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THE TAMARIND PAPERS

Technical, Critical and Historical Studies on the Art of the Lithograph



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COVER:

George McNeil.

Dionysus Agonistes, 1984.

Color lithograph, 1118 × 813

[Tamarind 84–304].

Printed by Marcia Brown.

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*Technical, Critical and Historical Studies
on the Art of the Lithograph*

Editor: Clinton Adams

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George McNeil. *Rock Trio*, 1984.
Lithograph, 673 × 953 [Tamarind 84-301].
Printed by Lynne Allen.

THE ARTIST AS LITHOGRAPHER A Conversation

George McNeil and Clinton Adams

*Among the major abstract-expressionist artists few have worked more extensively in lithography and none has made a deeper commitment to the medium than has George McNeil. During his third working visit to Tamarind in January 1984 McNeil discussed his views on lithography in a conversation with Clinton Adams. Adams begins the conversation.**

You were recently quoted to the effect that American lithography in the 1930s and 1940s was "retrograde." What did you mean by that?

This calls for a delicate explanation. The abstract-expressionist style that developed after 1946, stimulated chiefly by Pollock, essentially was painterly; it was extremely broad and form-generous. The kind of lithography that had been taken for granted in the thirties was one of tight drawing, with shaded tones made by hard lithographic pencils and crayons. Even the abstract lithographs of Stuart Davis, surely one of the best American modern artists, tended to be somewhat formalized and static. Thus the whole viewpoint of the new expressionist painting that developed after World War II was antithetical to the dry, rendered lithography that we knew from the Whitney Museum and leftist periodicals and art magazines of the thirties and forties.

If the thinking and painting that prevailed during this period had continued, we never would have had the American art revolution. I am very sympathetic to artists like Kuniyoshi, Dehn, and Lozowick. Their styles were honest, progressive, and sincere: the best that our culture could achieve at the time, and I appreciate the serious documentation that is now being directed toward their art and personalities. But my point is this: Granted that

their work was well intended, it turned out to be rather parochial—fine considering the state of art at that time but limited in terms of world values.

Probably less than one percent of all American lithographs made before 1950 were larger than 16 by 20 inches, perhaps a few by Bellos but not much more. I realize that size is a dangerous art criterion; many large pieces simply are inflated images calculated to attract attention. Of course a four by six inch Rembrandt etching almost surely will be better than any of the joined-together lithographs which are now measured in feet rather than inches. Yet if Pollock, Kline, and others of the abstract-expressionists had continued with their easel-sized canvases of the thirties, they would not have made their massive contribution to a new American art. The gigantism of much recent painting and sculpture, and, even more startling, of lithographs, makes me nervous: I dread the implication of exhibitionism. Nevertheless, I enjoyed working on the 44 by 32 inch dimensions of *Dionysus Agonistes*, for I was able to get my body as well as my hands into the drawing on its stones and plates. For better or worse a larger format was needed for the great amplitude of spirit given by much of the new American lithography.

In my book American Lithographers I quote Franz Kline and Will Barnet. Kline said: "Print-making concerns social attitudes, you know—politics and a public . . . like the Mexicans in the 1930s; printing, multiplying, educating; I can't think about it. I'm involved with the private image." And Barnet, speaking of the late forties, said: "The entire art world was turned over, overnight" and as "ivory tower" attitudes replaced the social consciousness of the depression years "the graphic medium was considered the lowest possible way of

*The typescript of this interview, recorded at Tamarind on 13 January 1984, was extensively revised by McNeil during the summer of 1984.

expressing yourself." Are Kline's and Barnett's comments typical of attitudes in New York at that time?

Yes, although when I think of it now, no one could have made better black-and-white lithographs than Kline. It was simply ignorance on our part as to what could be done with lithography. Take Pollock's work with Hayter in the late forties. With his pouring of paint from gallon cans onto his canvases he had the most free painting style of anybody. Yet when he got into the making of intaglio plates, his drawings were the same dry, tight renderings that we took to be typical of print-making. We didn't know the range of rich greys given by soft crayons and tusche as well as by acid-biting. Even Picasso's lithographs did not contribute to the freeing of the medium; like just about everybody else he composed with filled-in outlines. Once I saw what could be done in lithography, I simply was astonished. I knew that tusche existed but when I came to Tamarind in 1971 and saw a large lithograph by Adja Yunkers I hardly could believe that anyone could work so freely in this medium and yet achieve such an open, rich, and sensuous image.

Elsewhere in the country there appears to have been a different attitude than in New York. Lithographs that are abstract-expressionist in spirit were made in the late 1940s and 1950s by Diebenkorn, Lobdell, Burkhardt, Paris, and others—many on the West Coast.

The West Coast artists simply were not hobbled by the traditional, tight lithography we saw coming out of George Miller's shop in the thirties and forties. But how did they manage to work so freely? Did they just do it by luck?

Limitations certainly existed, on the West Coast as well as in New York, but despite those limitations some artists managed to do adventurous work. Burkhardt made his lithographs with Kistler in 1948 in Los Angeles. Lobdell and Diebenkorn worked in San Francisco at a time when the abstract expressionist spirit was strong there. Harold Paris made prints with Robert Blackburn in New York; while his lithograph Caballa is still linear to some extent, it uses tusche and acid-biting and other complex techniques.

Okay, fine, I just didn't know of the new advances in lithography until the 1960s.

When did you begin to make your lithographs?

Not until 1969. It is a complicated but interesting story in the sense that casual happenings can change the direction of one's work and life. In the mid-sixties I made drawings on ordinary paper with compressed charcoal,

the new kind that is very soft and thick. I would go into the drawing again and again, strike in and erase in a free, painterly way. In the course of this continued reworking the paper would get so abused that I could no longer get a clean white or an intense black. At that time I dimly was aware of a new interest in lithography and that friends like Philip Guston and Esteban Vicente had worked at Tamarind. Then all of a sudden, about 1968, it occurred to me that if I could translate my greyed, beat-up drawings into lithographs I could retain strong lights and darks as well as greys. In short, I would be able to get more life into the drawings. Never for one minute did I think about multiples; I couldn't sell single drawings, let alone duplicates.

Multiplicity didn't mean a thing to you?

No, the multiple idea never entered into my mind at all. I just knew, thinking in sort of a general way, that I had seen lithographs which were interesting in the sense of technique, in the brilliance of lights and darks. So I thought about that, and in 1969 I began to print in the Pratt lithography shop.

In Manhattan or in Brooklyn?

In Brooklyn, in the shop for the graduate program, a part of the Institute proper. There weren't any large stones available, so I began to work on zinc plates giving an 18 by 24 inch image. I would achieve a more or less satisfactory drawing on the plate but when I started to print, the result would be an almost totally black mess. I had taken some elementary instruction from a graduate student who stressed a drawing approach, but I thought I knew better and drew and redrew on the zinc plate as I did on paper. The result was a disaster. I remember printing for a whole day and evening, say twelve hours of hard labor, and seeing that each successive proof would be worse than its predecessor. I would go home about ten o'clock at night absolutely devastated, thinking that this was the worst defeat ever suffered by an artist. Then, miraculously, all this despair would vanish overnight and I would set off the next morning convinced that I would make a fine lithograph that day, which, of course, I did not. That's part of the mystique of lithography that I can't quite grasp. Perhaps it has to do with the importance of craft in printing, that if all the steps in the process are done correctly then one can feel a deep satisfaction at seeing a fine print, of having done one's job well. Except among realists, there are almost no skills in modern painting, hardly any chance for relaxed working with one's hands. In any case, I enjoy

printing much more than painting. When I finish four or five hours of painting I am drained psychologically as well as physically, while after a day of printing I will be tired but will otherwise feel great.

During my miserable first year of printing I made about thirty or thirty-five editions. I think I have a couple of prints from this debacle, but all the rest have been destroyed. In early 1970 I began to make transfer drawings and immediately got more promising results. I could make a more or less complete drawing on transfer paper and avoid putting unnecessary grease onto the plate. The transfers lost a certain range and delicacy of greys but nevertheless it was a great encouragement to get something that resembled a lithograph.

You were still working at the Pratt shop?

No. As a part of the lithographic mystique that I just mentioned I had become completely hooked on the process and in May 1970 I bought a press and two 22 by 28 inch stones. In effect I set up my own shop. When I started to work on stone I got much better results, since I was able to work freely on the stone as well as to modify my images in the process of printing. All through this period I was self-taught, mostly proceeding by trial and error. Then in June 1971 I made six black-and-white editions at Tamarind. By watching the printers I learned very much, so that my printing measurably improved when I returned home.

Altogether I have made some 250 editions of which I have destroyed about half; mostly those which were made during the first two years of printing. Also, I have overprinted many editions. A great drawback in my development is that I would paint for six months and then print for two, with the result that in between I would forget technical information and processes. Sometimes I even would stop printing for a year.

How would you characterize the way in which lithography has influenced the development of your visual ideas?

It has influenced them very much. When a former student came to visit me in 1973, she instantly remarked that my work had become very much more linear. I strongly believe that artists should work in as many varied media as possible, since they tend to enrich each other. I very much regret that I never worked in sculpture. Lithography has helped me to extend my painting by becoming more subject-matter oriented, in other words, more graphic and representational. Perversely, this illustrative direction, which was something of



George McNeil.
Figure, June 19, 1970.
Lithograph.
Printed by the artist.

a handicap to the pre-1950s lithographers who were tied up in story-telling, has become an asset in my work. Over the last ten years or so I have become increasingly interested in absurdity as a human condition, so that my painting has become more ideational. This is certainly a graphic value which has been strengthened by my recent experience with lithography.

By this time Irwin Hollander had established his shop in New York. De Kooning, Guston, and Motherwell were working with him. Were you aware of Hollander's shop then?

Yes. I met Irwin in 1971 or 1972 when he generously loaned me a fine hard stone which I still have. But I never thought of having prints made in a shop, since the sixties and seventies were a very bad time for expressionist artists. I couldn't even sell my drawings, so the idea of multiplying this dilemma by having shop-made editions would have been entirely impractical. You only have to think for a few minutes about the costs, say fifty or seventy-five dollars an hour, to see that unlimited proofing hardly could have been possible. I was committed to the belief that adding and deleting should continue until the very best result was achieved, always bearing in mind the technical limitations of lithography. I would proof and alter my image again and again and again; that is hardly possible in a commercial shop.

You have now worked collaboratively at Tamarind several times. In between these visits you have

George McNeil.
Things Unknown, 1984.
 Lithograph, 559 × 711 [Tamarind 84-306].
 Printed by Marcia Brown.



printed for yourself. Do you detect a difference in the prints you print yourself and the ones you have made at Tamarind?

Yes, the prints made here are always better, very much better.

Technically, you mean?

Technically they are always better.

But does it make a difference in their character?

Well, my prints usually are somewhat beat-up, not quite right, and that does seem to give them a perverse and novel attractiveness. I find that curators are more interested in my printed stuff than in the shop editions of my work.

I believe that artists should distinguish between shop and studio printing. When I work in a shop, as I have on a few occasions, I adopt the practical attitude that my drawing should be as complete as possible for expeditious printing. An artist should know the possibilities and limitations of lithography and adapt his or her form accordingly. I may improvise a drawing one hundred times but at a certain point it should be ready for tracing on a stone or plate. In other words, I try to minimize any problems that will cause trouble in later printing. Of course changes can and should be made during proofing to get the finest print possible, but I think that perhaps two or three proof-modifications are the most that can be expected.

When an artist-printer works in his or her

studio the economic factor disappears entirely: It is a different printing ballgame. Not only can there be as much proofing as desired, but also an artist can experiment endlessly on drawings and plates. Once I made twenty-six proofs on an aluminum plate only to admit complete defeat as prints came off blacker and blacker. The point is that a strong creative potential lies in these hoped-for image corrections, so that surely it is an asset to make as many changes as the artist-printer deems necessary. For most artists it is simply impractical to expect this liberty when paying for the printing of an edition.

The freedom that I need to vary my images comes from my abstract-expressionist background where paintings mostly evolved improvisationally. I seldom start a new painting with a fixed idea, but rather let it evolve under my hand as chance directs. I started the *Rock Trio* print which I just made here in this aleatory way, by throwing water tusche onto a stone coated with lithotone. The water-oil repulsion formed light-and-dark patterns which I then configured into singers. I had no idea at the beginning as to what subject would emerge or what the potential form would be. By scraping with a razor blade and redrawing I got some wonderful textures, but overall the print came out too dark. No amount of acid-biting could lighten certain murky tones without harming the total image. My feeling is that

this is not a good basic approach to lithography; artists are masochistic enough without going out of their way to get a put-down.

Although many fine prints have come about that way . . .

I know they have, but I think that has something to do with a certain kind of negativeness in art generally. Very often we find that when we get into trouble when we are painting or drawing, working our way out becomes an asset rather than a liability. But at the same time to fight the medium is like trying to make watercolor look like oil. I think each of the various mediums has its own character or ethic, and it seems to me that in lithography you should know what can and cannot be accomplished in the technical process of printing.

Wonderfully encouraging for me, my prints usually come out better than the drawings on which they are based. There is a kind of authority and directness in the print as well as a freshness which is surprising. Some of the working subtleties, the unique life given by drawing and erasing in the original drawing, may be lost, but the *Dionysus Agonistes* print made at Tamarind is better than its reference drawing. I am always astonished by that, but it happens again and again.

Is this because of the technical process or because of the way you draw?

It's in the technical process: The colors emerge clean and luminous, they shine very purely. Then also, my prints seem to have an authority, a decisiveness, lacking in my drawings.

Perhaps because in the making of a print there is a necessary moment of commitment. A decision must be made: now it's ready to be printed.

Right, it is there in a kind of forceful, complete way, and I feel the same thing happens with painting. I think artists who work directly and freely get a plus because a certain power is communicated. In life, authority repels me, but in creativity it seems to be an asset. Everytime that I start a print from a drawing I feel that because of the mechanical processes of rolling and printing, the lithograph will be less alive. But usually the opposite occurs and mostly I destroy the initial drawing because the print is so much better.

A persistent problem from the standpoint of a workshop is that some painters come in with a painting and ask the printer, "How do I make a print that looks like this?" You don't approach your prints that way. Your prints are very different from your paintings.

I have sort of conditioned myself to think of the prints that I do as drawing, in a certain

sense as *color drawing*. That's what they are: They are an extension of my drawing-thinking. In 1975 after about four years of color printing I found myself in something of a printmaker's crisis, since I couldn't get my prints to be simple and clear. I remember taking time out to study other lithographs, and while I do not greatly admire Miró's graphic works, I was struck by their simple character. So I gave up trying to make a complete art statement with my prints; my paintings were better suited to do that. Instead, I reconciled myself to making a simple iconic image in four colors or less. I now try to let the white paper show through in a manifest way to assert the graphic character of the print. This hasn't been so easy, I still have to fight for simplicity and directness. Can't a color print be considered like a musical quartet which is somewhat limited in the range of expression but which may be artistically better just because of its simplicity? In relation to your earlier question as to the way in which lithographs influenced my visual ideas, I am pleased that the simplicity of my prints has transferred to my paintings.

That concept relates to the fact that in your color drawings you use oil sticks rather than a brush, for example.

Yes, this is about as close as you can get to painting when drawing. I moisten a smooth-finished paper with paint thinner so that the sticks move freely, then I use the same free approach when drawing with lithographic crayons on a plate or stone. There is more freedom in the printed *Dionysus Agonistes* than in the original drawing, a very satisfying result for me.

Are you more willing to improvise when you do a black-and-white lithograph?

Yes, I think that's a whole different story. When I get back to New York I'm going to try some crayon and tusche chance images on a stone. What I learned here about using lithotine and benzine for removing darks surprised me, so I'll do that for fun as an art escapade. But moving away from lithography proper, there is a limit as to what you can do in improvising form. One pulls these free images out of one's unconscious, which is limited to basic, massive drives such as aggression and sexuality. I find that I tend to repeat the same subject matter when I improvise, so I initially evoke chance images from random marks and tones and then configure them into more or less complete compositions.

That suggests a historical echo. Kandinsky often called his small paintings, the watercolors and the



George McNeil spatters tusche on a plate while working at Tamarind Institute in 1976.

sketches, Improvisations, and he called the large paintings Compositions.

I'd forgotten that.

He was saying much what you are saying.

The approach that I used in *Rock Trio* might be called composed improvisation. I do not relate very much to large lithographs made only with a gestural splash or two of black or color. I believe that every art form should be complete and integral, that the most spontaneous expression should resolve itself into form if it is to be taken seriously. I understand lithographic improvisation to be somewhat like that of the Baroque composers, where Handel could sit down at a clavichord and spontaneously create a completely rounded fugue. This evolving of unified form from chance beginnings is an artistic feat which predicates much free as well as controlled composing experience.

The comment has been made that the best and most significant prints have been made by artists who have come to printmaking in their maturity as artists, by those who have already established their identity; and, on the other hand, that artists who study printmaking in the schools—and who think of themselves as printmakers from the beginning—are less likely to make important prints. Do you agree with this?

I am sure that is true. This is part of the dilemma now facing printmaking: If the initial concept isn't large, if the art isn't there

from the beginning, all the technical gloss is not going to save the print as such. So I think first one should be an artist in a very substantial way and then become a printmaker or have prints made by others. I think students who work too much on the technical end may be creatively inhibited later on, although I do think printmaking should be learned in art school.

What you have said about the desirability of working in a variety of mediums suggests that if you were designing an educational program you might perhaps prefer not to see students major in printmaking—or in painting, for that matter—but just in art.

There's a difference between majoring in painting and in the graphic arts, since the former embraces all the basic concepts and techniques of any two-dimensional art, be it oil painting or lithographic printing. The broadest kind of training in drawing and painting for printmakers is desirable because later their art will determine the intrinsic value of their prints. No amount of technical brilliance can compensate for a paucity of art expression. However I do think that undergraduate and graduate students should take at least one course in the varied print media so as to know them from the inside. I have told my MFA students at Pratt that they should wait a year or two after getting their degrees and then study at the Pratt Graphic Art Center at night. They could then learn one graphic process a year, like lithography, etching, silk-screen, and wood engraving. I certainly regret having had such a strong bias in my youth against printmaking; if I had known print media in my thirties it would have helped me a lot.

But not really to be a printmaker per se.

I don't feel that I'm a qualified printmaker: I have too much respect for good shop practices; I just do the best I can.

Yet it has been felt by some observers that such shop practices can lead to the "technical gloss" of which you spoke a moment ago. Obviously your own work here at Tamarind doesn't have that characteristic; it serves to demonstrate that such gloss or polish is not a necessary condition of work in a professional shop. What do you feel are some of the factors that lead to such an over-emphasis on surface qualities?

Well, the shops have to turn out absolutely technically perfect work, and as I said, the hard fact that it costs fifty to seventy-five dollars an hour to run a print shop surely limits the number of changes that an artist can make in proofing. In other words, there has to be

a cost-effective approach to printing. Then too, in the last twenty years or so there has been an extensive merchandising of prints. In many Madison Avenue offices handsomely framed prints fit into the Knoll decor as though they were made to order, and maybe they were.

What you say about cost-effective printing is certainly true. In any lithographic workshop there must be limits on endless proofing, although it is true, of course, that a shop can afford to do things for a Motherwell or a De Kooning that it can not afford to do for a young artist in his or her thirties. The price a print will command in the marketplace is a conditioning factor.

Yes, Motherwell's images are somewhat definite, so I think that his working at a shop wouldn't pose great difficulties. But I don't believe that De Kooning's lithographs equal his paintings. From their appearance I assume that he did not go in and out of the form an unlimited number of times. I think that artists have to face the economic facts of shop printing and prepare their germinal reference drawings and color sketches so that they can be printed effectively. As I stated earlier, it is another matter with studio printing. When an artist prints for himself or herself the art becomes everything; there doesn't have to be any worry about cost. Of course, as in my case, the prints may have technical defects, but that is simply part of the game. There shouldn't be any conflict between shop and studio printing: Each is correct in its art role. Indeed, each can help to extend and reinforce the other. I am always pleased to work in shops not only because I learn so much by watching the printers but also because I appreciate how well my drawings are transformed into technically perfect prints.

Almost surely the most productive printing situation would be one where a shop-lithographer could simultaneously realize the aims of an artist while also suggesting technical enhancements known only to specialists. Also implicit in my thinking is the idea that artists should know that the unique ethic of lithography should not be parodied into painting. Not only can this be helped by an artist's experience of personal printing: There is also the unique enjoyment of the hand work, of transforming drawings and sketches into fine, sparkling prints. I am a "born again" lithographer, a zealot, and only wish I had gotten into the process earlier. □

NEWS AND NOTES

Canadian Publications

Two new Canadian publications will be of interest to readers of *TTP*:

Canadian Print & Portfolio contains brief articles on print processes and print artists; announcements of exhibitions and special events; a portfolio with small black and white reproductions of recently published prints by Canadian artists; capsule reviews of books and catalogues; and a directory of Canadian galleries and print studios. It is published four times a year in a newsletter format by Canadian Print & Portfolio, Suite 030-74, 65 Front St. W., Toronto, Ontario M5J 1E6; the annual subscription is \$10.00 (Canada), \$15.00 (USA and elsewhere).

The first issue of *Print Voice* was scheduled for publication in September 1984. According to its editor and designer Walter Jule, *Print Voice* includes more than fifteen informative articles by authors from Canada, England, Japan, and the United States. In addition to 150 reproductions the first issue includes nine original prints by as many artists. Published in an edition of 1,200 copies, *Print Voice* may be ordered from its publisher, the Department of Art and Design, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2C9, for \$40.00 (Canadian), soft cover [ISBN 0-88864-962-2]. An illustrated brochure describing the new publication is available upon request.

A New Conservation Hinge

Those who frame works of art on paper and find preparation of fresh paste for Japanese paper hinges to be an unsavory chore will welcome the availability of a relatively new product called *Insta-Hinge*. It is composed of fine white Japanese paper, pre-torn into feathered-edge strips, one-and-one-half inches in width by twenty-four inches in length; these strips may be further torn to any needed size.

Continued on page 83.

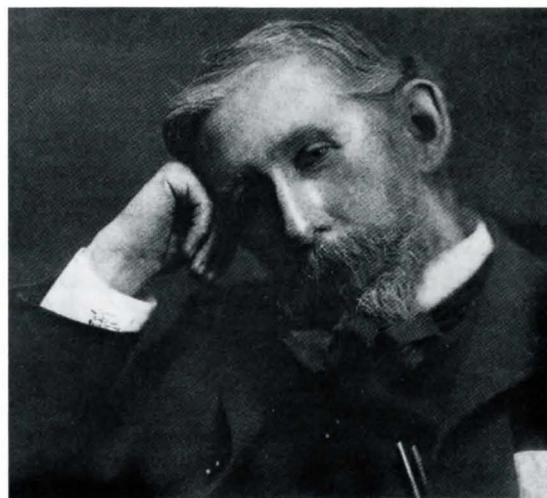
JOSEPH PENNELL AND BOLTON BROWN

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to separate the work of Joseph Pennell or Bolton Brown from the sharply contrasting attitudes they brought to life and art. Bolton Brown's long-unpublished essay "Pennellism and the Pennells" reflects their two very different personalities: Pennell's lofty arrogance and carelessness with facts infuriated Brown, who from 1915 until his death in 1936 carried on an unrelenting campaign against the widely-held view that Pennell was "the dean of American lithographers."¹

Pennell was not a target to be lightly or easily attacked; he was a formidable opponent who enjoyed immense prestige. Various called "a genius"² and a "cyclonic influence,"³ he was considered "one of the really great American artists . . . a staunch champion [and] an indefatigable fighter."⁴ "What Sargent was to the art of painting Pennell was to the illustrative arts—our foremost American representative."⁵ "[Pennell] did more for the future of the graphic arts in this country than any other man."⁶ At his death in 1926 the *New York Times* carried both a lengthy front-page story and an editorial lamenting the loss of "a significant art, a devoted teacher, [and] a spirited advocate of beauty."⁷

By contrast, Brown, who had had a diverse career as a professor at Cornell and Stanford universities, as a founder of the Woodstock art colony, as a painter, and, ultimately, as an artist-lithographer, had achieved neither Pennell's fame nor his financial success. This fact did nothing to weaken Brown's conviction that in his disputes with Pennell, his was the side of right and reason; he believed that in his books, *Lithography* (1923) and *Lithography for Artists* (1930), he had provided a far more sound and accurate view of the essential character of the lithographic process than had Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell in their much-read books and articles: thus his implacable battle against "forty years of Pennell, Pennellists, and Pennellism," a battle which Brown continued to wage even after Pennell had been long in the grave.

C. A.



Joseph Pennell. Circa 1905.

- 1 See James Watrous, *A Century of American Printmaking, 1880–1890* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 43.
- 2 Leila Mechlin, "Joseph Pennell Memorial Exhibition in the Library of Congress," *American Magazine of Art* 18 (1927): 519.
- 3 Lorado Taft, quoted in the *New York Times*, 25 April 1926, p. 14.
- 4 C. Powell Minnigerode, director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, quoted by Dorothy Grafly, "A Pennell Memorial Meeting, Philadelphia, May 18," *American Magazine of Art* 17 (1926): 370.
- 5 Robert Underwood Johnson, secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, quoted in the *New York Times*, 24 April 1926, p. 6.
- 6 William M. Ivins, Jr., "Joseph Pennell," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 21.11 (November 1926): 252.
- 7 Editorial, *New York Times*, 24 April 1926, p. 16.

PENNELLISM AND THE PENNELLS

Bolton Brown

with Notes by Clinton Adams

WHEN PHOTOGRAPHY came into the world, about the middle of the last century, among the consequences of its arrival was the gradual subsidence of artistic lithography. Photography made possible the cheap process reproduction, and in commercial competition with this, lithography was definitely beaten. Commercial work, of course, went on, from victory to victory. It is doing so yet, but we are not concerned with that. In their time, artistic lithographs, though works of art, had been also works of commerce. Publishers employed and paid artists just as they employed and paid other men. They also hired and paid the printer. Unfortunately for art, printers and artists belonged to different worlds, and worlds which mostly did not overlap. Unfortunate, but—that was the way it was. Consequently, when the trade of the publishers fell off, artists no longer produced lithographs.

There lived in London, fifty years ago, a printer named Thomas Way. He had a son, also a printer, Thomas R. Way. The elder Way went around among the artists, not as a publisher, but as a printer, and tried to inspire



Bolton Brown. *Circa 1933.*

them to use lithography independently of the publishers, just for fun and to express themselves. He did not worry about whether they drew on paper or on stone. Either would bring grist to his mill; either one would have to be printed. We do not hear that Mr. Way urged the artists to do their own printing, as today Ernest Jackson does.¹ Distinctly not. In 1878, Mr. Way having persuaded that eminent painter and wit to try his hand, Whistler began by drawing a few experiments on stone.²

NOTE: "Pennellism and the Pennells" is the fourth part of an unpublished book which Brown completed in 1933. This book was apparently based directly upon the Scammon Lectures which Brown presented at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1929. See also, Bolton Brown, "My Ten Years in Lithography," *TTP* 5 (1981–82), and Clinton Adams, *American Lithographers, 1900–1960: The Artists and Their Printers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

After Brown's death in 1936, this manuscript, together with his journals and other papers, was acquired by Ward and Mariam Coffin Canaday and was then given to the Bryn Mawr College Library as a part of the John Taylor Arms Collection. *TTP* is once more indebted to the Bryn Mawr College Library for the kind cooperation and assistance of its staff and for permission to publish this section of Brown's book. Its juxtaposition with Nicholas Smale's article on "Whistler and Transfer Lithography" is a particularly happy one, for in this way the contrasting attitudes and practices of Whistler, Sickert, Pennell, and Brown are seen together and in perspective.

Brown's manuscript is not a final, polished draft, and

in editing it for publication I have corrected typographical errors and misspellings; I have also changed punctuation to conform to contemporary style. As printed here, Brown's text is somewhat abridged, a total of eight paragraphs having been omitted (see notes 22, 48, and 49).

In his numerous quotations from *Lithography and Lithographers* by Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell (see note 13), Brown occasionally made errors in transcription; in the case of minor discrepancies, these quotations have been corrected to conform to the Pennells' text; in the case of substantial discrepancies, Brown's wording has been left unaltered and the Pennells' text has been provided in a footnote.

C. A.

1 Francis Ernest Jackson (1872–1945) was an early member of the Senefelder club.

2 For a discussion of Whistler's lithographs, see Nicholas Smale, "Whistler and Transfer Lithography," in this issue of *TTP*, pp. 72–83.

"Pennellism and the Pennells"; © Bryn Mawr College Library, 1984. Notes, © Clinton Adams, 1984.

I call them experiments on general principles, because any man's first work, if he has any intelligence at all, must be experiments. Having made these few experiments, he gave up drawing on stone, and thereafter drew on paper designs which Way transferred to stone and printed as lithographs. Except for the biased testimony of the Pennells we do not know why Whistler ceased to draw on stone. We can, however, make a reasonable guess that it was because he was not enamoured of its quality, as he was enamoured of the quality of oil painting and etching. In a word, he was not a natural lithographer. His main interest in lithography seems to have [been] rooted in the fact that by it his drawings could be cheaply multiplied. At any rate, he never cared enough about the art of drawing on stone to practice it in any seriousness, as he practiced etching. He evidently set a higher value on his personal convenience—a sheet of paper being lighter than a stone—than he did on any superiority of result that he saw in using stone.

For twenty years, at an average interval of about once a month, Whistler made a little note or small sketch on paper with a lithographic pencil. Mr. H. P. Bray, employed in the Way printery, transferred and printed them. Because they were lithographically printed, the name "lithographs" was applied to them, though they were not what the world had previously understood the word to mean—prints from drawings made on stone.

In 1887, Goupil issued a portfolio of these productions, entitled "Notes." I do not know the size of the edition, nor how many re-transfers of the designs, if any, were used. It did not sell. In 1893, Mrs. Pennell tells us, Mr. T. R. Way assembled artists at Barnard's Inn Hall and introduced lithographic stones, transfer paper, and a press to them. He lectured and some of the artists made lithographic drawings. Joseph Pennell was one of the number. In 1895, Mr. Pennell made paper drawings in Spain, and in 1896 exhibited prints

made by transferring these paper drawings to stone and printing them as lithographs.³ They were catalogued as "lithographs." This use of the word, which was not a customary one, made the identity of a lithograph solely a question of how it was printed, ignoring the infinitely more important question of how it was drawn.

Upon the appearance of these so-called lithographs, and the catalogue naming them as such, Walter Sickert, the English painter, wrote a letter which was printed in the *Saturday Review* of December twenty-sixth, 1896. I transcribe here that part of the letter which related to the matter in hand. The editor placed over the letter the title, and thereby created a name which I suppose we may as well hold to, the words "transfer lithography":

It were unjust to hold Mr. Pennell, the draughtsman, responsible for Mr. Pennell, the critic. Mr. Pennell is a clever draughtsman and a shocking bad critic. Some years ago, however, Professor Herkomer published a book with illustrations which he described as etchings by Professor Herkomer. Mr. Pennell protested in the papers that some of these were improperly described as etchings. He pointed out that, whereas an etching by so-and-so is worth so-and-so guineas, a photo-zinc reproduction of a pen drawing by the same person is worth less in the market than so-and-so pence. It was not a question of art, but of commercial morality. Here was no exaggerated purism. It was a clear case of articles described in such a manner as to mislead the purchaser on the vital point of the commercial value of what he was buying. Mr. Pennell's opinion was upheld by Sir Seymour Haden. His protest was successful. The papers were practically unanimous in their condemnation of Professor Herkomer's use of the English language and the offending description was withdrawn. It appears to me that in entitling the collection of "scenes and places described in Washington Irving's Alhambra" lithographs, Mr. Pennell has been guilty of the same looseness of statement as he succeeded in bringing home to Professor Herkomer. If we are to keep our artistic diction pure—and it is, for every possible reason, artistic and commercial, well that we should do so—a lithograph by Mr. Pennell must be made to mean a drawing done on the stone by Mr. Pennell and then printed. It does not mean a drawing done by Mr. Pennell on transfer paper and then transferred by the lithographer on to the stone, and then printed. . . . A lithograph by Daumier means a print from a stone which Daumier has drawn. . . . For prints from stones to which the drawing has been transferred from lithographic paper some other term must be found. "Transfer lithograph" appears to me to be quite a nice phrase, and it, or some other

3 The lithographs Pennell made in Spain (Wuerth 7 through 59) were small in size, most of them five by eight inches or smaller. In a letter published as an introduction to the exhibition of these lithographs late in 1896, Whistler wrote: ". . . I have seen these fresh lithographs Mr. Pennell has brought back from Spain with him. They are charming. There is a crispness in their execution, and a lightness and gaiety in their arrangement as pictures, that belong to the artist alone; and he only could, with the restricted means of the lithographer—and restricted, indeed, I have found them—have put Sunny Spain in your frames."

equally unmistakable equivalent, should certainly be used by those who are by way of being purists, if they wish to be consistent. So much for the commercial aspect of the case. Esthetically, the crown and glory of true lithography is the range it affords, from the whiteness of the paper down to the most velvety depths of the black ink. This range is expressed in terms of the Bavarian stone. Here, then, is a beauty, half natural, half due to human skill, which is the attribute of lithography alone. When the drawing, however, is made on transfer paper, the range of color is restricted by about two-thirds, and it is expressed in terms of an artificial grain. The lithographic paper is manufactured to imitate the surface of the stone and the grain is as much a sham as the marbled and varnished wallpaper on the staircases in a dear Victorian house. The artist who does transfer lithographs is, therefore, using a debased instrument. It has its conveniences, it is true, but it is nonsense to talk of a revival of lithography on these terms. It is full decadence. Interesting it may be. Drawings of merit may be executed in this, as in any other medium; but the art of lithography is degraded. . . . Mr. Whistler is a genius. But he must not help Mr. Pennell to debase the currency.

Walter Sickert.

The Sickert contention is important because the kernel of it is that the main matter of public interest in a work of art is how it was DRAWN, not how it was printed. And as the things known as lithographs had been universally drawn on stone, to ignore this and call things drawn on paper by the same name was a misuse of language. He was, of course, perfectly right.

I think there arose, whether in relation to the Sickert letter or otherwise I am not sure, some question as to the commercial honesty of calling transfers lithographs. At any rate, somebody fetched somebody into court about it, and the end was that it was decided, by law, that transfers might, without criminality, be called lithographs.⁴ Senefelder's process was a process of printing; it was called lithography. The Pennell transfers were printed by the Senefelder process; ergo, they were lithographs. That was as far as the legal mind could see. And to this legal decision, which was in itself excellent advertising, Pennell nailed his colors and went forth to battle.

Pennell, an illustrator of objective phenom-

ena by profession, travelling far and wide for his subjects, has now made the discovery that he can just as well kill two birds with one stone; his illustrations could be photo-mechanically reproduced for publication in books, while the same drawings could also be transferred to stone and issued as lithographs. It looks easy. And it is.

For years, Whistler had played mildly with his little transfers. The advertising value of his name and example were great, nor was there any tendency to let any of it get away when handled by Pennell. If the public could be bamboozled and law-suited into accepting Whistler as a lithographer, then the battle against crayonstone was half won. Pennell's business interests were benefitted by every move he made, but no trace of this appears on the surface of things. On the surface, his position was that "lithography" was being sadly neglected, and all to the detriment of art; that it was a glorious method, still extant but almost expiring and much in need of being "revived." Nay, it had already been revived, for had not The Master already made many lithographs, out of a silver matchbox in his vest pocket? And had not the law stopped the sacrilegious mouth of him who denied these works the title of lithographs? Surely they were printed from stone, just as much as were the works of Gavarni and Daumier and Harding, and are just as much lithographs as the works of these high forerunners are. The commercial value of the name, lithograph, of seeming to be in the line of an accepted and fine tradition did not for a moment escape Pennell, the propagandist. And for the rest of his life, this able illustrator, but shocking bad critic, did everything he could think of to forward business by the use of this idea.

He wrote (and a shocking bad writer he was), he lectured, he taught, he sent letters to newspapers, he kept himself and his theory of lithography ever in the limelight. Whistler was made into a club and used to bat the heads of all heretics to his doctrine. Mrs. Pennell's literary efforts helped to spread the propaganda, for a regular propaganda it became. She, too, would reduce a world to silence by breathing the name Whistler. In 1897, she published an article in *Scribner's* magazine, entitled "The Master of Lithography." "His first print as his last," we read, "shows Mr. Whistler to be the accomplished artist in this as in all mediums. . . . He works in his own, which is the right, way to-day as he did twenty years ago; he has established the standard against which it is useless for the present

The main matter of public interest in a work of art is how it was drawn, not how it was printed.

⁴ For an account of the Sickert trial from the perspective of Pennell and Whistler, see Elizabeth Robins and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London: William Heinemann, 1908), Vol. 2, pp. 186-92.

generation to rebel."⁵ My sense of humor forbids me to mar this gem by any comment whatever.

The fight to get transfers accepted as lithographs, as the same art as that which was practiced by the historic lithographers, occasionally enlisted other interested parties. Frederick Keppel and Company, print dealers who sell Mr. Pennell's transfers, published a book by Pennell. It is entitled *Lithography*. In it the statement is made that "it has been said by critics that drawing on paper is not so full and rich as drawing on stone. Artists know that this is false, and no expert can tell the difference."⁶

In 1897, the *Critic* of London, published a letter by Frederick Keppel. He refers to the method of transfer as "one of the labor saving appliances now used by Whistler, [Fantin] Latour, Pennell, and others," and then observes that "less up-to-date men still make lithographs on stone." This hits the nail on the head, in one respect, at least; these up-to-date men are using a labor saving appliance. They were indeed, but what this has to do with art one does not see. He [Keppel] proceeds (they all try to hang it on Whistler in the end): "No one can accuse Whistler of dishonesty, yet he uses transfer and calls the result lithography." It makes me think of the riddle: "How many legs has a dog got if you call his tail a leg?" The answer is four, because calling his tail a leg doesn't make it one. Whistler, to whom I have no intention of doing an injustice, really did not say foolish things. He left that to his satellites. What he said was—and he said it twenty years after his first experiments—that he found the method "restricted indeed," and he refers to himself, in the same passage, as a "beginner." And this was about the truth. But it was not at all what the Ways and the Pennells wanted to hear. They were trying to hang a lithographic religion on him, and to hear a divinity talk reasonably is painful to rabid zealots. Way published a regret, almost

an accusation, about this statement of Whistler's.⁷

In 1889, Pennell writes for the *International Studio*, an article which he entitles, without a smile, "The Truth about Lithography."⁸ It is a statement of Pennellism, the essence of which he puts into the words, "You can do anything on paper that you can do on stone." This is on a par with, "No expert can tell the difference." Thirty years later, in the manuscript of my book, *Lithography for Artists*, I stated that when Pennell said you could do anything on paper that you could do on stone he said what was not true. The book was published by the Art Institute of Chicago. They edited out my statement and substituted one of their own. As published, I am made to say that Mr. Pennell was "mistaken." Whether a man is mistaken, or whether he is lying may be disputed about, but whether what he says is true or not true is a matter of fact. In this case it is a fact open to absolute demonstration. I say it is open to demonstration, and so it is to anyone needing to have demonstrated what anybody can see at a glance. That you can do on paper anything you can do on stone is a statement more than merely false; it is preposterously and laughably so. I should not be telling a larger whopper if I said you could do anything with a lead pencil that you can do with charcoal.

Nor have we any reason to be surprised if Pennell writes "mistakenly." We have reason to be surprised, or we would have if we did not know him, that he says anything. For how should he, who by his own loud profession does not draw on the stone, how should he be in a position to lay down the law as to what you can do on stone? And why should anybody care a rap what he says? And never yet has any other artist been discovered who agrees with him—not one. I have drawn hundreds of designs on stone and endless quantities on paper. Consequently, of my own experience I know the falsity—falsity to the

5 Elizabeth Robins Pennell, "The Master of the Lithograph—J. McNeill Whistler," *Scribner's Magazine* 21 (March 1897): 279, 289. See also Nicholas Smale, "Whistler and Transfer Lithography," in this issue of *TTP*, p. 82.

6 Brown misquotes Pennell, whose text reads: "It has been said by critics and experts that a drawing on paper is not so full and rich as a drawing on stone. Artists know that this is false. And no expert is able to tell the difference—to tell whether the drawing was made on paper or stone." Joseph Pennell, *Lithography* (New York: F. Keppel & Co., 1912), pp. 5–6.

7 Way commented both upon Whistler's reference to

the "restricted means of the lithographer" (see note 3 above) and upon his further statement that "others, persevering, have strained the limits of the art beyond the ken of us beginners." Way continued: "This from one who had strained the limits of the art to make it produce new and unfamiliar work, until he succeeded in getting what he aimed at, was not generous nor very amusing." Thomas R. Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler, the artist* (London: John Lane, 1912), p. 141.

8 Joseph Pennell, "The Truth about Lithography," *Studio* 16 (1889): 38. The magazine was then *Studio*; its American edition later became *International Studio*.

point of absurdity—of the Pennell claim. Years ago I offered, publicly, to give a farm to anyone who would successfully copy, by paper transfer, one square inch out of any good piece of old crayonstone work. Never has the offer been taken up, because every man with any ability to draw at all sees that it cannot be done.

Pennell, too, knows quite well that it cannot be done. When he is off his guard he says so. I offer the following quotation from his work entitled *The Illustration of Books*, published in London in 1895:⁹ “For many reasons it would probably be best to draw on the stone itself always.” Then he lets the cat out of the bag. The real reason why we are not to draw on stone is simply the physical inconvenience for the peripatetic illustrator; it has nothing to do with art. He says, “It is obviously impossible to carry a big heavy stone with one; therefore [Brown’s italics] lithographic transfer paper must be used if the work is to be done from nature.”

Spencer Pryse, twenty years after this was written, carried about a big heavy stone on the battlefields of the world war, and drew on it from nature. In his catalogue of lithographs exhibited in 1895, Pennell says, “The stone gives one quality, and the paper another.” Both these statements are in direct contradiction to his claim that “no expert can tell the difference.” When Pennell has an axe to grind, when he is propagandizing, he swears roundly, in writing, in lectures, in conversation, that you can do anything on paper that you can do on stone, and that no expert can tell the difference. But he knows better; his own words show that he does. He propagandizes because he wants to get the benefit of the interest and admiration which crayonstone for a century commanded. He wants to “revive” that interest and admiration and tack it on to his transfers. The labor and training necessary for stone work he hates, and he wants us to think that his cheaper and easier scheme of flitting about with some sheets of paper results in something “just as good.” Forty years of Pennell, Pennellists, and Pennellism have failed to substantiate that claim in any degree whatever.

No one need think that I do not know Pennell can draw; I know and heartily admire his gifts as a draughtsman. But I am not talking about them now; I am talking about his char-

latanism. I used this word in the same connection in conversation with Director Fox of the Brooklyn Museum. “Well,” he replied, “perhaps he is a little of a charlatan.” Mr. A. Augustus Healy was president of the board of trustees of the same institution; he was also a personal friend of Whistler. When I happened to mention to him that Whistler’s prints were done on paper he was surprised. Hearing them called lithographs he had taken it for granted that they were crayonstones. His first words were, “Why, then they aren’t lithographs at all.” His judgment was instantly and exactly that of Sickert; namely, that they were not lithographs; the name had deceived him.

In 1919, The Studio, Ltd., published *Modern Woodcuts and Lithographs by British and French Artists*, with commentary by Malcolm C. Salaman. In his commentary he refers to this contention of Pennell’s that transfer is equal to crayonstone, and he says he does not think “any of our genuine lithographic artists” would agree with it. The wording of the above quotation, it will be observed, excludes the President of the Senefelder Club [Pennell] from the ranks of our genuine lithographers. This is quite as it should be. The same exclusion would, of course, extend, for the same reason, to Whistler. According to Mr. Salaman, contemporary artists who accept crayonstone as genuine lithography include “all our distinguished lithographers,” of whom he mentions by name, Brangwyn, F. Ernest Jackson, Kerr Lawson, Sullivan, Becker, Hartrick, Spencer Pryse, John Copley, Ethel Gabain, and [Albert de] Belleruche. Mr. Belleruche will not even allow that the merits of a drawing on paper, such as they are, ever come through the transfer process and appear in the print. He writes to Mr. Salaman that transferring is “handy for rough sketches,” but that a good drawing will certainly “lose all its savor after it has been subjected to the transfer operation.”

Professor F. Ernest Jackson has for many years taught artistic lithography in the London County Council School at Kingsway.¹⁰ He is a master of printing, and on the stone a draughtsman of high artistic distinction. In 1924, he writes in an article in the ———¹¹ that

That you can do on paper anything you can do on stone is a statement more than merely false; it is preposterously and laughably so.

⁹ Joseph Pennell, *The Illustration of Books: Notes for a course of lectures at the Slade School, University College* (London, New York: Macmillan, 1895).

¹⁰ Though in their writings both Brown and Pennell referred to the school at which Jackson taught classes in lithography as the “London County Council School,” its proper name, then as now, was the Central School of Arts and Crafts.

¹¹ Brown left a space in his manuscript, apparently intending later to insert missing information.

"clear thought about prints can only be arrived at after long practice in producing them," and he says that in time his materials will "reveal their secrets to him who watches and obeys them, and to him only." "Watches and obeys"—beautiful words! Conversing with Professor Jackson, I brought up this transfer question.¹² He sniffed. To his mind there was no question. "Everybody draws on stone," he said, and after a pause added, with contempt, "except Joe Pennell and fellows like that." Of lithography at large he declared that "Joe Pennell knows nothing whatever about it. All he knows he got by standing by my press."

On the whole it would appear that neither Whistler nor Pennell cared a straw for those qualities in crayonstone that endear it to those who understand it. To them it was primarily not a drawing opportunity, but merely a scheme of reproduction. Whistler is content to draw his little "notes" on paper, exactly as he might have done with a lead pencil, and what he gets pleases him, and all he asks of lithography is to give him multiples of the same thing. If the stone had appealed to him, he would have used it. Other men, to whom it did appeal, did use it. Mrs. Pennell's lament that the poor man was "prevented" from learning the whole art, printing and all, is absurd. The essentials of the matter are to be found in any number of handbooks, and the necessary materials were on the market everywhere. For less than a hundred dollars he could any day have had a complete working equipment set up in his studio. That he did not do so proves simply that he did not want to.

Whistler's original lithographic idea, according to the statements of Mrs. Pennell in the Pennell book, was of an economic nature, not an artistic one. She says he wanted "to publish them in large numbers for a small price." But when he tried it and there were no takers, the scheme naturally fell through. It is not at all surprising that there were no takers. The things did not look like lithographs, nor were they quite paper drawings. If they had been either one, they might have been perfect things, technically, in their way. But being what they were, they fell between the two things—neither fish nor flesh. The transferring gave them a nondescript sort of

texture—not paper, not stone. On paper, the mark of the pencil is a beautifully exact record of the movement and pressure of the hand. Through long familiarity we read these movements and pressures; the touch is alive. It is the same in the case of speech; the living feeling of the speaker controls the most minute inflections of his voice. It is true in ordinary talk, and even more true in poetic speech, and most true of all in music. And in drawing, this same vital expression is by means of the fingers in a language addressed to the eye. And just as muddling vocal intonations muddles expression, so muddling manual records does also. In art, personal expression is everything. A drawing by Whistler will not stand muddling. Moreover, his crayon sketches on paper were, to begin with, inferior to what he would have done with the lead pencil.

When the chalk drawing is transferred, it does not really carry over the perfection of touch that it had on paper; it fails a little, and looks like—well, to be frank, it looks like just what it is, a somewhat imperfect reproduction of a drawing on paper. The literary critics, before the Whistler transfers, chirp over the lovely little model and the remarkable old blacksmith and so forth and so on—all of which may be freely agreed to without touching the question of lithography at all. The little model and the blacksmith might have been achieved, and for the most part better achieved, in a simple pencil drawing.

But when you see a work by a natural lithographer, you cannot say that; you see that it could not have been done in any other material. If Whistler had habituated himself to draw on stone, and had drawn the model and the blacksmith on it, the prints of these subjects would have been different from what they are, and far superior.

Compared to the Whistler things, the typical Pennell transfer suffers far less. The reason is clear; it is done on coarse paper and is of very large dimensions. Therefore its component granules instead of being of nearly or quite microscopic smallness, as in the Whistler work, are not small at all. They are so large that they retain their identity pretty well even after being transferred, and consequently a handsome original by Pennell results in a handsome print. Used in that way, the lithographic transfer process is a successful method of reproducing. Only—it is not lithography. A Pennell reproduction, as far away as you can see it, is very plainly a paper-drawn design. Calling it a lithograph is just hocus-pocus.

12 For an account of Brown's study of lithography with Jackson during the summer of 1915, see Brown, "My Ten Years in Lithography," *TTP* 5 (1981–82): 9–10.

THE BOOK which the Pennells wrote, *Lithography and Lithographers*, is all for transfer, on every page; and always Whistler is a great lithographer. To sustain these positions there is a good deal of what we may call omission and commission. The conclusions that an ordinary reader might be led to are not always quite the same that he might arrive at if he got his information from other sources. As an instance: we read concerning Whistler, "He drew on stone in the seventies, on paper in the nineties."¹³ And there is a complete omission of any hint that out of a hundred and sixty prints, only the first nine—the FIRST nine, mind you, were on stone.¹⁴ He is, Mrs. Pennell affirms, "a perfect master of his material in all its variety and subtlety."¹⁵ No man ever became a perfect master of anything in his first nine experiments. Again, the statement, standing alone, "He worked in wash."¹⁶ No hint of how very few times "he worked in wash," nor how badly most of them came out. You are allowed to suppose that whenever the fit took him he just stepped out and made a lithotint. But if you suppose this, you suppose erroneously. All told, he is credited with having tried ten lithotints out of a hundred and sixty designs spread through twenty years. Three of these are mostly done with crayon, containing merely some experimental swishings of the wash here and there. Of the remaining seven, no less than four, *Early Morning*, *Limehouse*, *Nocturne*, and *The Toilet*, Mr. T. R. Way refers to in his *Memories of Whistler* as "not lithotints, but in the *manière noire*, the stone being prepared before he touched it . . . with half-tints upon which he worked . . . [by] adding darks and scraping lights."¹⁷ This reduces the actual lithotints to three, in twenty years. "He worked in wash."

In Mrs. Pennell's article in *Scribner's* magazine, already referred to, Whistler is credited with "unswerving directness, the seal and hallmark which he placed on lithography." If one's capacity to be made dizzy were not al-

ready exhausted, statements like this would make him very dizzy indeed. Nothing could be further from the way Whistler made his transfers. I submit extracts from Way's catalogue.¹⁸ He speaks of *Early Morning* thus: "The first state, of which twelve copies were printed, is so dark as to represent a time before dawn. The broad washes of ink laid on the prepared tint are seen to have run together in places and to have lost the drawing. . . . There is hardly any indication of scraping. The artist then took the stone in hand and by two further states scraped away the unnecessary darks and recovered the drawing; after each scraping the subject was still further lightened by re-etching. . . ." Of *Limehouse* he says: "The first state is very dull and uninteresting in effect, the sky having printed far too dark, etc. . . . by means of the scrape . . . re-etching as well some darkening of the buildings . . . the true relation of the various parts was obtained." In the creation of *The Toilet*, "the figure was afterwards greatly lightened throughout with successive scrapings and re-etchings." All these many "re-etchings," it should be remembered, were not done by Whistler at all, but by the printer. "Re-etching," I may explain, is simply dissolving away some of the drawing with acid. And as the action of the acid is invisible, and cannot be known until it is done and it is too late to change it, there is in this operation a large element of chance. And, as already said, the printer mixes and applies the acid, not the artist, so that the results are to be credited to the printer. Any experienced person knows that Way and Whistler, going along in this way, would be quite unable to foresee with any definiteness what a re-etch would do; they just went ahead and tried it, and then did the best they could with what happened.

So much for Whistler's "unswerving directness," the "seal and hallmark that he placed on lithography." But if the reader desires other testimony to the way Whistler produced his

*If the stone
had appealed to
him he would
have used it.
Other men,
to whom it
did appeal,
did use it.*

13 Elizabeth Robins and Joseph Pennell, *Lithography and Lithographers, Some Chapters in the History of the Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), p. 138. All references hereafter to *Lithography and Lithographers* are to this 1915 edition. See also note 46 below.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 The passage from Way partially quoted by Brown reads: "Now in these subjects, especially in the 'Early Morning,' he [Whistler] used to all intents and purposes the 'manière noire.' The stone was prepared, before he touched it, with two rectangular surfaces

of half-tint, upon which he worked as in the 'Lime-stone' and 'Nocturne,' adding darks and scraping lights. He almost entirely depended on lithotint, but when the first proofs were taken the whole effect of both subjects was much too dark, and his 'Early Morning' showed as a nocturne!" Thomas R. Way, *Memories of Whistler*, p. 18.

18 Thomas R. Way's catalogue, *Mr. Whistler's Lithographs*, was first published in London by G. Bell & Sons in 1896. See also *The Lithographs by Whistler, arranged according to the catalogue by Thomas R. Way, with additional subjects not before recorded* (New York: Kennedy & Co., 1914).

prints, I will offer that of Mrs. Pennell herself. She writes: "Beautiful drawings were put upon the stone (transferred, she should have written), and came out ghosts, or rolled up too black and required a special journey to London and *days of work* [Brown's italics] to get them right. But work was something Whistler never shirked, and he stuck at the stones to which his drawings had been transferred until he got what he wanted."¹⁹ Surely, this is a style about as far removed as it could be from unswerving directness. Also, there would seem to be some discrepancy between these accounts and the favorite Pennell contention that a transfer gives *exactly* on the stone what was on the paper. The drawings Whistler made on paper, when transferred to stone, it seems had a way of rolling up black or coming out ghosts. This does not sound at all like the no-one-can-tell-the-difference state of things.

The obvious, and perfectly natural, fact is that the drawings, as they appeared on the stone when they had been transferred, were failures, and that Whistler then went at the failure and, powerfully assisted by a skillful printer and re-etcher at his elbow, scraped and tinkered away, sometimes for days, and in the end brought something into existence; but how closely this followed the intention of the original drawing every artist will know. Moreover, scraping a design into existence on the stone is not lithographic drawing at all, nor, properly speaking, any kind of drawing; it is a form of engraving. This is what Mrs. Pennell calls being a "perfect master." This is the man who has "established standards against which it is useless to rebel."

Of course, it is impossible for me not to know that Mrs. Pennell knows nothing about lithography; the internal evidence of her writings proves it. She does not appear even to have had the advantage that her husband enjoyed in "standing by the press" of Professor Jackson. And how can one know unless one has learned and how can one learn except by experience? Did this literary lady who, in a tone of high authority, presumes to dictate an attitude to a world, ever grain or draw upon a stone, or mix ink, or handle a press, or dampen paper, or grease a tympan, or pull a print. We know she did not. The nearest she ever came to lithography was to be the wife of a man who "never had a press" and "didn't want one." I think again of Professor Jackson, whose achievements amply justify the rest of us in respecting his words; and what he says is that "clear thought about prints can be arrived at only after long practice producing

them." Herein he expresses an attitude of mind that has been in the world a long time, even since the time of Aristotle, whom Professor Denman Ross finds making the statement that "it is difficult if not impossible, for those who do not perform to be good judges of the performances of others."

Mrs. Pennell, in the *Scribner's* article, undertakes to write about lithography. She sets out to speak in a technical vein and to state some plain physical facts. This is what she says: "A lithograph is a drawing" (which it is not, it is a print) "made with a certain ink or chalk upon a *chemically prepared* stone [Brown's italics]."²⁰ Well, there you are. If there is one thing a stone is *not*, it is not "chemically prepared" when you draw on it. On the contrary, it is just as free from chemicals and everything else as you can get it.

And I am not aware of any evidence to show that Mr. Pennell really knew much more about these things than his wife did. It would be difficult to disprove the accuracy of Professor Jackson's statement that "he knew nothing whatever about it." In my personal contacts with him, I never knew him to show any inside knowledge. I have heard him *claim* it, but I never saw him show it. Once, at the Art Centre, when the Graphic Arts Society had brought him and me before an audience, he said, publicly, "I have made *hundreds* of discoveries." He did not tell us what any of them were. However, at another time, the time in —²¹ when the show of my lithographs was on at the National Arts Club, he did, to me in conversation, reveal one of his hundreds. He said, "All those old lithographers that made those great skies did not do it with crayon at all; that's all wrong. I have studied them and found out how they did it, and they did it by rubbing them with a rag. I know that's the way they were made, and I can make one in five minutes." There is such a thing as saying a thing so blatantly and obviously false that to dispute it would be ridiculous. So I did not say anything. Then, his mind still running on the same point, he turned and walked over to a sky of mine, elaborately and plainly done with the crayon point, and declared it a case of rubbed tint. When I assured him it was not, he pretended to refuse to believe me. Not

¹⁹ *Lithography and Lithographers*, p. 142.

²⁰ E. R. Pennell, "Master of the Lithograph," p. 277.

²¹ Brown omits the date. His exhibition at the National Arts Club was in March 1922. See the *New York Times*, 9 March 1922, p. 16.

content with the one bad miss, nor in the least abashed, he ambled on down the wall and pointed out another of mine as quite certainly a case of rubbed tint. It was even more self-evidently point work than the first one was. A man with eyes like that is capable of imagining the old masters made their skies, full of delicate tonality and lovely cloud-forms, by rubbing them with rags—another “labor-saving appliance” discovered.

I know quite as well as anyone that, in the capacities in which I have been speaking of him, Mr. Pennell is, as George Moore says of somebody's painting, “quite outside the range of criticism.” And certainly he would be outside the range of my criticism and of my interest if it were not for the folly of the American people in letting a man like this lead them by the nose. By his sheer preposterous assumption, his extraordinary gift at propaganda, his ignorance, his unscrupulousness, and his “shocking bad criticism,” he has literally put it all over the people of this great, if not artistic, republic.

ONE DAY I was in the office of the editor of the *National Lithographer*, and we were hob-nobbing along about the world in general when, apropos of nothing at all, but as if suddenly shot by a painful thought, he exclaimed, “Joe Pennell has done lithography more harm than anybody in the world!” Of the Pennell book, *Lithography and Lithographers*, I will not just yet speak as a whole, but only pick out a few Pennellisms from the “Technical Section,” attributed to Mr. Pennell. Mrs. Pennell wrote the historical part, and it is a very mild compliment indeed to say that she writes better than her husband. She has got together quite a lot of assorted information of considerable interest. One's pleasure in reading it, however, is too frequently marred by an unpleasant note of quarrellsomeness, of a feeling as if the author felt herself to be a party to a chronic scrap. And there is a tone redolent of personal partisanship and personal antagonisms. Not content to set down mere facts, or the general judgment of mankind, the author all along delivers personal ipse dixits as to the merits, demerits, and crimes of the characters mentioned. In short, Mrs. Pennell is a judge, and a very ex cathedra one. To slap in the face men who have left their mark on whole civilizations is not a matter to be hesitated about for a moment; this is the attitude about Thackeray, about Ruskin. That tone of universal contempt and sarcasm by which the Whis-

lerian ego kept itself aloft is here plainly reflected. In both the Pennells it is more than discernable; it sticks out. There is a chronic itch to contradict; and the bigger the man the more uncontrollable the itch to contradict him, to pull him down. It is a sort of jealousy. If Ruskin values and commends [Samuel] Prout, inevitably Mrs. Pennell speaks of Prout with insolence. And so on and so on. There is constant railing. One wearies of it: Railing against “the English,” against “the printers,” against “the Academy,” against, well, almost everything.

Speaking of the habit of universal contradiction, my mind has reverted to Mr. Pennell. I have sometimes seriously thought that Pennell used it, consciously, as an advertising device. P. T. Barnum, if he couldn't get favorable publicity, was very glad to get unfavorable publicity. Anything was better than not to be noticed at all. If Pennell contradicts what everybody believes, it makes him conspicuous, which is a thing he always greatly desired. He did not care about the truth in the ethical sense, for its own sacred sake. He simply liked to quarrel, because quarrelling gives you a chance to assert your ego against the other fellow. And then, like the Japanese suicide, it “drew the attention.” I think many of the things he says are just said for the sake of having a lot of people rush out and bring him into the limelight by correcting him. He is, in fact, hardly to be explained otherwise. In his articles in *Scribner's* entitled “Recollections of an Illustrator,” he credits himself with “occasional bursts of cheek.” This undoubtedly explains his having the nerve to come out in print as an authority on lithography. . . .²²

From his writing, and from what I know about him, I can form a pretty accurate conception of what Pennell means when he puts on the title page of his volume the words, “Modern Artistic Methods.” What he means is *his own* methods; at bottom that is what he is talking about always. His printmaking method consists in not making them at all, but in telling somebody else how to make them. “He stands by the press”—not his own press; he has no press and does not want one.²³ But he can stand beside the professional printer and tell him how to print. This is the typical outsider, all the world over. When a trained man does a thing, it “looks so easy”

By his extraordinary gift at propaganda, his ignorance, and his unscrupulousness, he has literally put it all over the people of this great, if not artistic republic.

²² Four paragraphs of the Brown manuscript are omitted at this point.

that the ignoramus standing by is sure he could do it himself if he would condescend to try. What a lithographic printer knows of inks and acids, stones and pressures, possibilities and impossibilities, you cannot tell merely by standing at his press. When you stand there it *seems as though* you could do this or that or the other. Mostly, however, things are not what they seem. And the craftsman whose hands deal with his materials all day long for years on end, can judge the wisest way to use them better than any outsider can.

Pennell does not think so. His attitude is that the printer is probably a fool and possibly a rascal. He says that in Germany he showed the German printers new points in their game.²⁴ He [Pennell] says that he pointed out what he wanted "and showed the printer how to get it," but that he failed to do so. Finally, "he refused to work while I was about." After the printer had refused to work, Pennell makes the discovery that "under such conditions" no excellent prints could be obtained and "refused to go on." If, after the printer had quit, he had gone on, he would have had to print himself. He might have learned something.

Under the heading of Printing Ink, we learn that "the printer" can use a "thin, weak, ink" much more easily and with less work in rolling than a "thick, stiff one" and "he will, if not watched."²⁵ And so, when the attendant artist is insufficiently watchful, "many drawings are utterly ruined after a few impressions."²⁶ Odd, isn't it, that this should be so, considering the acres and oceans of prints that have somehow come into the world without any artist standing by as their accoucheur? You would not think that all over Europe and America, for a hundred years, the printers, unwatched, had done the printing.

Also: "The professional printer, unless he is an artist, will use ink of an inferior quality . . . because he can cover the design with it more easily and with less work. The only sure way to success is for the artist either to print himself, or stand beside the printer."²⁷ And if

you turn the pages and read what happens when he does stand there you will get much light on the Pennell conception of "a sure way." If anything good comes about, it is the watchfulness of the artist that brought it; whatever goes wrong is the fault of the printer.

Mr. Pennell undertakes to tell about the chemical and mechanical side of things. His writing is quite the worst, and there are places where, with the best intention in the world to understand what he is trying to say, I find it impossible. I have never heard of anyone who paid any attention to these chapters, and my own sole excuse for doing so is that, as I have already said, Pennellism has become, in America, a disease, and I wish to help combat its inroads.

What Pennell tells is not the telling of a workman, of one who, as Confucius says, "knows and knows that he knows." He has stood by while the real workmen did this and that, and he *thinks* he understands. And then he goes ahead and explains to the world all about it. He adds to his own confusion, as well as to that of his reader, by every little while lugging in Senefelder. As long as Senefelder agrees with Pennell, Senefelder is an authority and very much all right. But in the technical sense, Pennell never understood him. He would have liked to, perhaps, and it may be that at convenient moments he tried to. But hardly with seriousness; he read Senefelder's *words*, and that was all. However, he recognized that Senefelder was "good publicity," and took the attitude that he, Pennell, had, as it were, discovered Senefelder—a worthy, neglected, mistreated man—and he raps the knuckles of the world quite hard about it.

As illustrating how Pennell reads Senefelder's words, but not his meaning, I instance the case where Pennell reads in Senefelder how a certain acid should be used. Then, having stood by the press and seen that the printers do otherwise, he is puzzled. Then, he tells the reader about his puzzlement. "Senefelder recommends," he says, "that certain drawings should be washed with nitric acid before being gummed. But no printers seem to do this at present." [He] then follows the inevitable outsider's offering on the matter. He says he "believes it would wash off the drawing."²⁸ Senefelder is forgotten, and the man who has stood beside the printer has "beliefs" quite contrary to those of the inventor of lithography. Chemistry is not a matter of "belief." If you know it, you know it, and if you do not, you are ignorant of it. In this case Pennell

23 In the omitted paragraphs Brown wrote: "Speaking in public before the National Arts Club, in New York, he [Pennell] said he never had a press, and didn't want one. I was there and heard this. He spoke with an accent of contempt, as much as to say he would leave all that kind of thing to the mechanics."

24 For Pennell's account of his experiences in Germany, see *Lithography and Lithographers*, pp. 242–44.

25 Ibid, p. 254.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid, p. 257.

28 Ibid, p. 258.

is ignorant. All this sort of thing is as familiar to me as boiling a potato is to a cook, and no more mysterious. The wash of weak acid recommended by Senefelder is simply an etch, but because the gum has been left out, Pennell does not recognize it. Probably he never knew that the original way of etching lithographic drawings, practiced everywhere for decades, was just this way of applying to them a wash of acid and water. Hullmandel's translation of Raucourt's French treatise gives this as the regular method; and even half a century later Richmond's *Grammar of Lithography* describes it. In the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, it is again described and given as the preferred method of the author, one of the most accomplished lithographers in England. Does all this have any effect on Pennell? Not the slightest. He believes the acid wash would wash the drawing off the stone. Whereas its very purpose, as everybody but the President of the Senefelder Club knows, is to destroy the solubility of the crayon and thus render it incapable of being washed off.

Mr. Pennell explains how the etching of the stone has been done by such printers as he has stood by the side of, and then he tells us how he thinks it ought to be done. But he has no knowledge of why the printers have done it one way and not another way. What he gives the reader has slight relation to the craft of lithographic printing as the world has created and used it. What he is really giving, under the illusion that it is "lithography," and a typical experience, is the story of his own private adventures when standing by the press trying to coerce the printer and the process into giving him what he wanted.

There is a way of etching a stone, stated by Senefelder, used everywhere, restated in every handbook. Of it Pennell writes: "This method is entirely wrong, though Senefelder recommends it."²⁹ And then he gives his own idea of how to etch a stone, modestly mentioning that "it is the only artistic way of etching." In my book, *Lithography for Artists*, I give my own methods. They are just the opposite to the way Pennell thinks is the only way. "Finally," he writes, "do as little etching as possible, and delay that till the last minute, for etching a lithograph is a most dangerous and delicate operation. Etching is the easiest and quickest way of ruining a drawing, and the most difficult way of improving it."³⁰

Here, truly, we are in the land of Muddle. Muddle in statement; muddle in implication. The implication is that the etching is a way—

the most difficult way, it is true, but it is a way of "improving" a drawing. The etching has nothing to do with improving anything; that is not its business; its business is to render printable the drawing as it is. If you do "as little etching as possible," you are by way of getting an under-etched stone, and such a stone prints with difficulty and is short-lived. You would never guess it from Pennell; he does not know it. The implication that in etching a stone one is close to an easy and quick way to ruin it, is grossly misleading. You can, certainly, ruin a stone with acid, just as you can with a sledgehammer, but one is quite as unnecessary as the other. The whole history of lithography is a refutation of such an idea.

I have etched the most delicate work possible for myself, for Bellows, for others, by the hundred. The etching never ruins the drawing nor injures it in the slightest. It renders it printable, that's all. I even etched one of Pennell's own, and under his own eyes. I had forgotten it until this moment. It was in February 1923, the night the Association of American Artists gave a public "lithographic evening" in the Anderson Gallery, in New York.³¹ Every seat in the hall was taken, at a dollar each, and many turned away. On the platform was Bellows, lecturing, and me at (not *by* but *at*) the press. Before the audience I etched and pulled perfect proofs of, first a stone by Bellows and then one by Sterner. Then Pennell's turn came. As he does not draw on stone he handed me a drawing on paper. When I was getting ready to transfer it, he began to tell me how. I turned to him and said, "Mr. Pennell, I shall be very glad to have you do this transferring; will you not do it yourself?" "Oh, No, No," he said, backing away. "Well, in that case, please allow me to do it," I said, and forthwith transferred, etched, and pulled a perfect proof. The very first pull was perfect. It was passed from hand [to hand] through the technical and critical audience, which so accepted it. The next day

*Pennellism
has become,
in America,
a disease,
and I wish to
help combat
its inroads.*

²⁹ Ibid, p. 261.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ The actual date was 22 January 1923 and the organization which sponsored the "lithographic evening" was the New Society of Artists. The event was reported in the *New York Times*, 23 January 1923, sec. 4, p. 5: "So many persons thronged to the place that at 8 o'clock 100 were turned away. To interest the people in prints by making them owners, the lithographs which were made were offered to the audience at \$5 each, a fourth of their value. The demand exceeded supply."

I pulled a whole edition from that stone, every one flawless.³²

This is far removed indeed from the Pennell idea. The Pennell idea is that it takes two men, a printer and an artist, and that both of them fuss and experiment and little by little “get the stone into condition,” and pull a lot of bad trial proofs and throw them on the floor, and etch a little here, and scrape a little there, and take some more trials, and then rub some pumice on some places and the flat of the crayon on some other places, and then something else, *ad infinitum*. This is nonsense printing, the printing of people who do not know how to print. They only know how to teach it. To pretend that it is “modern” and “artistic” is simply more nonsense. One wonders how in the world Pennell ever got started in that way of doing things, until he happens to remember that Whistler fussed “sometimes for days” over his stones, and made a merit of it. No, I do him an injustice; it was the Pennells that tried to make it into a merit.

The fact is that both Pennell and Whistler were all along mixing up two ideas, the idea of the work as it was on the paper, and the idea of what you could do with it *after it was transferred to the surface of the stone*, before it was printed. By the theory of artistic transferring—and nobody has declared it more loudly—the thing on the stone ought to be exactly what was previously on the paper and complete there, a masterpiece. If the transfer does not give this, and the operations of both Pennell and Whistler deny it point blank, then it is an imperfect process and unfit for artists’ use. Both these men did a deal of tinkering the design, a design supposed to have been already completed, on paper. Plainly, this is neither drawing on stone, nor is it simply transfer; it is a nondescript and hybrid makeshift, and it is no wonder that these artists drove their printers and themselves crazy.³³ How much simpler and more satisfactory it

would have been to draw the design on the stone, with crayon, in the first place. That is the way all the rational and beautiful lithography in the world had been done up to the time this transfer disease set in. A *real* lithograph, that is, a crayonstone, prints as clean and sure as a pump draws water. The functions of the artist and those of the printer are distinct, and not overlapped and inextricably entangled as in the Pennell conception. I say, the drawing made on the stone prints from the stone perfectly; not, to be sure, when “etched as little as possible,” but when etched exactly right. Which recalls that Hubert Herkomer, who knew his way about in lithography, and who made valuable contributions and wrote a book about it, writes that “it is better to etch too much than too little,” just the opposite of what Pennell says.

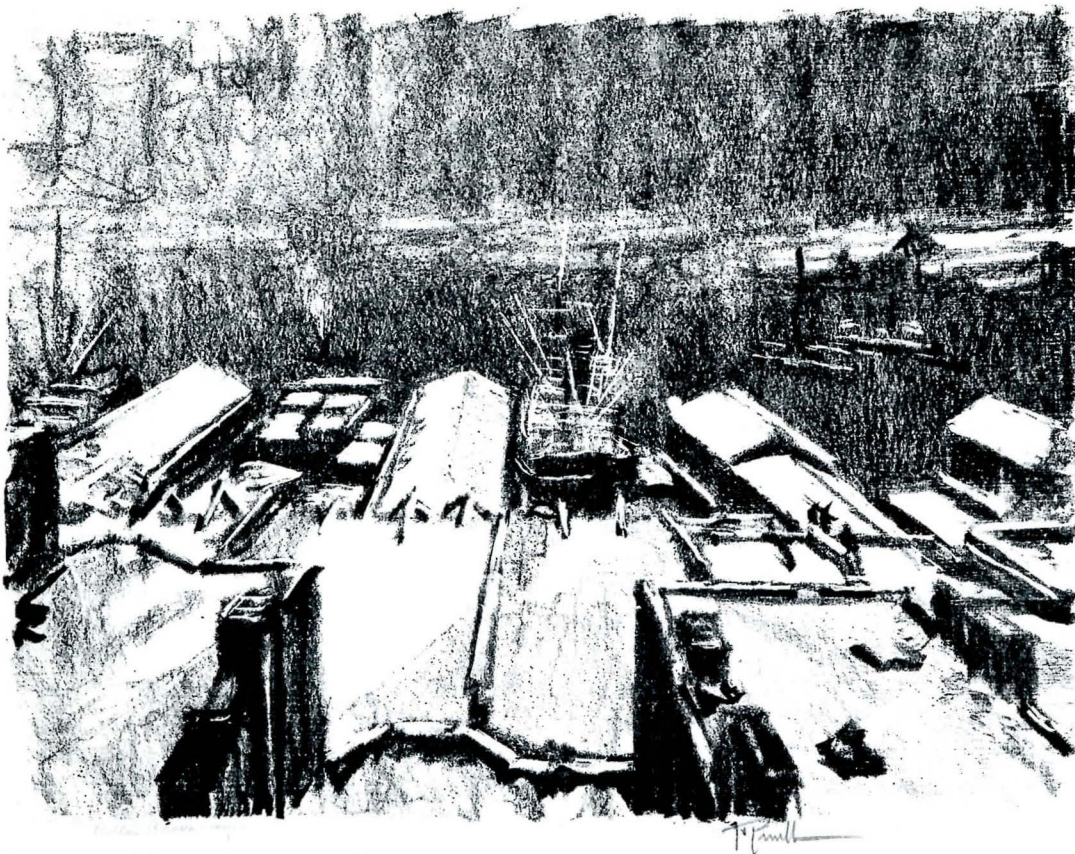
One who stands beside the press knows as little about the tools in the printer’s hands as he does of the chemicals he is using and of the knowledge in his head. For instance, there is the roller. Now, the roller is the most important thing in the show and its use is an art. Whole chapters could be written about it. In London, I supervised the making of a number of extra fine rollers by expert roller makers. I sat round their work benches by the hour as they worked, and discussed rollers from every angle with men who were the repositories of a century of craft-knowledge of rollers and how to use them. They told me many intimate things that had been told them by expert printers.³⁴

But you must, of course, handle the roller yourself in order to understand it; merely watching someone else handle it will not do at all. In use, the timing of the rhythm of its application, the dampness it has from the damp of the stone, the load of ink it has from the inking slab, the significance of the sound it makes, the down-pressure from the arms, the sidewise thrust, the pinch of the fingers on the handles and what the pinch does, the “drag” on the surface; all this is non-existent to you unless you have the roller in your own hands, and have had it there long enough and intelligently enough to learn these things. Pennell has indeed stood beside the press, but standing there taught him nothing about the use of the roller. The exponent of modern artistic methods thinks that a roller is just like

32 The Pennell lithograph printed by Brown, *Brooklyn Docks in Snow* (Wuerth 620), appears to have been Pennell’s last lithograph. Wuerth gives its date as 1922; the correct date, as Brown’s account makes evident, is January 1923. The impression in the collection of Tamarind Institute is signed both by Pennell and Brown.

33 Odilon Redon, among others, often made his initial drawing on transfer paper, then reworked it extensively after the transfer to stone. As Brown says, the printing of such “hybrid” lithographs may often be difficult, and Redon’s own comments attest to his problems with printers. Even so, such methods produce images unattainable in any other way.

34 For an account of his experiences with the roller makers of London, see Brown, “My Ten Years,” pp. 12–13.



Joseph Pennell. *Brooklyn Docks in Snow*, 1923.
Lithograph, 207 × 275 [Weurth 620]. Printed by Bolton Brown.

a lawn mower, and that all you have to do is to trundle it about on a stone as a child trundles its cart. He says, "The printer uses an ink roller covered with leather, and fitted with handles. It is several inches in diameter and the whole affair about a foot-and-a-half long."³⁵ He was too indifferent and contemptuous of it to measure it, and too slovenly an observer to see it truly. It is four inches in diameter and fourteen inches in length. He further describes it as being "made in one piece." It is not; the cylinder is bored and has handles inserted in the ends. "And covers for the hands (they are not covers for the hands, but covers for the handles) have to be used to prevent blisters from the revolving handles." They are not "revolving handles." The whole roller, including the handles, revolves. After this display of intelligence about and respect for the most important instrument the lithographer possesses, he goes on, naturally, to tell what he thinks it ought to be. He says, "The roller is typical of the unintelligent, unexperimental methods of lithographers. The modern etching roller revolves on bearings, the handles remain stationary—no lithographer or lithographic material maker has had the sense to

apply this method." And then the never failing squirt of venom: "But he makes something out of the hand covers."³⁶

Some day I am going to write about modern artistic methods with the violin. First and last, I have seen a good many people play the fiddle; I am sure I could do it as well as Mr. Pennell can write about lithography. The bow, for instance—well, it is a slender stick about two feet long with some horsehair strung along one side of it. How is that? It is not a bit more of a burlesque than is Pennell's description of the lithographer's roller.

An army of skilled workmen had been using these rollers for ages; all the fine lithographs in the world had been created by its use. Senefelder himself invented it, as he did also the leather covers for the handles, those handles which Mr. Pennell thinks have been kept in existence all over the world for a hundred years in order that somebody might make a little money selling them. There must have

³⁵ *Lithography and Lithographers*, p. 273.

³⁶ *Ibid.* In context, "he makes something" should be read: he makes something of a financial profit.

been days when the President of the Senefelder Club read his lithographic Bible, Senefelder's book, rather carelessly. Otherwise he would have come upon a passage where Senefelder deals with this very idea of a roller like a lawn mower, with movable handles, and what he says about it is this: "It is not well to have movable handles on the roller, because it is likely to roll over the stone too lightly and it is not within one's power to lay on the ink thoroughly."³⁷

Our author [Pennell] has dealt with the inks habitually used by the craftsmen in their work, and condemned them; he has dealt with the best printing plant in Germany and, after having driven the printer into revolt, condemned it; he mentions frequently a sort of abstract ogre called "the printer," and always in a derogatory tone; he has dealt with the roller, the whole affair a foot-and-a-half long; and all wrong. He has prattled about what that dangerous and mysterious thing "the acid" will or won't do. Concerning which acid, there is a single occasion where he commits himself to a definite figure, and here it is: You etch, he says, "with a soft brush charged with nitric acid and water (twenty parts of acid to one of water)."³⁸ There is not a printer on earth who does not know that this is impossible. But the reading public does not know it; they swallow all this with "unwearied gizzard," and literary critics pass the book into our public libraries with a respectful O.K. It sounds sort of blind and technical. And then, hasn't the name of Pennell been in their ears for forty years, and naturally a man like that "can't be wrong." One man, in his innocence, actually compiled the etch Pennell prescribes—I knew of him—and put it upon his stone, whereupon the drawing was instantly boiled out of existence. What has really happened is that the President of the Senefelder Club, whether from ignorance or sheer slovenliness we do not know, has turned the formula around. He has heard, with his ears, of a formula that sounded about like that, but never having mixed it or used it, it is to him a mere verbal memory. And so when he writes it down he puts water where acid should be and acid

where water should be. No one not an utter outsider could have made such a blunder, nor could have come upon it in the proof sheets without an electric shock of horror. It affects the eye of a printer as a sailor would be if his orders got "leeward" and "windward" mixed up—shipwreck in either case. And yet when to the Curator of the Prints in the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences, my friend Miss Hutchinson, I criticized Pennell, she merely laughed and remarked that "two of a trade could never agree."

Viewed from the Pennell pinnacle, the usages universally followed in inking up a stone, and the theories derived from them, are all wrong. We printers print from clean stones; Pennell prefers dirty ones. To get our stones clean, before beginning to print, we "wash out" the crayon of the design with a solvent, and roll it up with ink. This is done everywhere. I have done it thousands of times and on the most delicate work. I even did it to Pennell's own work, on the night already referred to, before the Association of American Artists.³⁹ I said to the audience: "Mr. Pennell has written in his book that a drawing that has been washed out cannot be brought back by rolling; I will now proceed to perform this impossibility." Which I did, and that was that. What I referred to, in the Pennell book, is this passage: "The printer, when he has the stone properly and rightly rolled up, will, if not stopped, pour some turpentine on the stone and wash all the ink and apparently the entire drawing off the stone—to clean it. This should never be permitted. . . . The theory," he says, "is that the grease has sunk in the stone—which is a fact—and that the ink roller will bring back the drawing—which is not a fact."⁴⁰ Here he is almost as amusing as he was in his reversed etch, and if you will turn this also end for end, it will be true. For it is a fact that the roller brings back the drawing, and, whatever some people's theory may be, it is not a fact that "grease" has "sunk into" the stone.

Let us consider a moment the claim Pennell is always making, from the housetops, that "you can do on paper anything you can do on stone," and that what you do on paper will transfer exactly, and print exactly as you drew it. If this were true, the artist's business would be finished when his drawing was finished. That is not true, at least in his own practice, and that it isn't true is proven on every page

37 Aloys Senefelder, *The Invention of Lithography* (New York: Fuchs & Lang Manufacturing Co., 1911), p. 144. This translation differs markedly from the more familiar earlier English translation, *A Complete Course of Lithography* (London: 1819; reprinted, New York: Da Capo Press, 1968). Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent references to Senefelder are to the 1911 translation.

38 *Lithography and Lithographers*, p. 261.

39 See note 31, above.

40 *Lithography and Lithographers*, p. 274.

of his own book, which relates entirely to working at the stone *after* the design has come off the paper. He says—imagining an artist and his printer viewing a proof—that it is “the artist’s business to point out to the printer where it should be made to print lighter and where darker.”⁴¹ Here again he passes into a world quite outside the range of criticism. It is not the business of the printer, or of the printing, to determine the lights and darks of the design; it is the business of the artist to do that *in the drawing*. To ask the printer to take a hand in readjusting the values which the draughtsman has already determined with his crayon, is to confuse two functions hopelessly. It is the business of the artist to draw what he wants printed. It is not his business, or that of the printer, to try to print what he did not draw. Hullmandel tells us “the best rule to follow is to make the drawing as nearly as possible what the print is intended to be,” and “the impression, as much as can be done, similar to the original drawing.” Thomas R. Way says, “The printer’s work ought to be, and can be, a simple and regular repetition of the proof.” Notice that this skilled printer is not satisfied merely to affirm what ought to be; he pauses and inserts the statement that it can be. In the chapter on printing in my own book, *Lithography for Artists*, I say: “The function of the drawing is to define the artist’s intention in regard to every line and tone. The function of the printing is to reproduce this defined intention by reproducing the drawing.”

Hullmandel was not only a specialist in printing but was himself a crayonstone draughtsman. If I am not mistaken, so was Way. And certainly if I am not a draughtsman, at any rate I have made a lot of drawings on stone. Here, then, is a century of the craft represented, Hullmandel, Way, and myself—each an artist and printer, each a printer and artist—in perfect agreement. But does Pennell agree? Distinctly not; he is not of the agreeing kind. Does he learn anything? Again, distinctly not; he has learned everything already—from Whistler. The very fact of a general professional agreement is an inspiration to Pennell to do the opposite. It gratifies his ego and makes him conspicuous.

There are types of men who think that the creative function means flying in the face of the human race, and that a state of chronic

rebelliousness against things as they are is a happy and admirable state of mind. My friend, Hervey White, once expressed it in its simplest form. He said he “didn’t agree with God.” In lithography, Pennell doesn’t agree with God. He has stood by the press and looked into the matter, and it is all wrong—ink, printers, rollers—everything. He is in rebellion. Everybody knows that rebelling is good enough fun if only you are sufficiently careful in selecting what to rebel against. Unfortunately for the professional rebel, who doesn’t agree with God, the technical crafts are full of facts, full of God, if you will, full of substances—physical and chemical ultimates—to rebel against which is simply to beckon in the fool-killer. You cannot rebel against a cast-iron press; you can’t bulldoze and ballyhoo off the scene the relation of acid to alkali. And this is practically what such people are constantly trying to do; which explains why they are forever in hot water, crying, “Woe! Woe!” and kicking the printer downstairs. The printer is not in rebellion; he has learned, in the golden words of Professor Jackson, to “watch and obey.” And by obeying the laws of his tools he makes them his servants—delightful servants.

Well, when the artist has pointed out which parts he wants the printer to print light and which parts dark, the printer tells him that to lighten a part he must apply acid and to darken a part he must apply ink and turpentine. Pennell is sure that that is not the way, and that “he only does it to annoy because he knows it teases.” The printer only says so because it is “far simpler and quicker” for him, and “in the case of failure, the artist is at once blamed.”

“There is an artistic method of printing artistic lithographs.”⁴² This he writes, and puts a period. The implication is that the chemistry and physics which control common printing will do something different for “artistic” printing. He does not define his idea in quite this way, but this is what is in the back of his head. Judging from his own descriptions of his own experiences, artistic printing consists in going into a state of single combat against your tools and your printer. It is to squabble and mess for every print, and be forever and a day at it. It is getting all sorts of accidental and diseased results, by ruinous means, results the artist “wants,” regardless of the life of the stone, or of anything else. Results that the printer, poor devil, does not want, because he sees the ruin ahead. This is what, as Pennell manages it, artistic printing turns out to be.

He thinks that “it is almost certain that in

It is the business of the artist to draw what he wants printed.

It is not his business, or that of the printer, to try to print what he did not draw.

⁴¹ Pennell expresses this thought, though not in these words, in *Lithography and Lithographers*, p. 274.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 274–77.

an edition of twenty-five or fifty, the printer will have to repeatedly strengthen or weaken his ink, clean the slab," etc.⁴³ Discount this statement ninety percent. "With all possible care and forethought, the drawing may . . . begin to spread."⁴⁴ Yes, indeed it may if "etched as little as possible" according to Pennell's instructions. When etched properly and inked properly, the work never spreads in fifty proofs. If, owing to mismanagement, of which under-etching is the most fatal kind, it prints too strongly, "the artist" is to stand by the stone and dab pumice powder on it. "This will probably have to be repeated frequently by the artist, standing by the printer, but no artist who cares for his work will object to improving it if he can."⁴⁵ Pathetic! The poor, yearning artist caring for his work, after disagreeing with God about the etching, and so now having a stone so sick it can only be kept alive while its father and wetnurse peppers it with pumice powder. Saddening picture.

Returning our handkerchiefs to our pockets, however, the thought will bob up again that all this printing lighter and printing darker, all this turpentineing and etching and pumicing, implies with undeniable clearness that the prints are constantly varying from each other. If they do this, they knock the Pennell theory of transfer sky high. This theory is that the "stone yields the actual design." Otherwise it would be nonsensical for Mrs. Pennell to talk of Whistler as "bringing home a masterpiece," when what he has brought home is a sketch on a bit of Japan paper. If this is a masterpiece, on paper, then the print, to be the same masterpiece, must be exactly like it. Mr. Whistler was certainly not a printer. To be a master of Senefelder's process is to be a master printer. If, as Mrs. Pennell declares, a man outdoors carrying in his vest pocket a silver matchbox with a piece of crayon in it, and a tiny portfolio containing a few sheets of Japanese paper, can create a lithographic "masterpiece," then, evidently, it is not the mastery of the Senefelder invention that entitles "the greatest lithographer in the world" to that name. Evidently, his mastership does not lie in Senefelder's world at all; it lies in the world of paper drawing. Very well, let it go at that. Only this throws all the greater emphasis on the tremendous importance of

the printing. The print certainly must give the masterpiece exactly as it already exists—on paper.

On Mondays and Wednesdays it is the Pennell contention that transfer lithography gives a print that is exactly equivalent to the original. It is so close that Mr. Pennell will not even allow us to call it a reproduction; he declares it to be merely a "multiplication." And Mrs. Pennell finds it closer than a "mere facsimile," it is the "actual design." On Tuesdays and Thursdays, we reverse ourselves and crawl out on the other horn of the dilemma, discoursing at length about how Whistler reworked his drawings after a printer had transferred them, and how much work, which Whistler "never shirked," was necessary. And Mr. Pennell, page after page, stumbles on, trying to tell how to make a transferred design lighter in spots and darker in spots, and what the artist must do to the printer to make him produce these changes.

Pennell's account of the printing makes it an imperfect, unreliable, tragic adventure. Only with the greatest difficulty can the brains of two men get from a stone twenty-five or fifty prints, and no two of these will be alike. This shows two things: that Pennell does not understand printing, and that the transfer method is an imperfect one. In neither the work of Pennell nor in that of Whistler do we see it producing, or coming anywhere near producing, what its partisans say it will produce, "the design itself"—the masterpiece, already done, on paper. Men who make real lithographs draw on stone. They do not have all these agonies, for the prints they get, in the natural course of events, do give back whatever masterpiece was on the stone. And it is not usually necessary to kill a printer.

I digress, I know, but I also return. We find Mr. Pennell at hands-grips with the printer and with the problem of how to make him behave. He is saying that the stone, as the printing continues, grows upon itself, as a field rock grows moss, a "tone or bloom." This is not, of course, a part of the original masterpiece, the drawing. However, Pennell professes to like this "bloom or tone" accidentally added to the design, and invents schemes to prevent the printer from getting rid of it. The English of this is as follows: The artist, acting under the self-invented delusion that "etching is the quickest way to spoil a stone" has bullied the printer into using so light an etch that its function, which is to keep the stone clean and free from tones and blooms, is badly performed. When the prints begin to take on

43 Pennell's text reads: "It is almost certain, in an edition of twenty-five or fifty proofs, that he will have to repeatedly strengthen his ink, cleaning his ink slab." *Ibid.*, p. 277.

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*

color that was not in the original drawing, it is technically said that the stone "is running smutty." This is Pennell's "bloom." The causes that produce it produce at the same time a darkening of the design itself; it begins to "spread." To hold back the growth of both of these evils, the wretched printer starts to wash out the stone, roll again, and re-etch. But the artist stops him. No, it must not be; the wash-out is a "suicidal method"; it "cannot be permitted." He tells us he knows an "artistic way of printing," but he does not attempt to show it with his hands; and when he tries to do so with his tongue, somehow it doesn't come clear or tally with the known powers of the materials. Only a miracle could do what he wants done, could make the prints go lighter in the darks and at the same time darker in the lights. The same causes that darken the lights into "tones" and "blooms" also darken the darks into spreads. And influences that cause the spreads to go lighter and disappear also cause the tones and blooms to disappear. You cannot have it both ways. Only a Pennell can do that. At some such impasse as this, I am sure it was, that the German printer "refused to go on." To art writers in the magazines and newspapers, Mr. Pennell's writing may sound convincing, or at any rate, impressive. I have never heard one of them criticize him. But to printers, he is absurd and his pretense of being able to instruct the uninstructed in lithographic printing is a simple case of monumental bluff.

Of some of his "artistic methods" he remarks that the printer abhors them, but to the artist they are a delight. "The artist" is, for practical purposes, Mr. Pennell himself. It is not true that typical artists delight in these or any other foolish procedures. The reason the printer abominates them is because they are ineffectual and silly; he would be an idiot printer if he did not.

"There is small doubt that in the future, artists will be, in fact they are, able to print tones on a single stone (he [Pennell] does not mean print on a stone, though he says so; he means print from a stone) by wiping, as in etching." Mr. T. R. Way, a printer and son of a printer, has published the statement that "in lithography, there is no possibility of the printer's assisting the drawing by the spreading of the ink, as is frequently done in etching." To a man of Mr. Way's intelligence, it seemed superfluous to explain *why* this impossibility exists. Mr. Pennell thinks it does not exist, but it does, and I will tell you why. It is because if you were to wipe ink around

over the lights of the stone, the grease of it would tend to attack the limestone and would very soon form permanent smuts. These would steadily increase in darkness and in size, and thus the stone would be ruined. In etching, the case is entirely different. There is no chemical reaction between the ink and the copper surface, and consequently no adhesion beyond the natural stickiness of the ink. The printer's rag can wipe the plate perfectly clean each time, and for each new print lay a new tone, fresh, according to the taste of the printer. The copper cannot smut. To ignore these chemical facts and babble about making ink and stone act as ink and copper act is to talk like a child.

There are, and always have been, sound and usable ways of getting a tone on the surface of the stone. Most of them are the common property of the craft. I have, in the course of extensive experiments in my own studio, hit upon one or two new ones, but I have not bothered to post them on the bulletin board of the world. If you add alkali to the damping water, it will tend to saponify the fatty acids in the oil of which the ink is made. In this condition, the roller will lay down a very delicate and even tone. I have printed tones also by putting a little gum and lampblack in the damping water. You can substitute other pigments for black, say raw umber, and thus print a goldenish tone. You can do all sorts of interesting things, if you watch and obey your materials. It is when the artist has not learned to obey, when, encouraged from the side lines by the yells of the professional rebellors, he thinks he can impose his temperament on his material, that he has such a hell of a time.

HAVING SHOWN that Mrs. Pennell believes that a lithograph is a drawing, and that it is made on a chemically prepared stone, and that Mr. Pennell's notions of printing are childish and his pretense of knowledge a bluff, I will now speak of *Lithography and Lithographers* as a book. Being the only book of its kind, it has the field to itself. I bought it in London when it first came out, in 1915.⁴⁶ I

46 In writing note 4 to Brown, "My Ten Years," p. 9, I incorrectly assumed that Brown might have referred to Pennell's book, *Lithography*, published by F. Keppel & Co. in 1912. The 1915 version of *Lithography and Lithographers* which Brown purchased in London is not to be confused with the 1898 edition published under the same title (London: T. Fisher Unwin); the 1915 edition was extensively rewritten, and the names of the authors were reversed on the title page to show Elizabeth Robins Pennell as primary author.

was greener then. I thought I should learn something from it. I did. Some of the things I learned I have already told; some are untellable; some I shall now unfold.

On the surface, the volume seems fair enough; a quantity of information, dug up and set down, about the past; a technical part about the latest "modern methods" of printing; and a quantity of illustrations. I have just said some things about the modern methods part of the book. The historical part, so far as it is history and not opinion, I do not deal with; my business is not that of historian. The illustrations I shall come to presently.

I said that when I bought the book I hoped to learn something, and that I would unfold forthwith something I had learned. I have learned that the technical part is worse than worthless. I have learned that the historical part contains numerous historically interesting facts. I have learned that both the authors emit an aura of antagonism. In the jargon of the psychologist, they exhibit a "defense mechanism." Their feeling is that of people who always are in a fight. Their tone, therefore—a singularly unanimous one—is a worried one. They are not at ease, pleasantly enjoying enjoyable things, or simply telling about matters of interest; that is not what one gets from the book at all. The reader feels almost constantly an undercurrent of irritation, resentfulness, and insolence. It is hardly less so in Mrs. Pennell's history than it is in her husband's technology.

If, for the purpose of clarity, I lay aside for the present any question of the value of the technology as such, it will help me not to be misunderstood when I point out that, along with any other aims it may have, it certainly has the aim of "putting over" certain ideas. It is propaganda. To what extent these ideas are those of a time, or those of a group, or of merely the Pennells, is not now the point. The point is the ideas themselves.

In New York, at the National Arts Club, from the platform, Mr. Pennell gave out that Whistler was the greatest lithographer who ever lived. When George Bellows, at my elbow, expressed a different opinion, Mr. Pennell, with an insulting air, replied, "Well, it doesn't make any difference what you think." Bellows had had a press in his studio and drawn on stone for years and knew more about the process than ten of Whistler and twenty of Pennell rolled into one. I tell this incident because it is the same attitude of "what-you-think-makes-no-difference, so go to the devil" that you feel in the Pennell book. And you

feel that its cause in the book is, just as its cause at the club was, a determination to "put over" Whistler, to ram him down the throat, as it were, of a world that is irritatingly reluctant to swallow him—whole. Two continents have long been aware that the Pennell mind was devoid of perspective where Whistler was concerned.

Whistler was "right, as always," Mrs. Pennell affirms. Such a line of talk puts her out of court, to begin with. Nobody is as right as all that. In the Bible we read that "It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth." Even God is not right always. Only Whistler. To examine into the origin of this obsession is not my purpose. Most people would not think the riddle too hard to be guessed. However, it existed. And the star of Whistler's ascendancy was the star to which the Pennells hitched their wagon. To what extent the star was pulling the wagon and to what extent the wagon was pushing the star is not to be exactly determined. Exactly, I say, but broadly, the star was pulling the wagon. Hence, the anxiety of the wagon for the star. If the star was right "always," and you always followed it and shouted for it, then you would always be right too. And it didn't make any difference what anybody else thought.

Whistler had been amusing himself for years, at an average of once a month, by making little sketches on paper with lithographic chalk and having Way transfer them to stone and print them. His purpose in having them printed was to increase their number. In esthetic intention, they did not differ at all from any other sketches that anyone, or he himself, might have made with a lead pencil. They were simply pencil sketches in which the pencil was a crayon, with soap in it. All very good. I do not know who first seriously promulgated the idea that these, or similar sketches, if transferred and printed became lithographs. It makes no particular difference anyway whether the party was Way or Whistler, or what his name was. But the Way people could see that as paper was handier than stone, probably more artists could be induced to use it; and so they did what they could to disseminate the idea that artists who drew on paper and had the work transferred and printed were making "lithographs."

So far as Whistler was concerned, the idea took root. The qualities to be had on stone and not to be had on paper, he did not value so much as he valued his own ease and convenience in running about outdoors with a tiny portfolio of paper and a bit of crayon in

a matchbox in his waistcoat pocket. With this equipment, Mrs. Pennell says, he went out and "brought back a masterpiece." Whether or not it was a masterly drawing, it was not a lithograph, masterful or other, until it had been transferred, with better or worse success, and printed as well as might be, not by Whistler, but by Mr. Way. That the transfers made from Whistler sketches rendered the originals with different degrees of success is history. One may read it in Mrs. Pennell's accounts, and he may read it even more clearly in the prints themselves. Whistler had no end of trouble, was rarely satisfied, worked much to correct on the stone defects which, if transfer were the dead sure thing that the Pennells claimed, would never have been there. Twenty years after his first experiments, he published in print that he had found the process "restricted indeed," and referred to himself and unnamed others as "us beginners." On the same page, in the Pennell volume, you find Mrs. Pennell describing this beginner as the "greatest lithographer of modern times."

To shorten my wanderings: The Pennell book, among other things which it is, is distinctly an advertisement for, and a partisan defense of, *Whistler as a lithographer*. To Whistler as a painter and an etcher, I make my entirely respectful bow—and I have practiced both these arts. But when he is presented to a world forewarned to get down on its knees, as a *lithographer*, to say nothing of a great one—the greatest in the world—my knees do not bend and my face does not grin. For the matter of that, the general public somehow never quite took the Pennell view, nor does it yet. It has been exhorted, rebuked, sued at law, scorned, enticed by speculative suggestion, addressed indeed in all the tones known to the determined propagandist—for years and years. And still the Market is dull. It is yet. One of the foremost print dealers in New York said to me, "They don't sell. Oh, yes, we have them, and the other dealers have them, and we put them on exhibition and pass them around among ourselves, but they are not good sellers." Another dealer, of a still more important house, in a letter to me referred to Whistler's prints as having been "at last, after thirty years of Pennell's hornblowing, absorbed by the buying public."

Well, Whistler made transfers. Pennell made transfers. It is easy; it suits the perambulating illustrator and perpetual advertiser perfectly. A few others experiment along the same line. The outcries and flags and announcings that the great art of lithography, taken under the

wing of the greatest painter in the world, had been "revived," and that the artists are "carrying on the best traditions of the past"—Mrs. Pennell's words. In a lecture, Pennell once remarked of himself, "I am really a newspaper man." And dead right, for once, he was. Quite in the spirit of the conscienceless yellow press is the claim that the best traditions of the past, the past of crayonstone, which knew not transfer—the past—all of it—Harding, Haghe, Lane, Daumier, Gavarni, scores of them, all masters,⁴⁷ all creating by their work the "traditions of the past"—I say that to claim that these men were the forefathers of the Whistler and Pennell transfers is quite in the spirit of the conscienceless yellow press. When, in these transfers, we are invited to see the "revival" of the art of the masters of crayonstone, it is simply one more "burst of cheek." It is a deceptive and false claim. To make it and publish it is charlatanism.

Pennell, as a practicing illustrator, was a good one. Some of the finest drawings of their kind that I ever saw were from his hand. As he practiced his business, it involved a lot of travelling hither and yon. Stones were less convenient to transport than sheets of paper. He took paper. And having taken it he, being himself, naturally announces, and keeps on announcing that "you can do anything on paper that you can do on stone." If this were true the world would not have waited a century for Pennell to find it out; nor would it need so much propaganda. It is not true. I never knew of but one person who thought, or claimed to think, it was true. He was the President of the Senefelder Club.

However, business is business, and it became a matter of business to get the public to accept transfer work as being lithography. If you could do that perhaps you could get them to believe that you could do anything on paper that you could do on stone. And if that once went down, then you might hope they could swallow the assertion that the Whistler and Pennell transfers were a carrying on of the best traditions of the past. The Pennell book has a business reason for existing, and this is given in what I have just said. I have analyzed it until I am sure of my ground. Whatever else it may be, it is unmistakably a solid piece of sustained propaganda against crayonstone and for transfer. And it has years

Pennell, as a practicing illustrator, was a good one. Some of the finest drawings of their kind were from his hand.

⁴⁷ James Duffield Harding (1798–1863), Louis Haghe (1806–1885), and Richard James Lane (1800–1872) were prominent among nineteenth-century artist-lithographers.

and years ago gone into every public library in the United States, and into the libraries of all the museums; and wherever, in all this broad land, a person comes into any of these libraries or museums to find out about lithography, the Pennell book is handed out.

In 1929, at the Art Institute of Chicago, I gave the Scammon Lectures. My subject was lithography. I gave much of what I am giving now. My lectures were not published. My book, *Lithography for Artists*, which the Institute did publish and did announce as the Scammon Lectures is not the Scammon Lectures. It had no connection with them; it was completed years before I ever heard of the Scammon Lectures.** The talks I gave were, however, stenographically taken down, so that I know what I really did say, and, as already remarked, I said what I am saying now about the question of transfers and the deceptiveness of calling them lithographs, and the part the Pennell book played in getting the public to use this name. Pennell would froth at the mouth if you offered to doubt that a transfer was a lithograph. But why the frothing at the mouth? Whence the chronic irritability on the point except from an uneasy feeling that something, somehow, was wrong?

No one can doubt that Mr. Pennell knew he was trying to put something over. He feared lest the public discover that his kind of work could not be carrying on the best traditions of the past, or any tradition at all, because it was not in the tradition. The tradition was to draw on stone and he was not drawing on stone. Hence the various smoke screens of bluff and verbiage to distract attention from this fact. Pennell was a business man, engaged in a business. He was a producer, producing certain wares. These wares, called lithographs, he put before the public. He tried in every way to attach to them the glamour and honor that deservedly attached to the differently-made lithographs of the past. They were presented as "carrying on the best traditions." In reality, aside from this matter of the glamour of the past, these designs of Pennell's could have been perfectly reproduced by an ordinary reproductive process. But under the name "lithographs" they had a different sound and could be sold for more. Now that I bring back some of them to my mind, I am impelled to say again what I have said before, that Pennell made some very excellent drawings. I do not have to force myself grudgingly to "admit" it; I say it freely and gladly. And I will go out of my way to allow Mr. Pennell almost any merit you please, except

one. I will not allow that he is a lithographer or that his prints are lithography. Walter Sickert was right.

I will now quote an expression of judgment by a third New York dealer, not quoted before, and the three I have now referred to are the three most important houses in the city. We talked about lithography (they had on a show of my prints at the time) and I was told that they had difficulty in interesting the public in lithographs. And one of the reasons volunteered to me was that "the artists were too lazy to draw on stone." "Yes," I replied, "and Pennell going around telling everybody that paper is just as good." "That's because he makes his that way," was the instant rejoinder. This talk was with Mr. Wunderlich, of Kennedy and Company. Mr. Wunderlich also expressed the opinion that the main reason why people were not much interested in lithographs was because so few were being made that were good enough to excite interest. And I agreed with him.

A public drilled by critics and curators, librarians, museums, and "hanging committees" to believe that the Whistler and Pennell things were lithography, naturally would, and certainly did, take a good look at them and then decide there was nothing to lithography to excite special interest. It would see, just as I or anyone can see, that there is no esthetically significant difference between these so-called lithographs and any number of excellent process reproductions that we see around us in books and magazines all the time. And by this deceptive appropriation of the name that belongs to the entirely distinct art of genuine lithography—crayonstone—this better art is grossly misrepresented and its chances of being understood by the people enormously reduced. This contributes to a great injustice and loss to both the public and the artists. Against this injustice and loss I have long been fighting; and, by writing this book, am still fighting. "Truth crushed to earth," etc. . . .⁴⁸

I apologize for my tedious iteration; I cannot avoid it, weary as I am of it; I mean my iteration of the fact that till the Ways came along and undertook to "revive" lithography, via Whistler's transfers and Whistler's reputation, the world's artistic lithographs had been crayonstones. Countless thousands of them

⁴⁸ Two paragraphs of the Brown manuscript have been omitted at this point. In them, Brown takes the Pennells to task for having included a disproportionate number of transfer lithographs among the illustrations in *Lithography and Lithographers*.

had been made. Of transfers, if there were any, the records of these times speak not. The age which this work filled was passing away. The process was well known, but artists were not doing much with it. Enters now Mr. Pennell. Being physically a lightweight, at sight he hates the heavy stone, shrinking from the imagined strain of lifting it. Hating it, he sneers at it, referring sarcastically to the need of a "derrick and a team of horses" in using it. An illustrator who confines himself to objective phenomena wants something he can tuck under his arm and run around with—light, like paper. Very well then, down with crayon-stone; we repudiate stone; we rebel. We set on foot everything we can think of as propaganda against it, and of propaganda in favor of transfer. The Pennell book is a blast in this campaign. . . .⁴⁹

The same extreme prejudice in favor of transfer over crayonstone is—I was about to write that all through both the historical as well as the technical part of the book it can be traced, but traced is too mild a word; it does not need tracing; you can't get away from it; it sticks out in bumps. By way of buttressing this prime contention, the names of Whistler and Senefelder are frequently used; perhaps I ought to have said, misused. Let us stop a moment and look into the Senefelder part of this. Senefelder, as all know, except the Pennells, was not an artist, nor an art critic; he was a mechanical inventor. When he invented lithography he was not thinking of art at all; he was thinking of the great commercial value of a cheap and reliable reproductive process. Later on, when the artists got at it and showed what they could do, Senefelder saw things he did not have any idea of when he was doing the inventing. We should remember that it was twenty years after he invented the process that he wrote his book; and that during that twenty years the artists had been doing things that considerably enlarged even the inventor's ideas of his own invention.

The first essential of a reproductive process is that a design shall be producible on a second surface by means of contact with a first one. Hence, Senefelder's experiments, already given. He wanted to be able to reproduce such things as business letterheads, sheets of music, and so on. If a music writer could write with soapy ink on paper, the writ-

ing could be made to print itself off on stone, from which great numbers could be taken. Very good; it was a practicable scheme, for the purpose. It is to this day the very foundation of the whole vast structure of commercial lithography. Senefelder found if he covered with a gelatinous film the paper that was to be written on, the transferring of the writing to the stone was facilitated. And so he invented a suitable gummy paper, known in various modifications to this day as "transfer paper." This was of immense commercial importance. Senefelder, seeing this, remarks under the heading, "Transfer and Tracing": "Lithography has a unique way of transferring to stone a drawing or inscription that is first put on paper with a fatty substance. This is possible only for lithography, and I incline to the belief that it is the most important of all my inventions."⁵⁰ I am quoting this to show how obviously Senefelder was thinking of commercial "importance," and of nothing else, when that remark was made. Pennell, over and over, tries to make it appear that Senefelder was thinking of artistic things; and, in fact, that he was, in advance, as it were, recommending Mr. Pennell to make transfers instead of drawing on the stone. This is another case of propaganda and twisting things so that they look as if they were something they are not. To justify my interpretation of Senefelder's intention, I will continue a little farther the interrupted quotation:

It makes it unnecessary to learn reverse writing. Everybody who can write on ordinary paper with ordinary ink can do so with the chemical transfer ink, and this writing can be transferred to stone and manifolded indefinitely. In Munich and Petersburg this method has been introduced for government work. The measures adopted in council are written during the session by the secretary, with chemical ink on paper, and then sent to the printery.⁵¹

50 Senefelder, *Invention of Lithography*, p. 191.

51 Ibid, p. 190. The text of the 1819 translation differs markedly from the 1911 translation quoted by Brown: "In order to multiply copies of your ideas by printing, it is no longer necessary to learn to write in an inverted sense; but every person who with common ink can write on paper, may do the same with chemical ink, and by the transfer of his writing to the stone, it can be multiplied *ad infinitum*. At Munich, at Paris, and St. Petersburg, this manner is already used in government offices. All resolutions, edicts, orders, &c., agreed to in cabinet meetings, are written down on paper by the secretary with chemical ink; in the space of an hour fifty impressions may be had and distributed at pleasure. For circulars, and in general all such orders of government as must be rapidly distributed, an invention like this is of the utmost consequence." Senefelder, *Complete Course of Lithography*, p. 256.

Pennell would froth at the mouth if you offered to doubt that a transfer was a lithograph.

49 Two paragraphs of the Brown manuscript have again been omitted. In them Brown continues to discuss the Pennells' choice of illustrations.

He goes on to commend it also to commanders in war, to officers who are drawing plans, to "authors and scientists," and, last of all, it occurs to him to observe that "Even artists will respect the method when its gradual perfection enables them to draw their pictures on paper with ink or crayon and reproduce them."⁵² We note that our inventor is not stating a case that *is*; he is predicting. What he predicts is that "when" the process is perfect, artists will respect it. Just so; when it is, we shall. So far, it isn't.

And at that he does not say, as Pennell makes him, that it is the most important of all his inventions; he speaks doubtfully, saying only that he "is inclined to think" it is. Just one more twist. I will show a case or two of the misuse of Senefelder's name that I object to. The Pennell book, on page 14, says, "The drawing may be produced either by the artist upon stone. . . ." It is trying to say that the artist may draw upon either paper or stone, but the strain is too much; what it does say is, "the drawing may be produced either by the artist on stone, or it may be made upon paper, the method Senefelder commends," etc.⁵³ This is what I referred to—putting the Pennell transfers under the wing of Senefelder; whereas, there is hardly a ghost of actuality back of the statement that Senefelder "commends" the artist to make transfers in preference to crayonstones. Reading such things recalls the remark of William Rudge, the publisher, to me one day, "I guess Joe has been getting away with murder for years."

Senefelder is again dragged in to discredit the stone by the statement that he, Senefelder "tried to do away with the stone entirely," etc. And then again: "After a hundred years of experimenting, till today, no such satisfactory material has been found for printing from as the Kellheim stone." Not a glimmer of a hint that the stone surface, on which the whole historic world of crayonstone was *drawn*, has any other interest than to be *printed from*. Even this is not enough; we are going to have it pushed down our throats that although for a variety of obscure reasons the stone has somehow kept its place, yet this "is not due to any inherent artistic quality or merit in it." The facts are otherwise. It is precisely as a printing surface that modern plants are substituting zinc, whereas as a *drawing* surface—ignored or flatly denied by Mrs. Pennell—it

has the very highest "inherent" merit. And if the favoring of artistic work is an "artistic" merit, then even a stone really does have a merit more commonly ascribed to works of art. Naturally, if the stone had not had extraordinary merits as a drawing surface, we artists would not value it as we do. It is we, the people who use it, that know whether it has merit or not, and not the people who stand by the press, nor the people who write. If merit was not there, Bellows might just as well have done his work on paper. And Albert Sterner would never have written to me: "I did say and I do say that a paper lithograph cannot come within a thousand miles of a stone drawing."

My present object, however, is not to try to disprove the Pennell contention; all history disproves it; it is to show that the book possesses an "animus" against crayonstone, and that it stops at nothing in trying to make the public share it. The great harm that it has done and constantly is doing lies in that. And that is why I wish to destroy it. I repeat that it is not what it appears to be—a genuine, all-round treatise on lithography by competent authors; it is propaganda. The public, ignorant and innocent, must be made to forget; it must be flim-flammed and muddled and confused by misnamings and implications and insinuations, to the end that it shall think, as Dr. Weitenkampf, of the print department of the New York Public Library thinks, and as Miss Hutchinson, the curator of prints in the Brooklyn Museum thinks,⁵⁴ that Mr. Pennell's transfers are lithographs, "carrying on the best traditions of the past," with Whistler, "the greatest lithographer in the world" as forerunner, and Senefelder, the inventor of the process, "commending" his methods. With these gifts, think of the money Mr. Pennell would have coined as the head of an advertising agency.

In the actual history of the fine art [of] lithography, paper played a part, if it played any, so small as to be absolutely negligible. You could write a good history and not mention paper at all. But in the Pennell volume, paper crops up on every page, and if it does not crop up spontaneously, it is dragged up by the hair of its head. There are, by actual count, fifty-nine mentions of "paper," some

⁵² Ibid, p. 191.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Frank Weitenkampf (1866–1962) was curator of prints at the New York Public Library from 1906 to 1942; Susan A. Hutchinson was curator of prints at the Brooklyn Museum from 1915 to 1935.

merely using the word, some commending the method, and not one hinting at any shortcoming. Whereas the stone comes in for derogatory comments and insidious side-slaps in sundry places; not once is it mentioned with praise. When Pennell wrote his *Illustration of Books*, he said, "It would be well if we drew always on stone," but this was twenty years before. By the time *Lithography and Lithographers* was on the stocks he had forgotten all that. On page 74, Mrs. Pennell, speaking of Gavarni and Daumier, tells us that they are said to have drawn "either on stone or zinc or metal plates," (zinc, we must suppose, Mrs. Pennell thinks is not a metal), "it is impossible to tell which." This gives the idea that zinc, or "metal plates" are so nearly like stone that it is not possible to tell them apart. In a word, the inference is that stone has no advantage over zinc, thus belittling and maligning the stone. The facts are, first, that Gavarni and Daumier drew on stone; and second, that zinc is inferior to stone. Thomas R. Way publishes the statement that it is "lacking the refinement of stone work." Mrs. Pennell opines that "owing to the hurry of the printers," the artists just mentioned "probably did not work on paper." (I can think of nothing to say but, "Don't make me laugh; my lip's cracked!") No, they "probably" did not; you could not have driven either of them to paper with a cat o'nine tails. The entirely gratuitous and imaginary "hurry of the printer" had nothing to do with it. It is propaganda. It is worded to give the impression that these masters of

real lithography would have preferred paper, if only there would have been time for it.

There is a school of thought (to give it, by courtesy, a title) which starts by assuming that the fellow who is "agin the government" is always right. To be in a state of rebellion—no matter against what—is inherently fine. Fothergill Finch may be instanced as an example. Fothergill Finch writes a poem:

Observe me—I am in revolt!
You ask me what I am in revolt against?
Against you, fool, dolt, idiot, against every-
thing.

When this attitude is brought over into art criticism, it results in remarks like some of those which Mrs. Pennell sprinkles freely as she sails along. She thinks the artists who "revolt" against the natural qualities of the stone—that is, of the surface they draw on—are more to be admired than those who use it. The unrevolting ones, she refers to as "slaves to the stone and the chalk." Whereas Doré, for instance, was better; he was "indifferent to lithographic quality and therefore got his own character or mannerism into his work." Other artists, too, are complimented on having little appreciation of lithographic quality, "in consequence of which their lithographs were like their drawings in other mediums." This, she avers, is "just what constitutes their merit." If so, the great masters of the stone were all in error. I believe it was only Mr. Pennell whom Walter Sickert spoke of as a shocking bad critic. □

*In the history
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WHISTLER AND TRANSFER LITHOGRAPHY

Nicholas Smale

WHISTLER'S REPUTATION as an artist, even today, suffers to some extent as a result of the undue emphasis that has been placed upon his notorious public image. Yet much of the scandal and gossip upon which this image is based is irrelevant to a true understanding and estimate of the artist and his work. On this the 150th anniversary of his birth, it would be advantageous to put aside that aspect of his life and concentrate instead upon information which is related to the production of his work. In this instance, not only will a close study of the transfer lithographs themselves prove particularly rewarding, but the related correspondence between Whistler and his printers, Thomas Way and Son, will also provide a unique opportunity to compare the artist's own opinions with the evidence of the prints.*

Whistler produced approximately 160 transfer lithographs among a total of some 180 works in the medium. Except for four early transfers of 1878–79, the bulk of these were drawn between 1887 and 1896. Of the twenty or so lithographs Whistler drew directly on stone, some twelve were executed in 1878–79 and employed a complete range of materials and techniques, handled with impressive skill and sensitivity. These, as well as *The Thames*, a lithotint of 1896, also on stone, are among his finest and justly famous lithographs.

The question therefore arises as to why Whistler spent so much time using transfer paper when he had been so successful drawing on stone. There is no one simple answer to this, for Thomas Way and Son could well have supplied him with stones to draw on in

1887, and there is evidence to show that at various times in the future he preferred to work on stone rather than on transfer paper.¹ In 1887, however, it seems likely that with the assistance of his printers, Whistler came to realize that transfer lithography could give him the freedom and directness that he valued in his etchings. He designed for himself a small sketching pad containing sheets of transfer paper that he could easily carry about with him, in the same way that he carried prepared etching plates, ready for sketching on the spot (Fig. 1).² Drawing on transfer paper ideally suited Whistler's artistic aims and style, for he delighted in recording scenes and events out of doors in an abbreviated and evocative style that retained the appearance of spontaneous sketches. Transfer paper no doubt had an advantage over etching in this respect, for it enabled him to make as many attempts at a subject as he wished. Although Whistler generally seems to have destroyed or lost trial drawings, there is ample evidence to show that the method was a necessary part of his manner of working.³

The use of transfer paper also made Whistler to some extent independent of the printer. Having decided to make a lithograph, he no longer had first to contact his printer in order that a stone might be prepared for him and transported to the studio or work site. Transfer paper was, to some degree at least, re-

* The Whistler/Way correspondence consists of more than 150 letters or letter cards, exchanged between Whistler and his printer between 1878 and 1896. The majority of these refer to the years 1893–94, when Whistler was in Paris, and provide a unique record of his lithographic activity. All correspondence cited is quoted by permission from the Whistler collection at the Department of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

1 Whistler wanted to work on stone in Paris in the fall of 1893. After he returned to London he made at least two drawings on stone early in 1895. In April 1896 he drew *The Thames* (Levy 178), a "lithotint" on stone.

2 For Way's description of the lithographic sketching pad, see T. R. Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler—The Artist* (London: 1912), pp. 88–89.

3 See Pennell's account of the Mallarmé portrait, J. & E. R. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2, p. 134. Direct evidence of Whistler's working method is demonstrated by his portraits of Thomas Way (Levy 155, 156, and 157). See N. B. Smale, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, M. Phil. thesis, Coventry (Lanchester) Polytechnic, England, December 1983, pp. 168–69.

sponsible for the freedom and charm of Whistler's transfer prints, which were direct responses of the artist to immediate situations, not reconstructions or elaborations worked on elsewhere. Perhaps the classic example, demonstrating the value of transfer lithography as Whistler used it, is the famous portrait *Stéphane Mallarmé No. 1*, 1892 (Fig. 2; Levy 101). The characteristics of this print that make it so effective are the result of a sequence of previous drawings; they also result from his use of a very sensitive transfer paper called *papier végétal*, which was laid over a textured surface to impart a broken, irregular quality to the line. Such an effect could not have been achieved by any other means.⁴

Contrary perhaps to expectations, Whistler was not entirely wedded to transfer paper, as can be seen from his work in Paris in the early 1890s. Whistler had first worked in the French capital in the summer of 1891, when he was developing color printing with the French printer, Belfont.⁵ The color revolution and revival of lithography was centered in Paris, and by 1893 Whistler was fully aware of the advantages and fortune that could result from the sudden popularity of lithography. In this particular year, he made some nineteen lithographs, of which sixteen were drawn on transfer paper (including some of the color prints he had made with Belfont) and the rest on stone.⁶ Indeed, the correspondence with T. R. Way in late 1893 shows that Whistler, perhaps as a result of seeing the work of artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec and Jules Chéret, was more interested in working on stone than on transfer paper.⁷ Whistler now found himself in a difficult position, however, because in November 1893 he had quarreled with Belfont and could no longer expect any work from him. Belfont's business was to close down almost a year later and although Whistler occasionally used the services of other French firms, notably Lemer cier, he never established close links with them.⁸ On the other hand, Thomas and T. R. Way in London proved

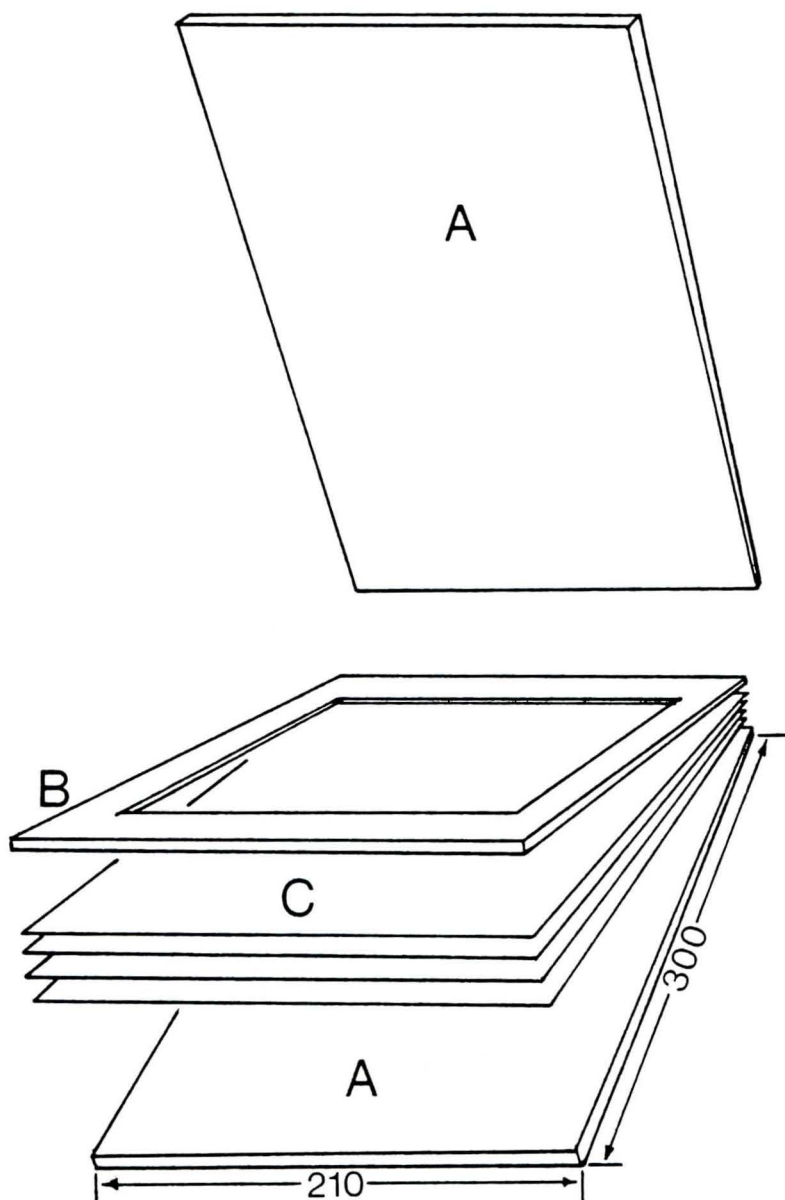


FIG. 1. A diagram of Whistler's lithographic sketch book, based on the account by Way (see T. R. Way, *The Memories of James McNeill Whistler, the Artist*, pp. 88–89). A. Cardboard covers; B. Open cardboard mount; C. Sheets of transfer paper. The overall size of the sketch book, estimated at 300 × 210, would have been slightly larger than the dimensions of Whistler's largest transfer lithograph, *The Smith: Passage du Dragon* (272 × 174). The sketch book was held together by an india-rubber band.

4 See Pennell, *The Life*, vol. 2, p. 134.

5 Young, MacDonald, Spencer, and Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (London: 1980), p. lxvi. See also Whistler to Mallarmé, 30 October 1891 (AM 1962 M/17) and Whistler to Beatrix, 2 November 1891 (BP II Res. 12/14). Belfont has been spelled with a "t" in accordance with other authors; however several drawings by Whistler on a transparent transfer paper are stamped "Belfond, imprimeur, Paris." Belfont is probably an English corruption of Belfond. See Whistler's drawings, Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow University.

6 These included two drawings using chalk and stump on stone: *Draped Model Standing* (Levy 78) and *A Draped Model Standing by a Sofa* (Levy 187). See Smale, *Lithographs of Whistler*, app. A, pp. 7–8.

7 See Whistler to Way, 16 October 1893 (LB 5/24); Whistler to Way, 12 November 1893 (W99); and Whistler to Way, 3 November 1893 (W98). The letters at the beginning of the Glasgow reference numbers given in these notes (in parentheses) indicate their original location: BP and W, the Birnie Philip gift of letters and documents to Glasgow University Library; LB5, copies by Birnie Philip of originals at the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; and LC, copies of original letters at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

8 See Whistler to Way, 3 November 1893 (W98); and Whistler to Way, 21 November 1893 (LB 5/30).

FIG. 2.
James McNeill Whistler.
Stéphane Mallarmé, No. 1,
1892. 95 × 70 (Levy 101).
First drawn and printed
in Paris, November 1892,
using a transfer paper
known as *papier végétal*.
Used as a frontispiece
for the first edition
of Mallarmé's
Vers et Prose, 1893.



All of the Whistler lithographs illustrated with this article are from the collection of Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow University, Scotland, and are used by permission. Photographs, courtesy Hunterian Art Gallery.

themselves reliable and enthusiastic collaborators, and Whistler now turned to them for advice and help.

Although for a time he continued to work on stones which were ferried to and fro across the Channel, this expedient was not only inconvenient but positively dangerous, for the unprotected drawings were liable to be damaged as a result of customs officials insisting upon opening all parcels over ten pounds in weight.⁹ In the event, no regular or convenient alternative could be found. Quite apart from transport problems, Whistler wanted to work with "lithotint" again, and this, in particular, presented technical problems that could not be solved by post. Way wrote, "It is most tantalizing to find you in the mood to do this work again and to repeat the triumphs of the *Early Morning* and the *nocturne*, and not to be at hand to second you."¹⁰

By the end of 1893, Whistler had to abandon the idea of working in color or in black and white on stone. He was obliged, if he wished to continue to make lithographs, to work on transfer paper. In September 1893, he began to send drawings on transfer paper by post to Thomas Way and Son. They were kept flat by posting them sandwiched between bundles of fine quality printing paper.

In these circumstances, however, using transfer paper had certain limitations. All but

the simplest of errors, once the drawing had been put on the stone, were impossible to correct short of Whistler going to London. This was a serious consequence, and it is interesting to speculate what effect it might have had upon his approach to drawing. It is significant that only a handful of Whistler's transfer lithographs drawn in Paris in 1893–94 required alterations and these were mostly of a minor nature.¹¹ Even taking into account that Whistler's graphic style at this time was already characteristically precise and economic, it is likely that the knowledge that the drawing on transfer paper, once sent to London, could not be altered, caused him to concentrate upon his draughtsmanship and to be satisfied with nothing short of his best work. This is clearly borne out by Whistler's own assessment of his progress. In August and September of 1894, in particular, he considered that *The Laundress—La Blanchisseuse de la Place Dauphine* (Levy 89) was the best drawing he had done.¹² Of others he wrote: "That is a fine drawing, short and sharp—as it ought to be." Or: "The work is simplicity itself—most direct—and with no fumbling and re-touching."¹³

THAT WHISTLER was able to use transfer paper at all was due to the fact that the method had been only recently developed in England and France. Whistler's limited use of it in 1878 coincided with its use by other artists in France in the 1870s, and Whistler's return to it in 1887 was most probably due to the influence of these artists who had successfully developed it. More important still was the way that the different technological developments and artistic traditions of the two countries affected Whistler's lithographic work.

A form of transfer paper had always been used in commercial lithography for music writing and circulars, but it was not until the 1850s that grained transfer papers—as cheap substitutes for the stone and suitable for making drawings with lithographic chalk—were developed.¹⁴ Their production was established on a commercial basis in Great Britain by Messrs. Maclure and MacDonald of Edinburgh in the early 1870s, when they manufactured under licence the patent of Thomas

11 Smale, *Lithographs of Whistler*, pp. 164–65.

12 Whistler to Way, 7 August 1894 (LB 5/64).

13 Whistler to Way, 14 September 1894 (LC 2/1310–1);

Whistler to Way, 17 September 1894 (LC 2/1336–7, 1341).

14 See Smale, *Lithographs of Whistler*, pp. 71–74.

9 See Way to Whistler, 14 November 1893 (BP II 33/21).

10 Way to Whistler, 17 October 1893 (W97).

Nelson.¹⁵ Examples of drawings on this paper were shown at the International Exhibition in London in 1871. By the early 1870s, grained transfer papers had become generally available throughout the country and were sometimes sold in small, solid sketchbooks, four-and-a-half by seven inches.¹⁶ C. Craigie of Edinburgh supplied architectural views, book illustrations, landscapes, etc., drawn on transfer paper to order and posted to the client, ready for transferring to the stone.¹⁷

In France transfer paper was also developed at about the same period. The emphasis, however, appears to have been toward a smooth, thin paper generally referred to as *papier végétal*. It was coated on one side with a gum solution and was extremely sensitive. It became recognized first of all for facsimile reproduction, the most famous early example being *Fac-Simili de dessins et croquis originaux d'Eugène Delacroix* (1864–1870) by Alfred Robaut.¹⁸ The fine French tradition of artistic lithography, which was in danger of dying out in the 1860s, was kept alive by a number of French artists who made drawings on *papier végétal*. Corot produced a dozen transfer lithographs in 1872; these were followed by the lithographs of Pissarro in 1874, and also by the occasional prints of Manet. In the late 1870s and in the 1880s a number of other artists tried transfer lithography, the two most prolific and successful being Redon and Fantin-Latour. It is very probable that Whistler's close contact with the Parisian art world of the 1880s, combined with the stir that these artists created, directed Whistler to take up transfer lithography.¹⁹

Germany also produced transfer paper and marketed at least one type of grained paper in England and France. This was known in France as *papier viennois* and came in three different grades: fine, medium, and coarse, numbers 1, 2, and 3, respectively.²⁰ Thomas Way and Son, in London, supplied Whistler



FIG. 3. James McNeill Whistler. Detail (x3): *Gaiety Stage Door*, 1879. 124 × 194 (Levy 21). The drawing was executed on the German *papier viennois* or on another transfer paper of a similar type. Published in *Notes*, 1887.

with this kind of paper, probably as early as 1879, and certainly from 1887 onwards. The coarse grain, evident in *Gaiety Stage Door*, 1879 (Levy 21), is very similar in character to the coarse grain of *Chelsea Rags*, 1888 (Levy 35); compare the magnified details of Fig. 3 and Fig. 4. The grain of *Chelsea Rags* is likewise similar in character to the finer grain of *Maunder's Fish Shop*, *Chelsea*, 1890 (Levy 42); see detail Fig. 5, and to *The Garden*, 1891 (Levy 63); see detail Fig. 6. The paper used in *The Garden*—the grained paper most frequently used by Whistler in the 1890s—possessed the finest grain. If the example of *The Garden*, Fig. 6, is compared with the magnified detail of a crayon drawing on the finest grade of *papier viennois* No. 1, used to illustrate Duchatel's *Traité de Lithographie Artistique* (Paris, 1907), see Fig. 7, it is clear that the two transfer papers are identical and that Whistler was therefore supplied with the German *papier viennois* by Thomas Way and Son. Needless to say, Duchatel, who had by 1893 been working for some twenty years as artistic printer for the

15 Ibid, pp. 74–75. Thomas Nelson's patent was registered on 9 October 1867.

16 *The Lithographer*, vol. 4, no. 38 (15 August 1873): 33.

17 *The Lithographer*, vol. 3, no. 28 (1 October 1872): 66.

18 See Douglas Druick and Peter Zeger, *La Pierre Parle: Lithography in France, 1848–1900* (Ottawa: 1981), p. 7.

19 Fantin-Latour was particularly prominent since he regularly exhibited lithographs at the annual salons in the 1880s. He also won critical acclaim for his lithographic illustrations for *Richard Wagner, sa vie et ses oeuvres* by Adolphe Jullien (Paris: 1886). See Druick and Zeger, *La Pierre Parle*, pp. 92–93.

20 E. Duchatel, *Traité de lithographie artistique* (Paris: 1893), p. 47.



FIG. 4. James McNeill Whistler. Detail (x3): *Chelsea Rags*, 1888. 180 × 159 (Levy 35). Drawn on *papier viennois*, No. 3 (coarse grain). Published in *Albemarle*, 1892.



FIG. 5. James McNeill Whistler. Detail (x3): *Maulder's Fish Shop, Chelsea*, 1890. 190 × 171 (Levy 42). Drawn on *papier viennois*, No. 2 (medium grain). Published in *The Whirlwind*, 1890.

firm of Lemerrier, was well acquainted with *papier viennois*. He stated that the coarse grained and medium grained papers that Whistler used for his early prints such as *Gaiety Stage Door*, *Chelsea Rags*, and *Maulder's Fish Shop, Chelsea*, were disliked by most artists; Duchatel recommended only the finest grained paper for artistic work.²¹

The grained transfer papers favored in Britain, including the German import, were, it seems, used largely for illustrative work. The paper was relatively thick and had a heavy coating of composition on one side, which was embossed with a suitable, often mechanical grain.²² Few artists, apart from Alphonse Legros and Whistler, used it before the 1890s.²³ In contrast, the *papier végétal* was delicate and smooth and was used by Redon and Fantin-Latour to create a whole range of irregular textures simply by laying the paper over an attractively textured surface.²⁴ This gave their work a unique quality which was rich and painterly and had an expressive power that was much appreciated. It was also quite devoid both of the gritty quality of the normal chalk drawing on stone and of the mechanical grain derived from most grained transfer papers.

The different technological and historical developments in England and France must therefore be important considerations when studying Whistler's transfer lithographs and when comparing them with the work of his contemporaries on the continent. Whistler's work was conditioned for many years by the limitations imposed by use of *papier viennois*. It was only at a much later date, in Paris in 1894, that he properly discovered and began to use *papier végétal*. At the time of this discovery, he explained to T. R. Way how he had always been dissatisfied with the German paper that he found so unpleasant to work on.²⁵ The *papier végétal* was, on the other hand, a delight and gave him the qualities he had al-

21 Ibid, pp. 48–50.

22 See Charles Harrap, *Transferring* (Leicester: 1912), p. 32.

23 Several different grained transfer papers were used by Alphonse Legros, including two different types marketed by Maclure and MacDonald. See Smale, *Lithographs of Whistler*, pp. 175–76; also A. P. Malassis and A. W. Thibaudau, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre gravé et lithographié de M. Alphonse Legros* (Paris: 1877), pp. 14–20.

24 See Germain Hédiard, Fantin-Latour, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre lithographique du Maître* (Paris: 1906), p. 18.

25 Whistler to Way, 2 August 1894 (LB 5/63); Whistler to Way, 17 August 1894 (LC 1/1317–9).

ways been looking for. When Whistler had moved to Paris in 1892, neither Thomas nor T. R. Way was acquainted with *papier végétal*, nor did they know how to transfer drawings from it to the stone.²⁶ It was only two years later in August 1894 that they finally succeeded, having been instructed by Whistler to transfer the drawings to a grained stone rather than a smooth one, as they were accustomed to use for grained transfer papers.²⁷

Whistler's prints originating from the three grades of *papier viennois* and from the *papier végétal* can be readily distinguished from one another.²⁸ Compare the magnified details of Figs. 4, 5, and 6 with that of Fig. 8, a detail of *Rue Fürstenburg*, 1894 (Levy 90), the first drawing Whistler sent to Thomas Way and Son, in August 1894, using the newfound *papier végétal*. The prints derived from using the *papier végétal* show a marked improvement in the quality of line and tone, and consequently a gain in expression and freedom of execution. Whistler had been endeavoring for years, not entirely without success, to achieve a greater degree of freedom and expression using the German grained paper, but now he turned to a paper that promised to be much more rewarding.

In view of this, it would be true to say that the nature of German grained paper seriously hindered and frustrated the full realization of Whistler's aims for transfer lithography. Whistler, in fact, had only three months left in Paris to work with the new paper before the tragic illness of his wife necessitated his immediate return to London. Before leaving Paris he had already made plans to use the new paper for color lithographs, which he told T. R. Way would be something quite new in lithography.²⁹ These plans, unfortunately, were never realized.

Unpleasant as the grained transfer paper was, Whistler never ceased to experiment with it, and a study of his transfer lithographs from



FIG. 6. James McNeill Whistler. Detail (x3): *The Garden*, 1891. 170 × 187 (Levy 63). Drawn on *papier viennois*, No. 1 (fine grain).



FIG. 7. Detail (x3) of a crayon drawing on *papier viennois*, No. 1 (fine grain), from E. Duchatel, *Traité de Lithographie Artistique* (second edition, Paris: 1907), plate 11.

26 See Katherine Lochnan, "Whistler and the Transfer Lithograph: A Lithograph with a Verdict," *Print Collector's Newsletter* 12 (November-December 1981): 135. See also Way to Whistler, 26 September 1892 (W93).

27 Whistler to Way, 14 August 1894 (F137A mf 332-6).

28 Pennell stated that "no critic can tell the difference" between a lithograph drawn on stone or on paper. Bolton Brown quite rightly refuted this. See "Pennellism and the Pennells" in this issue of *TTP*, also Bolton Brown, *Lithography* (New York: 1923), pp. 18-21.

29 Whistler to Way, 14 September 1894 (LC 2/1310-1); Whistler to Way, 22 August 1894 (LC 2/1312-4).



FIG. 8. James McNeill Whistler. Detail (x3): *Rue Fürstenburg*, 1894. 220 × 160 (Levy 90). Drawn on *papier végétal*.

1887 through 1894 and beyond, show the character of Whistler the artist, his sensitivity and respect for the materials, and his ability constantly to explore and develop them in an almost systematic manner, yet always with artistic results.

THE PROCESS of exploration began with the early transfer prints of 1887. Whistler was supplied with some coarse grained sheets of *papier viennois* and sticks of very hard lithographic crayon.³⁰ These were the crayons recommended by Thomas Way and Son as most suitable for the grained transfer paper. The combination of paper and crayon gave a rather characterless grey line in these early drawings, as for example in *Churchyard* (Levy 30). Whistler continued to use the coarse grained paper and hard crayons in 1888. The most successful print of this year was *Chelsea Rags*, 1888 (Levy 35), in which it is possible that he achieved a greater depth of tone by using a

softer crayon; see detail Fig. 4. The mechanical grain, however, is obtrusive, and it is possible that Whistler at this time considered the results unsatisfactory, for he drew one print dated 1888, *Courtyard, Chelsea Hospital* (Levy 36), directly on stone. It is only in the prints of 1890–91 that Whistler managed to overcome to some extent the mechanical nature of the transfer paper by using medium grained paper and softer chinks. Examples such as *The Winged Hat*, 1890 (Levy 38), and *Gants de Suède*, 1890 (Levy 40), are clearly great improvements on earlier transfers and begin to use a wider range of tone and line. Whistler did not during these years abandon entirely the coarse grained paper, but seems to have deliberately used it in *The Dancing Girl*, 1889 (Levy 45), and *The Little Nude Model Reading*, 1890 (Levy 43), for the lightness of line that is in character with the subject matter.³¹

The most important achievement, however, is seen in *The Garden*, 1891 (Levy 63), in which Whistler used a fine grained paper with a finely sharpened crayon of medium hardness; see detail Fig. 6. The range of tone, precision, and quality of line shown in this print begin to demonstrate the versatility of the method and its expressive possibilities.

These early transfer prints (1887–1891), some twenty-five in all, show Whistler moving from the coarse grained paper and hard crayons recommended initially to him by Thomas Way and Son, to medium and fine grained papers and the softer crayons, such as Lemerrier's No. 2, that gave a richer line.³² Although Whistler was not prolific during these years, these experiments were important: Through them he discovered the most effective combination of crayon and transfer paper available to him at the time; these were to be the basis of his work in Paris on transfer paper in 1893.

As already mentioned, Whistler's preoccupation with color lithography in the summer of 1891 in Paris, and later his permanent residence there, interrupted his work with Thomas Way and Son. Although Whistler's

30 Way to Whistler, 5 September 1887 (W83).

31 *The Little Nude Model, Reading*, is the title used by Way. See T. R. Way, *Mr. Whistler's Lithographs* (London: 1905); Levy refers to the same print as *The Little Model, Resting*, see Mervyn Levy, *Whistler's Lithographs* (London: 1975).

32 Duchatel wrote that Lemerrier's crayon, No. 2, was most used by artists because it gave the greatest range of line and tone. See Duchatel, *Traité de lithographie artistique*, p. 12.

London printers seem not to have processed or printed any new drawings by Whistler in this period, the younger Way experimented with color lithography and offered advice to Whistler. In particular, he sent examples of his own color experiments, reproductions of Whistler's pastel drawings, in which he used the stump with the *estompe*, or softest lithographic crayon.³³ It was most probable that it was T. R. Way, therefore, who brought this technique to Whistler's attention, or at least showed him that it could be applied to lithography. In 1893 it provided Whistler with the means considerably to extend the expressive possibilities of the grained transfer paper.

Whistler first used the stump in a series of drawings executed in Brittany in the summer of 1893, of which *Vitré: The Canal, Brittany* (Levy 65) is the best example. Whistler was immediately pleased with the results and there followed an interval of several weeks while he experimented with the new technique. It was only in mid-November 1893 that he was satisfied with some new drawings and sent a group of five to Way for proofing. In *The Steps, Luxembourg* (Levy 70), *The Draped Figure—Seated* (Fig. 9; Levy 74), and *Nude Model Reclining* (Levy 75), Whistler achieved a new range of line and tone, which had a richness and delicacy quite new in lithography. Whistler expressed his satisfaction in a key letter to T. R. Way: "Indeed [with] this stump I really believe I am making at last something altogether peculiar—don't you? I am getting now a richness with it—a certain velvety daintiness—quite unlike anything I have ever seen. . . . Do you see I am getting to use the stump just like a brush—and the work is beginning to have the mystery in execution of a painting."³⁴

The Draped Figure—Seated was selected for publication in *L'Estampe Originale*. It was perhaps the first masterpiece Whistler had produced on grained transfer paper and had a rare delicacy and poetic quality. With an expressive range of materials now at his disposal, Whistler produced some twelve new lithographs in only six weeks during the summer of 1894.

In Paris, Whistler was in contact with Lemer cier's workshop and with Duchatel, who had expounded the advantages of using *papier végétal* in his treatise on lithography published the previous year. It is quite possible



FIG. 9. James McNeill Whistler. *The Draped Figure—Seated*, 1893. 180 × 160 (Levy 74). Drawn on *papier viennois*, No. 1 (fine grain). Published in *L'Estampe Originale*, 1893.

that Whistler saw the treatise for himself, and it is not at all surprising in the circumstances that he should have made an experiment on the *papier végétal* at Lemer cier's. He sent a second drawing on the same paper to Way in London.³⁵ Whistler found that the new paper was not only "simply wonderful to draw upon," since it had no grain to hinder the movement of the crayon, but that it also gave "really velvety effects" without the use of the stump.³⁶ He was delighted with the wide range of effects that he could achieve, admiring the charcoal-like quality of *La Belle Dame Paresseuse*, 1894 (Levy 93), the sharpness and brightness of *La Jolie New Yorkaise*, 1894 (Levy 92), and the similarity of some effects to the burr of

33 Way to Whistler, 22 November 1892 (W94).

34 Whistler to Way, 21 November 1893 (LB 5/30).

35 Whistler to Way, 14 August 1894 (F 137A mf 332–6). F137A, is the reference number of the Freer Gallery of Art; mf 332–6 is a Glasgow reference, a copy of the Freer original.

36 Whistler to Way, 21 August 1894 (LC 2/1329).

the drypoint.³⁷ Within the next ten weeks, from mid-August until the beginning of November, he produced some twenty lithographs on *papier végétal*. Nearly all these prints have a distinctive individual quality in the drawing that is particular to its subject matter. The above mentioned prints are fine examples, but *The Duet*, 1894 (Levy 95), has a rich Rembrandt quality, *La Belle Jardinière*, 1894 (Levy 94), has an added velvety softness due to the careful use of the stump, and *La Fruitière de la Rue Grenelle*, 1894 (Levy 98), demonstrates a subtle rendering of contrasting textures and impressions handled entirely with line.

The quality of line was determined partly by the hardness of the crayon, whether sharp or rounded, and by the dexterity with which Whistler was able to manipulate it in his fingers (he never used a crayon holder), unhindered by the presence of a grain on the paper. Apart from this, he gained further variations by resting the paper on a roughened surface as he had done in the Stéphane Mallarmé portrait (Fig. 2), a technique that had given the portrait such a unique character. The technique was certainly used in a number of prints of this period. Regular striations are clearly visible in *Portrait Study: Miss Charlotte R. Williams of Baltimore*, 1894 (Levy 76), and are also seen, to a less marked extent, in *La Mère Malade*, 1894 (Levy 77), and *Afternoon Tea*, 1894–95 (Levy 114). Whistler also used the method later in Lyme Regis with particular effect in *The Fair*, 1895 (Levy 144), and probably in *The Old Smith's Story*, 1895 (Levy 150), and *Father and Son*, 1895 (Levy 125), to give a soft broken quality to the line.

IN SEVERAL long and interesting letters to T. R. Way in August and September 1894, Whistler analyzed the prints he had recently made using the various samples of smooth transfer paper that he had been able to acquire. In late August he hoped to be able to use two types of *papier végétal* for different kinds of work, one for "light bright portraits" which he had used for *La Jolie New Yorkaise*, and a second for "lamp effects and deep interiors," which he had used for *La Belle Dame Paresseuse*.³⁸ He used this latter kind of paper for *The Forge: Passage du Dragon*, 1894 (Levy 108). Unfortunately this drawing and *The Smith: Passage du Dragon*, 1894 (Levy 110), failed to

transfer successfully, and Whistler blamed himself for having overworked the drawing.³⁹ (Both drawings were later successfully reworked on stone.) Dark interiors and nocturnal scenes were a feature of Whistler's graphic work and of many of his oil paintings as in, for example, the mysterious depth of space surrounding the figure of Montesquion in *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquion-Frezensac*, 1891–92. Whistler endeavored to reproduce this painting as a lithographic portrait for the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* using a grained transfer paper. The result was *Count Robert de Montesquion*, 1894 (Levy 138), which unfortunately failed to transfer properly, a casualty of having no printer on hand in Paris to advise him.⁴⁰ *Papier végétal* seems to have been unsuitable for this kind of heavily drawn work. Later, in 1896, using a new grained transfer paper supplied by T. R. Way, he was able to obtain rich dark effects in a portrait such as *The Russian Schube*, 1896 (Levy 160), and in *Charing Cross Railway Bridge*, 1896 (Levy 166).

In September 1894, Whistler hoped further to refine the quality of the *papier végétal*. He persuaded Lemercier to make a special paper that was less sticky.⁴¹ He sent a number of drawings to T. R. Way on this new paper, expressing the hope that they would transfer satisfactorily and give the results he wanted. Whistler at this time was full of new plans for lithography and was anxious to solve finally the problem of the transfer paper so that he could go ahead with his ideas on color work.⁴² Whistler wrote in October that he had received the prints and was delighted with the results, but there was no mention of his earlier plans, for by now he was already too concerned about his wife's illness and his impending return to London.⁴³

Whistler was unable to work consistently in lithography for some months, but in September 1895 he visited Lyme Regis in Dorset, and there produced some eighteen transfer lithographs, of which sixteen were drawn on the *papier végétal*. Contrary to his earlier subjects, nearly all these prints were concerned

37 Whistler to Way, 22 August 1894 (LC 2/1312–4); also Whistler to Way, 14 September 1894 (LC 2/1310–1).

38 Whistler to Way, 22 August 1894 (LC 2/1312–4).

39 Whistler to Way, 17 September 1894 (LC 2/1336–7, 1341).

40 Whistler to Way, 13 July 1894 (LB 5/57); Whistler to Way, 15 July 1894 (LB 5/52).

41 Whistler to Way, 14 September 1894 (LC 2/1310–1); Whistler to Way, 25 September 1894 (W114).

42 Whistler to Way, 2 September 1894 (LC 2/1320–4); Whistler to Way, 14 September 1894 (LC 2/1310–1); Whistler to Way, 25 September 1894 (W114).

43 Whistler to Way, 1 October 1894 (LB 5/68).

with the effects of light, either nocturnal scenes such as *The Fair* (Levy 144) or the effects of heat and light from the furnaces of blacksmiths' forges, such as *The Strong Arm* (Levy 127) or *The Old Smith's Story* (Levy 150). Compared with his earlier drawings, some twenty altogether on *papier végétal* in Paris, these show a development in Whistler's use of line. The line has greater freedom, variety, and expressive power and achieves in many cases an almost miraculous expression of what are very subtle and elusive visual effects. Their success was the result of Whistler's persistent enquiry into and refinement of his materials to achieve effects that were perhaps unique in lithography.

THE LAST PHASE of Whistler's work on transfer paper was again conditioned by his circumstances. He was no longer able to live and work in Paris, and although he used the same *papier végétal* in Lyme Regis that he had acquired from Lemer cier's workshop, it would have been more difficult for him to obtain new supplies in the future. Unfortunately, apart from this, several of his Lyme Regis drawings failed to transfer properly, perhaps because of their exposure to the sea air.⁴⁴ T. R. Way had been experimenting with a new grained transfer paper that was free of the mechanical grain of *papier viennois* and, according to Way, was very like the grain on a stone. Before Whistler left Lyme Regis, he began to use the samples of this paper that T. R. Way had sent him. Way wrote that it gave him "crisp, clear lines, delicate or strong as he wished," and "the velvety texture of the stump whenever he wanted it."⁴⁵ Whistler produced another fifty or so lithographs using this new paper, and in them he set about exploring its linear and tonal possibilities. A number of different experiments with softer and harder grades of crayon are found in the earlier prints of this period. They are mainly portraits, such as those of Mr. and Mrs. Pennell, child portraits such as *Little Evelyn* and *Little Dorothy* (Levy 159 and 163, respectively), and a particularly striking portrait of his printer, *Study No. 1, Portrait of Thomas Way* (Levy 155). Perhaps his finest works are those of a slightly later date, when he undertook a series of drawings of the Thames seen from the Savoy Hotel, two portraits of his wife, and two drawings of churches. In these he worked increasingly with



ABOVE: FIG. 10. James McNeill Whistler. *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, 1896. 215 × 140 (Levy 183). Drawn on a grained transfer paper supplied by T. R. Way. BELOW: FIG. 11. Detail (x3): *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*.



⁴⁴ Way to Whistler, 26 October 1895 (LB 5/86).

⁴⁵ Way, *Memories*, p. 118.

the stump, applying it for a variety of effects: for the sky in *Little London* (Levy 173), for the rich dark tone of his wife's hair in *The Siesta* (Levy 174), and for the richer tones of evening with the effect of drifting smoke in *Charing Cross Railway Bridge* (Levy 166). In this particular subject he used the stump delicately in the foreground, so that only the tops of the grain received drawing material. The soft, brush-like quality of the result gave an effect similar to watercolor. The finest drawing is that of *St. Giles-in-the-Fields* (Fig. 10; Levy 183), which was drawn almost entirely with the stump. The richer tones of the church, its windows and decorations, and the trunks of the trees were drawn strongly, but the delicate tones were created by the method described for *Charing Cross Railway Bridge*, which was used for the walls of the church, the grass in the foreground, and most effectively over the branches, softening the twigs and linear work (Fig. 11). Whistler had used the same painterly technique earlier on *papier viennois* in Paris in 1893, but the crispness and clarity of the grain on the new paper is perfectly exploited and is entirely appropriate for the subject, giving qualities of light and atmosphere and textural effects that were probably not possible on *papier viennois* and certainly unobtainable on *papier végétal*.

It is hoped that the foregoing account will serve not only to highlight the serious nature of Whistler's preoccupation with lithography, but also in some degree to show the way that his transfer lithographs came about—conditioned as they were by limitations and sometimes difficult circumstances which were related both to personal events and to factors beyond his control, whether geographical, historical or technical. Whistler was, in lithography at least, very much an artist of his own time; like others of his generation, including Degas, Pissarro, Fantin-Latour, and Redon, he experimented with lithography in the 1870s and later executed much of his work on transfer paper. As a fellow student in Paris, Whistler also imbibed the painterly style of his contemporaries and exhibited to a heightened degree an understanding and regard for materials, whether it was oil paint on a brush or a tiny stick of lithographic crayon on transfer paper.

The use of transfer paper in the 1880s and 1890s played an important part in the revival of lithography in England and France, and Whistler, as a major artist who was in the vanguard of this development, had a very important and influential role to play at this

crucial time. His example and standards were followed by a generation of younger artists in England. E. R. Pennell succinctly summarized Whistler's main virtues and characteristics in 1897: "[Whistler] established the standard, against which it is useless for the present generation to rebel."⁴⁶ Originality of creation, individuality of observation, unswerving directness of expression—here you have the seal or hallmark, which he has set upon the lithograph."⁴⁷ M. H. Spielmann, in 1896, believed quite correctly that Whistler's efforts had given English artists "an opportunity, by following his [Whistler's] example, of helping to initiate instead of merely following a movement."⁴⁸

Artists in England, such as Francis Short, Charles Shannon, William Rothenstein, and the American Joseph Pennell, all worked on transfer papers similar to Whistler's in the 1890s.⁴⁹ Thomas and T. R. Way's collaboration with Whistler inspired Charles Goulding, a successful copperplate printer, to print lithographs and to prepare in 1895 his own smooth transfer paper.⁵⁰ Goulding's success, and the competition thus provided, may have caused T. R. Way to experiment with the new transfer paper that he provided for Whistler in 1895 at Lyme Regis. Whistler thus stimulated the development and improvement of transfer papers in England and may also, through his Paris prints, have helped to introduce, by the turn of the century, *papier végétal* into England.⁵¹

In 1908 the artists Spencer Pryse, F. Ernest Jackson, A. S. Hartrick, Kerr Lawson, and Joseph Pennell founded the Senefelder Club, which played an important part in the propagation of lithography into the twentieth century. Pennell—friend and biographer of Whistler and fervent admirer of his graphic art—became the Club's first President and also

46 For Bolton Brown's comment on this statement, see this issue of *TTP*, p. 52.

47 E. R. Pennell, "The Master of the Lithograph: J. McNeill Whistler," *Scribner's Magazine* 21 (March 1897): 289.

48 M. H. Spielmann, "The Renaissance of Lithography," *Scribner's Magazine*, 20 (November 1896): 550.

49 See Smale, *Lithographs of Whistler*, pp. 191–92.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

51 In Britain, Robert Forsyth, Hunter's Ltd., and Gilby and Hermann all sold transparent *papier végétal* under the name of "French Transfer Paper." See sample books at St. Bride's Printing Library, London. Gilby and Hermann was probably the retailer that supplied lithographic materials to Thomas Way and Son. Whistler possessed a box of lithographic crayons supplied by this firm; see the Whistler Collection, Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow University.

encouraged the pursuit of lithography in America, often recommending the use of transfer paper. This offended Pennell's compatriot, Bolton Brown, who strongly objected to the view that transfer lithographs were true lithographs, i.e., drawings made directly on stone. This controversy continues to rage, I suspect, from time to time, in many colleges today, presided over by the ghosts of Sickert, Pennell, Whistler, and Brown.⁵²

Mrs. Pennell's 1897 article on Whistler prompted a comment from Walter Sickert: "But do not let us call Whistler as Mrs. Pennell does, 'the master of the lithograph.' What are we then to call Daumier? Let us keep our heads and call Whistler one of the most distinguished pioneers of transfer lithography."⁵³ Whistler proved himself more than once on stone; and when the transfer lithographs are compared with other lithographs, whether drawn on transfer paper or on stone, by artists such as Redon, Daumier or Toulouse-Lautrec, Whistler's work shows an equal if not greater variety and mastery of materials. He did not master materials by imposing himself on them, but rather, like the Japanese artists who were his true mentors, sought through them a form for his own expression. The inextricable link between technique and content is the source of Whistler's power as an artist, and it is partly the object of this article to show the persistent manner in which Whistler pursued this aim in order to arrive at the kind of synthesis that is demonstrated, for example, in the remarkable portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé. Walter Sickert's assessment of Whistler's small oil panels seems equally valid for his transfer lithographs: "It was the admirable preliminary order of his mind, the perfect peace at which his art was with himself that enabled him to aim at and bring down quarry which, to anyone else, would have seemed intangible and altogether elusive."⁵⁴



NEWS & NOTES *Continued from page 47.*

Each package contains three strips, small blotters, spun Nylon squares, and Mylar, as well as complete instructions. The strips of paper are coated with a dried mixture of wheat paste, fungicide, and distilled water with an added alkaline (calcium) reserve. The hinges are pH neutral and are easily reversible.

After experimental use of this product, Tamarind's curatorial staff recommends two small departures from the procedures given in the instructions. Slightly more water than indicated in the instructions should be applied by brush so as to moisten the paste and permeate the paper; after applying the water, one should allow time for this process to occur before putting the hinge in place. One should then cover the new hinge with the spun Nylon square and lightly burnish it, thus assuring a firm bond; it may then be placed under weights to dry.

Insta-Hinge is available in only one weight and color; the product shares the characteristics of other Japanese paper hinges, including a tendency to release if a framed piece is jarred in shipping. In each such case observed, however, the release occurred without damage to the work of art. Insta-Hinge Conservation Hinges are \$7.75 per package. A related product, Insta-Mend II, used to mend small tears in book pages or works of art on paper, including photographs, is made in sheets twelve by sixteen inches in size. Insta-Mend II is a fine tissue which is impregnated on both sides with a wheat paste and is pH neutral. It is packaged with blotters and spun Nylon for easy drying. The price is \$5.50 per package. Both products are available either through local framing distributors or from Archival Products L.A. *See Directory of Suppliers.*

Dolphin Transfer Paper

Those who wish to make use of the transfer method for very large lithographs will be pleased to know that Dolphin Transfer Paper is now manufactured and sold in rolls, thirty-six inches wide by one hundred yards in length. The price per roll is \$175.00. *See Directory of Suppliers.*

52 See both Bolton Brown, "My Ten Years in Lithography" (*TTP* 5, Winter 1981-82, pp. 19-20) and "Pennellism and the Pennells," in this issue of *TTP*.

53 Walter Sickert, *A Free House! or the Artist as Craftsman* (London: 1947), p. 13.

54 *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.

BOOKS & CATALOGUES IN REVIEW

A Century of American Printmaking, 1880–1980. By James Watrous.
Published by the University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1984. 335 pp. \$45.00 (hardcover).

AT THE CONCLUSION of this long-awaited book Professor Watrous notes that the scholars, critics, museum curators, and collectors of the past two decades have at last begun to right the wrong of benign neglect in their discovery of the artistic and historical importance of American printmaking. A glance at Watrous's bibliography confirms this assertion. Museum catalogues, catalogues raisonnés, articles in the art magazines and scholarly journals, and newspaper criticism, all concerned with prints and printmakers, have appeared in abundance since the late 1950s, and the resurgence of interest in the subject continues. What we have not had until now is a comprehensive, well-researched and well-written historical account of American printmaking in all its aspects. Watrous's book largely answers that need: It is the best book on the subject ever published, and while it may not satisfy every reader, it will very likely be the standard work in the field for years to come.

It is an exhaustive account of American printmakers from the traditional artist-etchers of the late nineteenth century (R. Swain Gifford's *The Path to the Shore*, 1879, is the earliest print reproduced) to the cast-paper pieces of Richard Royce "printed" exactly a century later. In the story of the intervening one hundred years appears a cast of hundreds of other individuals committed to the proposition that printmaking is a major art form. Indeed, Watrous's survey reads more than a little like the account of a great struggle on the part of printmakers and their allies for recognition of their art against the forces of apathy, neglect, prejudice, and snobbery. As much (and occasionally more) emphasis is placed on the work of the support troops as on the efforts of the soldiers slugging it out in the front lines, for this book is also

about the printers and publishers, the dealers and critics, the art historians and museum curators, and the connoisseurs and collectors. At the same time it is an homage to this country's printmakers, many of whom Watrous has known personally during his career as an artist and art historian over a period of nearly fifty years.

This book will most likely be read by those same kinds of professionals, and they will find it a book of great substance. Clearly this study was painstakingly researched and written with great care.

Scholars will henceforth be especially indebted to Watrous for the mass of research materials he assembled; the bibliography, for example, can be used as a checklist of required sources for present and future students. Of special interest is his listing of the numerous exhibition catalogues that make up the bulk of published materials on our printmakers, but one also appreciates the digging required to find all those articles in *Art Digest* (later *Arts*; a magazine which seems to have been particularly supportive of printmakers over the years) and exhibition reviews in newspapers.

Watrous's writing is almost always good, and occasionally elegant. The reader will note the perfectionist's search, and discovery, of the right word, and the tinkering with a sentence until the desired rhythm is attained. If the author does not succeed in every instance, one nevertheless applauds his mostly successful attempt to achieve a text with style, and cheers him on. As others have noted, however, Watrous's designer did him no favor by laying out the text in three narrow columns to the page, the type smartly lined up at the left but with ragged "deckle edges" at the right. The design is uncomfortably at odds with Watrous's frequent use of complex sentences. For example:

A suite of canyon prints (fig. 8.17) by Clare Romano distilled the landscape of a wonder of the natural world, the Arizona desert scoured to awesome depths by waters of the Colorado. Obdurate walls that flank the chasm and nature's pigments lodged in laminations of descent had mutability only by the changes—day and night—of lights, shadows, and atmospheric colors, all simulated by Romano by the bold designs, textures, and chromatics in her 'canyon' collographs.

The reader's journey through this paragraph, here reproduced exactly as it is in the book, is a bit like a descent of one of those Arizona canyons: a bit bumpy, and with numerous stops and starts at irregular intervals.

Nevertheless, this hefty book is a pleasure to read and to look at: With 241 black-and-white illustrations and 48 color plates, it has almost twice as many reproductions as Una Johnson's book on essentially the same subject, and is therefore a more comprehensive compendium of our artists' prints. That virtually all of the color plates reproduce works from the Elvehjem Museum of Art at the University of Wisconsin in Madison could possibly be due to the fact that the author, an emeritus professor of art history there, knows them best and could more closely oversee the production of the color printing, which is for the most part first-rate. (Watrous's readers at Iowa, New Mexico, Indiana, Yale, and Pratt, among other major university centers of printmaking, however, may feel that the author has chosen illustrations that give prominence to artists of his own institution—Alfred Sessler, Dean Meeker, Warrington Colescott, and Raymond Gloeckler—over others of equal merit.)

The text consists of nine chapters arranged, as one might expect, chronologically. Chapter One, "Entering the Mainstream of Printmaking," is an account of Americans participating in the "Renaissance" of etching in a spirit of shared enthusiasm and close collaboration carried on by artists, printers, critics, connoisseurs, and collectors. This initial manifestation of a group effort to produce and publicize printmaking as a distinct and valuable medium would be repeated with only slight variations for the next several decades.

Also included here is an interesting tribute to "The New School of American Wood-Engraving" (Frederick Juengling and Henry Wolf being the most important exponents), which tells yet again of the banding together of artists of a particular calling to seek sharper identity.

The second chapter is given over almost entirely to a detailing of the proselytizing efforts of the tireless and prolific Joseph Pennell, who, as readers of *The Tamarind Papers* know well, was one of our first artists in this century to take up and then advocate lithography as a fine art medium, an involvement which culminated in publication of his *Lithography and Lithographers*. There is also a

brief discussion of the activities of the American practitioners of a conservative pictorialism—Herman Webster, Ernest D. Roth, Charles F.W. Mielatz and others—who carried the Whistler/Haden approach to etching into the twentieth century.

Of the many artists who could have been included in the longest section, “Years of Diversity and Progress, 1905–1930,” Watrous has chosen to emphasize the work of John Sloan, George Bellows, Martin Lewis, Edward Hopper, Arthur B. Davies, John Marin, Max Weber, Rockwell Kent, John Taylor Arms, Harry Wickey, and a sprinkling of other prominent names. Readers may miss some of their favorite artists in this chapter. Regrettably, for example, Howard Cook, Samuel Chamberlain, Mabel Dwight, Wanda Gág, George O. “Pop” Hart, Robert Riggs, and Albert Sterner are not to be seen here; at the same time, thankfully, Frank Benson’s ducks and Arthur W. Heintzelman’s sentimentalized old codgers are absent from the proceedings, so I suppose it is a fair trade-off.

This is an exceptionally good treatment of a rich period in American printmaking, in which the central theme continues to be the strategies employed by graphic artists to get their work before the American people.

“Years of the Great Depression” deals with the involvement of printmakers in the Public Works of Art Project and its successor, the Federal Art Project, which sponsored the production, in the main, of works “steeped in narrative or pictorial subject matter,” by hundreds of artists, good, bad, or indifferent, many of whom took up the art of printmaking for the first time during the 1930s. We also learn here of the rediscovery of old methods, such as color lithography and woodcut, as well as the genesis of screenprinting or serigraphy, the origins and early characteristics of which are traced thoroughly. The efforts of Associated American Artists gallery, from 1934 onward, to bring inexpensive, fine prints to “the masses” also has a central place in Watrous’s narrative. Illustrated and briefly discussed are examples of the dominant “American Scene” artists, Raphael Soyer, Armin Landeck, Reginald Marsh, and Stow Wengenroth; and the Regionalists, Benton, Curry, and Wood. It is interesting that government sponsorship of artistic activity and many artists’ attempts to participate directly in American life generated an unprecedented intensity of creative production

in printmaking during the decade.

In sharp contrast to the conservative image-making and social awareness of our depression-era artists was the arrival of modernist forms and innovative attitudes to American printmaking during “The Years of World War II and the Late 1940s,” the period covered by Watrous’s next chapter. This was accomplished mainly through the efforts of Stanley William Hayter, whose influence, both through his own work and that of his New York Atelier 17, the author traces in detail. “New Directions in Gravure” was both the title of an important exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1944 and an apt description of the direction American printmaking took in reaction to the largely pictorial and representational work that had dominated the craft since the beginning of the century. Again, Watrous tells the story through an account of the organizational work of individuals or groups of artists, important exhibitions (especially those of the Brooklyn Museum), the awarding of prizes, critical reviews, and other significant publications. The post-World War II boom of printmaking instruction in university art schools—Iowa and Wisconsin foremost among them—is also largely a part of the author’s social history of the art. Discussions of the prints as works of art are limited mainly, and probably deliberately, to analyses of graphic processes and descriptions of imagery, for this is a “nuts and bolts” history in which Watrous successfully records the “who, what, when, where, and how” of the history of American printmaking, reproducing prints as the principal documentary evidence of his story.

“Printmaking in the 1950s” focuses on the discovery and exploitation of the woodcut by Adja Yunkers, Antonio Frasconi, Seong Moy, Misch Kohn, Leonard Baskin, Carol Summers, and others, and the invention of new methods of relief printing, but the chapter also deals with the emergence of Rudy Pozzatti, Gabor Peterdi, and John Paul Jones, who continued the expansion of intaglio’s expressive capabilities.

“Print Workshops Coast to Coast and the Print Boom in the Marketplace, 1960–1980” is the self-explanatory title of Chapter 7, which traces, most importantly, the revival of lithography by Tamarind Lithography Workshop, Tatyana Grosman and her Universal Limited Art Editions, and Gemini G.E.L., a revival realized, again, through the collabora-

tive efforts of artists, printers, and dealers.

Watrous’s study concludes with “Assessments of the State of the Art” today and a brief discussion of “Controversial Practices and Continuing Innovations.”

In sum, this is a richly illustrated, well told account of the triumphs and vicissitudes of about five generations of artists who, for a variety of reasons, and with varying degrees of commitment and artistic success, scratched, scraped, carved, drew, or splashed on wood, metal, stone, or screen with results the reader can judge for himself in the pages of this most rewarding book.

Ben Bassham

Lithography: Two Hundred Years of Art, History, & Technique. Edited by Domenico Porzio, with Rosalba and Marcello Tabanelli.

Published by Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1984. 280 pp. \$49.50 (hardcover).

THE CURRENTLY ACCEPTED DATE of the invention of lithography by Alois Senefelder is 1798. In 1895, however, Paris mistakenly celebrated with an exhibition and catalogue the centennial of lithography; the next year Alfred Lemerrier published *La lithographie française de 1796 à 1896*. . . . The present book under consideration clearly agrees within its text with the current thought, yet the book’s title implies that the invention occurred in 1783. One might normally forgive this kind of poetic generalization within the title of a historical study; however, in the case of this Abrams “coffee table” book the simplified title is a reflection of the overall superficiality of the publication.

A good comprehensive history of lithography is sorely needed. Unfortunately, this work does not come close to satisfying that need. Rather, this expensive picture book, lavishly illustrated in color and black and white, may very well inhibit other publishers in the future from taking a serious approach to the subject. The images reproduced appear to have been arbitrarily selected and are rarely related to the text.

The book is comprised of (1) a compilation of loosely associated essays by normally serious scholars and the charming Fernand Mourlot: Jean Adhemar “Invention and Technical Evolution” and “In Praise of Lithography”; Domenico Porzio “Invention and Tech-

nical Evolution" and "Two Centuries of History"; Fernand Mourlot "The Artist and the Printer"; Alain Weill "The Posters"; Michel Melot "Social Comment and Criticism"; Jacqueline Armingeat "The Illustrated Book"; (2) an English translation of "The Discovery of the Lithographic Stone" from Senefelder's *The Complete Course of Lithography* (1819); this in itself would be of unique value except for the fact that *The Complete Course of Lithography* is currently available in paperback; (3) a glossary of terms; (4) biographies of artists; and (5) a general bibliography.

The essays cover too broad a period of time with very little substance. They serve merely to drop names of artists such as Charlet, Huet, Gavarni, Delacroix, Bellows, Miró—hundreds of them—without giving much information at all about their work or placing the artists in context with their time and culture. Indeed, history is greatly conflated and distorted. A prime example of the latter is the book's treatment of American lithography, in which less than 300 words are reserved for this important topic, and then only to list the names of artists within a soup of general description. In addition, except for a one-line mention of such artists as Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenburg, and Sam Francis, American artists and print studios after 1960 are ignored. It is as if all the lithographic activity in the United States during the last twenty years never existed. Even disregarding this rather blatant oversight and European bias, the book does a basic disservice to the history of lithography while its disjointed name-dropping approach offers no new knowledge to those in the field and, even worse, may serve only to confuse the novice collector or student.

Phillip Dennis Cate

The Graphic Work of Howard Cook: A Catalogue Raisonné. By Betty and Douglas Duffy.

Published by the Bethesda Art Gallery, Bethesda, Maryland, 1984. 174 pp. \$39.95 (hardcover).

AS RECENTLY AS TEN YEARS AGO, study of the history of American printmaking during the first half of the twentieth century was made difficult by the absence of needed monographs and catalogues. The intervening decade has seen a constantly rising interest both in American art and in the original print, with the consequence that the prints of many leading artists have been the subject of definitive catalogues, among them—to mention but a few—*Jean Charlot* (compiled by Peter Morse, 1976), *Reginald Marsh* (Norman Sasowsky, 1976), *Federico Castellón* (August Freundlich, 1978), *Max Weber* (Daryl Rubenstein, 1980), and *Louis Lozowick* (Janet Flint, 1982). Others are forthcoming.

The task of compiling a catalogue raisonné, never an easy one, may either be simplified or made greatly more complex by the habits and practices of the artist. While some artists have maintained detailed records of their work in notebooks or journals, others have kept but fragmentary notes, often confused and contradictory. Such an artist was Howard Cook. Preparation of the catalogue of his prints was thus a challenging task: a task now successfully undertaken by print dealers Betty and Douglas Duffy with the cooperation and assistance of Barbara Latham, the artist to whom Cook was married for fifty-three years, from 1927 until his death in 1980.

The catalogue lists 223 prints—woodcuts, wood engravings, linoleum cuts, intaglio prints, and lithographs—all but eight of which were completed between 1925 and 1949. The Duffys have placed in a supplement to the catalogue raisonné an additional fifty-two subjects, most of them small in scale, which the artist apparently thought of as illustrations or decorations rather than as independent works of art. Although Cook retained a "master set" of his prints, that set proved to be incomplete. As a consequence, the Duffys were unable to locate impressions or photographs of eight of Cook's early prints, each of which was listed in the issue of *Checkerboard* which documented the exhibition of Cook's work arranged by Carl Zigrosser at the Weyhe Gallery in 1931. With the excep-

tion of these missing prints and three of those listed in the supplement (which are in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art but are listed as "photograph not available"), all of Cook's prints are illustrated in the catalogue.

Through a series of successful exhibitions in New York and elsewhere, repeated prizes in exhibitions, and frequent inclusion in publications of "Fine Prints of the Year," Cook rapidly achieved national prominence during the 1930s. He received two Guggenheim Fellowships; in the national survey conducted by *Prints* magazine in 1936 he was listed first in prominence among artists active in the southwestern states. Zigrosser, who was then by far the most perceptive and influential dealer-curator in the field of American prints, called Cook a great printmaker: "The best of his work stands high in the annals of our time." It is understandable in these circumstances that Cook should become embittered when in his later years his remarkable achievements as a printmaker were so often neglected and overlooked. It is only since his death that his work has once again received the acclaim (and commanded the prices) merited by its vigor and quality.

The excellent illustrations of Cook's prints in the Duffy catalogue fully confirm Zigrosser's judgment: the best of Cook's prints, principally his New York subjects of the 1920s and 1930s, are very fine indeed. In her short essay on Cook's prints Janet Flint makes no qualitative distinction between the New York subjects and the images made in Mexico, New Mexico, and Appalachia, choosing instead to emphasize the technical and stylistic diversity of his work. Even so, Flint notes that like Lozowick, Marin, Sheeler, Stella, and Walkowitz, Cook gained greatly from "the visual stimulus derived from '... the endearing serrated skyline of the most exciting modern city in the world.'" The replacement of this spirit of "urban optimism" by the social concerns of the depression years was not of benefit to Cook's work.

Whatever the spirit or subject of his prints, Cook remained the master craftsman. He was himself the printer of all of his graphic work with the exception of the lithographs, most of which were printed either by Desjobert in Paris or by George C. Miller in New York. Through the gift of Barbara Latham, the most nearly complete collection of Cook's prints is now in the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institu-

tion. Other substantial collections are at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the University of New Mexico Art Museum.

One wishes that in assignment of catalogue numbers the authors might have chosen to group together works done at the same time and place, for in this way the illustrations of similar subjects might have been more readily compared and the stylistic evolution of Cook's work would have been made more evident. The arrangement adopted (alphabetical by title within each year) often serves instead to juxtapose images which have little to do with one another, either in medium or subject. Similarly, one must regret the decision of the book's designer so sharply to reduce the scale of many illustrations. It makes no sense to do this while simultaneously including *two* reproductions of each of the eight prints given full page illustrations in the opening section of the book.

A detailed chronology and a bibliography are provided, together with an index to the catalogue. With the exceptions noted, the catalogue is handsomely designed and is well-printed on fine paper.

Clinton Adams

DIRECTORY OF SUPPLIERS

Listings in TTP's Directory of Suppliers are available to all manufacturers and distributors of materials and services appropriate to use in professional lithography workshops. Information regarding listings will be sent upon request.

Andrews/Nelson/Whitehead. 31-10 48th Ave. LIC, NY 11101. (212) 937-7100. Largest selection of papers for printmaking. Sheets & rolls, colors, special makings, oversized board 48×84", custom watermarks, 100% rag Museum Board in 4 shades of white 2, 4 & 6 ply. Acidfree colored matboard.

Charles Brand Machinery, Inc. 84 East 10th St., NYC 10003. (212) 473-3661. Manufacturers of custom built litho presses, etching presses, polyurethane rollers for inking, electric hot plates, levigators and scraper bars. Sold worldwide. Presses of unbreakable construction and highest precision.

Crestwood Paper Co. 315 Hudson St., NYC 10013 (212) 989-2700. Handmade and mouldmade printmaking papers. Somerset printmaking paper: mouldmade, 100% rag, neutral pH. Available in white, cream, softwhite & sand, textured and satin finishes, in 250 gr. and 300 gr. Available in 60" width rolls.

Dolphin Papers. 624 E. Walnut St., Indianapolis, IN 46204 (317)634-0506. Dolphin Litho Transfer Paper. Acid-free papers for printmaking, drawing and painting. Arches, Rives, Fabriano, Richard de Bas, Barcham Green, Lenox, others. Free catalogue and price list available on request.

Glenn Roller Co. Dept. H, 2617 River Ave., Rosemead, CA 91770 (213) 283-2838. Lightweight hand rollers for printmaking, durometers from 20 to 75, all sizes available, chrome handles. Very high quality. A must for the professional.

Graphic Chemical & Ink Co. 728 N. Yale Ave., Box 27T, Villa Park, IL 60181. (312) 832-6004. Complete list of supplies for the lithographer. Rollers, all kinds and made to order. Levigators, grits, stones,

tools, and papers. We manufacture our own specially formulated black and colored inks.

Handschy Industries, Inc. 528 N. Fulton, Indianapolis, IN 46202. (317) 636-5565; 2223 Snelling Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404. (612) 721-3386; 2525 Elston Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. (312) 276-6400. Manufacturer Hanco Printing Inks and lithographic supplies, including gum arabic, cellulose gum, etc.

William Korn, Inc., 111 8th Ave., NYC 10011. (212) 242-3317. Manufacturers of lithographic crayons, crayon tablets, crayon pencils, rubbing ink, autographic ink, asphaltum-etchground, transfer ink, music plate transfer ink; tusche in liquid, stick and solid form (1 lb. can).

Printmakers Machine Co., 724 N. Yale Ave., Box 71T, Villa Park, IL 60181. (312) 832-4888. Sale of printmaking presses only. Sole manufacturer of Printmakers Combination Press, Sturges Etching Press and Printmakers Litho Presses. Quality presses, manufactured by skilled workmen, sold worldwide.

Rembrandt Graphic Arts. The Cane Farm, Rosemont, NJ 08556. (609) 397-0068. Etching and litho presses, hot plates, yellow and grey litho stones, Hanco inks, Faust inks, aluminum plates, KM rollers, printmaking papers, chemicals, solvents, tools. Relief, etching, litho and silkscreen supplies.

Jack E. Schwartz Co., 541 West Fulton, Chicago, IL 60606. (312) 930-0100; toll free (800) 621-6155. Lithographic supplies, ball-grained plates, positive plates, positive wipe-on coating, processing chemicals, Deep Etch Lacquer, Mylar by sheet or roll, miscellaneous.

The Structural Slate Co., 222 E. Main St., Pen Argyl, Box 187, PA 18072. (215) 863-4141. "Pyramid" brand Pennsylvania slate stone: backing slate, slate plate supports.

Takach-Garfield Press Co., Inc. 3207 Morningside Dr. N.E., Albuquerque, NM 87110. (505) 881-8670. Hand or electric operated lithograph presses. Table top or floor model etching presses. Levigators. Inking rollers, automatic tympan and punch registration systems, polyethylene scraper bars and replacement straps.

