burgum painted flowers and fruit as borders on many of his vehicles, including the front corner pieces of *Grace Darling*.

The interior is decorated with a series of landscapes on small panels between the pillars supporting the roof. These paintings provided passengers the pleasurable experience of looking at paintings of bucolic scenes while they embarked on

ornamental paintings on vehicles were derived from his own sketches from nature.

The seat riser panels on *Grace Darling* feature two gold leaf ronds framing paintings of women. The image on the proper right side is based on a photograph of English actress Lydia Thompson (1838-1908).¹² Thompson was credited for introducing English burlesque to American theaters with her troupe of "British blonds." Famous for her exuberant dancing and abundant blond hair, she also gained notoriety for being the first actress to wear tights on stage. The original cabinet card Burgum copied was from the Broadway studio of Sarony, the



L to R: Detail of the interior door of *Grace Darling*, with floral painting. Prick pattern of flowers, graphite on paper. Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society.



L to R: interior view of *Grace Darling*, with a series of small landscape paintings visible near the roof. Detail of interior landscape of shipwreck. John Burgum, *Sketch of Wrecks*, as seen in his personal sketchbook, 1879. Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

famous New York theatrical photographer.

The painting on the proper left side is based on a cabinet card of Fanny Davenport (1850-1898).¹³ Davenport was also a famous American actress. The photograph Burgum copied was apparently one of a series created by William Roe Howell (1846-1890) also located in New York, who competed with Saroni photographing theatrical celebrities.

Many of these images were reproduced as popular cigarette cards issued as marketing incentives by companies such as W. Duke & Sons and the Ginter Cigarette Company. Among the most popular of these cards were those depicting actresses who were usually embellished with elaborate hair styles, abundant jewelry and dressed in exotic costumes, fancy dress or tights. There is no doubt that these images were as controversial as the reputations of their subjects. For Burgum, these photographs were useful resources found on one of his image searches. For many members of the public watching this 23-ft long omnibus

pass by, the paintings of Fanny Davenport and Lydia Thompson as well as the *Monarch of the Glen* on *Grace Darling* were readily identifiable.

Burgum's diaries record that he worked six days a week, ten hours a day. He usually worked on several projects at once. It took him 142 hours to finish painting *Grace Darling* with his son Edwin assisting him, completing his work on July 12, 1880.¹⁴

It was not uncommon for Burgum to bring multiple coach doors at a time to paint in his studio. Doors were often the focal point for pictorial images and had the advantage of being removable from coaches to facilitate work on more complicated paintings.

One of the puzzling pictorial images can be found on the doors of 12-passenger coach #472 made in 1859 for E. and C. T. Smith of Colchester, Connecticut.¹⁵ Like many such coaches this example was in original condition but the paintings were obscured from decades of surface dirt and layers of darkened



L to R: painting of actress Lydia Thompson (1838-1908), as seen on a seat riser panel of *Grace Darling*. Cabinet card of Lydia Thompson, Sarony & Co., New York. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.



L to R: A series of cabinet cards of Fanny Davenport (1850-1898), by photographer William Howell, New York. Courtesy of the New York Public Library. Painting of Fanny Davenport as seen on a seat riser panel of *Grace Darling*.

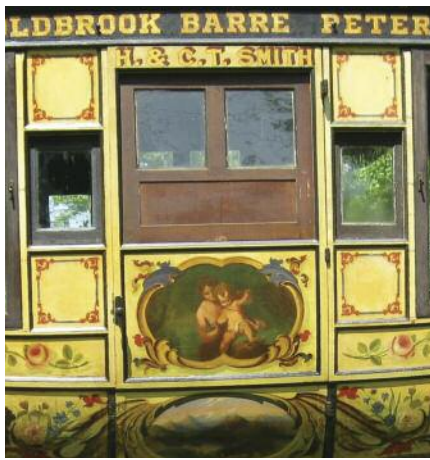


Top, L to R: Coach manufactured by Abbot-Downing Company, 1859, as seen during conservation. The same coach, after conservation. Dark varnish had obscured the original decorative painting of the vehicle. Photographs courtesy of Brian Howard, conservator, B. R. Howard and Associates. Middle: Coach door, during conservation. Coach door after conservation, showing *Cupid Disarmed*. Bottom: William Hilton, (1786-1839), *Cupid Disarmed*. Courtesy of the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Print of William Hilton's *Cupid Disarmed*.

linseed oil and varnish. Once conserved, these doors showed images of Cupid armed and disarmed by a nymph, an unusual design for a central Massachusetts stage coach.

Burgum's source for the images on the coach doors were the paintings *Cupid Armed* and *Cupid Disarmed* by English artist, William Hilton (1786-1839). Hilton was a member of the Royal Academy and was famous for his portraits. He had apprenticed

in 1800 under engraver John Raphael Smith. After he was admitted into the academy he painted allegorical and religious subjects. Cupid armed and disarmed was a common theme in English poetry and found in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* as well as in Shakespeare's *Sonnet 153*. Images of Cupid had a long history in European art illustrating the follies of love, a somewhat erotically charged subject. Burgum probably



L to R: the conserved coach, showing *Cupid Armed*. Photograph by author. Detail of *Cupid Armed*, after conservation. William Hilton (1786-1839), *Cupid Armed*, c. 1833. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art.

discovered these images as book illustrations and was inspired to paint them on these coach doors. He painted romantic landscapes below the figurative paintings and decorated the lower body panels with flowers and fruit.¹⁶

Additional images on coaches that can be traced to the original source include a reclining dog on the seat riser of the coach *Kearsarge*. The dog was copied from the 1831 Landseer painting *A Distinguished Member of the Humane Society* that is now at the Tate Gallery in London.

Burgum had an active life with his career and family. He taught art classes and pursued inventions that included the production of oil cloth and a bread cutting machine. By the 1870s he was making approximately \$100.00 a month for his work that included travel to other establishments for the purpose of painting vehicles as well as furniture and interiors. He made frequent trips to museums to search for ("hunt up") artistic images to paint on vehicles. During his career he also sold his small paintings on canvas or board based on his sketches of local landscapes and sites such as Nubble Lighthouse in York, Maine and Little Boars Head in North Hampton on the New Hampshire coast. For all of his activities, his greatest legacy remains his remarkable ornamental painting on Abbot-Downing coaches.

Burgum died in 1907. His obituary memorialized him as:

...a painter by occupation, endowed with great artistic taste and talent, and his designs contributed much to the popularity of the Concord coaches and other vehicles sent out from the Abbot-Downing factory, in whose service he was engaged for a long series of years.¹⁷



Merri McIntyre Ferrell began her career at the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum in Palm Beach, Florida. She first worked with horse-drawn vehicles as the curator of carriages at Maymont, the 105-acre estate of Maj. James Henry Dooley in Richmond, Virginia. She was curator of carriages and the Carriage Reference Library at the Museums at Stony Brook (now the Long Island Museum) for twenty years during which time she initiated a groundbreaking conservation program for vehicles. As an advocate for conservation and its importance to research, she has received numerous grants including a Parsons Fellowship to study the work of ornamental painter, John Burgum. Regarded as a national expert on horse-drawn vehicles, she has consulted for museums and private collections. Her current projects include serving as a volunteer to catalog the Brewster & Company carriage designs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



L to R: The *Kearsarge* coach, manufactured by Abbot Downing Company. Previously used by Pittman Brothers, White Mountains, New Hampshire, 1891-1898. Courtesy of The Henry Ford. Detail of the seat riser, featuring "Bob," who rescued people from drowning on London's waterfront. Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), *A Distinguished Member of the Humane Society*, 1831. Courtesy of the Tate Collection.

For further reading:

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Merri Ferrell and Christopher Augerson, "Concord Ornamental Painter John Burgum and the Artistry of Carriage Painting," hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs/paintedwood *Historical New Hampshire*, Vol. 61, No. 2, Fall 2007

Burgum Family Papers (1827-1922): New Hampshire Historical Society, Manuscripts Division.

strength of the undercarriage. During its various manifestations. Dates of operation and names of the company are provided below. For expediency, I refer to the company by its final name, Abbot-Downing.

1828-1847	Downing & Abbot
1847-1867	L. Downing & Sons
1847-1865	J. S. & E. A. Abbot
1865-1902	Abbot-Downing

The firm continued operations after 1902 and made trucks until the mid-1920s.

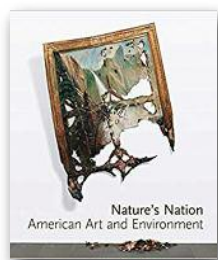
5. This Gypsy wagon is in the collection of the Long Island Museum. It belonged to Queen Phoebe Stanley who was from the Romanichal (English Gypsy) family who immigrated to West Natick, Massachusetts from England in 1850 who worked as horse traders. Her ownership was confirmed during a 1998 inspection when a postcard addressed to her was found in the cavity of the drop windows while the vehicle was being conserved. Gypsies did not paint their own vehicles but rather paid ornamental painters from income they acquired from horse trading, tinkering, and fortune telling. The overall pictorial program on this vehicle is stylistically similar to Burgum's art, and the seascape on the rear panel is based on one of his sketches from nature. Its conservation treatment was funded in part by the Institute for Museum and Library Services and the Stockman Family Foundation.
6. *Concord Daily Monitor*, April 15, 1868.
7. Abbot-Downing Company Records (1813-1945), New Hampshire Historical Society (1963.027).
8. "Edwin G. Burgum's Comments on His Collection," museum files, New Hampshire Historical Society.
9. *Grace Darling* is a 23-foot long omnibus, sometimes called a "barge." It was made by the Concord Carriage Company, Concord, New Hampshire, in 1880 for livery man Simeon Parsons Huntress (1846-1923) who operated a stage line from South Berwick, Maine. The vehicle was listed in the July 29, 1880 *Dover Enquirer* as a "...six horse passenger barge of S. P. Huntress of South Berwick. It bears the name of *Grace Darling*, and will accommodate 45 persons, it is on easy springs, is beautifully painted and richly upholstered. It is to be used for beach or excursion parties, and can be had at reasonable rates." It was named after a popular Victorian heroine who was a lighthouse keeper's daughter who gained nearly cult-like fame for her role in saving the shipwrecked passengers of the *Forefarshire* in 1838. (For additional information on *Grace Darling*, see www.gracedarling.co.uk). After Huntress' death in 1923, the vehicle was acquired by St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire and used to transport students to athletic and social events. It was donated to The Suffolk Museum and Carriage House (now the Long Island Museum) in 1952. It is one of the first horse-drawn vehicles to be conserved, and is one of the best representations of Burgum's art. Its conservation was partially funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Services.
10. Burgum Diaries, June 30, 1880.
11. Prick patterns have been used by artists for centuries as a tool to transfer images directly from a drawing to another surface for final painting. The lines of drawings are "pricked" or pierced. The image (design, monogram, picture) is laid on the surface and "pounded" with powdered chalk or charcoal that transfers the outline of the design through the pricked holes.
12. Napoleon Sarony (1821-1896) worked as a lithographer for Nathaniel Currier. He trained as a photographer in Europe and returned to New York to open his studio in 1866. His subjects included Mark Twain, Sarah Bernhardt, Lily Langtry, Edwin Booth and Oscar Wilde. For additional information on the Sarony studio and the theater, see *The Visual Culture of American Theater 1865-*

Notes

1. M. C. Hillick, *Practical Carriage and Wagon Painting*, page 2.
2. Ibid, page 111.
3. Christopher Wright made clock dials for notable tall case clock maker Thomas Snow (1807-1844) of Knaresborough from 1833-1845. From the late eighteenth century, the introduction of decorative clock dials increased the popularity of tall case clocks. They were often decorated with popular images derived from prints, a process Burgum learned as an apprentice and continued throughout his career.
4. Abbot-Downing's history began in 1827 in Concord, New Hampshire with the partnership of Lewis Downing (1792-1873) and John Stephens Abbot (1805-1871). Lewis Downing was a wheelwright. He moved to Concord in 1813 and hired John Stephens Abbot from Salem, Massachusetts in 1826 to make coach bodies. They built their reputation on making sturdy public coaches that were suspended on thick leather thorough-braces. These not only contributed to the comfort of the passengers but were easier to repair than steel springs for traveling great distances. Three heavy reaches connecting the front and rear axles contributed to the

- 1965 website by Dr. David S. Shields, University of South Carolina, broadway.cas.sc.edu/.
13. For additional information, see broadway.cas.sc.edu/content/william-r-howell. William Seymour Family Papers, Manuscripts Division of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library (TC011) and Fanny Davenport Collection (TC108), findingaids/princeton.edu/collections/TC011, findingaids.princeton.edu/collections/TC011/c713.
 14. July 12, 1880.
 15. Twelve-passenger Coach #472, J. S. & E. A. Abbot, Concord, New Hampshire, 1859, built for H. & C. T. Smith of Colchester, Connecticut for a stage route between Colchester, Providence and Boston. The stage route is painted on the banderole: Colchester, Providence, Boston, Hartford and New York. Between 1861 and 1869, the coach was acquired by Barre resident Austin Smith who purchased the Worcester-Greenfield stage line from Ginery Twitchell, also from Barre. The route included Athol and Barre. The coach was given by Ginery Twitchell to Dr. Brown, who ran Dr. Brown's Institution in Barre. He used it to take students and staff for outings and events such as the Barre Fair. He gave it to the Barre Library, who lent it to the Princeton Auto Museum where it was on display until the early 1970s when the museum closed. The coach returned to Barre and was stored in Charlie Allen's barn, a three-sided shed. Eventually, the library gave the coach to the Barre Historical Society. For a description of the conservation project, see "The Barre Coach," Grace M. Yaglou, *The Carriage Journal*, Vol. 52. No. 1., January 2014.
 16. Researching sources for Burgum's work is especially challenging and relies on identifying the original sources for his paintings and finding vehicles he painted in original condition, preferably conserved. Most examples of the coaches that survive have been stripped and repainted. Many were repainted to conform to Western types popularized by Well Fargo who bought the Concord Coach image as their logo, and Buffalo Bill Cody's Deadwood Stage. In the twentieth century, these coaches were used and destroyed in Western films and television shows. I first saw the twelve-passenger coach at the Barre Historical Society in 1991. The entire surface of the coach was brown from decades of oxidized varnish and later coatings and dirt that had crosslinked to the surface. Its ornamental paintings were not visible. I knew paintings would be on the doors based on Burgum's diaries and I suggested conserving a door that would be easy to detach and transport to conservator Brian Howard's studio (B. R. Howard & Associates) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Anticipated results would help our advocacy for conserving the entire coach. With the tireless support of Grace Yaglou and curator Bertyne Smith (all of us volunteers) we convinced the board that there were paintings under the brown surface. With funding support from Barre Village Improvement Society, the Massachusetts Office of Travel & Tourism (MOTT) state grant and grass roots fundraising, the work was completed in 2013. It was not until 2017 that I was able to connect the paintings on the doors to William Hilton's work. Like Burgum, I spent time "hunting up images," until I was able to discover the original source. I am indebted to Femke Speelburg, Associate Curator in Drawings & Prints Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for directing me to the Yale Center for British Art and the works of William Hilton.
 17. *Granite Monthly*, 39 (May 1907), 167.

The Bibliophilist



Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment

Karl Kusserow and Alan C. Braddock

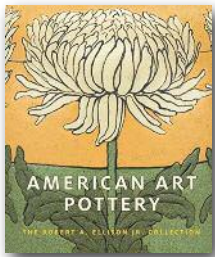
With contributions by Miranda Belarde-Lewis, Teddy Cruz, Rachel Z. DeLue, Mark Dion, Fonna Forman, aura Turner Igoe, Robin Kelsey, Anne McClintock, Timothy Morton, Rob Nixon, Jeffery Richmond-Moll, Kimia Shahi, and Jaune Quick-to-See Smith

Princeton University Art Museum Press, 2018.

This book is a groundbreaking look at American landscape art through the lens of ecocriticism, thus giving new and important insight into Victorian visual culture. Indigenous peoples, colonists, immigrants, slaves and all the others who populated the United States were shaped by the land and sought to shape it. This is a weighty exhibition catalog, beautifully designed and illustrated. It offers short and long essays on empire building, the overarching phenomenon that entailed urbanization, industrialization, agriculture, war and the displacement of Native Americans. Slowly, there grew a realization of the need for conservation and remediation. In the nineteenth century, these warring forces played out in diverse works. Homer D. Martin depicts a lush lakeside hill pockmarked with iron mineshafts, while Martin Johnson Heade's salt marsh paintings reveal a delicate ecology. The bison heads on the Century Vase by the Union Porcelain Works are one among many symbols of

progress, while a nearly contemporaneous buffalo robe painted by a Lakota maker "asserts unbroken Indigenous spiritual belief and cultural resilience" even while the bison and the Lakota peoples were being hounded nearly to extinction. In this manner, the authors begin to dig deeper to see that American landscape art (especially the paintings of the Hudson River School) often does more than celebrate Nature. It also sublimates worries, expresses resistance, and mourns change. On the dust jacket is a 2007 work by Valerie Hegarty, *Fallen Bierstadt*, a burned and disintegrating copy of Albert Bierstadt's *Bridal Veil Falls, Yosemite*. This is an appropriate cautionary tale—the perception of our land and our landscape art is already irreparably changed.

Reviewed by Karen Zukowski



American Art Pottery: The Robert A. Ellison Jr. Collection

Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, Martin Eidelberg, Adrienne Spinozzi.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed by Yale University Press, 2018.

“If you don’t buy it, you have no impetus to learn about it.” So notes Robert Ellison in the introduction to this book, a catalog of the collection he has given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Since the 1960s, his acquisitive and intellectual impulses in the field of art pottery have run wide and deep, and it’s easy to see why the museum courted him. This volume presents the objects in beautiful photography and in the light of new and fascinating research.

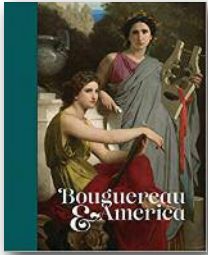
The book groups the ceramics in rough chronological order by date of production. The chapter on the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition covers not only pieces from Ellison’s collection that are related to pieces displayed there, but traces the paths by which this event stimulated the production of American ceramics. The complex history of the mastery of Barbotine (the technique of painting with colored slip) is clearly explained and presents new factual data. There is a chapter on Hugh C. Robertson and his sophisticated glazes, and another on George Ohr, whose quirky ceramics Ellison began to collect in the 1970s. The chapter on the matte glaze revolution shows off the works of Grueby, Van Briggles, late Rookwood and late Volkmar. Frederick Hurten Rhead, writer, teacher and master ceramicist, who took his innovative tube-lining, double slip-cast and carved techniques to Weller and Roseville in Ohio, Arequipa in California (and elsewhere) also merits a chapter. “Clay as a Social Force” covers pottery produced at schools, sanitariums and settlement houses like Marblehead Pottery and Newcomb College. In contrast, the next chapter covers potters who worked on their own, such as M. Louise McLaughlin in Cincinnati, and Mary Chase Perry at Pewabic

Pottery in Detroit. There is a chapter on the diverse productions of Fulper, in Flemington, New Jersey, and the book finishes with a focus on the relatively fewer examples in the Ellison collection of ceramics produced after World War I, including that by Henry Varnum Poor and Peter Voulkos.

There are, of course, drawbacks to the book. Some chapters seem forced. The chapter on ceramicists who worked alone includes Louis Comfort Tiffany, although he had little hands-on contact with the pieces coming out of the ceramics workshop of Tiffany Studios. Many of the same names, such as Adelaide Alsop Robineau and Frederic H. Rhead, surface in very different contexts throughout the book, confusing the narrative thread. And, strangest of all, three authors are listed on the title page, but no individual contributions are called out, making it impossible to determine whose opinions or research are being expressed. Nonetheless, this catalog of the Ellison collection is a must for anyone interested in American art pottery, and is the next best thing to seeing the collection on display in the American Wing at the Met.

Reviewed by Karen Zukowski

Karen Zukowski is an independent historian of American visual culture, and the book review editor of this publication. She is co-editor, with Julia Rosenbaum, of *Frederic Church’s Olana on the Hudson* (Rizzoli, 2018).



Bouguereau & America

Edited by Tanya Paul and Stanton Thomas.

Texts by Tanya Paul, Stanton Thomas, Eric Zafran, Martha Hoppin, Abigail Solomon-Godeau, and Catherine Sawinski

Milwaukee Art Museum and Memphis Brooks Museum of Art
in association with Yale University Press, 2019.

Published in connection with an exhibition of the same name, this lavish volume poses the question of why the works of the French academic painter William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905) enjoyed such inordinate popularity among American art collectors as contrasted to his lesser reputation among European connoisseurs. Indeed, Bouguereau's works were among those most eagerly sought by American millionaires who considered him the most important French artist of the second half of the nineteenth century, the book maintains.

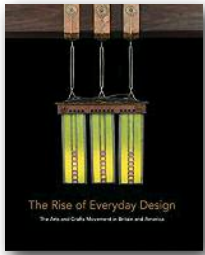
Even during the artist's lifetime, many of Bouguereau's European critics found him lacking; one called him a man "destitute of artistic feeling but possessing a cultured taste [who] reveals...in his feeble mawkishness, the fatal decline of the old schools of convention." This sort of criticism seemingly did not bother the artist, who retorted, "What do you expect, you have to follow public taste, and the public only buys what it likes."

It was in New York and other booming nineteenth-century American cities that Bouguereau's large, lush and eye-catching representations of Madonnas, angels, nymphs, satyrs, and so forth found their most enthusiastic

audience. Equally important was the fact that certain European dealers (among them J.-M.-F. Durand-Ruel and Knoedler and Company) who had by this time established themselves in the United States and were able to encourage the artist to keep paintings of this sort coming. These dealers convinced the relatively untutored American nouveaux-riches that these works were exactly what they needed to establish themselves as paragons of taste and refinement and to make the art galleries in their mansions the envy of their peers.

The catalogue of the *Bouguereau and America* exhibition devotes a two-page spread (including text) to each of forty-four of the artist's works, which can be viewed in the lustrous flesh at the Milwaukee Art Museum (through May 12, 2019), Memphis Brooks Museum of Art (June 22 through September 22, 2019), and San Diego Museum of Art (November 9 through March 15, 2020).

Reviewed by William Ayers



The Rise of Everyday Design: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain and America

Edited by Monica Penick and Christopher Long; with contributions by Eric Anderson, Samuel Dodd, Carma Gorman, Willa Granger, Thomas A. Guiler, Rebecca J. Keyel, Christopher Long, Anna Nau, and Monica Penick.

Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Austin, in association with Yale University Press, 2019.

A series of essays accompanying an exhibition of the same name, *The Rise of Everyday Design* explores the conundrum at the center of the Arts and Crafts Movement: that this concerted effort to make tasteful and well-crafted objects available to the masses largely failed, turning out products that only the upper middle class and the wealthy could afford. The volume contains much of interest and is to be commended for tackling this somewhat perplexing and thorny subject.

After an introduction, there are sections devoted to “The British Arts and Crafts Movement” (four essays) and “the Arts and Crafts in America” (twelve essays). A central point of the book is that outcomes in America were quite different from those in Britain. Practices that would clearly be illegal in Britain were allowed in the United States by the American copyright and design patent laws, which differed from their British counterparts in how they applied to

reproductions and modifications of earlier works and ideas. This allowed even luminaries such as the Stickleys and Elbert Hubbard at Roycroft to get away with claiming originality for some of their British-derived products and myriad other manufacturers to get off scot-free with outright knock-offs. Thus, “... in practice, as most [American] companies—and even individual makers—increased production, they sacrificed the tenets of the craft ideal to practicality and profitability. Only a few American producers managed to preserve the Arts and Crafts spirit while churning out ever larger quantities of articles.” In any case, the sumptuous photography and excellent scholarship in this book ensures that we will enjoy these products, even if they did not fulfill their lofty egalitarian goals.

Reviewed by William Ayres



McKim, Mead & White: Selected Works, 1879-1915

With an introduction by Richard Guy Wilson. Essay by Leland M. Roth

New York: Princeton Architectural Press, in association with the Institute of Classical Architecture and Art, 2018.

This reprint of the four volumes of *A Monograph of the Work of McKim, Mead & White, 1879-1915*, in a one-volume deluxe edition on quality paper with superbly reproduced images of its photographs and drawings, is the closest thing to the original that is likely ever to come along. The scale is slightly smaller than the original, but this has the advantage of making it much easier to handle. Princeton Architectural Press's Reprint Series was established “to make rare volumes on architecture available to a wider audience.” To qualify, the original work being reprinted must be over 100 years old, which the *Monograph* now is.

The introduction by Richard Guy Wilson, Commonwealth Professor of Architectural History at the University of Virginia, and the accompanying essay by Leland M. Roth, Marion D. Ross

Distinguished Professor of Architectural History emeritus at the University of Oregon, together provide an excellent overview of accomplishments of the McKim, Mead & White firm, nicely explaining and justifying its preeminent position in the history of American architecture—useful refreshers even for those who are already familiar with the material that these two short pieces cover.

Reviewed by William Ayres

William Ayres a retired curator and museum educator, is a member of the board of the Victorian Society in America and consulting editor of *Nineteenth Century* magazine.

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Milestones

No Sinking Violet

Anne-Taylor Cahill

Miss Violet Jessop was known as “Miss Unsinkable” because she survived 3 shipwrecks.

Those ships were the RMS *Titanic*, the HMHS *Britannic* and the RMS *Olympic*. It was quite a record, but in true British fashion Violet kept calm and carried on. She never let any of it get her down. Born in Argentina of Irish parents, Violet spent her early life on a sheep farm and later in Buenos Aires.

When she was sixteen her father died unexpectedly and the idyllic Argentine days came to an end. Her mother, wishing for proper schooling for her children, moved the family to London. Family there helped them adjust. However, finances were low and so Violet's mother secured a position as a stewardess on the HM Royal Mail Line. The family now had income but their mother was away at sea for long periods of time. This left Violet to care for her many siblings. Eventually they all ended up in convent schools and Violet had some respite. Sadly, this did not last long as Mrs. Jessop became ill. Violet decided to provide for the family by following in her mother's footsteps. Upon applying to the Royal Mail Line there was concern that Violet, at twenty-one, was too young and too pretty. The company felt that this might “cause problems,” as most stewardesses were middle aged and not terribly attractive. In the end, by making herself look as frumpy as possible, Violet got the job.

Violet's first run was to the British West Indies. She tells of visiting the then-under-construction Panama Canal. She was horrified to learn that mosquitoes were actually killing off workers. The highlight of her trip was the opportunity to enjoy “a true Spanish dinner with wine.” Apparently she had not had a Spanish meal since leaving Argentina.

Stewardess work was hard and very fatiguing but despite this Violet found life at sea fascinating, “every new face and different character was fresh ground to explore; so the wracking weariness of limb and feet were often forgotten.” Americans were a special fascination and trips to New York afforded her several marriage proposals. She describes Americans as being eager to make friends and “to my astonishment I received 3 perfectly serious proposals of marriage within a few days of acquaintanceship!”

Violet's first misadventure occurred in 1910 on the RMS *Olympic*. This White Star Line vessel was the largest civilian ship of the time. On leaving Southampton it collided with the HMS *Hawke*, a British warship. Fortunately, there were no fatalities but the *Olympic* was badly damaged. Taking on water, it limped back to port.

Oddly, Violet's next ship also had a near collision on leaving port. That ship was the RMS *Titanic*. The story of the *Titanic* is well known as it struck an iceberg in the North Atlantic and sank within 2 hours. Violet's memoirs tell of her last minutes in her cabin, having no coat and trying to decide what hat to wear. Racing to the lifeboats she snatched up an eiderdown from an abandoned

cabin. Upon getting into lifeboat #16, someone called to her from above “look after this,” and tossed a baby into her arms. Violet tells of the penetrating cold and her concern that the infant would not survive. Once rescued by the RMS *Carthage*, Violet tells of a strange woman rushing up to her and snatching the child from her arms. No words of thanks were uttered and Violet never saw the woman again!

Not to be deterred, Violet continued her seafaring life on the HMHS *Britannic*, which had been converted to a hospital ship. Violet served here as a Red Cross nurse during the first World War.

Cruising the Aegean Sea, the *Britannic* suddenly exploded. It was thought that a German naval mine had done its evil work. The *Britannic* sank in 55 minutes. No patients were on board but 30 of the 1,066 crew perished. Violet's description of the event is a great deal more horrific than her *Titanic* experience. She writes of having to jump out of the lifeboat to avoid being dragged underwater by the churning propellers. She describes quite graphically what it was like to nearly drown. She remarks, “the wonder of finding myself alive will always remain in my memory.” She sustained a serious leg injury and a fractured skull. After a brief recuperative stay in Greece, Violet and her colleagues were sent to Malta for more R&R. Eventually, they returned to London by land in order to avoid another sea journey.

Finally having recovered from her injuries, Violet went to work in a London bank but the sea continued to lure her. In 1920 she went back to sea! In 1950 she finally retired to a charming cottage in Suffolk, England where she raised chickens and enjoyed a quiet county life.



Violet Jessup, as a Red Cross nurse c. 1915.



Anne-Taylor Cahill is a professor of philosophy at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, and serves on the national board of the Victorian Society in America. She is also founding member and former president of the Eloise Hunter Chapter of the VSA.

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Guidelines for Submissions

Submissions should be from 2,000 to 6,000 words in length, with illustrations and end notes as necessary. Manuscripts shall conform to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Manuscripts should be submitted as a Microsoft Word document. Illustrations should be formatted and submitted as either .jpg, .tiff, .eps or .pdf, 300 dpi or greater. It shall be the responsibility of the author to secure the rights to publish all images. The Victorian Society in America and the editors assume no responsibility for the loss or damage of any material.

Deadlines for Submissions

January 1 for publication in the Spring issue, and **July 1** for publication in the Fall issue.

Email submissions to: Warren Ashworth, Editor
NineteenthCenturyMagazine@gmail.com

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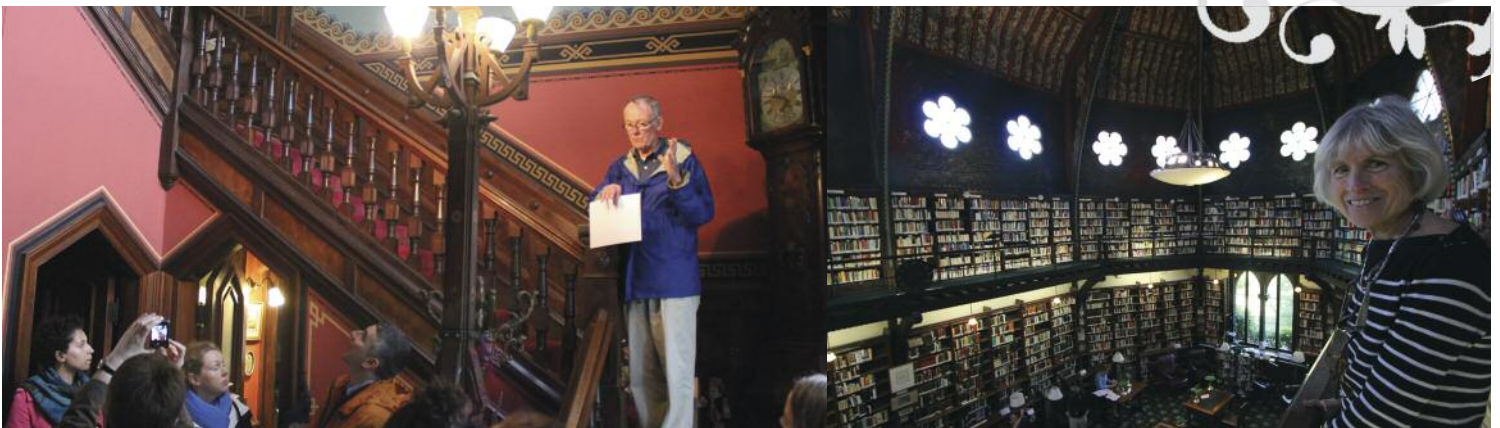
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Photos by James Russiello

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