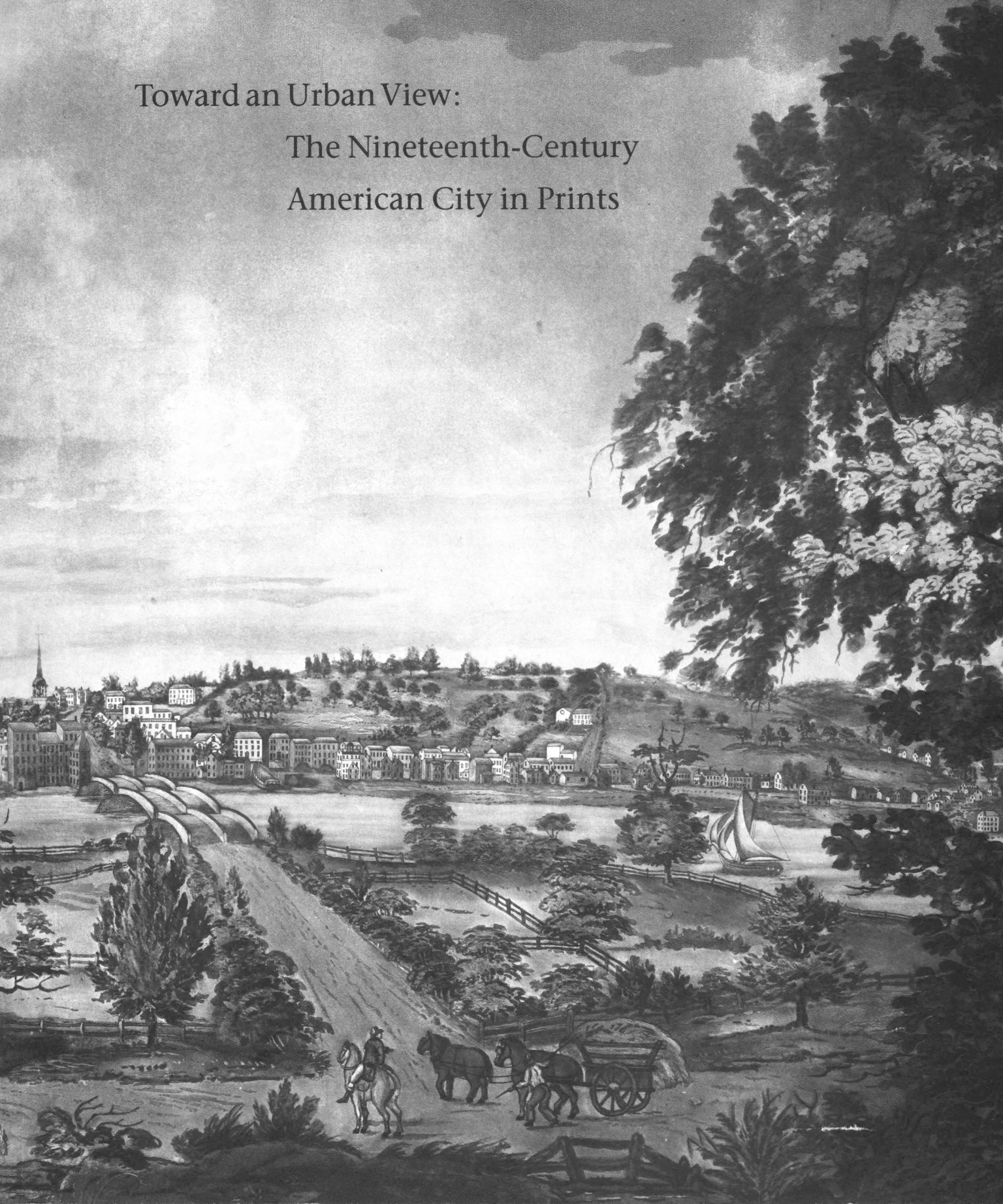
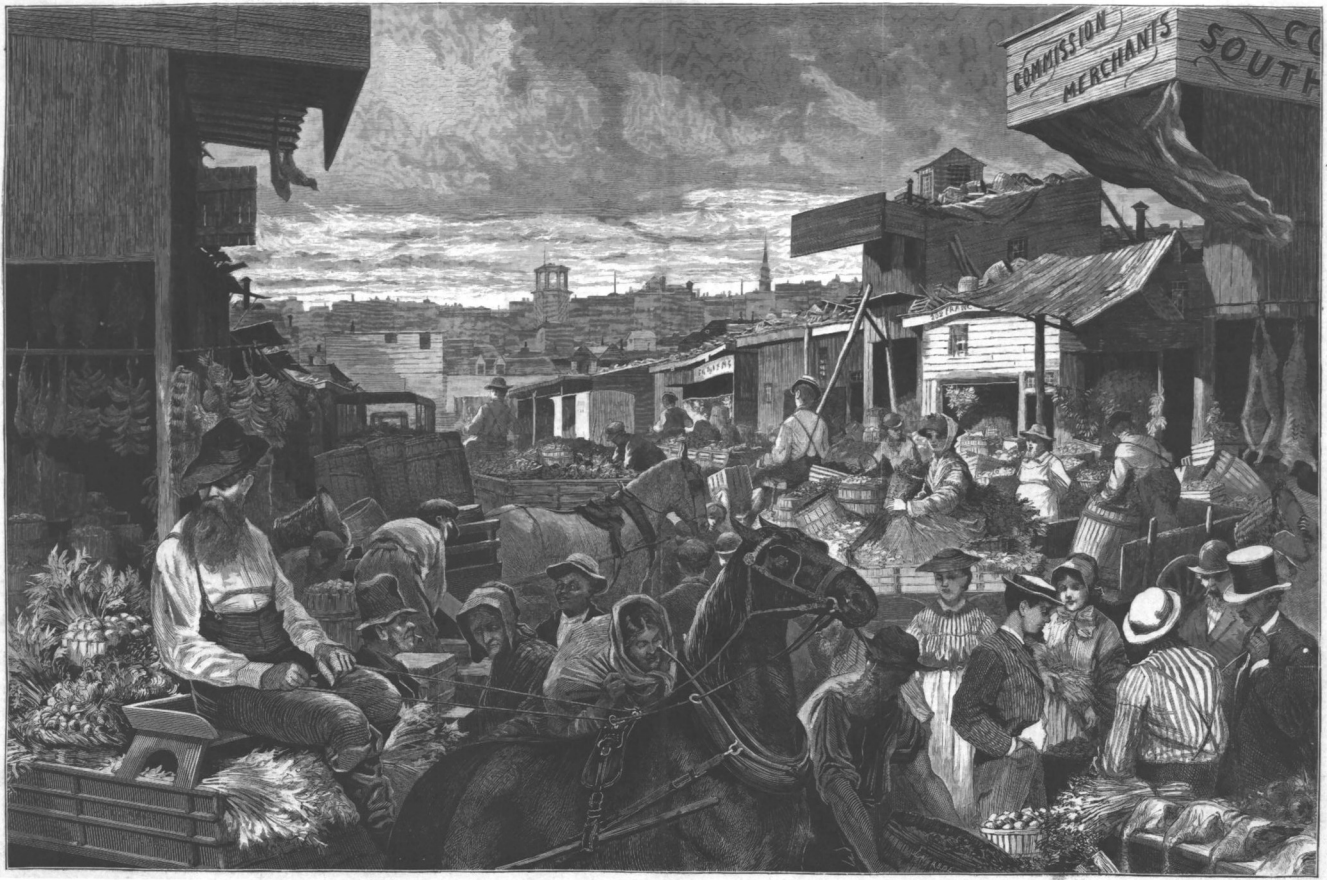


Toward an Urban View:
The Nineteenth-Century
American City in Prints



Toward an Urban View



Toward an Urban View:
The Nineteenth-Century
American City in Prints

Exhibition and Catalogue Prepared by

SALLY LORENSEN GROSS

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut 1989

This catalogue accompanies an exhibition
at the Yale University Art Gallery
29 March–11 June 1989

Cover illustration:
cat. 6. (detail) Hazen Morse after Susan Batchelder Green.
*A View of the Town of Haverhill, Mass. Taken from a Position
near Bradford Academy, 1819.*

Frontispiece:
cat. 39. Lagarde after Jules Tavernier.
Washington Market, New York—Thanksgiving Time, 1872.

Design and typography in Stone Serif typefaces
by John C. Gambell.
Mergenthaler L300 output
by Hoblitzelle Graphics.
Printing and Binding by Eastern Press.

Copyright © 1989 by Yale University Art Gallery
Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number 89-50442
ISBN 0-89467-050-6

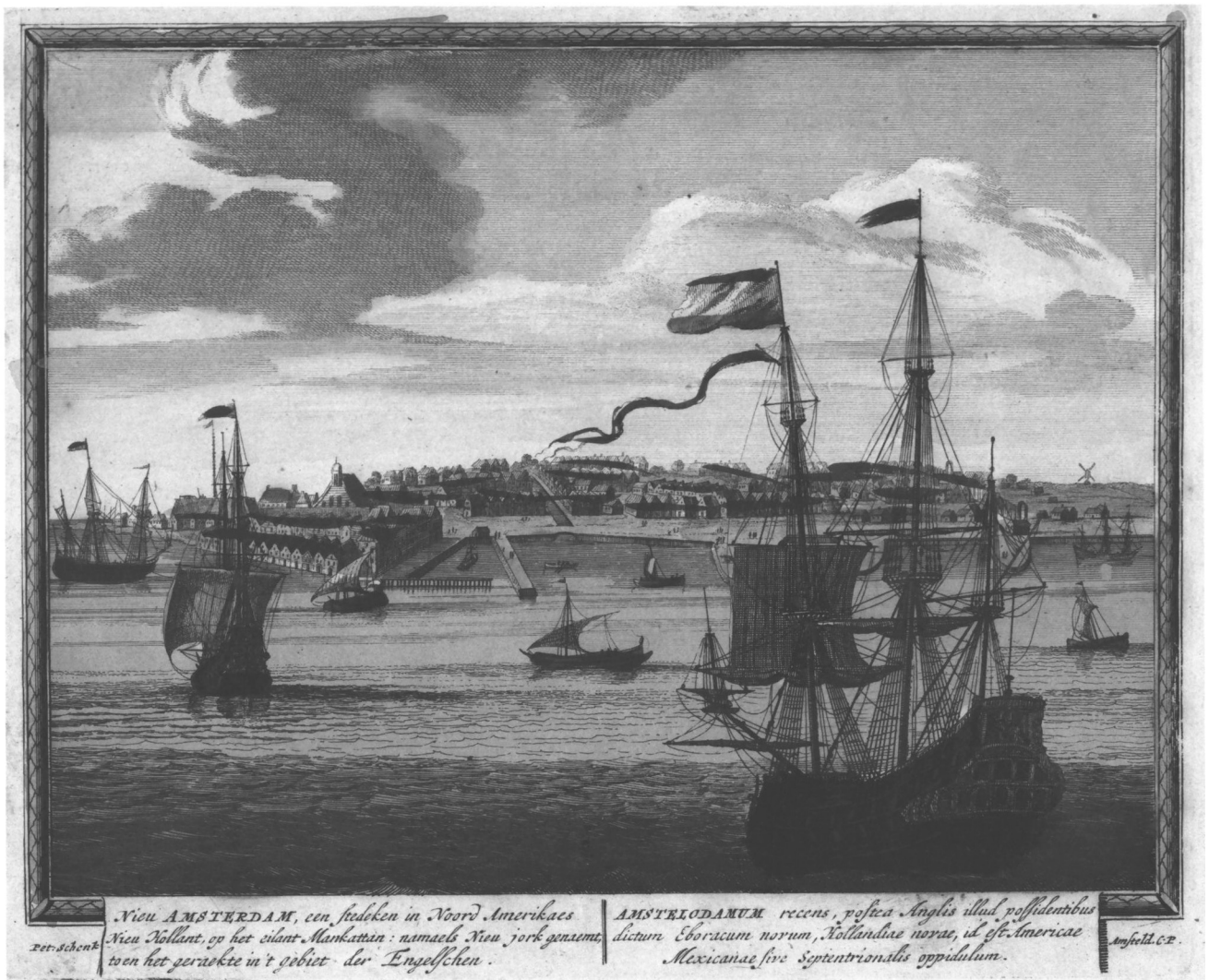
FOREWORD

The combined resources of the Art Gallery's Mabel Brady Garvan Collection and Sterling Memorial Library's Clarence P. Hornung Collection offer an unusually rich panorama of American printed imagery. The first exhibition to explore these collections jointly, *The Good Old Summertime* in 1986, concentrated on commercial illustrations of leisure from the second half of the nineteenth century, while the present examines the changing view of the city, ranging from the copperplate techniques at one end of the century to the wood-engraved magazine illustrations at the other. It also casts a wider net in order to consider the variety of changes that occurred in how our cities were pictured over the course of a hundred years, including matters of subject, technique, style, and sociology. We would like to acknowledge the pathways already prepared by such scholars as Gloria Deák, Marianne Doezema, Rowland Elzea, Elizabeth Hawkes, Patricia Hills, Emily Kies, and John Repts.

This exhibition, like many recent printroom undertakings, consciously seeks to explore what and how prints mean. Its attraction and interest lie, I believe, not so much in the usual analyses of figure style, atmospheric perspective, formal design, or even technical achievement, but in the way the prints both report on and actually served to shape the content of our past. The creation of meaning through and by representations, in some small way then, is a corollary subject of this project.

To Sally Lorensen Gross, National Endowment for the Arts Intern, goes our gratitude for mounting this valuable exhibition. In turn, we both would like to acknowledge the support of so many others, first among whom is Florence Selden. For many years she has contributed to the educational, intern-directed exhibitions of the printroom with a heartwarming concern and enthusiasm, from which the memory of her late husband, Carl L. Selden (B.A. 1933), is never far removed. Dr. Gross and I would also like to thank: Gay Walker, Curator of the Arts of the Book Room in Sterling Memorial Library for being so generous with the materials in her care; Lesley K. Baier for her insightful and meticulous editing; Lisa Hodermarsky, Rachel Dickstein, Gary Hewitt, Mary Law, Sonya Levy, Lisa Sigal, and Kim Twitchell for their help with all the details of preparation and installation; Mary Gardner Neill, our director, for her sustained interest; Sarah Dove, Christopher Foster, and Theresa Fairbanks for their many acts of conservation; and especially John Gambell for his extraordinarily satisfying design.

Richard S. Field
Curator of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs



cat. 1. Peter Schenk.
 Nieuw Amsterdam, 1702.

**TOWARD AN
URBAN VIEW:
THE NINETEENTH-
CENTURY
AMERICAN CITY
IN PRINTS**

A survey of American urban imagery from eighteenth-century views made in Europe to late nineteenth-century street scenes found in popular illustrated newspapers and magazines inevitably reveals changing perceptions of the urban environment as well as changing markets for the prints themselves. Representing new arenas of economic opportunity for a European audience, the earliest views of American communities emphasized such commercially valuable features as the imposition of order on nature. Like the maps that were often their prototypes, these early images were engraved. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the model for American views was derived largely from the English picturesque tradition. Prints of American cities were most often marketed for their scenic value, as interior decoration or entertainment for a homebound audience. Valued as much for their aesthetic qualities as for the information they conveyed, these prints were most commonly executed in aquatint, which effectively mimicked the tonal values of the popular watercolors of the period. Even after the decline of the aquatint, the picturesque continued to be the dominant pictorial tradition. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, its pastoral conventions served to mask the unpleasant effects of increased industrialization. Paralleling the gradual decline of aquatint and the picturesque was the advent of lithography. By the 1840s, mastery of this relatively cheap technique had radically expanded the market for printed urban views. Able to recover the cost of making views of even the smallest communities, artists and printers left few of any pretension unrecorded on stone.

While representations of the American city street did not appear until the end of the eighteenth century, they too were dependent on European pictorial and technical traditions. However, such interior views of American cities were even more closely linked to judgments about the value of the urban experience. The earliest highlighted the positive aspects of civic life, first depicting the orderly complexity of street life and later special celebrations as proof of prosperous sophistication. It was not until the era of the “news” print and illustrated magazines that the full range of uncomfortably chaotic activity was represented in portraits of the nineteenth-century American city. It was the artists of the popular press, working in a mass-produced, ephemeral medium, who evolved a new way of looking at the urban experience and shaped public response to the city as an environment.

* * * * *

Just as the initial task of the earliest explorers was to record the cartographic facts, the first urban records locate the city in a specific space. Both *Nieu Amsterdam*, 1702 (cat. 1), and *Quebec*, 1759 (cat. 2), in fact, derived from maps previously published in Europe. Typifying the earliest views of American cities, their primary message is economic and, more specifically, how commercial interests are served by topography.

Not surprisingly, then, the iconography of such early views included ships, harbors, and markets.¹ The prominence of ships in *Nieu Amsterdam* calls attention to the commercial importance of New York as a large, safe harbor; and its serried rows of houses, representing the imposition of man-made structures on the natural landscape, address a theme that is to recur in prints of the American city for the next two hundred years.

While *Nieu Amsterdam* presents a rather anonymous image of the city in terms of its general commercial interest to the European viewer, Thomas Johnston's adaptation of *Quebec* is a portrait from which one learns information specific to that urban environment.² First, it identifies the waterways on which the ships sail. Second, it distinguishes the civic, religious, military, and domestic structures signifying Quebec's importance as a capital. Third, it records the daily activities of the Québécois as they travel between the Upper and Lower Town, worship at a public shrine, and guard such military installations as the cannon embankment at lower left. Finally, the siege ship in the harbor commemorates the victory won by the English at Quebec just weeks before the print's publication. Such marked concern for authentic detail, often succinctly expressed in the legend "sketch'd on the spot," is also a recurring theme in prints of the American city.

Borrowed from the conventions of the pastoral landscape, the large graceful tree in the left foreground serves as a Claudian repoussoir.³ Its truncated right side functions also as a symbol of the reordering of nature to accommodate urbanization, since a complete tree would have screened the view. By 1768, the date of *A South East View of the City of New York* (cat. 3), the convention of placing the city within a pastoral landscape was fully developed.⁴ Originally published, like *Quebec*, to commemorate a military conquest, this print was one of a series of twenty-eight views of places important to England's eventual victory in the Seven Years' War—better known in this country by its American prelude, the French and Indian Wars. In the background is King's College, the city hall, and several important churches; but the prevailing mood is that of a romantic idyll in a bucolic setting. Establishing the pattern for subsequent exterior views of American cities, it adhered to a centuries-old pictorial tradition of foreground trees, fenced fields separating the cultivated from the wild, and imposing buildings in the distance.⁵

Not surprisingly, *New York from Weehawk*, 1823 (cat. 10), employs the same basic devices. The horse and rider with a companion on foot traverse a rustic foreground that is carefully separated by a line of craggy, tree-covered rocks from the cultivated shoreline and the distant city. Although the space devoted to the city, river commerce, and cultivated outlying areas is far larger than in the earlier view of New York, the balance between nature and domestication is preserved by the greater size of the picturesque foreground elements relative to the perspectively-diminished horizontal panorama of the city. The challenge for later nineteenth-century Ameri-



A South East View of the City of New York, in NORTH AMERICA. | Vue du sud Est de la Ville de New York, dans L'AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE.

Drawn on the Spot by Cap^t Thomas Howdell, of the Royal Artillery. Engraved by P. Canot.

New Bridge, a Old English Church, a City Hall, a French Church

a North River, a Statue Liberty, a The Prison

cat. 3. Pierre-Charles Canot after Thomas Howdell.

A South East View of the City of New York in North America, 1768.

can artists was to maintain this harmonious balance of landscape and townscape in the face of the harsh facts of industrial urbanization.⁶

As is evident in *A View of the Town of Haverhill*, 1819 (cat. 6, cover), not only urban areas but also industrial centers were depicted according to the conventions of the pastoral mode.⁷ Haverhill's identity as a center of shoe and leather manufacture was established within a few years of the town's founding in 1640. Yet it is the leisurely pace of agricultural activity, not industry, that is represented in the foreground of this print. Trees frame the view, and their feathery, rounded forms are repeated throughout, not only in the clouds but also in the softly bending lines of the sailboat and the decorative scallops along the bridge linking town and country. Hand-applied color further enhances the sense of decorative repose.

Like *Haverhill*, the industrial area of *Matteawan*, 1832 (cat. 12), described in the printed title as a "manufacturing village," is nestled in a wooded valley. Here, however, the artist's integration of organic and industrial imagery is clearly less successful. Lacking the sweeping rhythms of *New York from Weehawk* or the peaceful charm of *Haverhill*, the print appears flat and artificially patterned. Vignettes of human activity are scattered randomly among the rows of hard-edged industrial buildings, and acute architectural angles contrast sharply with the organic forms of the landscape. This print may be one of the many designed to encourage investment in the manufacturing villages whose growth challenged the traditional agricultural order.⁸ Such a possibility relates *Matteawan's* comparatively unsophisticated perspectives and simplified outlines to the formulaic city views produced by the thousands later in the century; in both *Matteawan*, an image recorded in the waning technique of aquatint, and post-Civil War lithographs, the record of prosperous activity is more important than artistic convention.

Although the impact of industrialization on the natural landscape is documented again and again in nineteenth-century prints, the force of artistic tradition was so great that even contemporary emblems of industrial progress, such as the fire engine pictured in *Clinton Fire Company No. 41*, 1825 (cat. 11), were decorated with landscape motifs. An account published in the *Memoir* of the celebration in New York City of the opening of the Erie Canal reveals that the lithographed "background to this Engine is taken from a picture painted on the back of the condenser, and represents an imaginary rather than a real view of the Aqueduct Bridge at Little Falls, over the Mohawk River, with Locks and other circumstances attending Canals."⁹ In other words, the strength of pictorial convention was great enough to impose itself on both the machine and the landscape. Quite rightly, the technological artifacts central to the image—the fire engine and its formal echo in the canal locks of the background—form a bridge between the cultivated right bank and the nearly barren rock face at left and serve as an emblem of the way in which technology makes nature both accessible and useful. Published in the *Memoir* described

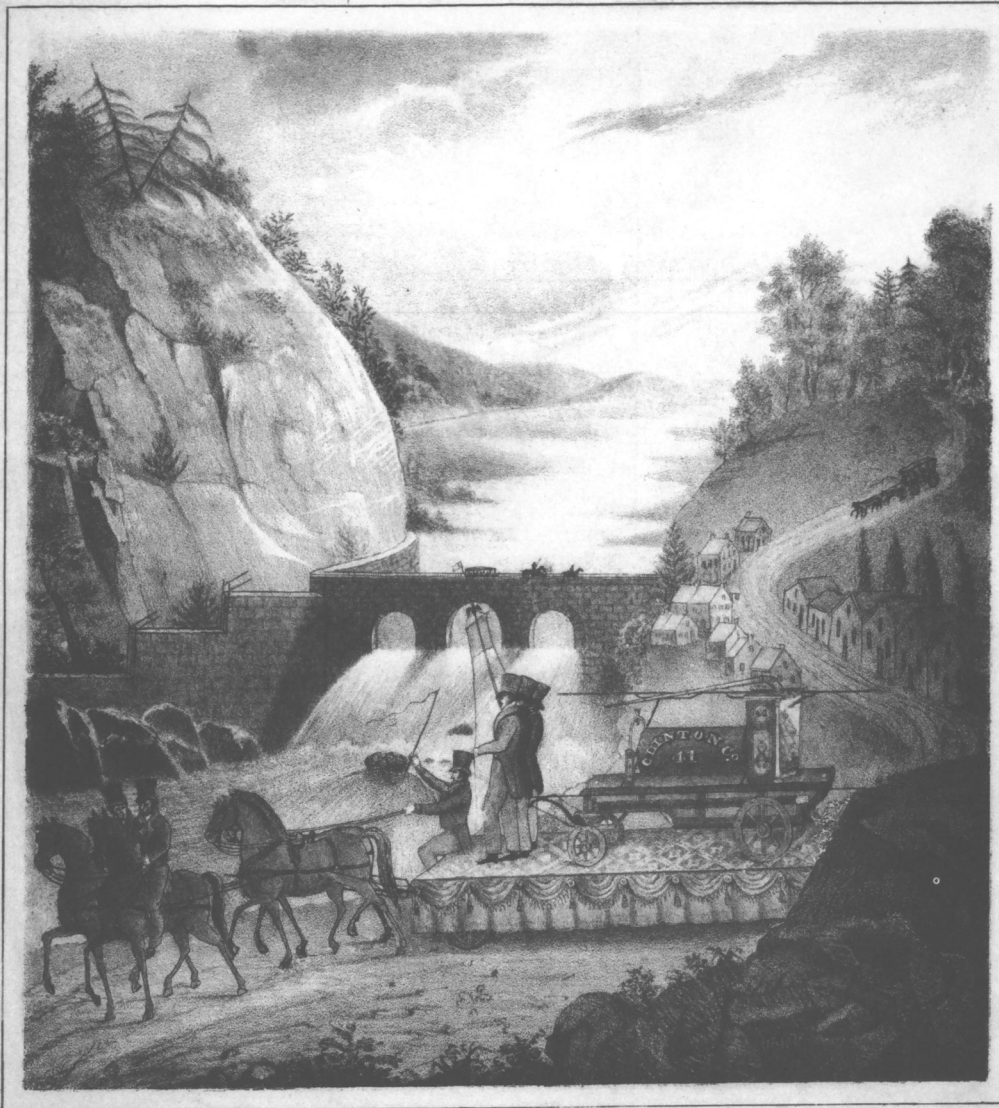


MATTEAWAN.
MANUFACTURING VILLAGE.
Sc. by F. Hill, del. by O. Neely.

cat. 12. John Hill after O. Neely.

Matteawan. Manufacturing Village, Near Fishkill Landing. N. York, 1832.

GRAND CANAL CELEBRATION.



CLINTON FIRE COMPANY N^o 41.

Litho. of Evans & Co. New York: 1825.

cat. 11. W.H. Tuthill.

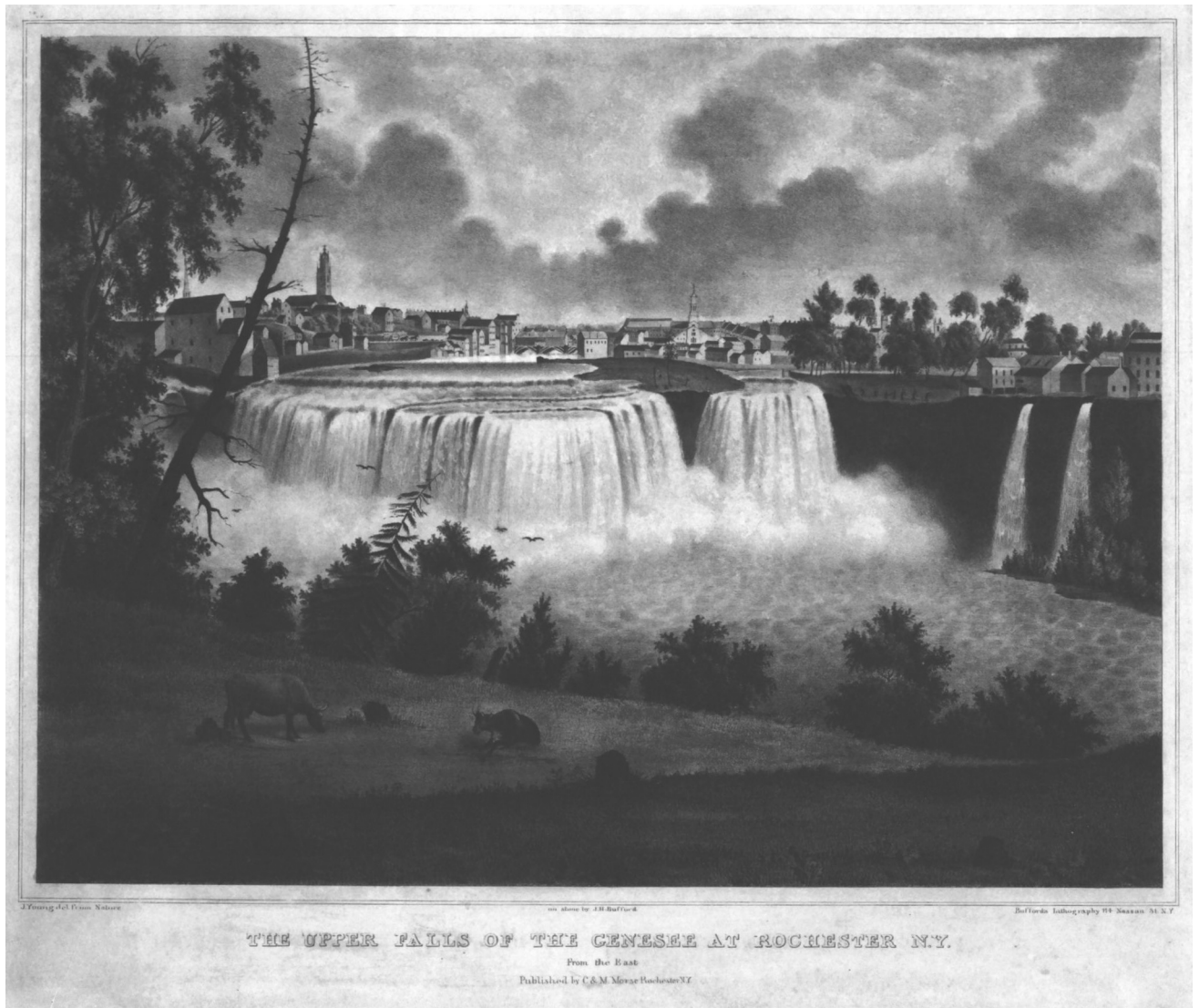
Clinton Fire Company No. 41, 1825.

above, this lithograph was among the first executed in the United States. Although its design is ideologically rich, its technical execution is understandably less accomplished, as evidenced in the lack of tonal gradation and readable detail.¹⁰

The Upper Falls of the Genessee at Rochester N.Y. From the East, ca. 1836 (cat. 15), one of a pair of views of the falls, is a far more sophisticated example of American lithography. It was drawn by John H. Bufford, a lithographer whose career intersected with a number of important nineteenth-century printmakers.¹¹ Bufford's early apprenticeship to Pendleton, a Boston firm uniquely sensitive to American landscape painting and less dependent than other American printers on European works, undoubtedly encouraged his interest in representations of the American wilderness.¹² Falls like those at Genessee or especially at Niagara became icons of American energy and were common motifs in paintings of the period.¹³ Bufford's juxtaposition of a town and a waterfall, however, is less usual and can be seen as an attempt to integrate the new emphasis on wilderness in contemporary American painting with the view of the city as an orderly space within the natural landscape.¹⁴ Such urban views traditionally provided visible proof of the achievements, both material and spiritual, of the early settlers, for whom taming the wilderness was a priority. As evidence of the city's links with spiritual goals, John Winthrop's charge to his fellow colonists in 1630 is often quoted: ". . . for we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our god in this work we have undertaken and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world."¹⁵ John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, one of the most widely read books in America from the time of its publication in 1678 until the Civil War, further popularized the concept of a celestial city upon a hill,¹⁶ a notion which seems to be reflected in the frequency with which images of American cities include an intensely lighted city on an elevated height. Here at Genessee, the shining city in the distance sits atop one of the new nation's power sources. The truncated trees in the foreground further reinforce the explicit message of man's control over nature.

Bufford's contemporary and fellow apprentice at Pendleton, Fitz Hugh Lane, was particularly receptive to the tradition of marine painting. His *View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.*, 1836 (cat. 14), derives quite clearly from the horizontal format, realism, and dramatic luminosity of seventeenth-century Dutch painting.¹⁷ Lane's concerns are more painterly than Bufford's, and the way in which he exploits lithographic technique is most sophisticated; the texture of the drawing in each area of the image, whether of clouds, water, houses, or foliage, is enhanced by the texture of the stone from which it was printed.

By 1850 the painterly marine and landscape traditions that had informed both aquatints and early lithographs were far less evident in printed city views. Increasingly the artist's attention turned to the careful selection of facts designed to



THE UPPER FALLS OF THE GENESSEE AT ROCHESTER N.Y.

From the East

Published by C & M Moore Rochester N.Y.

cat. 15. John H. Bufford after John T. Young.

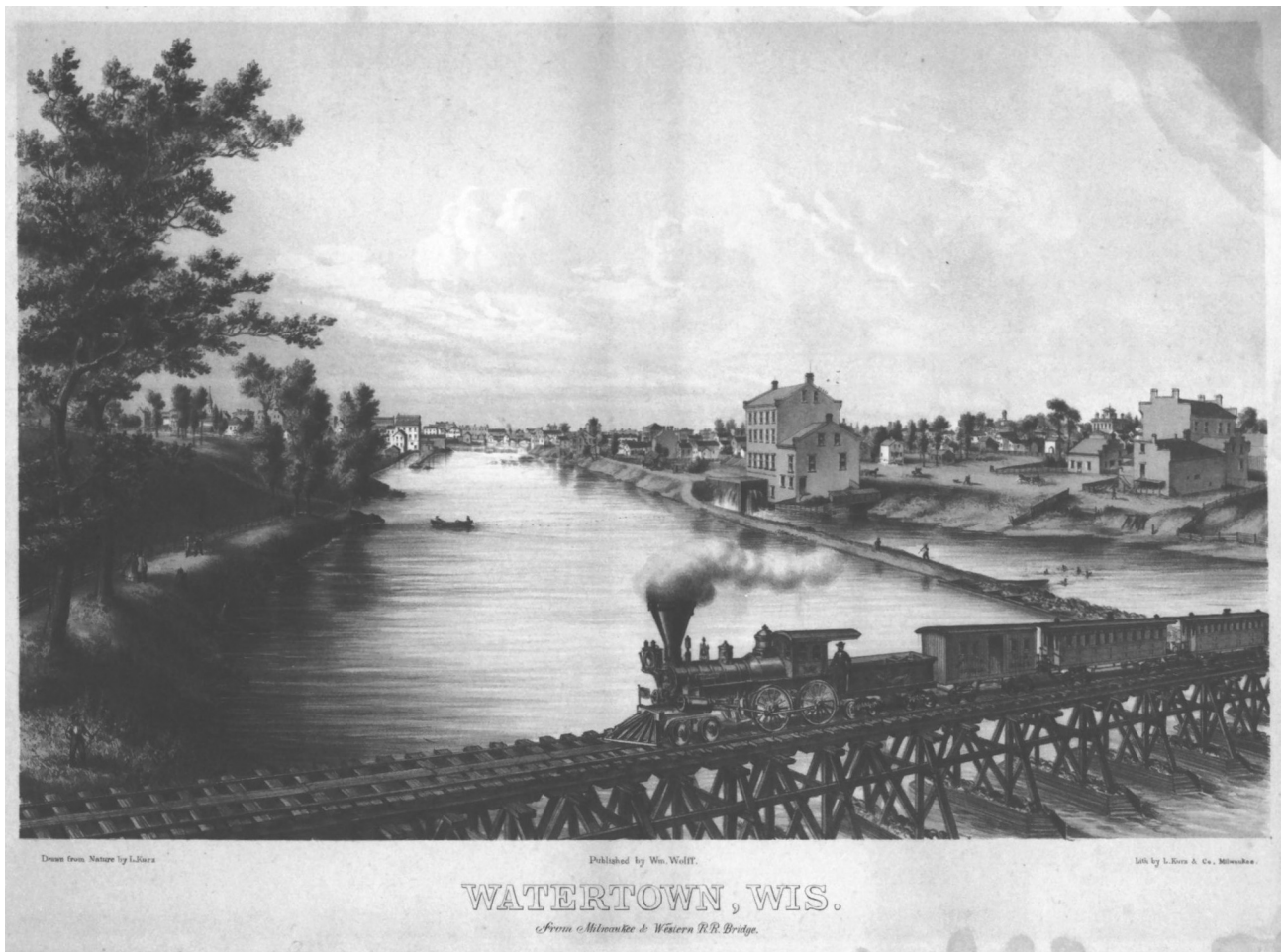
The Upper Falls of the Genessee at Rochester N.Y. From the East, ca. 1836.

enhance the civic image of the city. Such a focus on signs of progress, the source of both money and pride, reflects the rapid expansion of the print market to include not merely private householders who might frame a print with intrinsic aesthetic value, but also the businessman and industrialist. The lithographer of city views in the second half of the nineteenth century could expect to earn “income from advertising overprints; subsidies by railroads, public officials, or local organizations; sale of impressions of individual vignettes, reproduction rights, or fees for including business or professional names in legends or on storefront signs in the view.”¹⁸

Although familiar conventions for the portrayal of the natural landscape retain an important place in its composition, Louis Kurz's *Watertown, Wis. from the Milwaukee & Western R. R. Bridge*, ca. 1862 (cat. 31), exemplifies several kinds of changes in the production of urban views. First, it was printed in colors—black, blue, and yellow with green as a result of overprinting blue and yellow—by using a different stone for each color. By the end of the century, chromolithographs executed in ten to twenty colors dominated the market. Also by mid-century large quantities of American lithographs were executed by foreign-born artists such as Kurz. In many centers of lithography like Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Milwaukee, the industry was dominated by foreign-born, especially German, printers. While the European revolutions of 1848 caused many craftsmen to emigrate to the United States, higher American wages were also an important incentive. In German-speaking countries, income from lithography was counted in tens of cents per day, but in Milwaukee, to cite just one example, a printer might earn two to three dollars per day.¹⁹

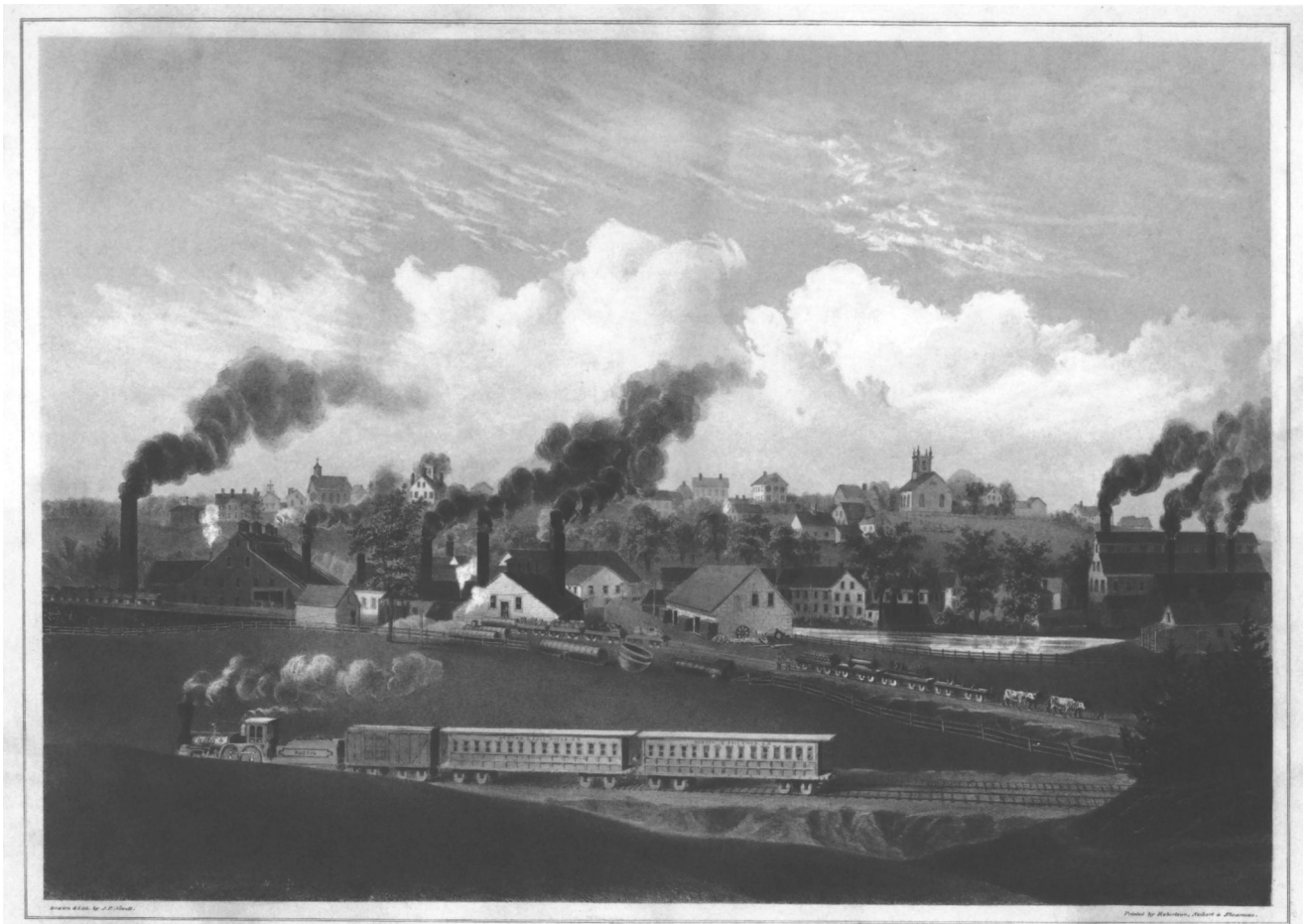
Watertown further typifies city views in the latter half of the century in that the location represented was neither large nor significant. Urban areas like Watertown “were recorded along with the small and medium-size cities and the very largest centers of population.”²⁰ Kurz himself gave the same attention to representations of small towns in Wisconsin as he did to an ambitious series of fifty-two views of Chicago, a project unparalleled in number and scope by any other in the nineteenth century.²¹ Despite its relative insignificance, however, *Watertown* is revealed in this image as a city of financial health and ambition. The prominence of the train, as well as the print's full title, establishes both the advent of progress and *Watertown's* position within the national commercial network.

The increasing significance of commercial enterprise and patronage is even more apparent in *Lazell, Perkins & Co. Bridgewater, Mass.*, ca. 1860 (cat. 26), an advertisement for what was reputed to be the largest iron works in the northeast.²² Such advertising lithographs were an important part of every printer's business in the second half of the nineteenth century. Here the desire to include the entire iron works—twenty-eight buildings, five coal-burning steam engines, and eleven water wheels—within a single sheet mandated a toy-like scale, clarity of outline, and the



cat. 31. Louis Kurz.

Watertown, Wis. From the Milwaukee & Western R.R. Bridge, ca. 1862.



LAZELL, PERKINS & CO. BRIDGEWATER, MASS.

MANUFACTURERS OF ALL DESCRIPTION OF FORGINGS FOR STEAM-SHIPS AND RAIL-ROADS, CASTINGS, AND ALL KINDS OF MACHINERY,
COPPER & YELLOW METAL, SHEATHING, BOLTS & NAILS.

cat. 26. J.P. Newell.

Lazell, Perkins & Co. Bridgewater, Mass., ca. 1860.

lack of any sophisticated atmospheric or spatial perspective. Picturesque devices have little role, as the artist exploited repetition and pattern in the rising clouds of smoke and the zigzag of train track past buildings and scrap heap, to unite foreground and distance.

The goal of inclusivity perhaps accounts for the popularity of bird's-eye city views, whose post-Civil War production rivalled that of lithographic city views and advertisements. Allowing the inclusion of every building with equal clarity, these aerial views bolstered the civic pride of community leaders as well as the personal pride of ordinary townspeople who, because of the low cost of the lithographic process, could afford views in which their own property was pictured.²³ In fact, as information, the bird's-eye view was the ultimate catalogue. Even the all-encompassing eye of the camera could not match the artist's ability to manipulate perspective in order to present a fully documented image of the city. Detail in both foreground and background could be achieved by taking "liberties . . . with the topographical perspective: one or both of the vanishing points will be well beyond the horizon, and the height of vertical features (particularly those of public buildings) will be exaggerated."²⁴ Much like the print designed solely for advertisement, the bird's-eye view had a single message, in this case geographic, and thus there were no perceptible tensions between painterly traditions and printmaker's record. For the maker of such views there were just two choices: the size of the image and the colors to be used. All other information was determined by the object to be described, not by aesthetic choices accommodating physical description to pictorial convention.

* * * * *

The city views so far discussed have been characterized by their relation to the traditions of landscape and marine painting, and by their presumption of a viewer whose stance offers a relatively all-encompassing perspective. There is, however, another genre of urban imagery—the interior city view in which the imagined viewer is often at street level in the very midst of urban life. The dominance of European sources is even more pervasive and more obvious for interior than for exterior views. For example, William Birch, an English painter of miniatures who made the earliest and most significant series of American interior city views, worked after his own English models of 1791.²⁵ Birch began his famous Philadelphia series in 1798, when the city was still the capital of the United States and George Washington was in residence on Market Street. Among the subscribers when it was published in 1800 were Gilbert Stuart and Thomas Jefferson, who as President displayed the first edition prominently in his "visiting Room at Washington till it became ragged and dirty, but was not suffered to be taken away."²⁶ The first edition was also distributed in Europe and copied by European engravers. Thus,

the closely focused views of activity in *South East Corner of Third, and Market Streets, Philadelphia*, 1799 (cat. 4), and *Back of the State House, Philadelphia*, 1799 (cat. 5), themselves derived from a European model, in turn served as a standard for American urban imagery throughout the nineteenth century, whether the views purported to be a record of daily activity or the record of a specific event.

Also a painter of miniatures, John Lewis Krimmel emigrated to Philadelphia from Germany in 1810.²⁷ Familiar with Birch's printed portraits of the city,²⁸ he likewise filled his own paintings with a wealth of anecdotal detail unique to the streets of Philadelphia.²⁹ Krimmel's painting *The Election Scene. State House in Philadelphia*, 1815 (Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware), was either specially commissioned or purchased shortly after its completion by Alexander Lawson, an engraver who copyrighted the design but never completed the plate (cat. 9).³⁰ The inclusion of portraits of a number of contemporary political figures lends a certain authority as well to Krimmel's depiction of life in Philadelphia. In its very complexity, the latter invokes a measure of ambivalence about the quality of city life. While the triangulated flags and the portrait of Independence Hall recall the patriotic import of the act of voting, individual vignettes of mishaps in the crowded street, such as the young pickpockets at lower left, suggest discord and disorder.³¹ The intimation of danger calls to mind an alternative to the tradition of the celestial city, one that identifies the city as the source of temptation and evil. This alternative, however, was rarely depicted in the first half of the nineteenth century except in cartoons like *Brother Jonathans Soliloquy on the Times*, ca. 1819 (cat. 7).³²

Early interior views, like their exterior counterparts, more often served as emblems of civic pride. Prints celebrating specific events, as in *Procession of Victuallers of Philadelphia*, 1821 (cat. 8), were understandably common because such occasions for pomp and display offered an opportunity to document the wealth and sophistication of the city.³³ This particular parade was represented twice more in lithographs printed in 1852 and in 1860, and the later version records news accounts of the original event that specifically refer to the "splendid procession" as a community achievement.³⁴

The implicit message of prosperity and pride conveyed by these images was made explicit in the urban advertising print. An early example of urban promotion, *A South West View of Sanderson's Franklin House Chestnut St. Philadelphia*, 1844–45 (cat. 16), is remarkable for its fidelity to both the Franklin House specifically and Chestnut Street generally.³⁵ If it were not for the print's legend describing the hotel's comforts, there would be little to distinguish it from other portraits of city streets such as *Broadway, New-York*, 1836 (cat. 13), and *Broad-Way*, 1850 (cat. 20). Later advertisements for hotels, banks, and the like, executed in the cheaper medium of lithography, were rarely as inclusive in their portrayal of a specific establish-



cat. 4. William Birch and Thomas Birch.

South East Corner of Third, and Market Streets. Philadelphia, 1799.

"Great estates may venture more," Franklin



BROTHER JONATHANS SOLILOQUY ON THE TIMES.

It must be so Jonathan, Thou reasonest well, else whence this dearth of cash, this cry of Duns, this breaking up of Merchants and of Bankers? Why shrinks the hand from proffered chartered Bills and fears they are insolvent? Or whence this secret dread, or strong suspicion that they may come to nought? 'Tis the deficiency of precious metals, 'Tis trade herself whose balances turn'd against us now intimates economy to all, Economy! Thou homespun fire side thought! Thro' what variety of untried habits! Thro' what great games of Bankers rags we've pass'd! The safe the saving prospect lies before us but Luxury, Pride, and Custom, war against it. — Here will I hold, If there's a plan can save us (and that there is the papers all proclaim throughout the land) it must be followed promptly, and that which it proposes must relieve us. — But where or whence we'll get supplies of specie I'm weary of conjectures this may end 'em (looking as the Newspapers) Thus am I then inform'd India and Spain the Isles and South America are full of it, which in a tangent could our wants supply; but these I'm told don't wish to let it go. Where we secured in their assistance we'd smile at Papermongers and defy the world! Our credit it may fail! Commerce herself be damped and checked, but thou shalt flourish our beloved republic amidst the wars of Potentates, the wreck of Monarchies, and fall of kings.

cat. 7. Thomas Kensett.

Brother Jonathans Soliloquy on the Times, ca. 1819.

ment's environment. Often they recorded nothing more than the advertised building itself, pressed flat against the picture plane.

Supporting the claims of Franklin House to gentility, the pedestrians on Chestnut Street are nearly all fashionably dressed figures of ladies and gentlemen at leisure. However, many prints and even some advertisements celebrating the city as the locus of progress and prosperity include assorted street vendors derived from the European tradition of depicting street tradesmen in a sequence called "cries."³⁶ Clearly, only cities of a significant size could support the activities of street traders, and the variety they added to city streets was a source of civic satisfaction. An 1856 article in the Boston publication, *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, alleged that "New York presents as many subjects for the sketcher, almost, as Paris or London, and certainly as many choice originals."³⁷ In the same issue, a second article celebrating New York's diversity alleged that Broadway "strikingly resembles one of the Parisian boulevards. And yet it is strongly national, after all, and most essentially New York—and New York city is a world in itself."³⁸

Books of cries were regarded as a kind of guidebook to the city and often contained little homilies. The first American-produced example of this genre was printed in Philadelphia in 1787, but a small book for children called *The New-York Cries in Rhyme* published in 1836 is typical. It first introduces the reader to the great size and space of New York. Then the cries themselves offer the opportunity not only to moralize but also to extol the virtues of America. The description of the match seller's "cry" notes that the occupation is a "very humble business, but is not to be despised on that account; better by far, thus honestly to earn a dinner of bread and cheese, than to ride in ones carriage with the gains of dishonesty and oppression." Among the virtues claimed for America is the abundance of food in the markets of New York, but perhaps the most chauvinist remark appears with the "cry" of the potato seller: "Of all the gifts of a bountiful Providence, perhaps few exceed the potatoe in usefulness to man. It is a native of America."³⁹

Street types were a staple of the early issues of illustrated magazines (cat. 22 and 23), and by 1860 individual types like the organ grinder and the beggar with a tambourine were so well-known that they figured satirically in an election cartoon, *The Great Exhibition of 1860* (cat. 27), printed by Currier and Ives. Three New York newspaper editors who, together with a New York senator, were perceived to have been in charge of the 1860 presidential election campaign are personified as an organ grinder, a street beggar, and a small boy with a service to offer. The Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, appears in lieu of the usual monkey and is told by the organ grinder to "caper about on [his] rail" as the music plays.⁴⁰ Street types are also the subject of *Dancing for Eels*, 1848 (cat. 18), which depicts a scene from a contemporary Broadway play about the exploits of a legendary volunteer fireman named Mose, "the Paul Bunyan of the Bowery."⁴¹ Three years later this print served

as the basis for a *Vanity Fair* cartoon showing Stephen Douglas “dancing for votes” at the Democratic National Convention.⁴²

Political campaigns continued to be a rich source of graphic imagery throughout the century, and many street scenes in the illustrated magazines are based on the energy of massed numbers of men (cat. 34),⁴³ the drama of waiting for election returns, and the color of torchlight parades. Partisan loyalties, too, served as a theme for prints. As early as 1840 the result of an election bet was documented in a lithograph made by Bufford after a photograph of a man wheeling a barrel of apples from his home to the home of the winner, who lived thirty-six miles away. The trip took three days, and the man was welcomed at the finish by “at least 30,000 enthusiastic spectators.”⁴⁴ The election of 1892 seems to have generated an especially large number of zany wagers on the results of the presidential election won by Grover Cleveland. The newspapers in Chicago, political home of successful Vice-Presidential candidate Adlai E. Stevenson, carried numerous accounts—some from as far away as Boston—of the ways in which the bets were settled.⁴⁵ *The Lost Bet*, 1893 (cat. 54), is a faithfully recreated version of the outcome of one such election bet. The artist, a Czechoslovakian immigrant with hopes of winning a prize for chromolithography at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, worked from photographs taken of friends posed as the original bettors. Unfortunately, the care with which the scene was drawn had the opposite of the desired effect; the “judges decreed the lithograf [*sic*] ‘too commercial’ because of the store and business signs” which appear in the background.⁴⁶

Both prints and illustrated magazines also featured the illustration of disasters, natural and otherwise.⁴⁷ Nathaniel Currier’s early independent ventures in Philadelphia and New York, for example, were financially unsuccessful until he published, only four days after the calamitous 1835 New York fire, a print which sold thousands of copies.⁴⁸ In 1840 Currier earned a national reputation when his print of the burning of the steamboat Lexington, a marine tragedy that claimed more than one hundred lives, appeared just three days after the event.⁴⁹ *View of the Terrific Explosion at the Great Fire in New York*, 1845 (cat. 17), *Great Riot at the Astor Place Opera House, New York*, 1849 (cat. 19), and *Burning of the New York Crystal Palace*, 1858 (cat. 25), are all examples of financially remunerative “disaster” prints. While these three prints depict urban catastrophes, train wrecks and fires as well as the effects of violent storms, floods, and riots (cat. 32 and 33) became a staple of the illustrated press in the 1850s and 1860s after the development of wood engraving allowed for immediate illustrations of the news of the day.

Although not all printed images in the popular press were reportorial documents, the demands of pictorial journalism tilted illustrative concerns toward greater realism. Initially, realism as a corollary of the record of current events was a secondary concern. In fact, an all-inclusive realism, encompassing the unpleasant and the everyday, was believed to be undesirable. Thus in the 1840s Charles Knight of the



cat. 54. Joseph Klir.
The Lost Bet, 1893.

London Illustrated News (an avowed model for *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, 1851–59, the Boston publication which in turn became *Ballou's*⁵⁰) had written: “The staple materials for the steady-going illustrator to work most attractively upon are, Court and Fashion; Civic Processions and Banquets; Political and Religious Demonstrations in crowded halls; Theatrical Novelties; Musical Meetings; Races; Reviews; Ship Launches—every scene, in short, where a crowd of great people and respectable people can be got together, but never, if possible, any exhibition of vulgar poverty.”⁵¹ By the 1850s and 1860s, the scope of journalistic realism was broadened to include the “vulgar poverty” Knight eschewed. Yet while images of slum housing and the urban poor began to appear in English journals, there was “no attempt to engage the sympathy of the viewer for the suffering of individuals.”⁵² The quota of social realism in American illustrated newspapers and magazines followed a similar curve.

Pictorial coverage of the Crimean and Civil wars in Great Britain and the United States was a further influence on imagery in the popular media, portraying the gruesome details of war and the boredom and discomfort of camp life without embellishment or idealization.⁵³ It is not surprising, then, that the growing, ever more disturbing impact of industrialization on the American city was first recorded in the illustrated press.⁵⁴ Subjects that would have been unacceptable in a traditional interior view of the city began to appear regularly in the popular media.

One negative aspect of urban and industrial growth was the discomfort generated by the sheer size of the city. The text describing *View of Broadway*, 1860 (cat. 29), enumerates a number of unpleasant experiences linked to life in the city:

*No other spot [Broadway at Fulton] conveys so good an idea of the bustle and the stir of the great commercial city of America. Even in pleasant weather, when the streets are dry, and there is no temptation to encumber them with unusual vehicles, there is always a monstrous crush, and throng, and hurry, and noise, and clatter opposite Barnum's. But when the snow has fallen, and has begun to melt, when, in addition to the omnibuses, the streets are crowded with sleighs, and the sleighing is so bad that many of these look as though they could not possibly be dragged through the mud; when the slush and slime render walking a trial to booted men, and a cruel punishment to ladies; when between the fear of being run over and the dread of soiling white undershirts, fair pedestrians suffer the agonies of death in endeavoring to cross Broadway at this central point; the shouts of policemen mingle with the roar of omnibus-drivers, the shrieks of girls, the shrill cries of mischievous boys, the brass horns on the Museum balcony, and perhaps the horse rattle of a fire company in the distance, the scene then becomes one to be never forgotten. As such we hand it down to posterity.*⁵⁵

More significant social disturbances like riots were also attributed to the city's size. The draft riots of 1863 were described as the “natural and inevitable diseases of great cities, epidemics, like small-pox and cholera, which must be treated scien-

tifically, upon logical principles, and with the light of large experience."⁵⁶ Even images devoted to the pleasanter aspects of city life make reference to the discomforts of the urban experience. In particular, texts accompanying the many images of park activities allude to the heat and overcrowding that made parks a necessary refuge.⁵⁷

Although magazine and newspaper illustrators were slow to moralize about the negative aspects of the urban environment, they commonly juxtaposed extremes of experience, both environmental and social. For example, an illustration of *May Day in the Country* appeared on a page facing *May Day in the City*, while a *Snow Slide in the City* picturing pedestrians deluged by a sudden snow slide from a roof was paired with a more traditional scene, *Sleighbing in the Country*.⁵⁸ The obvious implication that rural activity was more pleasurable than urban was made explicit in the commentary on *Out-Door Summer Amusements—The Swings in Central Park*, 1871 (cat. 38). After a lengthy comparison of country playsets with those in the park, the editors remarked, “. . . on the whole we fancy there’s more genuine fun in the country make shifts.”⁵⁹ A similar comparative mode articulates the single illustration titled *A Difference of Opinion*, in which two men in different attitudes walk a city street on a cold day, one well dressed and the other in rags.⁶⁰ Perhaps the best known of such contrasting pairs is Winslow Homer’s *Thanksgiving Day, 1860. The Two Great Classes of Society* (cat. 28), an image in which rich and poor celebrate the national holiday in tellingly different ways.⁶¹

By the end of the 1860s, however, editorial observations were considerably more pointed and often hortatory. The story paired with *Sunday Morning in the Fourth Ward, New York*, 1868 (cat. 35), commented:

*The dwellers in country places and small cities have no idea how the lives of hundreds of thousands of creatures pent up in New York are thus wasted. Such groups as we represent are to be found on any Sunday or holiday morning. Just such idle men, slatternly women, and ragged, unkempt children, crowd round the closed doors of the public houses and loll against the walls, or play in the gutters. There is little or no escape for them into better scenes than their own alleys, courts, and lanes, fetid and vile, in spite of sanitary [sic] laws and Health Officers. They must always be so long as the dwellers therein have no wish to make them better; so long as infancy is educated in filth, both moral and physical, the man will not feel the degradation which surrounds him, and all manner of missionaries, except the Policeman and the Sanitary Officer, will, we fear, be in vain. The Legislation which closed the door of the pernicious gin-shop on the Sabbath has accomplished a great work; the one that forces the tenement-house landlord to see that his rooms are not crowded to suffocation, that compells him to let his suffocated tenants have a little ventilation, that empties the cellars of the city of the mass of humanity stored therein and drives them into the air and light, will have done an equally good service to the cause of humanity and religion.*⁶²



cat. 28. Winslow Homer.

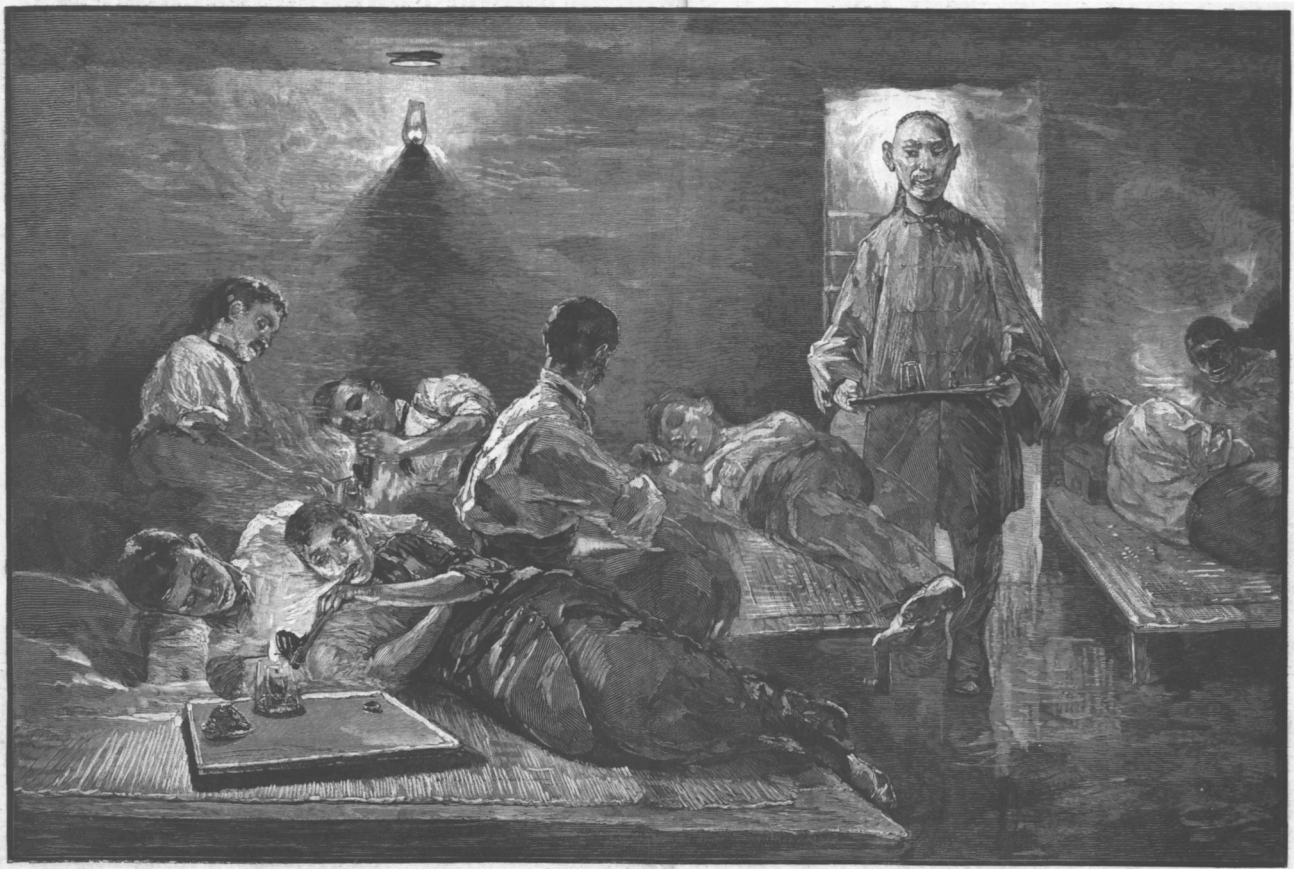
Thanksgiving Day, 1860. The Two Great Classes of Society, 1860.

The problems of housing continued to be a featured issue. In 1869 *Harper's Weekly* noted, "One half of the entire population of New York city are said to dwell in tenement-houses, and the most wretched under-ground cellars are homes for many thousands—if such desolate holes can be miscalled homes. Enormous rents are extorted from the poor for unventilated, inconvenient, dark, damp rooms. Any method of constructing buildings, which will tend to ameliorate the conditions of the poorer classes in this respect will be a blessing to them; and we are glad to learn that some experiments are being tried with this end in view."⁶³ One of the temporary means of housing the many homeless was illustrated by *Station-House Lodgers*, 1874 (cat. 45). The text asserted:

*. . . we see [in the police station] the shadow of New York—the shadow of a city where misrule and riotous influences have done their work; where one hundred thousand human beings, men, women, and children, are sent to the penitentiary, the asylums, the almshouse, the hospitals, and the prisons in a single year! . . . we may get some idea of the terrors of life among the very poor in New York city. We may understand better why, when bright eyes are glancing merrily at the falling snow, and bright little feet are gliding over the ice in the Park, muttered prayers and bitter curses go up from cellars and garrets, while wan hands, bony hands, and little hands quiver about the embers of a dying fire The snow that brings joy with its pure soft flakes in the country carries death on its wings to the dark quarters of the city.*⁶⁴

An especially uncompromising sequence of images of tenement life in New York (cat. 46), each featuring "some new form of wretchedness peculiar to that locality," appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1879 with a lengthy series of stories. Their expressed intent was to awaken interest in the social inequities found in large cities: "Many startling facts and figures have been given recently from the pulpit, the platform and the daily press, in the hope of arousing a public sentiment that may lead to a practical solution of the great problem that is before us."⁶⁵

By the 1870s, the immigrant problem was frequently addressed, sometimes positively as in the wood engraving of a boarding house in 1873 (cat. 43),⁶⁶ but more often as the source of such sordid abuses as the allegations of slave-dealership in young Italian boys (cat. 44).⁶⁷ In 1888 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* contained a long article describing immigrant neighborhoods as seats of "iniquity, poverty and dirt" and argued the need to "repress cosmopolitanism [in New York] where it takes epidemic form." Where once the foreign-born and their institutions had been featured as picturesque elements attesting to the prosperous diversity of the city, they were now perceived to be the source of "inconceivable suffering and harm"⁶⁸ requiring constructive redress. Whether the problem was fire, housing, immigration, opium smoking, or eviction of destitute families, calls for legislative action were more and more frequent in the illustrated magazines and newspapers of the last two decades of the century.



cat. 47. John White Alexander.

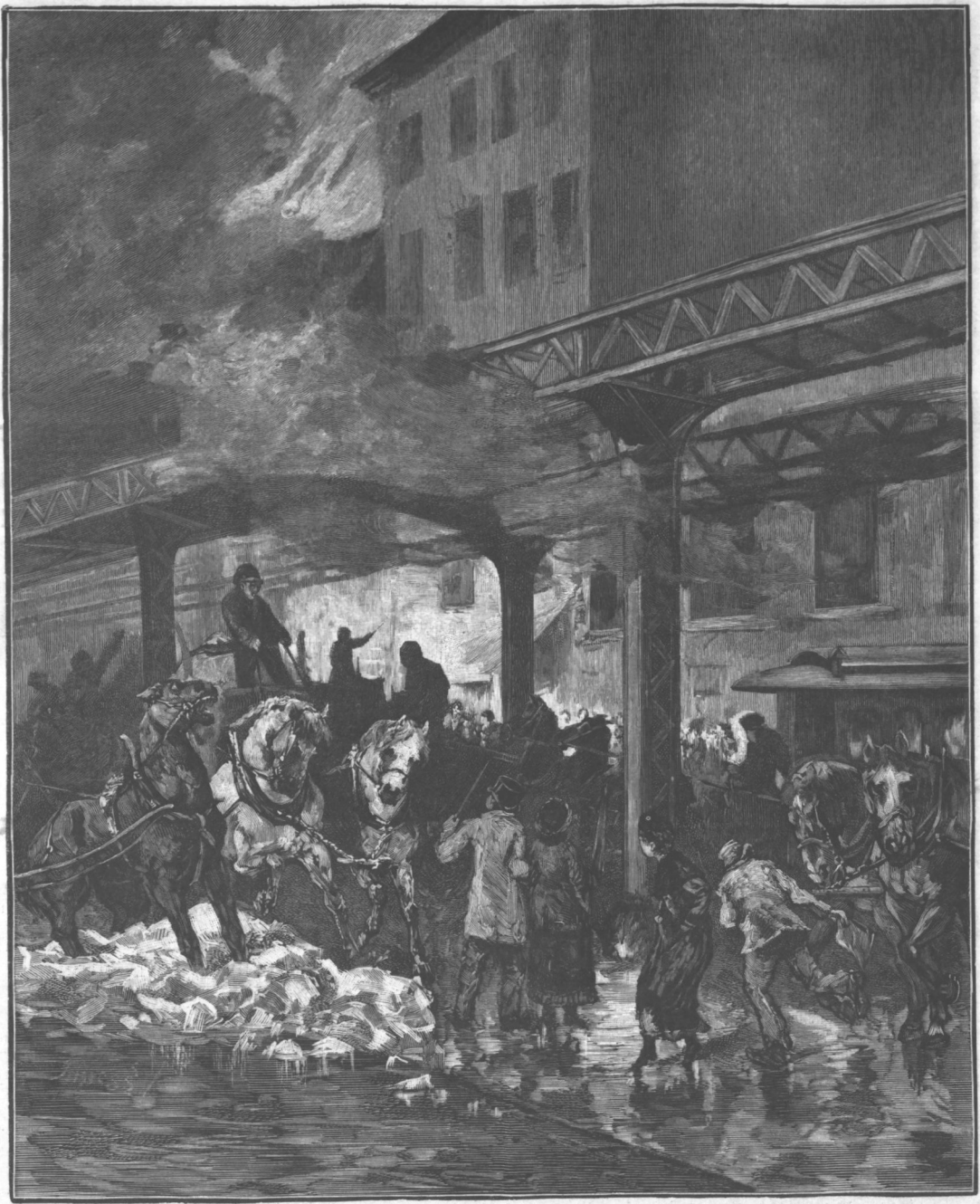
American Opium-Smokers—Interior of a New York Opium Den, 1881.

The frankness with which the most sordid problems were depicted is remarkable, especially since the avoidance of the quotidian and suppression of factual detail were salient characteristics of turn-of-the-century painting, sculpture, drawing, printmaking, and photography.⁶⁹ The few American prints executed after 1850 that draw upon the urban scene focus on motifs made acceptable by the conventions of the picturesque or Whistlerian practice.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the illustrators were often academically-trained artists whose work in other media avoided all reference to urban realities. Nevertheless, while some of the more disturbing magazine images were intended as quick recordings of newsworthy events (*e.g.*, cat. 33), many were given separate, full-page treatments and functioned very much like the aesthetically-pretentious, interior views painted for the academy. They comprised a new portraiture of city experience.

The difference in imagery made for popular consumption and that made for a more select audience is especially striking in the art of John White Alexander. Although Alexander is best known for paintings of ethereally beautiful women set against vaporous backgrounds, his 1881 *Harper's Weekly* illustration depicts a roomful of opium smokers in explicit detail (cat. 47).⁷¹ Such a duality is characteristic of nearly all the artists most favored by the illustrated press. Thus, although George Inness, Jr. is represented in the present exhibition by *The Streets of New York after a Snow-Storm*, 1884 (cat. 50), none of his entries at the National Academy of Design between 1877 and 1900 have urban-related titles. Similarly, in the same year that Charles Menté's pathetic image of *An Eviction in the Tenement District of the City of New York* (cat. 53) appeared in *Harper's Weekly*,⁷² he submitted paintings devoted to the happy themes of *On a Summer Day* and *The Neighbor's Garden* to the Academy. Similar observations may be made about the art of Arthur Lumley (cat. 38), Henry Muhrman (cat. 48), and Thure de Thulstrup (cat. 51), all frequent contributors to the illustrated press.⁷³

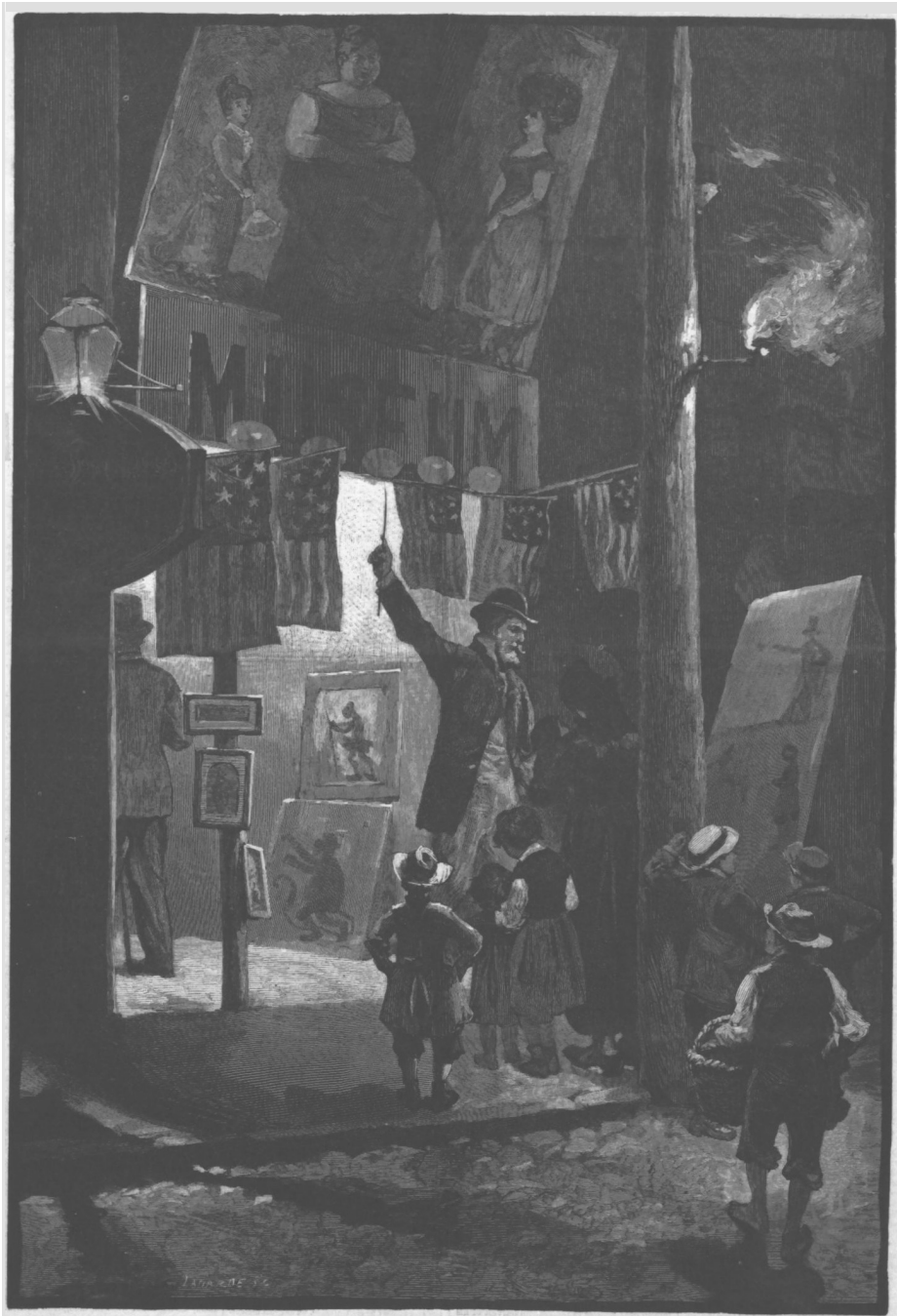
Of course, it is precisely the selection of detail and careful attention to compositional organization taught in the Academy and other art schools that makes so many of the illustrations in the nineteenth-century weeklies particularly effective. All owe the power of their imagery to academically-prescribed choices made by very sophisticated artists: the rush of horses through the streets (cat. 50) looks back to the dynamic compositional devices of the Baroque; the pathos of an evicted family (cat. 53) is linked to the emotional force of devotional religious imagery; and the excitement of nightlife on the Bowery (cat. 48)⁷⁴ recalls the dramatic contrasts of light and dark familiar from Neapolitan painting.

Obviously, the conventions of the academy inform the urban imagery of the popular press, and the primary distinction between the construction of these images and academic art in other, non-journalistic media is the choice of subject matter. Therefore, if the difference, as Patricia Hills has suggested, between fine arts



cat. 50. George Inness, Jr.

The Streets of New York after a Snow-Storm, 1884.



cat. 48. Lagarde after Henry Muhrmann.
A Night Scene in the Bowery, New York, 1881.

and illustration lies in the “commercial purpose . . . mass audience and . . . collaborative aspects” of the latter,⁷⁵ then many of the wood engravings in the present exhibition must be read as something more than illustrative. This is particularly true because the boundaries defined by Hills between the “high” art of the academy and the “popular” art of the weeklies, as it is represented here, are blurred by a number of factors. Hills defined “commercial purpose” as having been “commissioned to elucidate a written text or harmonize with it,” but as already noted, not all these images derived from specific commissions or news events, nor did they always have a complementary text in the form of an extended story or poem. Also, “high” art in the form of paintings and sculptures was often reproduced in the popular press, for a mass audience, in conjunction with text. It was common as well to see narrative images with excursive titles in the annual exhibitions of the most significant contemporary arbiter of American art, the National Academy; when contemporary paintings carried titles such as *The Priest-Like Father Turned the Sacred Page*, the argument that an image must be self-sufficient to be designated “fine art” is not persuasive.⁷⁶ Still another example of a textual support for “high art,” chosen at random from a nineteenth-century exhibition catalogue, is the passage describing George Henry Boughton’s painting *New Year’s Day in New Amsterdam*:

*The great Assemblage, however, was at the Governor’s house, whither repaired all the burghers of New Amsterdam, with their wives and daughters, pranked out in their best attire. On this occasion the good Peter was devoutly observant of the pious Dutch rite of kissing the womenkind for a happy New Year, and it is traditional that Anthony, the trumpeter, who acted as gentleman usher, took toll of all that were young and handsome. * * * This venerable custom, thus happily introduced, was followed with such zeal, by high and low, that on New Year’s Day, during the reign of Peter Stuyvesant, New Amsterdam became the most be-kissed community in all Christendom.—Irving’s Knickerbocker History of New York.⁷⁷*

It should also be remembered that there was a long tradition of poetry in association with the exhibition of paintings; poems were posted below the painting or appeared in the exhibition catalogue. A contemporary example, perhaps somewhat extreme, is Edward Moran’s Academy entry in 1883. Moran’s painting did not carry a specific title. Instead under “Subject,” where other paintings were more prosaically listed as *The Studio* or *A Fine Day in the Woods*, the following appeared: “One showed an iron coast with angry waves,/You seemed to hear them climb and fall;/And roar, rock-thwarted, under bellowing caves,/Beneath the windy wall./ ‘PALACE OF ART’—*Tennyson*.”⁷⁸

The nineteenth-century phenomenon of gift books also offers examples of extensive commentary on images clearly understood to be the art of the academy and therefore worthy of emulation. It was the avowed purpose of such gift books to

elevate the national standard of artistic taste.⁷⁹ Likewise, many of the weeklies perceived themselves broadly as educators, particularly in the arts—the full title of *Harper's Weekly* asserted its claim to be a *Journal of Civilization*. The belief that reproductive prints were a means of cultural enrichment was not new; as early as 1840 it had been argued in an issue of *Gentleman's Magazine* that “A good engraving of a good picture, is, in its effect upon the mind, incomparably superior to a painting of ordinary merit.”⁸⁰

It is worth considering these points at length because the perception that pictorial journalism required speed and topicality has obscured the appreciation of how pervasively the standards of the academy informed the practice of art for the “news” print market. In contrast with the mystique of the artist-reporter who was supposed to have returned from the scene of an event with a publishable drawing, the wood engravings gathered here are, for the most part, the product of a trained artist’s thoughtful conception rather than the sketched record of an event. The same artists who recorded every aspect, grimy or glamorous, of an urban experience deemed unsuitable subject matter for academic art aspired to artistic recognition at the annual exhibitions of the National Academy of Design with conventional landscape and genre paintings. Ironically it is they who follow most closely the pictorial tradition established at the beginning of the century by William Birch, for whom the urban environment was an unqualified good. Just as Birch documented street by street the whole of the Philadelphia experience, from exotic to ordinary to opulently dignified, with an unprecedented series of twenty-eight prints, it is they who portray the full range of experience, good and bad, in the nineteenth-century American city. In the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, artists would often find sources for the fine arts in images taken from the more ephemeral popular press.⁸¹ In so doing they would ultimately overturn the academy’s boundaries of acceptable imagery.

Sally Lorensen Gross
National Endowment for the Arts Intern, 1988
Department of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs
Yale University Art Gallery

NOTES

- 1 See Edward J. Nygren with Bruce Robertson, *Views and Visions: American Landscape before 1830* (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986); Harold W. Sniffen, "Views of Port Cities as Depicted by Vernet and Other Eighteenth-Century Artists" in *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America: To Educate and Decorate*, ed. Joan D. Dolmetsch (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), 32–50; and Donald H. Cresswell, "Late Eighteenth-Century American Harbor Views Derived from Joseph Vernet and Richard Paton" in *American Maritime Prints*, ed. Elton W. Hall (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, The Whaling Museum, 1985), 41–62.
- 2 Later it was not uncommon for European artists to edit drawings from America to suit European tastes or even to label views of European ports with the names of American cities. See Wendy Shadwell, "Prized Prints: Rare American Prints before 1860 in the Collection of the New-York Historical Society," *Imprint* 11 (Spring 1986), 1–27; and Cresswell, "Late Eighteenth-Century American Harbor Views." Additionally, the Yale collections include examples of prints based on European street scenes which are labeled with the names of American cities.
- 3 One of the models for *Quebec* was a 1718 map by Nicolas de Fer and the other a later version made by François Chereau (d.1755), who had been engraver to Louis XV. "The flowering tree that frames the left of this charming view with its fairy-tale air was transplanted by [Thomas] Johnston from the Chereau engraving. It was Chereau, too, who added the buildings bordering the St. Lawrence River in the immediate foreground and updated the legend supplied by de Fer from eighteen to twenty references. . . . Some of Johnston's original touches can be seen in the artistic lettering of the caption (more in harmony with the style of the engraving), in the firing of guns from the master ship (center), and in the error of repeating the number 7 in the crowded legend" (Gloria Gilda Deák, *Picturing America 1497–1899: Prints, Maps, and Drawings Bearing on the New World Discoveries and on the Development of the Territory That Is Now the United States* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988], 1:47).
- 4 Cresswell has written that "Depiction of American scenery was a small part of a greater European craze for landscapes Many prominent landscape conventions appear in the form of Salvatorian craggy cliffs to the left foreground, delicate genre elements in small houses and rolling fields in the right middle ground to lead the eye up the wide river in a scene of Claudian repose, and all framed by an expanse of sky suitable to be termed sublime in Burkean aesthetics. An appeal to realism is contained in the title, which assures the viewer that it is 'Sketch'd on the Spot'" ("Late Eighteenth-Century American Harbor Views," 44).
- 5 This pattern owes as much to the recycling of earlier images as to the predilections of the artists. The following sequence from the Garvan Collection is not unusual. *A South East View of the City of New York* (cat. 3), 1768 [etching and engraving], is very similar to *New York from Weehawk* (cat. 10), 1823 [etching and aquatint], by John Hill after William Guy Wall. The similarity between Hill's print and the ca. 1825 lithograph of the same title marketed by Isidore Deroy and Jacques-Gerard Milbert in France, Germany, and the United States is even more striking. Another three prints of this scene are near duplicates: *New-York* [lithograph], published in Nuremberg by G. N. Renner & Company; *View of New York; from Weehawken*, 1839 [etching and engraving], by R. Wallis after W. H. Bartlett published in New York; *View of New York, from Weehawken*, 1848 [lithograph], published in New York by Nathaniel Currier.
- 6 American artists played a significant role in the promotion of industrial growth in the United States: ". . . the painted image both positively reflected and bore visual witness to the validity of the pro-industrial ideology, as well as contributing to its popularization" (Jadвига M. da Costa Nunes, "The Industrial Landscape in America, 1800–1840: Ideology into Art," *The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 12 [1986], 21). See also Sally Pierce, "The Railroad in the Pasture: Industrial Development and the New England Landscape" in *Aspects of American Printmaking, 1800–1950*, ed. James F. O'Gorman (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 53–75.

- 7 There are no more than twelve known impressions of this print by Hazen Morse after a watercolor by Susan Batchelder Green. The daughter of Reverend William Batchelder of Haverhill and the wife of Nathan P. Green who published the *Boston Post*, Green graduated from Bradford Academy for young women in 1807. Although the records of what she studied are lost, tuition was \$3.25–\$3.60 if painting and embroidery were included in the curriculum. Also born in Haverhill, Morse went to Boston to become a silversmith but is better known as an engraver. According to a contemporary newspaper advertisement, the print was to be sold for \$3 to benefit art activities in Haverhill. In 1832 two much smaller versions of the image were lithographed by Annin & Smith to illustrate a history of the town. For this information I am grateful to Carolyn Singer, Haverhill Historical Society; Mary Custeau, Alumnae Office, Bradford College; and especially to Gregory H. Laing, Special Collections, Haverhill Public Library. I am also indebted to Mary Baker-Wood, Visual Resources Librarian, Old Sturbridge Village, for a copy of Jay E. Cantor, *The Landscape of Change: Views of Rural New England, 1790–1865*, exh. cat. (Sturbridge: Old Sturbridge Village, 1976).
- 8 *Views and Visions*, 222. For a discussion of prints as tools for the promotion of industrial investments, see Helena E. Wright, “The Image Makers: The Role of the Graphic Arts in Industrialization,” *The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 12 (1986), 5–18.
- 9 Cadwallader D. Colden, *Memoir, Prepared at the Request of a Committee of the Common Council of the City of New York, and Presented to the Mayor of the City, at the Celebration of the Completion of the New York Canals* (New York: W. A. Davis, 1825), 391. Colden, elected Mayor of New York in 1818 and to Congress in 1822, was a firm believer in the arts of progress and author of a biography of inventor Robert Fulton. Interestingly, a copy of this *Memoir* was sent to the King of Bavaria, in recognition of lithography’s birth there. See I. N. Phelps and Daniel C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1932), 111. The Bavarian Alois Senefelder developed the process in Munich although the first important examples of artistic compositions drawn on stone were published by Senefelder in 1803 in England, where he successfully convinced a number of artists including American-born Benjamin West, mentor of a generation of American artists, to experiment with the new medium. See Felix H. Man, “Lithography in England (1801–1918),” in *Prints: Thirteen Illustrated Essays on the Art of the Print*, ed. Carl Zigrosser (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), 102–5; and David Tatham, “The Pendleton-Moore Shop in Boston, 1825–1840,” *Old-Time New England* 62 (October–December 1971), 29–46.
- 10 See Colden, 349; and Carl W. Drepperd, *Early American Prints* (New York: The Century Company, 1930), 133: “The prints were perhaps among the very first of [Anthony] Imbert’s efforts, and they bear evidence that the workers were not quite sure of their medium. . . . the stones appear to have been overinked. Much smudginess is in evidence—a quality often met with in early lithographs, and no doubt due to a lack of technical knowledge regarding the proper handling of the stones and the chemical problems involved in printing from them.” For the history of Imbert’s press, see John Carbonell, “Anthony Imbert: New York’s Pioneer Lithographer,” in *Prints and Printmakers of New York State, 1825–1940*, ed. David Tatham (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 11–41.
- 11 Bufford was apprenticed to William and John Pendleton in 1829, the year after Nathaniel Currier was apprenticed to the same firm. By 1835 he had established his own business in New York, where he also drew for Currier and for George Endicott. Five years later, Bufford and his brother-in-law Benjamin W. Thayer bought the Boston business of Thomas Moore, who had previously purchased the business from the Pendletons. By 1843 Bufford was printing in colors from multiple stones. See David Tatham, “John Henry Bufford: American Lithographer,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86 (April 1976), 47–73.
- 12 John Pendleton in Boston, like Senefelder in London before him, supplied artists with the materials for experiments in lithography. “More so than with any other American printshop of the period, Pendleton’s influence went beyond the graphic arts to painting, sculpture, and architecture. Such distinguished American artists as George Loring Brown (1814–89), Benjamin Champney

- distinguished American artists as George Loring Brown (1814–89), Benjamin Champney (1817–1907), Alexander Jackson Davis (1803–92), David Claypoole Johnston (1799–1865), and John W. A. Scott (1815–1907) were young colleagues at the shop and grew to maturity—either at the shop or elsewhere—during a period of unprecedented activity and innovation in the graphic arts” (Tatham, “The Pendleton-Moore Shop,” 30). Other artists associated with the shop at one time or another in its long history under various ownerships were Rembrandt Peale, Seth Wells Cheney, Thomas Badger, James Kidder, John Rubens Smith, William Rimmer, Robert Cooke, and Robert Salmon. For a discussion of a “Pendleton house style in the 1830s,” see Tatham, 41.
- 13 See Elizabeth McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). See also Raymond J. O’Brien, *American Sublime: Landscape and Scenery of the Lower Hudson Valley* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).
 - 14 The tenor of life in Rochester, already a heavily industrialized urban area of significant size, must have been considerably less peaceful than it appears in this print. In 1832 the Englishwoman Frances Trollope wrote that she looked at the falls “through the window of a factory, and as I did not like that, I was obligingly handed to the doorway of a sawing-mill; in short, ‘the great water privilege’ has been so ingeniously taken advantage of, that no point can be found where its voice and its movement are not mixed and confounded with those of ‘the admirable machinery of this flourishing city’” (quoted in Deák, 301). Another visitor wrote that the town seemed “to grow visibly before your eyes; the eternal hammering and clipping of bricks, and heaps of rubbish, remind the traveller so pertinaciously that it is in a state of transition only” (quoted in Deák, 301).
 - 15 Quoted in Susan Sheehan, “Introduction,” *A City upon a Hill: Views of Urban America, 1820–1900*, exh. cat. (New York: Wunderlich & Company, Inc., 1984).
 - 16 See Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 101–2.
 - 17 The art of Robert Salmon, a marine painter active in Boston, was an important influence on Lane. John Wilmerding, *Fitz Hugh Lane* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 23. See also Carl L. Crossman, “Lithographs of Fitz Hugh Lane,” in *American Maritime Prints*, ed. Elton W. Hall (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, The Whaling Museum, 1985), 66–94.
 - 18 John W. Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada. Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalog of their Work. 1825–1925* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984), 58.
 - 19 Thanks to an abundance of wood and water, Milwaukee’s importance as a paper-making center made it a natural center for lithography. See Thomas Beckman, *Milwaukee Illustrated: Panoramic and Bird’s-Eye Views of a Midwestern Metropolis, 1844–1905* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Center, 1978); and Alan E. Kent, “Early Commercial Lithography in Wisconsin,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 36 (Summer 1953), 247–51. The career of Louis Kurz is typical. Born in Austria, he emigrated in 1848 to Wisconsin at the age of twelve. At eighteen he was in Chicago, where he apparently learned lithography from a German-born printer. Three years later he was back in Milwaukee, first advertising himself as an artist in oil and then as a house and sign painter. To support his growing family, Kurz eventually turned to lithography in 1861 and formed a partnership with Henry Seifert, a German immigrant who had been working as a lithographer in Milwaukee since 1853. See Beckman, “Louis Kurz: Early Years,” *Imprint* 7 (Spring 1982), 14–25; and “The Beck & Pauli Lithographing Company,” *Imprint* 9 (Spring 1984), 1–6.
 - 20 Reps, 4. Wright argues in “The Image Makers” that the growth of lithography and industry were interdependent.
 - 21 Beckman, “Kurz,” 21.
 - 22 Marshall B. Davidson, *Life in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951), I:534.

- 23 See David Ruell, "The Bird's Eye Views of New Hampshire: 1875–1899," *Historical New Hampshire* 38 (Spring 1983), 1–85.
- 24 Ralph Hyde, "Views of Urban America," book review, *Print Quarterly* 4 (March 1987), 78.
- 25 At least two of these English views are closely related to Birch's later American images: ". . . both a shipping scene from the bank of the Thames at London and a country-town market seem to have been close forerunners of the type of spirited subject matter he later engraved in Philadelphia" (Martin P. Snyder, "William Birch: His Philadelphia Views," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 73 [1949], 273). Birch's son Thomas, who became a landscape painter of considerable significance, and the engraver Samuel Seymour collaborated in the production of the Philadelphia views. Patricia Hills has noted Thomas Birch used European models throughout his career: "Thomas Birch later included in his landscapes staffage figures based on designs from William H. Pyne's *Etchings of Rustic Figures, for the Embellishment of Landscape* (London, 1815). See Doris J[ean] Creer, 'Thomas Birch: A Study of the Condition of Painting and the Artist's Position in Federal America' (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1958)" (Patricia Hills, *The Painters' America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810–1910*, exh. cat. [New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974], 138). For additional material on the history of the several editions of Birch's Philadelphia series, see Snyder, "Birch's Philadelphia Views: New Discoveries," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 88 (1964), 164–73; and *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia Before 1800* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975).
- 26 Quoted in Snyder, "William Birch: His Philadelphia Views," 281, from *William Birch, Autobiography*, typescript on deposit in the manuscript collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the New York Public Library.
- 27 See Milo M. Naeve, *John Lewis Krimmel: An Artist in Federal America* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987).
- 28 Hills, 2.
- 29 In commenting on a painting of the Philadelphia market by Krimmel, William Dunlap, the contemporary painter, critic, and art historian wrote, "The pepper-pot woman is an animal only known to the streets of Philadelphia" (quoted in Joseph Jackson, "Krimmel, 'The American Hogarth'," *International Studio* 93 [June 1923], 35).
- 30 See Naeve, 77.
- 31 Prints after Krimmel "became an important source of motifs and style to the next generation of genre painters" (Hills, 5). With regard to Krimmel's pickpocket, see in particular David Gilmour Blythe's painting, *Post Office*, ca. 1862–64 (Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh).
- 32 A pejorative nickname for an American, "Brother Jonathan" first came into use at the end of the eighteenth century. The term carried the implication of both physical and social awkwardness, as in "country bumpkin," and the description of his personification further specified ill-fitting clothes. See Albert Matthews, "Brother Jonathan," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 7 (1901), 94–125; and his "Brother Jonathan Once More," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 32 (1937), 374–86. I am grateful to Georgia Brady Barnhill, Curator, Graphic Arts, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, for her help with this reference and others.
- 33 *American Printmaking: The First 150 Years*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: The Museum of Graphic Art, Smithsonian Press, 1969), 54.
- 34 Naeve, 116–17.
- 35 This print "is more than an advertising gimmick, it is a portrait of Chestnut Street and the activities that that boulevard supported in 1844–45" (Fowble, 359).
- 36 Most American publications featuring images of tradesmen were heavily dependent upon continental precedents, even to the extent of reproducing European images with American titles. See Karen

- F. Beall, *Kaufleute und Strassenhändler: Eine Bibliographie; Cries and Itinerant Trades: A Bibliography* (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Company, ca. 1975); and Richardson Wright, *Hawkers & Walkers in Early America: Strolling Peddlers, Preachers, Lawyers, Doctors, Players, and Others, from the Beginning to the Civil War* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927).
- 37 "Highways and Byways of New York," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 2 (13 December 1856), 397.
- 38 "Broadway, New York, by Gaslight," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 2 (13 December 1856), 381.
- 39 *The New-York Cries in Rhyme* (1836; reprint, New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1939), n.p.
- 40 Albert Shaw, *Abraham Lincoln: The Year of His Election* (New York: The Review of Reviews Corporation, 1929), 99.
- 41 Until 1853 when Cincinnati organized a professional fire department, American cities across the country depended upon volunteers to fight fires. "Many of the boys and young men who 'ran with the machine,' as volunteer aides to the volunteers, were irresponsible roughnecks for whom the fighting [to be first at the scene of the fire] was a large part of the sport" (Davidson, II:130).
- 42 William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1967), I:185–88.
- 43 "Democratic Demonstration in New York City," *Harper's Weekly* 12 (1868), 682.
- 44 Davidson, II:335.
- 45 See "Some Novel Election Bets Paid," *The Chicago Tribune* (13 November 1892), 3; "One More Election Bet Paid," *The Chicago Tribune* (25 November 1892), 12; "Settled a Novel Election Wager," *The Chicago Times* (28 November 1892), n.p.; "He Made a Bet and Lost," *The Chicago Tribune* (4 December 1892), 12.
- 46 "Lost Election Bet Lithograf Doesn't Win Stake for Artist," *The Chicago Tribune* (13 November 1952), 10–11. This print was also illustrated in the *Tribune* on 9 October 1952. I am indebted to Larry A. Viskochil, Curator, Prints and Photographs, Chicago Historical Society, for sharing the Society's documentation of *The Lost Bet*.
- 47 For a survey of these interests see Peter J. Parker and Stefanie Munsing Winkelbauer, "Embellishments for Practical Repositories: Eighteenth-Century American Magazine Illustration," in *Eighteenth-Century Prints in Colonial America: To Educate and Decorate*, ed. Joan D. Dolmetsch (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), 71–95; and Peter Marzio, "Illustrated News in Early American Prints," in *American Printmaking before 1876: Fact, Fiction, and Fantasy* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1975), 53–60.
- 48 "The lineage of the disaster print in America runs back to colonial almanac and broadside cuts and also includes Henry Pelham's and Paul Revere's engravings of 1770 of the Boston Massacre, but the genre began to flourish vigorously only in the 1830s when it became evident that lithography would allow a picture to be drawn, printed in a large edition, and sold cheaply within a few days of the event, a kind of timeliness which had not been possible with the older printmaking processes" (Tatham, "Bufford," 54).
- 49 Russell Crouse, *Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1930), 4–5.
- 50 Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines: 1850–1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), II:409.
- 51 Celina Fox, *Graphic Journalism in England during the 1830s and 1840s* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 281.

- 52 Julian Treuherz, *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art*, exh. cat. (London: Lund Humphries Ltd., 1987), 53.
- 53 Documentation of the mismanagement of the Crimean War had a particular impact on British art. See Matthew Paul Lalumia, *Realism and Politics in Victorian Art of the Crimean War* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984). Hills has commented on the reportorial objectivity of Winslow Homer's Civil War painting *Prisoners from the Front*, 1866 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), as well as of war photography by Timothy O'Sullivan. (Hills, 68).
- 54 See Marianne Doezema, *American Realism and the Industrial Age*, exh. cat. (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 31.
- 55 "Broadway, Opposite Fulton Street," *Harper's Weekly* 4 (1860), 106.
- 56 "The Riots," *Harper's Weekly* 7 (1863), 482.
- 57 In the text accompanying *The Boston Common*, a New York woman wrote, "For the children, however, it is a delightful place; and when I think of the agonies the poor little things endure, pent up in your wretched steaming city, during the hot months of summer, and of the dangers of your parks and squares, infested as they are by the worst class of people, I confess I envied the Boston mothers their advantages" ("Life in Boston," *Harper's Weekly* 2 [1858], 329).
- 58 "May Day in the Country; May Day in the City," *Harper's Weekly* 3 (1859), 280–81; and "A Snow Slide in the City; Sleighing in the Country," *Harper's Weekly* 4 (1860), 25–26.
- 59 "Swinging in the Park," *Harper's Weekly* 15 (1871), 634. The kind of nostalgia for the simpler pleasures of the country implicit in this and other editorial remarks was another aspect of Currier and Ives' financial success. "They ignored such pressing realities as slavery and the grimmer aspects of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization. For commercial reasons, their vision was selective (Amy Solomon and Suzanne Wittebort, "Currier and Ives Prints in the Yale University Art Gallery," in *The Mabel Brady Garvan Galleries: American Arts and the American Experience*, ed. Jay Cantor [Newtown]: Yale University Art Gallery, {1973}, 31).
- 60 "A Difference of Opinion," *Harper's Weekly* 3 (1859), 212.
- 61 "Thanksgiving Day, 1860. The Two Great Classes of Society," *Harper's Weekly* 4 (1860), 760–61. Homer had drawn a similar juxtaposition for Christmas, 1859.
- 62 "The 'Wickedest Man' as He Is," *Harper's Weekly* 12 (1868), 505–6.
- 63 "Home and Foreign Gossip," *Harper's Weekly* 13 (1869), 414.
- 64 "Station-House Lodgers," *Harper's Weekly* 18 (1874), 133–34.
- 65 "Tenement Life in New York—Sketches in Bottle Alley," *Harper's Weekly* 23 (1879), 226.
- 66 "An Emigrants' Boarding House," *Harper's Weekly* 17 (1873), 922. The boarding house pictured here was a way station for emigrants to the American West. This print was one of the first in a series drawn by Jules Tavernier and Paul Frenzeny, artists commissioned by *Harper's Weekly* to record life on the frontier. See Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850–1900* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 97.
- 67 "The Italian Boys," *Harper's Weekly* 17 (1873), 802.
- 68 "New York's 'Little Italy,'" *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 66 (1888), 415.
- 69 A discussion of the turn-of-the-century effort to establish photography as an "art" form offers insight into the "formal criteria" of contemporary painting. See Patricia Hills, *Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs, 1890–1910*, exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977), 105–16.

- 70 Artists like John Falconer, Mary Nimmo Moran, and John Henry Twachtman made a few prints whose images might be considered urban. Their primary emphasis, as in Twachtman's *Bridgeport Shanties*, however, was the "charm" of the "old and battered." For a discussion of the way in which urban and industrial motifs became acceptable components of the picturesque mode, see Francis D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Arthur Elton (1947; reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1968), 85. Similarly, Henry Farrer's series of views of New York buildings were a record of historic structures soon to be lost rather than a study of the urban environment. There is also evidence suggesting Farrer himself did not consider them worthy of comparison with his later, more pastoral images. See Matthew S. Marks, "Henry Farrer's Early Etchings of New York," *Imprint* 7 (Spring 1982), 2–6.
- 71 "American Opium Smokers," *Harper's Weekly* 25 (1881), 646.
- 72 "An Eviction in the Tenement District of the City of New York," *Harper's Weekly* 34 (1890), 85.
- 73 See Maria Naylor, *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861–1900, in Two Volumes* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973).
- 74 "A Night Scene in the Bowery," *Harper's Weekly* 25 (1881), 134.
- 75 The complete quotation is: "Illustrations differ from the so-called fine arts' drawing—the pastels, watercolors and prints—in their commercial purpose, their mass audience and their collaborative aspects. First, illustrations are commissioned to elucidate a written text or harmonize with it; as editorial cartoons they may stand in place of a text. Second, they were meant to be reproduced for a mass audience. Third, the editor or publisher often had specific requirements about size, format and style; often editors, writers and the illustrators worked in collaboration to produce the final graphic design" (Hills, *Turn-of-the-Century America*, 89).
- 76 The cited example is taken from Naylor, II:917. However, similarly narrative titles are found in the first half of the century as well. See, for example, George Harvey's 1842 entry *A Road Accident, a Glimpse through an Opening of the Primitive Forest, Thornville, Ohio* listed in *The National Academy of Design Exhibition, 1826–1860: in Two Volumes* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1943), I:214.
- 77 *Loan Exhibition in Aid of the Society of Decorative Art, 1878* (New York: National Academy of Design, 1878), 10.
- 78 *Catalogue of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Exhibition (from April 2 to May 12, 1883)* (New York: National Academy of Design, 1883), number 58.
- 79 "The steel engraved illustrations [of gift books] were often lavishly detailed copies of famous paintings by American and European artists . . . The popularity of gift books encouraged illustrators to do more and better work, and Americans who bought them 'learned to look at a book in a way only the elite had done before—that is, as something to treasure, like a work of art'" (Katherine Martinez, "'Messengers of Love, Tokens of Friendship:' Gift-Book Illustrations by John Sartain," in *The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Gerald W. R. Ward (Winterthur: Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987), 89.
- 80 Mott, I:436.
- 81 See Hills, *Turn-of-the-Century America*, 144–66; Richard S. Field, "Introduction to A Study of American Prints 1900–1950," in *American Prints 1900–1950*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1983); Emily Bardack Kies, *The City and the Machine: Urban and Industrial Illustration in America, 1880–1900* (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1983); and Robin Jaffee Frank, *In the Good Old Summertime: American Prints and Drawings, 1850–1910*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1986).

Abbreviations

Relevant sources have been abbreviated as follows in the checklist of the exhibition.

Appleton's
Appleton's Journal

Ballou's
Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion

Harper's Weekly
Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization

Frank Leslie's
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper

American Art: 1750–1800
American Art: 1750–1800; Towards Independence. exh. cat.
New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1976.

American Printmaking
American Printmaking: The First 150 Years. exh. cat.
Washington, D.C.: The Museum of Graphic Art,
Smithsonian Press, 1969.

Andrews
Andrews, William Loring.
New Amsterdam, New Orange, and New York.
New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1897.

Asher
Asher, G. M.
*Bibliographical and Historical Essay on Dutch Books and
Pamphlets Relating to New Netherland.*
Amsterdam: F. Muller, 1854–67.

Cantor
Cantor, Jay E.
*The Landscape of Change: Views of Rural New England,
1790–1865.* exh. cat.
Sturbridge: Old Sturbridge Village, 1976.

Colonial Order of the Acorn
*Views of Early New York with Illustrative Sketches Prepared
for the New York Chapter of the Colonial Order of the Acorn.*
New York, 1904.

Cresswell
Cresswell, Donald H.
*The American Revolution in Drawings and Prints: A Check-
list of 1765–1790 Graphics in the Library of Congress.*
Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1975.

Davidson

Davidson, Marshall B.

Life in America. 2 vols.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951.

Deák

Deák, Gloria Gilda.

Picturing America 1497–1899: Prints, Maps, and Drawings Bearing on the New World Discoveries and on the Development of the Territory That Is Now the United States. 2 vols.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Foster

Foster, Allen Evarts.

“Check List of Illustrations by Winslow Homer in *Harper’s Weekly* and Other Periodicals.”

Bulletin of the New York Public Library 40 (1936), 842–52.

Fowble

Fowble, E. McSherry.

Two Centuries of Prints in America, 1680–1880:

A Selective Catalogue of Winterthur Museum.

Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987.

Koke

Koke, Richard J.

A Checklist of the American Engravings of John Hill (1770–1850), Master of Aquatint.

New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1961.

Merritt

Merritt, Howard S.

The Genessee Country. exh. cat.

Rochester: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1976.

Naeve

Naeve, Milo M.

John Lewis Krimmel: An Artist in Federal America.

Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987.

Pyne

The Notable Collection of Views of New York and Other American Cities Formed by Mr. Percy R. Pyne, 2d.

New York: American Art Galleries, 1917.

Peters

Peters, Harry T.

Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American People. 2 vols.

Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929–31.

Reps

Reps, John W.

Views and Viewmakers of Urban America: Lithographs of Towns and Cities in the United States and Canada, Notes on the Artists and Publishers, and a Union Catalog of Their Work, 1825–1925.

Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984.

Snyder

Snyder, Martin P.

City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia Before 1800.

New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Stauffer

Stauffer, David McNeely.

American Engravers upon Copper and Steel. 2 vols.

New York: The Grolier Club of the City of New York, 1907.

Stokes

Stokes, I. N. Phelps.

Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1908. 6 vols. 1915.

Reprint. New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1967.

Stokes and Haskell

Stokes, I. N. Phelps, and Daniel C. Haskell.

American Historical Prints. 2 vols.

New York: The New York Public Library, 1932–33.

Valentine’s Manual

Index to the Illustrations in the Manuals of the Corporation of the City of New York 1841–1870.

New York: Society of Iconophiles, 1906.

CHECKLIST

Unless otherwise noted,
dimensions are of the full
sheet.

- 1 **Peter Schenk** (1645–1715)
Nieu Amsterdam, 1702
Colored engraving, first state, 216 x 268 (plate)
Colonial Order of the Acorn 5; *Valentine's Manual*
1851; Stokes I:220; Pyne 13
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1976

- 2 **Thomas Johnston** (ca. 1708–1767)
*Quebec, The Capital of New-France, A Bishopricks,
and Seat of the Soverain Court*, 1759
Engraving and etching, first state,
175 x 228 (borderline)
Boston Gazette, 13 August 1759; *Boston News-Letter*, 16
August 1759; Stauffer 1505; Stokes and Haskell
P.1758—B-17; *American Art: 1750–1800*
70; Fowble 256 variant; Deák 78
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1951.22.2

- 3 **Pierre-Charles Canot** (1710–1777),
after Thomas Howdell (d.1770 ?)
*A South East View of the City of New York, in North
America*, 1768
Etching and engraving, third state, 362 x 530 (plate)
Andrews; *Valentine's Manual* 1866; Stokes I:295; Pyne
25; Stokes and Haskell C.1763—B-84; Cresswell 551;
Fowble 26; Deák 115
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.288

- 4 **William Birch** (1755–1834) and **Thomas Birch**
(1779–1851)
*South East Corner of Third, and Market Streets.
Philadelphia*, 1799
Colored engraving, 276 x 329 (plate)
Stauffer 186; Stokes and Haskell 1798–1800—D-22;
Snyder 205; Deák 228:7
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1973

- 5 **William Birch** (1755–1834) and **Thomas Birch**
(1779–1851)
Back of the State House, Philadelphia, 1799
Colored engraving, 274 x 322 (plate)
Stauffer 182; Stokes and Haskell 1798–1800—D-22;
Snyder 220; Deák 228:22
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1970

- 6 **Hazen Morse** (1818–1843),
after Susan Batchelder Green (1794–1860)
*A View of the Town of Haverhill, Mass. Taken from
a Position near Bradford Academy*, 1819
Colored aquatint, 470 x 667
cf. Stokes and Haskell 1850—G-4; Cantor
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.2119
- 7 **Thomas Kensett** (1786–1829)
Brother Jonathans Soliloquy on the Times, ca. 1819
Colored engraving, 256 x 352 (irregular)
Stauffer 1639
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1954.5.2
- 8 **Joseph Yeager** (ca. 1792–1859),
after John Lewis Krimmel (1789–1821)
Procession of Victuallers of Philadelphia, 1821
Colored aquatint, 564 x 737
Stauffer 3438; *American Printmaking* 115;
Naeve 105
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.2116
- 9 **Alexander Lawson** (1773–1846),
after John Lewis Krimmel (1789–1821)
The Election Day in Philadelphia, 1821
Etching and engraving, 420 x 632
Stauffer 1692; Fowble 240; Naeve 108
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.2117
- 10 **John Hill** (1770–1850),
after William Guy Wall (1792–after 1863)
New York from Weehawk, 1823
Colored etching and aquatint, 514 x 724 (plate)
Commercial Advertiser, 26 June 1823 & 2 July 1823;
Stokes III:577; Stokes and Haskell C.1820–23—E-98;
Stauffer-Fielding 616; Koke 95; Deák 336
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.284
- 11 **W. H. Tuthill** (active 1825–after 1830)
Clinton Fire Company No. 41, 1825
Lithograph, 248 x 201
Stokes and Haskell 1825—E59A-a
Yale University Art Gallery. 1985.5.1
- 12 **John Hill** (1770–1850), after O. Neely
*Matteawan. Manufacturing Village, Near Fishkill
Landing. N. York*, 1832
Colored aquatint, 498 x 657 (irregular)
Stauffer 1344; Pyne 443; Koke 145
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1872
- 13 **John Hill** (1770–1850),
after Thomas Hornor (active NYC 1828–1844)
Broadway, New-York, 1836
Colored aquatint and etching, second state, 559 x 783
Stauffer 1325; Stokes and Haskell P.1835—E-103;
Koke 152; Fowble 262; Deák 431
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.293
- 14 **Fitz Hugh Lane** (1804–1865)
View of the Town of Gloucester, Mass., 1836
Colored lithograph, 457 x 603
Pyne 432; Stokes and Haskell C.1835—F-47;
Wilmerding 143; Reys 1449; Deák 442
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1754
- 15 **John H. Bufford** (1810–1870),
after John T. Young (ca. 1814–1842)
*The Upper Falls of the Genessee at Rochester N.Y.
From the East*, ca. 1836
Colored lithograph, 460 x 546
Stokes and Haskell P.1835—F-48; Merritt 58;
Reps 2857; Deák 447
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1795
- 16 **John Rubens Smith** (1775–1849)
*A South West View of Sanderson's Franklin House
Chestnut St. Philadelphia*, 1844–45
Aquatint, etching, and engraving, 352 x 494
Stauffer 2935; Fowble 249
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1788
- 17 **Nathaniel Currier** (1813–1888)
*View of the Terrific Explosion at the Great Fire in
New York. From Broad St.—July 19th 1845*, 1845
Colored lithograph, 307 x 400
Peters 4072
Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1631

- 18 **James Brown** (active NYC 1844–1855)
Dancing for Eels. A Scene from Baker's New Play of "New York As It Is," As Performed at the Chatham Theatre New-York, 1848
 Colored lithograph, 328 x 453
 Davidson II:21
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.605
- 19 **Nathaniel Currier** (1813–1888)
Great Riot at the Astor Place Opera House, New York, on Thursday Evening May 10th, 1849, 1849
 Colored lithograph, 340 x 452
 Peters 4053
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.2115
- 20 **Isidore Deroy** (1797–1886),
 after August Köllner (1813–1907)
Broad-Way, 1850
 Colored lithograph, 340 x 469
 cf. Fowble 263
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.226
- 21 **Edward Sachse** (1804–1873) [James T. Palmatary]
View of Indianapolis, 1854
 Color lithograph, 576 x 912
 Stokes C.1854; Repts 967
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1868
- 22 **J. W. Brightly**, after Charles A. Barry (1830–1892)
Boston Street Characters, 1855
 Wood engraving from *Ballou's*, 383 x 270
 Clarence P. Hornung Collection
 Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 23 **Winslow Homer** (1836–1910)
Corner of Winter, Washington and Summer Streets, Boston, 1857
 Wood engraving from *Ballou's*, 379 x 263 (irregular)
 Foster 137
 Gift of Allen Evarts Foster, B.A. 1906. 1965.33.377
- 24 **Winslow Homer** (1836–1910)
The Boston Common, 1858
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 278 x 391
 Foster 7
 Gift of Allen Evarts Foster, B.A. 1906. 1965.33.301
- 25 **Nathaniel Currier** (1813–1888)
 and **James M. Ives** (1824–1895)
Burning of the New York Crystal Palace, on Tuesday Oct. 6 1858, 1858
 Colored lithograph, 520 x 721
 Pyne 245; Peters 4062
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1626
- 26 **J. P. Newell** (active 1858–1866)
Lazell, Perkins & Co. Bridgewater, Mass., ca. 1860
 Colored lithograph, 448 x 567
 Davidson I:534
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1746
- 27 Attributed to **Louis Maurer** (1832–1932)
The Great Exhibition of 1860, 1860
 Lithograph, 343 x 456
 Peters 1640
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.2121
- 28 **Winslow Homer** (1836–1910)
Thanksgiving Day, 1860. The Two Great Classes of Society, 1860
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*,
 407 x 560 (irregular)
 Foster 35
 Gift of Allen Evarts Foster, B.A. 1906. 1965.33.325
- 29 **Anonymous**
View of Broadway, Opposite Fulton Street, New York, 1860
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 392 x 568
 Yale University Art Gallery. 1988.1.11

- 30 **Winslow Homer** (1836–1910)
Skating on the Ladies' Skating-Pond in the Central Park, 1860
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 391 x 562
 Foster 32
 Gift of Allen Evarts Foster, B.A. 1906. 1965.33.322
- 31 **Louis Kurz** (1835–1921)
Watertown, Wis. From the Milwaukee & Western R.R. Bridge, ca. 1862
 Color lithograph, 442 x 610
 Repts 4456 (gives date ca. 1857)
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1749
- 32 **Anonymous**
The Starving People of New Orleans Fed by the United States Military Authorities, 1862
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 270 x 401 (irregular)
 Yale University Art Gallery. 1984.3.29
- 33 **Anonymous**
The Riots at New York, 1863
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 398 x 279 (irregular)
 Clarence P. Hornung Collection
 Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 34 **Anonymous**
Grand Demonstration of the Democracy in New York City, 1868
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 260 x 384
 Clarence P. Hornung Collection
 Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 35 **Anonymous**
Sunday Morning in the Fourth Ward, New York, 1868
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 278 x 405
 Clarence P. Hornung Collection
 Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 36 **Speer**, after Thomas Hogan
Great Railway Station at Chicago—Departure of a Train, 1869
 Wood engraving from *Appleton's*, 428 x 562
 Private collector
- 37 **D. E. Wyand**
The Squatters of New York—Scene Near Central Park, 1869
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 391 x 253 (irregular)
 Clarence P. Hornung Collection
 Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 38 **LAG**, after Arthur Lumley (ca. 1837–1912)
Out-Door Summer Amusements—The Swings in Central Park, 1871
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 261 x 398
 Clarence P. Hornung Collection
 Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 39 **Lagarde**, after Jules Tavernier (1844–1889)
Washington Market, New York—Thanksgiving Time, 1872
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 405 x 565
 Everett V. Meeks, B. A. 1901, Fund. 1989.2.6
- 40 **Charles R. Parsons and Lyman W. Atwater**
The City of Boston, 1873
 Colored lithograph, 658 x 908
 Peters 3928
 Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. 1946.9.1562
- 41 **Edward Austin Abbey** (1852–1911)
The Fog-Bell, 1873
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 403 x 281
 Yale University Art Gallery. 1984.3.27a
- 42 **Edward Austin Abbey** (1852–1911),
 after Gray Parker
"Fire! Fire!"—A New Yorker's Nightmare, 1873
 Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 403 x 281
 Yale University Art Gallery. 1984.3.27b

- 43 **C. Maurand**, after Jules Tavernier (1844–1889) and Paul Frenzeny (1840–1902)
Emigrants Boarding House, in New York, 1873
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 405 x 550
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 44 **C. Maurand**, after A. Gault
The Italian Boys in New York—Tortures of the Training-Room, 1873
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 269 x 398
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 45 **Winslow Homer** (1846–1910)
Station-House Lodgers, 1874
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 278 x 403
Foster 114
Gift of Allen Evarts Foster, B.A. 1906. 1965.33.366
- 46 **William Allen Rogers** (1854–1931)
Tenement Life in New York—Rag-Pickers' Court, Mulberry Street, 1879
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 378 x 255
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 47 **John White Alexander** (1856–1915)
American Opium-Smokers—Interior of a New York Opium Den, 1881
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 268 x 404
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 48 **Lagarde**, after Henry Muhrman (1854–1916)
A Night Scene in the Bowery, New York, 1881
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 404 x 260
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 49 **J.B.**, after C. Upham
A Growing Metropolitan Evil—Scene in an Opium Den, in Pell Street, Frequented by Working Girls, 1883
Wood engraving from *Frank Leslie's*, 402 x 258
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 50 **George Inness, Jr.** (1853–1926)
The Streets of New York after a Snow-Storm, 1884
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 395 x 269
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 51 **Thure de Thulstrup** (1848–1930)
General Grant's Funeral—The Procession Passing Up Fifth Avenue, 1885
Colored wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 575 x 840
Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund. 1986.45.9
- 52 **C. Upham**
New York City. Building Contrasts—A Modern Flat on the West Side, Near Central Park, and Its Humble Neighbors, 1889
Wood engraving from *Frank Leslie's*, 398 x 285 (irregular)
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 53 **Charles Mente** (1857–1933)
An Eviction in the Tenement District of the City of New York, 1890
Wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 268 x 398
Clarence P. Hornung Collection
Arts of the Book, Sterling Memorial Library
- 54 **Joseph Klir**
The Lost Bet, 1893
Chromolithograph, 503 x 762
Emerson Tuttle, B.A. 1914, Print Fund. 1987.36.1

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

