

# American Art

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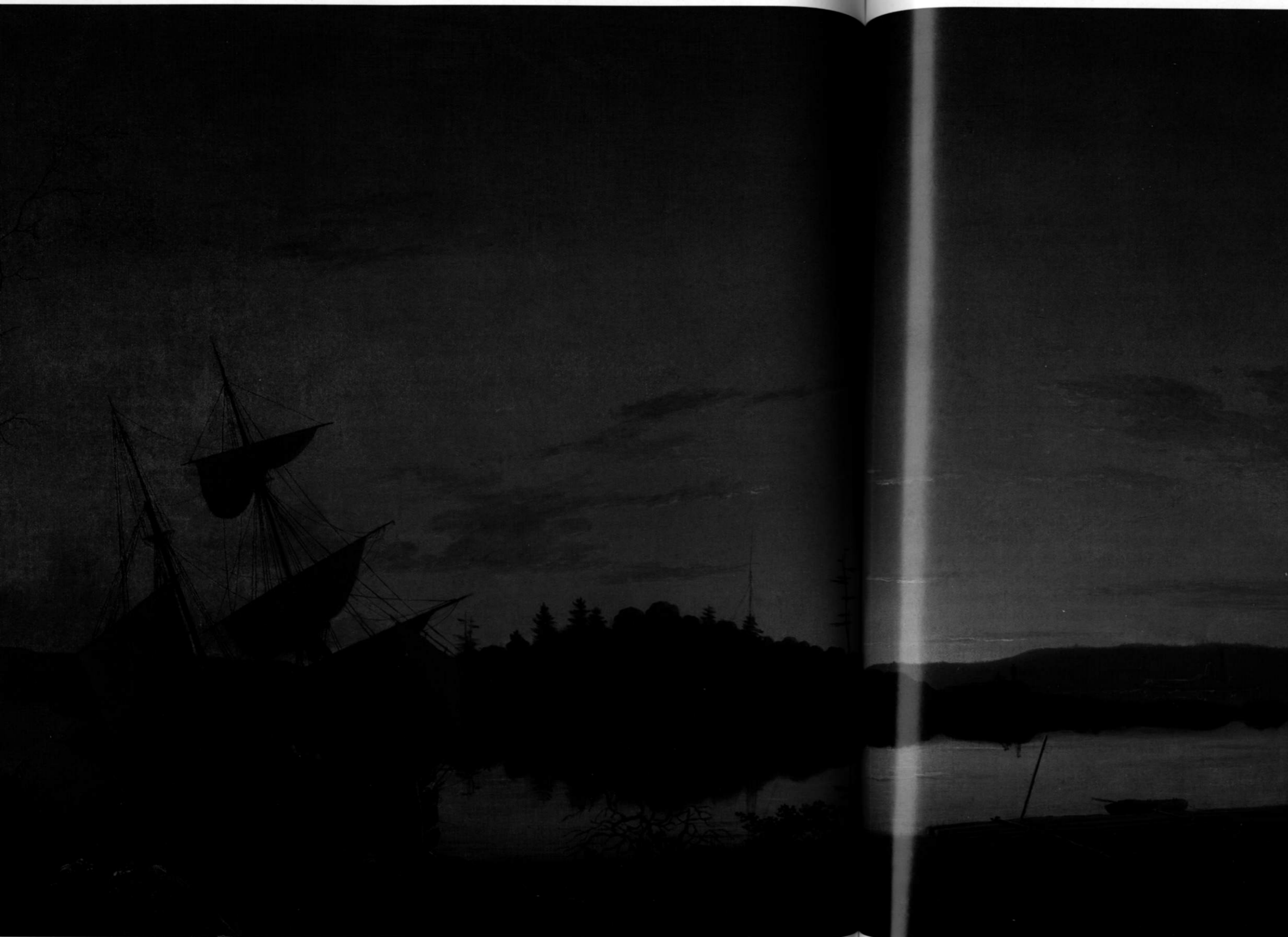
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## Fitz Henry Lane and the Compromised Landscape, 1848–1865

Robert Slifkin

In the years leading up to the Civil War, tensions between Northern and Southern states brought about various strategies of appeasement to stave off disunion and military conflict. As sectional strife increased and multiple attempts at compromise and evasion faltered, the question of directional orientation became highly charged: one's identity as a Northerner or a Southerner took on an unprecedented significance, while events in the western territories were viewed as portents of national destiny. Within this paradoxical nexus of direction and indirection, the American painter Fitz Henry Lane created a body of work that addressed this precarious political situation with an unrivaled complexity. Unlike other landscape painters of the period such as Frederic Church, Lane never produced an overtly political landscape. And while there is very little known about his political beliefs, let alone his biography, the work Lane made from 1848 until the end of his life in 1865, and especially the paintings from this time based on his numerous trips to the state of Maine, are deeply imbricated with the underlying anxieties and ideals that structured Northern political discourse during these years. These issues—concerning the virtue of free (i.e., mercantile) as opposed to slave labor, the critical importance of cardinal directionality with respect to questions of national territory, and the need to suture a seemingly divided nation—likewise structure some of the most important formal and iconographic features of his work. Within the extraordinarily calm and protected harbors of Maine, Lane found an ideal subject for examining the nation's concerns regarding regional "agitation" (to invoke a word common within Northern descriptions of the situation). An analysis of the ways

Fitz Henry Lane, *Twilight on the Kennebec*, 1849. Oil on canvas, 18 x 30 in. Collection of Mrs. Francis W. Hatch, on loan to the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass., M22672. Photograph courtesy Peabody Essex Museum



in which Lane's paintings indirectly addressed these political issues—their indirection itself an essential component of their significance—sheds new light on the fundamental role landscape imagery played within an antebellum American culture increasingly concerned about the territorial expansion of slavery.

Unlike many of the artists associated with the Hudson River School, Lane never painted scenes of unadulterated nature. Even in images set on the open sea, the artist always included signs of humans interacting with the landscape, whether through vessels, buildings on the coast, or even small figures engaged in maritime-related labor.<sup>1</sup> In what is probably one of the earliest paintings he produced based on his travels to Maine, *Twilight on the Kennebec* (frontispiece), Lane included four maritime crafts—from left to right, a lumber schooner, a sailboat, a rowboat (set alongside a log raft), and a steamship (visible in the distance at far right)—within what is otherwise a spacious and uncultivated landscape marked with the conventional signs of natural sublimity, such as the radiant setting sun and a blasted tree. The art historian Franklin Kelly has interpreted this pictorial dichotomy as symbolizing “the confrontation between American civilization and American nature,” which would find its ideal stage in the “rugged frontier” of Maine. Characteristic of the artist's mature work, the painting presents a harmonious composition in which natural and human-made elements coexist in what Kelly has described as a “peaceful equilibrium.” This sense of balance is produced principally through a series of strong visual parallels: the tall tree with forking branches at the left edge and a barren pine rising from an island in the middle distance; the pyramidal form of the island itself doubled by a large boulder in the left foreground; the island's captivating reflection in the smooth surface of the river; and the

water's mirroring of the towering pine and a sailboat that skirts the edge of the island, its triangular sails further expanding the series of visual echoes between the island and the boulder. Perhaps most significantly, the abandoned lumber schooner on the left side finds its iconographic counterpart in the log raft and a small rowboat on the opposite side. Characteristic of many of Lane's seascapes, the setting sun's warm glow infuses the entire image with a softening haze that further integrates the various components into pictorial cohesion.<sup>2</sup>

Most accounts of Lane have sought to understand this central preoccupation with balance in terms of the broader cultural milieu in which he worked. In one of the earliest and most influential analyses of the painter's oeuvre, Barbara Novak interpreted this depicted harmony between nature and man in Lane's so-called luminist paintings to the influence of transcendentalist philosophy. For Kelly, the “equilibrium” of Lane's seascapes figures an idealized reconciliation of “the inevitable conflict between civilization and the wilderness.” More recently, Eleanor Jones Harvey has read these paintings, and in particular their depictions of majestic vessels set within calm harbors surrounded by signs of impending storms, as national allegories of a country “caught in the stasis between action and inaction on the issue of slavery.” All of these analyses identify a motivating dichotomy between human and natural activity at the heart of Lane's art. Summoning Leo Marx's famous characterization of representations of man's harmonious relation to nature, often represented through the inclusion of an industrial component such as the steamboat in *Twilight on the Kennebec*, one could say that Lane regularly chose to depict the “middle landscape.”<sup>3</sup>

While various scholars have drawn on this influential paradigm to

understand a broad array of nineteenth-century American landscape imagery, when works like *Twilight on the Kennebec* are situated within the specific political contexts in which they were produced, it is possible to discern a more nuanced understanding of these paintings and their pictorial strategies of mediation. The foundational tension between civilization and nature in nineteenth-century American culture would take on distinctly political ramifications in the decade preceding the Civil War, when rivalries led Northern artists to portray their region as the bearer of enlightened progress, typically through signs of industry and commerce, and the South as fostering a primeval, if romantically tinged, backwardness. If, as Harvey suggests, “landscape painting . . . became the emotional barometer of the mood of the nation” in the years before and during the Civil War, this was not only due to the long-standing tradition of allegorizing nature or the national culture's identification with its natural environment but also because the very political and cultural issues motivating the Civil War were themselves grounded in territorial matters.<sup>4</sup>

Lane's highly detailed and exquisitely balanced scenes of understated maritime splendor, with their crystalline reflections uniting land and sea, were in fact some of the most significant and multifaceted examples of a larger body of cultural production in which compositional division and the invocation of cardinal directionality spoke to the complicated anxieties that would increasingly split the country in the years leading up to the Civil War. Considering the broader political instability in which these paintings were produced and to which they responded, it may be argued that Lane depicted not so much the middle landscape as the compromised landscape. Drawing on the landscape genre's capacity to discreetly project cultural values in the seemingly

unadulterated realm of nature, the compromised landscape of antebellum America made such mediation central to its rhetoric of harmony as well as to its very pictorial format by emphasizing the significance of cardinal directionality and geographic partition. Displacing unease about a nation increasingly divided by regional differences into peaceful harbor scenes rendered with an almost cartographic accuracy, Fitz Henry Lane's paintings suggest the ways in which the political debates surrounding the fate of the nation inflected the representation of landscape as well as the ways many Americans may have perceived and understood such imagery.

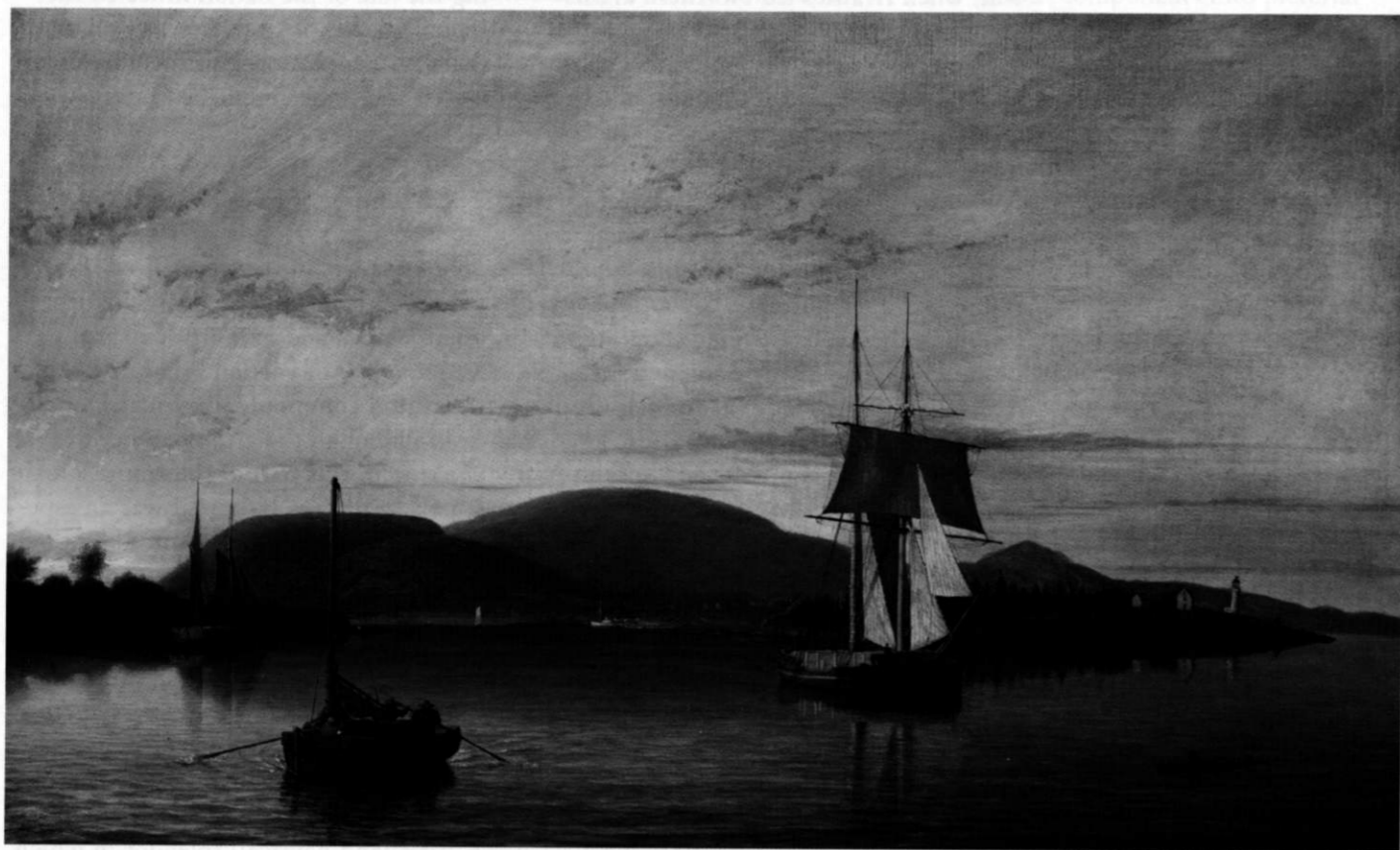
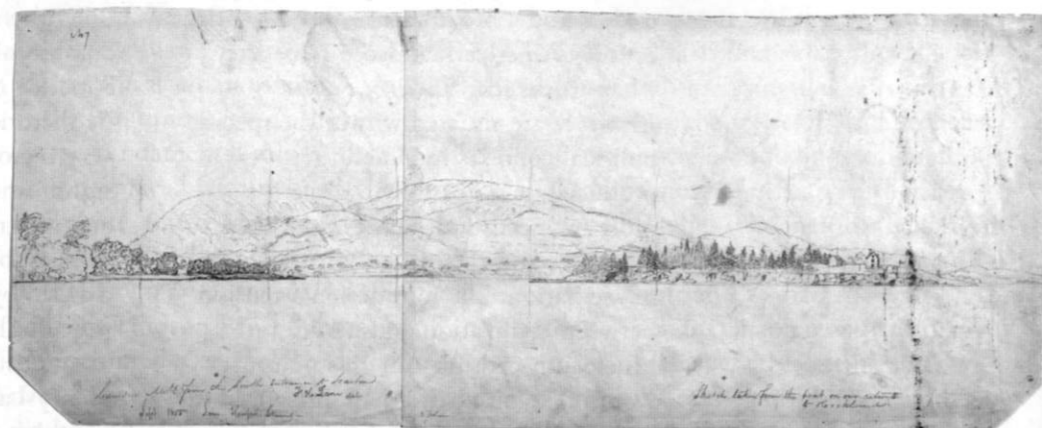
#### The Meaning of Maine circa 1850

Sometime late in the summer of 1855, Lane traveled to the ruggedly picturesque islands and harbors of coastal Maine north of Portland that make up the region commonly known as Down East. Although the artist had been working in this part of the country for several years, the 1855 visit was an especially prolific outing, as evinced by the numerous pencil sketches he made, such as *Camden Mountains from the South Entrance to the Harbor* (fig. 1), a drawing Lane used as the basis for an oil painting of the same name four years later (fig. 2). Characteristic of Lane's work from the 1850s, the painting depicts a scene of remarkable serenity and natural (and nautical) splendor in which recognizable local landmarks, both topographic and human-made, align with signs of identifiable cardinal direction, indicated in the title and reiterated by the setting sun. A tonal harmony, produced by the warm rays of sunlight that infuse both the sky and the tranquil waters of Camden harbor, is coupled with a compositional balance, constructed principally through the careful arrangement of a brig, a sailboat, a



1 Fitz Henry Lane, *Camden Mountains from the South Entrance to the Harbor*, 1855. Pencil on paper, 10½ x 26 in. Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester, Mass.

2 Fitz Henry Lane, *Camden Mountains from the South Entrance to the Harbor*, 1859. Oil on canvas, 22½ x 36¼ in. Farnsworth Art Museum. Bequest of Elizabeth B. Noyce, 1997.3.30



schooner, and a steamship (all of which are notably absent in the sketch made from direct observation, suggesting how the inclusion of such vessels served as the fundamental space of creative invention in Lane's practice). As in *Twilight on the Kennebec*, this formal equilibrium is augmented by the various reflections cast on the water's surface, not only by

the boats in the harbor but also by the trees and mountains on the coast and, at the far right, the lighthouse and small buildings of Negro Island.

This island, reportedly named for an African American cook who lived there (and renamed Curtis Island in 1934), appeared frequently in the sketches Lane produced in September 1855, whether



3 Fitz Henry Lane, *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine*, 1851. Oil on canvas, 23 x 34 in. Yale University Art Gallery. Gift of the Teresa and H. John Heinz III Foundation

as a pictorial component, as in *Camden Mountains from the South West*, where its southern edge can be discerned on the right of the drawing, or as a location from which to work, as in *Camden Mountains and Harbor from the North Point of Negro Island* (both Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester, Mass.). It also played a central role in a more dramatic and less topographically scrupulous painting Lane completed four years earlier, *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine* (fig. 3). Despite the fact that the island's name would not have had the same unnerving connotations for the artist and his Northern contemporaries that it does for people living in the post-civil rights era, Negro Island would have certainly taken on a troubling resonance for many residents of Camden in the 1850s,

as questions concerning slavery and its territorial expansion began to occupy center stage in American politics.

Since 1844, when Thomas Cole visited there, the region around Maine's Mount Desert Island had emerged as a popular destination for landscape painters as well as urban vacationers, both of whom sought out its remoteness and ruggedness as antidotes to what were commonly considered to be the corrupting pressures of modern civilization. Lane first traveled to the area in 1848, at the invitation of his friend and patron Joseph L. Stevens Jr. Born just across the harbor from Camden in Castine but active as a businessman in Gloucester, Massachusetts, Stevens became Lane's regular traveling companion on trips to the state throughout the 1850s and, as



he put it in a posthumous recollection of the artist, his occasional “chooser of spots and bearer of materials.” Considering this self-description, it is possible that Stevens, who served as the artist’s executor and who annotated many of Lane’s sketches from his Maine excursions, recommended Negro Island as a subject in September 1855. Stevens was an active member of the Free Soil party in Massachusetts and traveled to Kansas in 1855, staying for two and a half years and experiencing firsthand the notoriously violent upheavals there concerning its contested status as a free or slave state that followed its annexation.<sup>5</sup>

Although Lane’s precise participation in the political debates surrounding slavery is uncertain, his close relationship with Stevens suggests that he was well informed about the matter and possibly sympathetic to the antislavery movement. Moreover, his practice of painting the harbors and coasts of major northeastern shipping centers would have placed him within the complex and oftentimes contradictory networks of nineteenth-century maritime commerce, in which affiliations with slave-based economies were never remote. Lane would have had some knowledge of the ties between the sea merchants of his native Gloucester and the Dutch slave colony of Surinam, where, beginning about 1790, a vigorous trade was established in which salted hake was exchanged for coffee, molasses, and other imported goods. By the 1850s the trade with Surinam was bustling, and many of Lane’s images of Gloucester’s harbor feature large square-rigged ships that demonstrate their international purpose. In 1850 Lane traveled to Baltimore, where he would have seen a slave society firsthand. That same year the artist was commissioned to paint the harbor scene *St. John’s Porte Rico* (fig. 4) by his occasional patron Sidney Mason, a Gloucester native who

owned a plantation on the island. (It is unclear whether Lane actually visited Puerto Rico or based the work on secondhand descriptions.) In the foreground of the work a group of men are shown in the process of roping together four logs, probably mahogany, thus suggesting a southern hemispheric—and decidedly slavery-inflected—analogue to the lumber schooners Lane typically depicted off the coast of Maine.<sup>6</sup>

After the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, with its accompanying territorial acquisition of a massive expanse of land stretching from Texas to California, Northern anxiety about the spread of slavery into the West reached new heights. It also took on an unprecedented political dimension, crystallizing in the Compromise of 1850 and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act that same year, and, four years later, in the violent disputes concerning the fate of Kansas and Nebraska. Lane’s local newspaper, the *Gloucester Telegraph*, commenting on the congressional debates surrounding the annexation of Kansas and Nebraska, described the crisis in notably nautical terms: “Let the administration trim its sails to catch the breeze of popular favor, even though from opposite sources; let it be ‘hard’ at the south and ‘soft’ at the north.” The following September, when Lane was painting the harbor waters of Camden, the *Rockland Gazette* (the primary newspaper for the region) published multiple articles on the events in Kansas. The September 7 issue alone included one article describing a recent Northern immigrant’s experience of politically motivated violence there, another announcing an upcoming lecture on the subject, and a lengthy statement by Maine’s Republican governor Anton Morrill, in which he described “the question of slavery in the territories,” along with the recently enacted state prohibition law, as “the only real issues now existing.”<sup>7</sup>

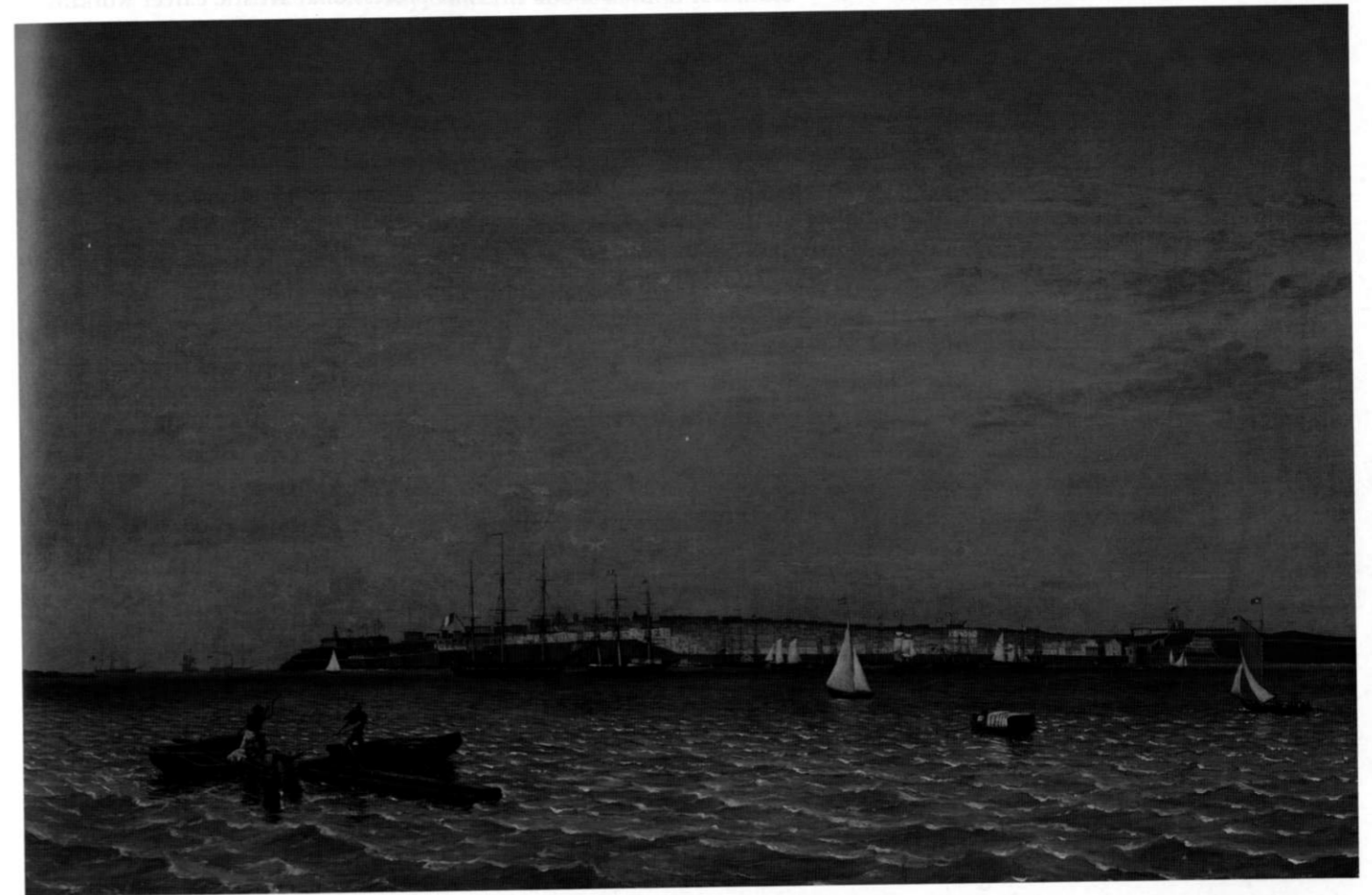
For most Northerners, the issues surrounding slavery and its territorial expansion had as much if not more to do with commercial expediency than they did with human rights. Many Northern politicians were careful to distinguish between what they saw as the efficient and virtuous free labor of their region and the improvident, decadent, and profligate slave labor of the South, to demonstrate the economic and societal disadvantages of the Southern institution.

Maine, which entered the Union in 1820 at the same time as Missouri, a slave state, as part of the Missouri Compromise, served as a typological prefiguration of the much more tenuous regional brinkmanship of the 1850s, when the question of each new territory’s annexation renewed the question of the nation’s destiny. Traces of this

sectional typology surfaced in a lecture Henry David Thoreau gave at the Gloucester Lyceum on December 20, 1848. Commenting on the telegraph’s newly discovered capacity to connect Maine and Texas, he stated, “Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate,” despite the fact that these two states, encompassing at the time the northeastern and southwestern extremes of the nation, represented the outcome of respective political compromises.<sup>8</sup>

Beyond its implicated history with the expansion of slavery in the West, Maine, with its robust lumber and shipbuilding industries, was subtly complicit with the slave-based economies of the American South and the Caribbean. Indeed, the theme of sectional compromise, if not collusion,

4 Fitz Henry Lane, *St. John’s Porte Rico*, 1850. Oil on canvas, 23¼ x 36¼ in. The Mariners’ Museum, Newport News, Va.





is contained within the many lumber schooners that populate Lane's Maine harborscapes. Along with shipbuilding, Maine's principal commercial venture in the mid-nineteenth century was the "sugar" trade, in which lumber was exchanged for Caribbean sugar and molasses. In his popular *Letters of a Traveller*, published in 1850, William Cullen Bryant describes this commercial relation between Maine and the slave states, writing, "the ship-builders of Maine purchase large tracts of forest in Virginia and other states of the south, for their supply of timber. . . . They take to the south cargoes of lime and other products of Maine, and bring back the huge trunks produced in that region."<sup>9</sup> While such intercoastal and international commerce certainly served as a powerful example of the strong economic ties binding the Union, for many Northerners these bonds were as much a source of unease as they were an indication of shared purpose. The delicate tension between Maine's increasingly awkward commercial complicity with slave economies and its historical role as a beacon of free labor, not to mention its geographic distinction as the northernmost member of the Union, invested the state with a crucial degree of significance within the sectional debates of the period and, correspondingly, amid the rising sensitivity to matters of cardinal directionality in the broader culture.<sup>10</sup>

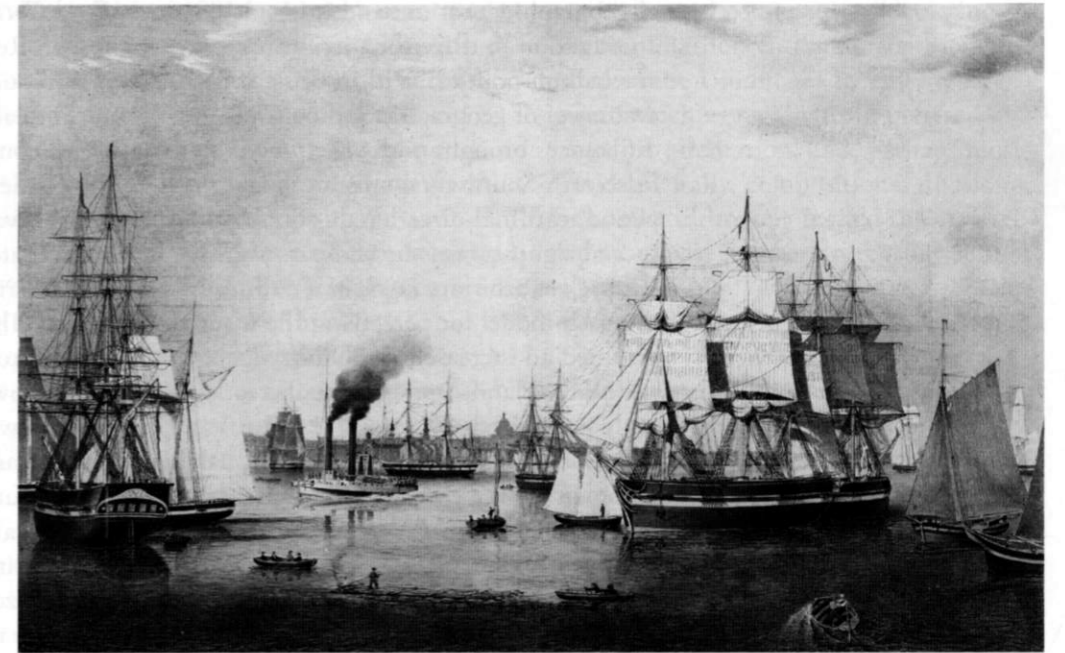
#### Cartographic Consciousness in Antebellum America

As the art historian Roger Cushing Aikin has argued in the pages of this journal, mid nineteenth-century American culture was particularly "compass oriented."<sup>11</sup> From the prevalence of surveying—an occupation practiced by Daniel Boone, Thoreau, and Abraham Lincoln—to the pressing accommodation of new western

territories, what could be called a cartographic consciousness informed a spectrum of period discourses.<sup>12</sup> In Harriet Beecher Stowe's immensely popular antislavery novel of 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the kindhearted if naive New Orleans slave owner Augustine St. Clare bemoans what he takes to be the moral relativity brought on by the rising sectionalism, stating, "What poor, mean trash this whole business of human virtue is! A mere matter, for the most part, of latitude and longitude, and geographical position, acting with natural temperament."<sup>13</sup> Martin Brückner has recently shown that many Americans were educated from an early age on the foundations of geography, and consequently, questions of topographical accuracy and delimitation shaped many realms of private and public life.<sup>14</sup> Lane began his professional artistic career working for the lithography shop of William and John Pendleton in Boston, one of the first U.S. publishers to produce lithographic reproductions of maps, turning out illustrations for sheet music covers and bird's-eye views of urban ports including *View in Boston Harbor* from around 1837 (fig. 5). Lane's early education probably included basic training on surveying and design, and these technical skills, coupled with his experience with the Pendletons and within the maritime culture of Gloucester, deeply informed his sensitivity to topographical, architectural, and nautical detail, providing him with a privileged perspective on the ways in which the territorial politics of his time inflected the American landscape.<sup>15</sup>

Because of the intimate relation between slavery and geography in United States history, it is not surprising that landscape served as an artistic platform from which to address this crisis. The debates surrounding the latitudinal extension of slavery into the new western territories not only charged the region

5 Fitz Henry Lane, *View in Boston Harbor*, ca. 1837. Lithograph, 12 x 18 1/16 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Charles Hitchcock Tyler, 33.974. Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



with a national importance far beyond any concerns about natural resources and manifest destiny but also expanded and complicated the preexisting cultural opposition between what was seen as a "Puritan" North and a "cavalier" South.<sup>16</sup> While the Massachusetts statesman Daniel Webster formulated this new multiaxial sensitivity in terms of a Northern reaction to the threat of slavery's expansion, the Washington correspondent for the *Gloucester Telegraph* (who went by the pen name "Union") remained more sanguine, writing in January 1848 on that year's presidential and congressional elections, which brought Zachary Taylor to the White House and increased the number of Whigs in both houses: "Let our countrymen then take hope. North and South, East and West, there is a gain—a great and glorious gain—which subsequent events will render permanent, and bind up in the history of the nation."<sup>17</sup> Such conciliatory positions were in fact quite common among Northerners, even in the immediate antebellum years. For many American citizens, negotiating the economic and social differences

between the North and the South led to a heightened awareness of events in the West, activating an unprecedented multidirectional sensitivity in various realms of cultural production.

Thoreau described this new axial complexity in his essay "Walking" (composed about 1850). In an extended discussion of the importance of the western frontier in American culture, he notes, "Our sympathies in Massachusetts are not confined to New England; though we may be estranged from the South, we sympathize with the West." Similarly, in his 1846 poem "To a Southern Statesman," written in response to John C. Calhoun's support of the annexation of Texas, John Greenleaf Whittier, arguably the preeminent poet of antebellum America and certainly one of the leading voices in the nation's abolitionist movement, diagnosed how "the wild West with the roused North combine" in the face of the recent events. Whittier's poetry, with its frequent invocations of place-names, including the 1857 "The Garrison of Cape Ann," offers perhaps the most striking evidence for how the question



of geographic location, and in particular an attention to directionality, informed antebellum politics. Within this rising awareness of geographic and cultural differences brought on by the powerful North-South antagonism of the period, cardinal directionality took on special significance: the compass points, themselves arbitrary signs of a culturally imposed model for perceiving the world, assumed an increased symbolic value as the natural landscape became increasingly politicized.<sup>18</sup>

Maritime subjects occupied a special place within the cartographic consciousness in antebellum American culture. In Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* (1840), one of the foundational texts of American maritime literature, hardly a page goes by without mention of the compass points, whether in terms of the wind necessary to propel the vessel, the direction or destination of the ship, or the gaze of a seaman. A similar attentiveness pervaded many of Herman Melville's early seafaring romances and, to cite one final example closer to Lane's world, the 1856 novel

*Peter Gott, the Cape Ann Fisherman*, by Joseph Reynolds, which tells the story of a Gloucester fisherman in what the author called a "plain, straight-forward style" commensurate with the modest life of the book's protagonist. The pervasive awareness of one's cartographic coordinates is evident in the following characteristic passage from Reynolds's book: "The next morning the wind worked to the eastward, and the snow was followed by a cold, driving rain. As the sun was setting on that day, a glin [glen] was seen in the west. The wind came round into the north-west, and the cold became intense."<sup>19</sup> Representations of seafaring, whether literary or visual, emphasized the keen sensitivity to directionality necessary for survival, let alone commercial success.

While the popularity of seafaring subject matter, both in literature and in visual art, should be understood within a broader interest in the emergent global commerce of the nineteenth century, the prevalence of the theme within mid nineteenth-century American culture—which arguably reached its respective literary and artistic apogees in Melville's

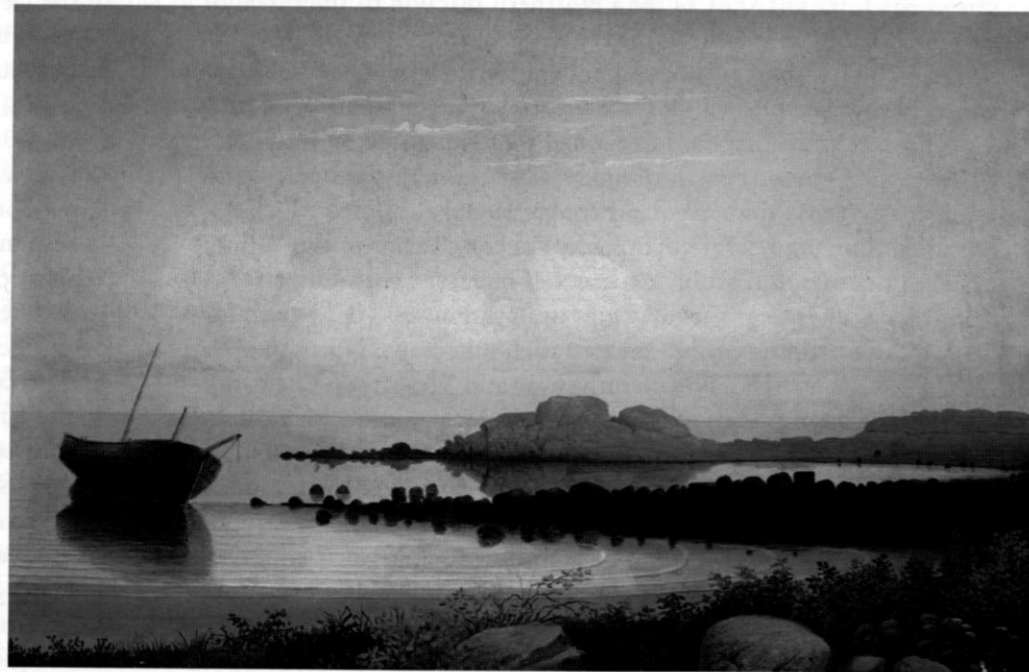
*Moby-Dick* of 1851 and Lane's seascapes of the 1850s—suggests how the motif might have provided a means to address some of the central social and political questions of the moment. According to David C. Miller, during the Civil War, imagery of stranded ships served as a potent visual symbol for a beleaguered and divided nation. Between 1862 and 1865—the last years of his life—Lane produced four paintings of abandoned ships off the coast of Gloucester. In *Brace's Rock, Eastern Point, Gloucester* (fig. 6), a derelict and decaying ship is shown stranded outside a cove, its dramatic foregrounding and moody, treacherous surroundings inviting the sort of allegorical readings that many scholars have given these works. If, as Fredric Jameson has argued, maritime narratives, with their microcosmic figurations of the ship of state, offer a principal site for ideological reflection and reconciliation, the pictorial representation of maritime geography within the politically divided yet commercially connected United States in the 1850s provided similarly reconciliatory possibilities. As natural boundaries that often delimited and extended beyond state and national borders, rivers and oceans (and to a lesser degree lakes) were neither west nor east, north nor south, but instead the very interstices that pierced and produced borderlines, a point perhaps most powerfully illustrated in the dramatic scenes of river crossings in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Angela Miller has shown how bodies of water, in their role as major channels of commerce, frequently served as geographic spaces seemingly devoid of sectional division, suggesting a common project in trade uniting various regions. Lane neutralized fears concerning the expansion of slavery into the western territories and the uncomfortable complicity between Northern commerce and slave-based economies by displacing these themes within harmoniously lit

and balanced compositions depicting tranquil harbors in the northernmost state of the Union. Yet by employing motifs such as regionalism, precise cardinal orientation, and, perhaps most fundamentally, compositional division, the artist ultimately incited the very sectional unease his work ostensibly sought to assuage.<sup>20</sup>

### Displacement, Division, Reflection

The emergent multidirectional axial complexity experienced in the years leading up to and during the Civil War motivated both the subject matter and the central formal strategies of some of the period's most important artistic productions. Angela Miller has argued that the tropical South American landscapes painted by Frederic Edwin Church during the Civil War offered eastern viewers sublime scenery that transcended sectional differences by displacing the question of directionality to another American hemisphere. In Church's *Cotopaxi* (fig. 7), a harrowing vision of a volcanic eruption in Ecuador, the towering form of the mountain is countered by the triangular beam of light emitted by the setting sun whose rays demarcate a strong vertical band on the waters below it and thus echo the smoke rising from the volcano. With its dramatically split composition, *Cotopaxi* offered a southern hemispheric analogue to the fears of disunion in the North American South while nonetheless suggesting a national if not international unity based on the splendor of a trans-American landscape.<sup>21</sup> In April 1850 this ideal of an art of sectional appeasement was clearly articulated in the pages of the foremost art journal of the period, the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, whose editors wrote, "More strongly than ever . . . may the Art-Union appeal to the public, in this season of political agitation. It presents a field of work in



6 Fitz Henry Lane, *Brace's Rock, Eastern Point, Gloucester, ca. 1864*. Oil on canvas, 10 x 15 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, John Wilmerding Collection, Promised Gift, X.28328. Image courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington





7 Frederic Edwin Church, *Cotopaxi*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 48 x 85 in. Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Robert H. Tannahill Foundation Fund, Gibbs-Williams Fund, Dexter M. Ferry Jr. Fund, Merrill Fund, Beatrice W. Rogers Fund, and Richard A. Manoogian Fund. Photo courtesy Bridgeman Art Library

which all may unite like brethren. It belongs to the *whole* people. It disregards all sectional differences. It is attached to no parties. It addresses the South as well as the North, the poor as well as the rich.<sup>22</sup> Yet if one of the social functions of works like *Cotopaxi* was to mediate sectional doubts, according to Jameson's theory of cultural production, such ideological management required that the subject that was to be reconciled must first be "awakened." In this sense the choice of a southern hemispheric landscape was crucial to the painting's conciliatory capacity. That is to say that even if these works are seen as decidedly conservative attempts to forge a semblance of geographic harmony for an audience highly sensitized to political conflict, they necessarily invoked cardinal directionality and division in the process. Church, who made his first of many trips to South America in 1853, in 1859 traveled to Labrador, Canada,

where he painted a series of equally sublime images of icebergs, one of which he gave the conspicuously cardinal directionally inflected title *The North* (1861, Dallas Museum of Art), thus encompassing the full hemispheric spectrum in less than a decade.<sup>23</sup>

These examples represent what might be called a strategy of displacement, in which the nation's sectional politics were simultaneously evoked and evaded through the depiction of directionally oriented landscapes located far from the sites of actual conflict. In this regard the prevalence of western scenes made throughout the 1840s and 1850s must be understood as an extended meditation on the future of the nation, not simply in terms of manifest destiny or broader myths of an unbridled wilderness but refracted through the prism of the question of slavery. While Thoreau criticized painters for what he saw as their inability to invest their imagery

with such cartographic sensitivity, claiming, "If I were awakened from a deep sleep, I should know which side of the meridian the sun might be by the aspect of nature, and by the chirp of the crickets, and yet no painter can paint this difference,"<sup>24</sup> it was precisely this difference that would inform a great deal of American landscape painting in the late 1840s and 1850s. One could say that representing this meridial disparity was in many regards these artists' central project. To be sure, nowhere in any of Lane's paintings is the sectional politics of his day—let alone the question of slavery—directly addressed in terms of iconography. However, considering the ways in which contemporary landscape painters like Church obliquely engaged with the rising divisiveness of the period, it becomes possible to understand how an equally strong political—and specifically regional—discourse underpinned and motivated Lane's images of his native Gloucester and the coast of Maine. Displacing the sectional divergences that threatened to sunder the Union, Lane's work frequently made division the central compositional feature of his art. This pictorial compartmentalization occurs horizontally between sea and sky, yielding mirrored imagery, as well as vertically, with ships skillfully arranged in two distinct groups on the right and left side of the picture.

This compositional strategy was achieved through the formal arrangement of such human-made and natural elements as boats, lighthouses, trees, and boulders, and perhaps most powerfully through the artist's frequent depiction of sunrises and sunsets. On the most basic perceptual level, the presence of the sun within a seascape offers an effective sense of proportion and orientation to what might otherwise be an indeterminately scaled and situated vista. In Lane's paintings the sun itself was only one component in a much more comprehensive investigation of spatial partition. By

focusing on the ways in which reflected light appeared on the surface of the water, Lane emphasized the horizontal division of the composition, in turn splitting the landscape into two related but distinct realms. This dissection is a fundamental feature in Lane's paintings from Maine. For instance, in *Twilight on the Kennebec* (see frontispiece), three varieties of splitting are clearly evident: the mirrorlike reflection of the island on the calm water, which emphasizes the horizontal axis in the composition; the vertical partition of the picture into distinctly right and left sides, with a beached lumber schooner on the left and a simple log raft and rowboat on the right; and a geographic segmentation encompassing the diagonal axis receding from the picture plane in which three distinct landmasses—the shore in the foreground, the island in the center, and the distant hills on the horizon—are separated by the river's waters. Following the directional orientation of the image, one can organize the composition into four quadrants with west in the distance, east in the foreground, and south and north respectively delimited by the abandoned lumber schooner on the left and rowboat and raft made from lumbered logs on the right. Considering the cartographic consciousness and directional sensitivity in Lane's work, it is possible to align the derelict schooner with the South and its associations (in the North) of indolence and degradation, while the raft on the northern side of the image might be seen to signify the forthright industriousness of Yankee free labor and mercantilism. The alignment of the steamboat with the northwestern quadrant further substantiates this sort of cardinal directionally based symbolism that would subsequently motivate some of Lane's most dramatic paintings of Maine.

Among the many split seascapes Lane produced during his trips to Maine, perhaps none evinces the overtly symbolic engagement with the sectional



crisis and the anxieties surrounding the complicit relation between Northern mercantilism and slave-based economies as elaborately as *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine* (see fig. 3). As in the very similar *Island with Beacon* (1851, Cape Ann Museum, Gloucester), a painting Lane apparently gave to Stevens, possibly as a memento of their trip to the state, in *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine* the sun provides the viewer with specific directional orientation. Here topographical accuracy, as well as the schooner's open sails, denotes a sunrise, consequently aligning the rising sun with the picture plane and dividing the composition along a conspicuous east-west axis. Following the cartographic consciousness found in many of Lane's works, the lumber schooner can be seen to reside in what would be the northern side of the painting and the lighthouse in the southern section.

Iconographically, the Negro Island lighthouse would have resonated with a period discourse that linked beacons with the concept that the new nation would serve as an outpost for the continued existence of Enlightenment values, as exemplified in the country's founding Constitution, which described "this Union and its Constitution as beacon lights erected by the wisest and purest of patriots, under the guidance of Providence, to save from wreck the ark of our Liberties and Independence." More specifically, the abolitionist movement utilized the motif of a beacon as a symbol of freedom, as in the title of the abolitionist newspaper the *Norfolk Beacon*. Coupling the symbolically loaded motif of the lighthouse, which contained pointed associations within the political debates of the 1850s, with Lane's characteristic engagement with cardinal directionality, *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine* can be seen as one of the artist's deepest meditations of the sectional politics of his period.<sup>25</sup>

#### Epilogue: *Slave Ship Redux*

The possible political resonances of Lane's Maine seascapes, such as *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine*, find one last corroboration (and one final instance of displacement) in the critic Clarence Cook's account of his visit to the artist's studio in 1854. Cook concludes his lengthy essay with a description of a painting that he calls "Off the coast of Maine, with Desert-Island in the distance." His paragraph-long *ekphrasis* of the work—now unknown, but possibly *Brig Off the Maine Coast* (fig. 8)—presents a remarkable translation of John Ruskin's famous description of J. M. W. Turner's 1840 painting *Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhoon Coming On)* (fig. 9), which the critic called "the noblest sea that Turner has ever painted." Cook, who would go on to co-found the aggressively Ruskinian American journal the *New Path*, similarly begins his description by stating that the Maine seascape is "the finest picture that Mr. Lane has yet painted." Like Ruskin, Cook then moves to meteorological observations. Whereas Ruskin presents *Slave Ship* in a "sunset on the Atlantic after prolonged storm," Cook describes Lane's image as a "sun-set after a storm." Turner's sunset, as parsed by Ruskin, is active: "dyeing [the sea] with an awful but glorious light, the intense and lurid splendor which burns like gold." Lane's sunset is equally dynamic, "flooding the sea with transparent splendor." Turner's wave—the element to which Ruskin gives the most attention, understandably so as the passage concludes the section of *Modern Painters* concerning "truth in water"—is "lighted with green and lamp-like fire, now flashing back the gold of the declining sun, now fearfully dyed from above with the indistinguishable images of the burning clouds." Cook attempts his own rhetorical repetition on a smaller scale,



8 Fitz Henry Lane, *Brig Off the Maine Coast*, 1851. Oil on canvas, 24 x 36 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, Calif., Gift of Charles C. and Elma Ralphs Shoemaker. Digital Image © 2013 Museum Associates/LACMA. License courtesy Art Resource, N.Y.

9 J. M. W. Turner, *Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhoon Coming On)*, 1840. Oil on canvas, 35 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 48 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 99.22. Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston





offering the reader “dark-green swells of water, crowned with light and pierced with light.” Like Ruskin, who concludes his paean to *Slave Ship* with a definitive statement of quality, asserting, “I believe, if I were reduced to rest Turner’s immortality upon any single work, I should choose this,” Cook, in his discussion of Lane’s painting, declares, “The truth and beauty of the water in this picture I do not believe have ever been excelled. I do not believe deeper, clearer water, or waves that swing with more real power, were ever translated in oil.”<sup>26</sup>

Cook’s description of this picture suggests that certain culturally informed viewers might have perceived Lane’s images of lumber schooners as American translations of Turner’s seascapes, particularly *Slave Ship*, which was the best-known painting by the English artist thanks to Ruskin’s extravagant praise (even though it is unlikely that many Americans ever saw the work itself). It is equally possible that Ruskin’s description of the painting, and his writings on Turner’s achievement more generally, might have inspired Lane to invest his art with a symbolic and even political import. Indeed, it is easy to imagine Ruskin’s panegyric to the virtue of landscape art and, in particular, to an artist specializing in marine painting speaking to Lane’s artistic project. If any American artist was in a position to heed Ruskin’s message, distilled through the example of Turner, it was Lane. For an artist whose lithographs and paintings had long featured meticulous renderings of rigging and local topography, Ruskin’s call for an art based on “perfect cognizance of the form, functions, and system of every organic or definitely structured existence which it has to represent” would have seemed entirely appropriate, if not already habitual. Ruskin’s interest in maritime subjects influenced an 1851 article concerning the development of a national style in American art

published in the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, which cites an illustration of a leaf from Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice* to demonstrate the “structural beauty” and natural basis for the forms of an “Atlantic hull.”<sup>27</sup>

As the art historian Roger Stein and others have noted, when volume 1 of Ruskin’s *Modern Painters* was first published in the United States in 1847, the book was received enthusiastically in artistic and intellectual circles. Its nearly theological argument for the moral value of accurately representing nature appealed to America’s self-conception as a nation of vast and unprecedented natural resources. Like many professional painters in mid-century New England, Lane would have had various opportunities to encounter the critic’s work. Joseph L. Stevens Jr. owned what he considered to be “the only copy” of *Modern Painters* in Gloucester. Even if Lane did not encounter the book in Stevens’s collection, he would have almost certainly been familiar with the writings of Ruskin, if not by actually reading *Modern Painters* then at least through the book’s growing reputation in various art journals.<sup>28</sup>

According to Cook, Lane had no firsthand knowledge of Turner’s work. In his 1854 account of visiting Lane’s studio, Cook wrote: “If Mr. Lane would on some fine morning turn the key of his studio door, and leave his pretty stone-cottage to take care of itself for a year or two, while he went to Europe to see what the great painters have done, Turner and Vernet, and what God has done far out in the awful ocean where he has never been, I believe . . . he would come back a great master in marine painting.”<sup>29</sup> As certain scholars have pointed out, Ruskin’s vigorous word picture, in which conventional visual description is replaced with poetic allusion and an inventory of colors, seems to produce a painting rather than refer to one.<sup>30</sup> Because most American

artists’ only knowledge of Turner’s *Slave Ship* would have been through Ruskin’s description, it was likely that the formal, coloristic, and atmospheric aspects of the painting inspired their own art rather than the painting’s politically charged subject matter, which the critic notoriously relegated to the bottom of the page in a laconic footnote: “She is a slaver, throwing her slaves overboard. The near sea is encumbered with corpses.”<sup>31</sup>

In Ruskin’s influential description, then, the subject of slavery is displaced. The radiance of the setting sun, which according to the author “incarnadines” the surface of the sea in Turner’s painting, convey the bloody violence undergirding the image’s astonishing light effects, a violence that fleetingly surfaces in the gruesome detail of a shackled limb in the right foreground. Lane would present another model of displacement in paintings such as *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine*, transferring the uneasy relation between Northern free labor and Southern slave labor to the manifold axial divisions that structure his compositions. The small hook dangling from the stern of the schooner in the “northern realm” of Lane’s painting finds its axial complement in the hooked ventilator emerging from the top of the Negro

Island lighthouse (see fig. 3). The hook’s shackle-like form can be seen to point to the commercial vessel’s attachment to the South, even as it suggests this uneasy bond in a manner more symbolic than is directly figured in Turner’s painting. Likewise, the barrel-like form floating in the left foreground of Lane’s even more Turner-esque *Brig Off the Maine Coast* (see fig. 8) indicates a commercial analogue for the human cargo thrown overboard in *Slave Ship*.

While these small details certainly do not make Lane’s lumber schooners as guilty as the slave ship that tumbles on Turner’s notably unreflective and tumultuous sea, they do present a certain parallelism or interconnectedness between the vessels and their likely Southern destinations. Despite their ostensible claims to cartographic accuracy and nautical detail, Lane’s paintings provided an imaginary space of refuge from the sectional crises that nonetheless structured the spaces he depicted. With their meditatively calm harbors in which the mundane if not callous world of mercantilism is reflected and dematerialized in the ocean’s contemplative quietness, these images present a bifurcated world of realist materialism and dreamy introspection. A world of mediation or, to put it in the political terms of the 1850s, a world of compromise.

## Notes

Previous versions of this essay were presented at the “Turner in America” panel at the 2008 College Art Association Annual Meeting in Dallas and at the workshop “Grounded Histories: Land, Landscape, and Environment in Early North America,” hosted by the *William and Mary Quarterly* and USC-Huntington Early Modern Studies Institute at the Huntington Library in Pasadena. This essay emerged from a short entry I wrote on Lane’s *Lighthouse at Camden, Maine*, which appeared in the catalogue *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness: American Art from the Yale*

*University Art Gallery* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2008). My thanks to Martin Brückner, Alex Nagel, Alex Nemerov, Jennifer Raab, and the external reviewers for *American Art*, who read drafts of this essay and offered valuable feedback.

1 This tendency can be partially explained by the artist’s disability—he relied on crutches owing to a childhood illness that paralyzed his legs, thus preventing him from exploring the more untrammelled wilderness inland.

2 Franklin Kelly, “Lane and Church in Maine,” in *Paintings by Fitz Hugh Lane*, by John Wilmerding et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988), 134.

3 Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience* (New York: Praeger, 1969); Kelly, “Lane and Church in Maine,” 134; and Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press in association with



- Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012), 23. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), esp. 113–22.
- 4 Harvey, *Civil War and American Art*, 19.
- 5 Joseph L. Stevens Jr. to Samuel Mansfield, Boston, October 17, 1903, Cape Ann Historical Association Archives, Gloucester, Massachusetts, reprinted in John Wilmerding, *Fitz Hugh Lane* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 50–51. For biographical information on Stevens, see Frederic Alan Sharf, "Fitz Hugh Lane: Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848–1855," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 98 (April 1962): 112.
- 6 For Gloucester's trade with Surinam, see James Craig, *Fitz H. Lane: An Artist's Voyage through Nineteenth-Century America* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2006), 24, 84–85.
- 7 "The Nebraska Question—the Administration," *Gloucester Telegraph*, February 18, 1854. "Outrages in Kansas [sic]," *Rockland Gazette*, September 7, 1855, which describes one Free-Soiler immigrant's beating and expulsion by a gang of "ruffians"; "The Wheeler Slave Case," *ibid.*, dealing with a fugitive slave; and, for Morrill, "The Meeting of Monday Evening," *ibid.*
- 8 See Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970). Henry David Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers/Walden; Or, Life in the Woods/The Maine Woods/Cape Cod*, ed. Robert F. Sayre (New York: Library of America, 1985), 364. Thoreau's appearance at the Gloucester Lyceum and the subject of his talk are noted in the *Gloucester Telegraph* for that date. Lane occasionally served on the board of directors of the Gloucester Lyceum. For evidence of the artist's participation in events at the lyceum, see Mary Foley, "Fitz Hugh Lane, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the Gloucester Lyceum," *American Art Journal* 27, nos. 1–2 (1995–96): 99–101. In his popular speech against the Kansas-Nebraska Act, "The Landmark of Freedom," the Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner frequently cited Maine, going so far as to call the original 1820 compromise bill the "Maine Bill." For a discussion of this speech, see Robert Pierce Forbes, *The Missouri Compromise and Its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2007), 282. For a discussion on the reception of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in Maine, see Richard R. Wescott, *New Men, New Issues: The Formation of the Republican Party in Maine* (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1986).
- 9 David Demeritt, "Cuban Annexation, Slave Power Paranoia, and the Collapse of the Democratic Party in Maine, 1850–1854," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 29 (1989): 11. For a discussion of the Maine "sugar" trade, see Lawrence C. Allin, "Shipbuilding and Shipping in the Period of Ascendancy," in *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*, ed. Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman (Orono: Univ. of Maine Press, 1995), 300–302. William Cullen Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller; or, Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 326.
- 10 See, for instance, "The North and the South," *Western Journal and Civilian* 8, no. 4 (July 1852): 223–28, which describes (223) imported goods as "tokens of a common brotherhood, pledges of friendship, and acknowledgements of mutual dependence which the people of one climate exchange with those of another."
- 11 Roger Cushing Aikin, "Paintings of Manifest Destiny: Mapping the Nation," *American Art* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 81. In his essay Aikin argues (80) that nineteenth-century landscape paintings "are intended to be read as maps, with north at the top and west at the left." Lane's paintings, which depict sunsets and sunrises, complicate Aikin's formulation by aligning the compass points along a topographic rather than a cartographic axis.
- 12 For a discussion of the important role of surveying in early American culture, see Rick Van Noy, *Surveying the Interior: Literary Cartographers and the Sense of Place* (Reno: Univ. of Nevada Press, 2003).
- 13 Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852; New York: Bantam, 1981), 226.
- 14 Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006).
- 15 For a discussion of the possible sources for Lane's early training and his knowledge of surveying and mapping practices, see Elliot Bostwick Davis, *Training the Eye and the Hand: Fitz Hugh Lane and Nineteenth-Century American Drawing Books* (Gloucester, Mass.: Cape Ann Historical Association, 1993). For Lane's tenure at Pendleton, see Craig, *Fitz H. Lane*, 42–55.
- 16 See, for instance, T. H. Breen, *Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980). Ian Finseth, "Geographic Consciousness in the American Slave Narrative," in *American Literary Geographies: Spatial Practice and Cultural Production, 1500–1900*, ed. Martin Brückner and Hsuan L. Hsu (Newark: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2007), 237: "New World slavery was always about geography."
- 17 Union, "Letters from Head Quarters," *Gloucester Telegraph*, January 17, 1849.
- 18 Henry David Thoreau, "Walking," in *Excursions* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863), 273. In "The Garrison of Cape Ann," Whittier describes a sentry during whose patrol "South and eastward looking forth / O'er a rude and broken coast-line, white with breakers stretching north." Similarly, and notably earlier, in his poem "The New Year" from 1839, Whittier aligned cardinal directions with regions in the common cause of liberty, writing, "East, West, and North, the shout is heard / Of freemen rising for the right." John Greenleaf Whittier, *The Complete Poetical Works of Whittier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), 53, 282. For discussions of the rising sectionalism and the emergence of distinctive regional political identities, see Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*; and Susan-Mary Grant, *North over South: Northern Nationalism and American Identity in the Antebellum Era* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 2000).
- 19 J. Reynolds, *Peter Gott, the Cape Ann Fisherman* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1856), xii, 49.
- 20 For an analysis of ship imagery in American painting, see David C. Miller, "The Iconology of Wrecked or Stranded Boats in Mid to Late Nineteenth-Century American Culture," in *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, ed. Miller (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993), 186–208; Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1981), 206–80; and Angela Miller, "Space as Destiny: The Panorama Vogue in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," in *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, ed. Irving Lavin, vol. 3 (University Park: Penn State Univ. Press, 1986), 741.
- 21 Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993), 200–205. Albert Boime suggests that all landscapes of the prewar period "where overt signs of racial and class conflict could be occluded—provided a safe and neutral venue for the expression of the territorial expansion that led to the sectional crisis," in Boime, *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle, 1848–1871* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2007), 448.
- 22 *Bulletin of the American Art-Union* 3 (April 1850): 2, quoted in Miller, *Empire of the Eye*, 221.
- 23 Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, 287. When Church exhibited the painting in London in 1863 he changed its title to *The Icebergs*, the name by which it is currently known. On the title of Church's work, Eleanor Jones Harvey notes that "for many Americans the Arctic North and the Union North were inextricably intertwined." In Harvey, *The Voyage of the Icebergs: Frederic Church's Arctic Masterpiece* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2002), 63.
- 24 Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), in *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, 261.
- 25 *The Proceedings of the Union Meeting, Held at Brewster's Hall, October 24, 1850* (New Haven: William H. Stanley, 1851), 18. I am grateful to Ted Panayotoff, a local historian and volunteer at the Maine Lighthouse Museum in Rockland, Maine, for his help in identifying the lighthouse.
- 26 Clarence Cook, "Letters on Art—No. IV," *Independent*, September 7, 1854, 281, reprinted in William H. Gerds, "'The Sea Is His Home': Clarence Cook Visits Fitz Hugh Lane," *American Art Journal* 17, no. 3 (Summer 1985): 44–49, at 49.
- 27 John Ruskin, *Modern Painters* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906), 1:xliv. W., "Development of Nationality in American Art," *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, no. 9 (December 1, 1851): 137.
- 28 For a discussion of Ruskin's influence on painting in the United States, see Linda Ferber and William H. Gerds, *The New Path: Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1985); and more generally Roger Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967). Stevens wrote that "Lane's art books and magazines were always at my service. . . . A Castine man came to Gloucester on business that brought the passing of \$60 through my hands at 2/2/0 commission. I bought with the \$1.50 thus earned Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, my first purchase of an art book. I dare say no other copy was then owned in town." Joseph L. Stevens Jr. to Samuel H. Mansfield, October 17, 1903, Cape Ann Historical Association. Among the possible sources for Lane's knowledge of Ruskin's writings is the *London Art Journal*, to which Lane subscribed; see Craig, *Fitz H. Lane*, 19.
- 29 Cook, "Letters on Art," 49.
- 30 John McCoubrey, "Turner's *Slave Ship*: Abolition, Ruskin, and Reception," *Word and Image* 14, no. 4 (October–December 1998): 347.
- 31 Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 2:111n1.