Nineteenth Century New Jersey Photographers Revision of illustrated article in *New Jersey History*, Fall/Winter 2004

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By 1900, approximately 3,000 individuals had worked in New Jersey as professional or serious amateur photographers but only a handful have reputations that have survived into the 21st century. Most of us have seen an imprinted name on the back an old photograph and wondered who that person was who took the photograph. Where did the photographer come from? Did he or she have a family? Was photography just a short-term vocation or a long-term career? If an address is also imprinted, when did the photographer work at that location?

To some extent, this essay—which provides selected information about approximately 10 percent of the photographers known to have worked in the state in the 1800s—is a work in progress that aims toward a biographical directory of nineteenth century New Jersey photographers. Included is information about, and examples of, the work of these photographers, most of whom achieved notable success in their lifetimes. The directory will include data about all the photographers that have come to my attention with the help of numerous archivists, librarians, researchers, and collectors.²

This article begins with an overview of photography in New Jersey, on both the professional front, with a subsection on stereographic view makers, and on the amateur front, featuring the development of camera clubs. It will then examine professional photography in New Jersey's seven largest cities, particularly the largest, Newark, which had numerous photographic establishments. (While some residents of Essex, Hudson, and other counties near New York patronized Manhattan portrait studios, they had ample and often lower priced alternatives closer to home.) Newark also was nineteenth century New Jersey's center for manufacturing photographic materials for local, New York, and even national markets. Consequently, the Newark section of the article includes a summary of photographic manufacturing and developments in photographic technology associated with the city. Following Newark, the next six largest cities are discussed in order of size in 1890: Jersey City, Paterson, Camden, Trenton, Hoboken, and Elizabeth. The article then continues with a survey of photography in the towns and villages in New Jersey's twenty-one counties, treated alphabetically by county. Finally, it concludes with an alphabetical list of those photographers mentioned in this article.

Here, and in the future directory, excluded are those photographers who were born before 1900 but who did not become active in New Jersey until after the turn of the century. Also, individuals born in New Jersey who left the state before they became photographers are, with a few notable exceptions, excluded. New Jersey was the birthplace of a number of famous photographers, who regrettably for the state's photographic history, left in their youth.

For example, Augustus Washington, renowned African American daguerreotypist, was born in 1820 in Trenton, but probably did not practice in the state before attending Dartmouth College. Remaining in New England, he made portraits in New Hampshire and later in Connecticut before immigrating to Liberia in 1853. Among his subjects in 1846 or 1847 was the abolitionist John Brown. In 1864, legendary photographer, editor, and New York art gallery operator Alfred Stieglitz was born in Hoboken and he was proud of it. But his only positively identified photographs of a New Jersey subject were of a swimming pool in Deal. Some of his views of New York may have been taken from the Jersey side of the Hudson but even so, his adult associations with New Jersey were limited. Both Stieglitz and Dorothea Lange, another Hoboken native born in 1895 and well known for her Depression-era photographs, including migrant workers in New Jersey, were featured in the "Masters of American Photography" set of twenty postage stamps issued in 2001 by the United States Postal Service.

City directories and census records list many professional photographers who are not known to have operated their own business in the state. Some worked for other photographers in New Jersey; others commuted to New York or Philadelphia. While commuters are counted as New Jersey photographers in the directory, most are not discussed in this article, although a few are identified. Similarly, only one photographer who retired to New Jersey after a career elsewhere is included.

An Overview of Professional Photography in New Jersey

Photography was introduced to the public in 1839, principally by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in France and William Henry Fox Talbot in England. By the fall of 1839, there were experimenters in the United States, including inventor and machinist Seth Boyden, Jr. (1788-1870) of Newark, New Jersey. Although it is unlikely that he "produced the first daguerreotype in this country," as stated on a tablet under his statue in Washington Park, located near the location of his machine shop, Boyden certainly was among the first Americans to try the process and perhaps the first in the state. For his own use, he built a one-of-a-kind daguerreotype camera, now at the Newark Museum, which incorporated a mirror to reverse the image. Since daguerreotypes normally are laterally reversed, some practitioners would shoot into a mirror set at forty-five degrees when photographing scenes that included street signs; Boyden's camera flipped the image automatically.

Unlike Boyden, who was interested in photography for scientific and technical reasons, most early practitioners were professional portrait photographers. The invention of photography opened a huge market for portraits because most people could not afford to hire a professional portrait painter. As with many technological innovations when first introduced, the daguerreotypes in the early 1840s were still relatively expensive, up to \$4 or \$5 for a sixth plate (the most common size, 2 3/4 by 3 1/4 inches), including presentation case. This was in an era when workers typically made from \$1 to \$3 per day depending on skill level. But by 1850, the price for daguerreotypes gradually had declined to fifty cents to a dollar, and small ones could be

had for as low as twenty-five cents. Increasingly affordable to the middle class, daguerreotype portraits were made in the millions in the period 1840 to 1855.

After 1850, most of the larger towns and cities had at least one or two photographers who established studios that flourished for at least a decade, while many other studios stayed open more briefly. Professional photographers became concentrated in the cities, especially Newark and other urban centers near New York, and portraiture continued to be their largest source of income. The market for commercial photography intended for magazine pages only began to develop significantly in the 1890s after the introduction of halftone reproductions. ¹⁰

Many of the extant records concerning early photographers in New Jersey pertain to studios but the typical daguerreotypist in the early 1840s was an itinerant who stopped his specially equipped horse-drawn wagon at towns, villages, and farmhouses until the modest local demand was exhausted and then moved on, perhaps visiting again the following year. Such was certainly the case in Somerville, where a long series of daguerreotypists advertised in the local newspapers that they had taken a room over a local store or at the Courthouse for a few days or weeks and would be available for sittings. One early itinerant was James Ackerman, said to be from Philadelphia, who stayed in Somerville in June 1841. He advertised that he could make daguerreotypes with exposures from one to three minutes, indicating that he was not yet familiar with "accelerators" (especially bromine fuming) that made the plate much more sensitive and, by shortening the exposure time, vastly increased the clarity of the results.

After the late 1840s, when studios were well established in the larger towns and cities (fig. 1), traveling daguerreotypists continued to operate in rural areas. For example, in about 1850, young H.C. Baird, a Hunterdon County native who grew up in Neshanic in Somerset County, became a traveling daguerreotypist, operating in Readington, Clover Hill, Stanton, Blawenberg, Zion, Mt. Rose, and other hamlets in and near Somerset County, before opening a studio in Rahway. 12 In the 1860s and 1870s, a few photographers such as S.S. Teel (Hope), Frank Z. Fritz, (Lambertville), G.M. Primrose (Belvidere), and Edward C. Haines (Woodstown) still billed themselves as "traveling artists." Their cartes de visite (albumen prints mounted on cards approximately 2 1/4 by 4 inches) could be considered photographic folk art in their resemblance to painted portraits that usually presented figures with flat, even lighting and little three-dimensional perspective. Usually looking directly into the camera. subjects stood or sat in stereotypical poses with modest studio furnishings and accessories (fig. 2). But by 1860, the heyday of the itinerant had long since passed: in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, most rural New Jerseyans had their pictures taken in established studios when they "came to town" for business or pleasure.

Nineteenth century photographic galleries promoted their services through a number of methods, including listings in business directories, newspaper advertisements, and on-site promotions. In the daguerreian era and later, the larger studios had galleries with sample pictures on display. For example, Robert M. Boggs of New Brunswick advertised in 1856, "It will afford satisfaction if the reader will call and

examine the large collection of specimens, whether in want of pictures or not. Gallery free to all." One visitor, Alexander Donaldson, wrote in 1858, "We saw as fine pictures . . . as we have ever seen in the most noted New York establishments." ¹⁵

Daguerreotypists also often used poems in their newspaper ads to attract attention. The following is fairly typical:

Farewell! and as thou leavest me now, Away my tears I'll wipe, But as to Fate's storm I will bow, Thoul't leave thy Daguerreotype,

Sung the disconsolate maiden to her lover, so they journied to J. McPherson Bowlby's Gallery, over Stevens & Vroom's Hardware Store, Somerville, and had his picture taken. It was so life-like the maiden wept over it again and again. ¹⁶

Other daguerreotypists sought to attract customers with less emotional but more dignified ads signifying their competence, as did George W. Prosch in the *Princeton Whig*, April 21, 1848:

Mr. Prosch respectfully gives notice to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Princeton and vicinity of his return and having increased facility by reason of various and superior instruments, suited to the different kinds of Likenesses, and having had much experience in the Daguerreotype art since last here, he with increased confidence offers his services to this respectable community, most heartily wishing to Daguerreotype every one of them. Mr. P. has taken room in the house next the Bank, recently occupied by Mrs. Skelly, where he will be happy to see his friends who on a former occasion gave him so flattering a reception. Mr. P. is prepared to take the Likenesses of small children having an instrument specially adapted. Also Daguerreotype and other Portraits copied. 17

In the mid-1850s, the daguerreotype was largely superceded by the collodion "wet plate" processes. To make a collodion image, the glass negative (or other support) had to be sensitized in a darkroom (or dark tent) immediately before use and exposed and developed before it dried. Collodion had several applications: paper albumen prints from glass negatives; ambrotypes on glass; and images on blackened sheets of iron (ferrotypes, a.k.a. tintypes). Less commonly, other supports like ceramics and cloth were also used. With the advent of cheaper collodion products, New Jersey photographers updated their technology or went out of the profession. Fewer and fewer daguerreotypes were made after 1855, although the typical folding cases made for daguerreotypes continued to be used to present ambrotypes, tintypes, and occasionally albumen prints into the 1860s.

The portrait market boomed with the onset of the Civil War, prompting a huge demand for cheap portraits of soldiers and their families. Numerous studios offered

inexpensive cartes de visite and tintypes of various sizes. To help pay for the costs of the war, the federal government began taxing photographs (two cents each for photographs under twenty-five cents) and requiring photographers to take out annual licenses.²¹

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, the federal Commissioner of Internal Revenue reported on the total payments by New Jersey photographers in three categories for licenses: \$10 for annual receipts under \$500; \$15 if not over \$1,000; and \$25 for over \$1,000. Based on the revenue in each category, it is possible to estimate the number of photographers in each in New Jersey and its neighboring states (table 1). As the data indicates, fewer photographers operated per person in New Jersey in 1864-1865 than in New York and Pennsylvania. One possible interpretation of this fact is that there were more transient individuals in the big cities of New York and Philadelphia—that is, more commuters and visitors not counted in the census. If the total *daily* population of the cities were included, the photographers per capita would be closer among the three states.

Table 1

New Jersey Photographers: Approximate Number of Licenses,
Fiscal Year 1864-1865²²

State	\$10 licenses	\$15 Licenses	\$25 Licenses	Total Licensed Photographers	Licensed Photographers per resident in 1860
New Jersey	35	30	31	96	1 per 7,000
New York	339	203	221	763	1 per 5,086
Pennsylvania	322	95	125	542	1 per 5,362

By 1870, the larger cabinet card format (4.25 by 6.5 inches) was also popular for portraits. Photographers found that they could use imprints on the back of card mounts as a convenient advertising medium. Morris (or Morriss) Yogg, active in Newark in the 1890s, stated on the verso of his cabinet cards, "If you have beauty, come, we'll take it; if you have none, come, we'll make it." Where Yogg was challenged by lack of beauty, he used accessories in an effort to enhance the sitter's appearance. (fig. 3)

In 1870, 7,558 professional photographers were recorded in the U.S. Census. But New Jersey, as a largely agricultural state, had relatively few (149), as compared to New York (1,298). About half of these 149 had their own studios, with a wide range in the size of the business. Although financial data is not available for 1870, for 1867, there are monthly 5% federal income tax returns at the National Archives. Sixty-four studios reported \$68,151 gross income that year, with more than half earned by only ten:

Revised Table 2 for "Nineteenth Century New Jersey Photographers" ²³

New Jersey Photographers: \$1,000 and Over Gross Incomes in 1867

Name	Location	Gross	# Months in 1867	% of Total Gross ^a
Joseph Kirk	Newark	\$8,374	1007	12.3%
Joseph Kirk				
Ira G. Owen ^b	Newton	\$6,172	12	9.1%
Edward	Newark	\$5,074	10	7.4%
Stoutenbugh ^c				
Logan & Moffett ^d	Newark	\$4,679	12	6.9%
Frank Price	Elizabeth	\$3,720	12	5.5%
Stockton Stokes	Trenton	\$2,580	9	3.9%
John P. Doremus ^e	Paterson	\$2,496	12	3.6%
DeCamp & Crane	Newark	\$2,074	12	3.0%
Kennedy & Schenk	Newark	\$1,806	12	2.6%
Charles E.	Bridgeton	\$1,708	2	2.5%
Edwards ^f				
Royal Hill Rose ⁹	Newark	\$1,612	7	2.4%
David Clark	New Brunswick	\$1,600	12	2.3%
Theodore	Jersey City	\$1,597	12	2.3%
Gubelman				
Emil Spahn	Newark	\$1,321	12	1.9%
John Reid	Paterson	\$1,293	10	1.9%
Morris Moses	Trenton	\$1,234	12	1.8%
Kerston ^h	Newark	\$1,177	12	1.7%
William Westcotti	Bridgeton	\$1,051	7	1.6%
F.L. Huff ^j	Newark	\$1,012	3	1.5%
Total: 19 firms		\$50,580		74.2%
45 Others		\$17,571.7		25.8%

^a Percent of \$68,151.70, the total monthly tax returns for photographers in 1867. Data here does not include \$10 annual special taxes paid by both these firms and lower income photographers who did not pay the monthly taxes. This \$10 special tax was the successor to the earlier licenses described in Table

b Does not include branch studio in Hackettstown, \$491 total, Oct. 1866-Oct. 1867, taxes paid Sept-Oct. 1867.

^c Includes three months in partnership with Royal Hill Rose, January to March.

^d Includes seven months in partnership with Clark (first name not known), June to December.

^e Data includes total for a second location in Paterson, July to December.

^f January and June only.

^g May to November only, after partnership ended with Stoutenburgh.

^h Marcellus Kerston, January to July; Helen Kerston, August to December.

ⁱ June to December only.

^J October to December only.

	0	
Grand Total: 64	\$68,151.7	100%
firms	0	

Note that some of these firms, undoubtedly Kirk, and probably Stoutenburgh and Edwards,²⁴ would appear even more dominant if complete data were available. Moreover, there is no assurance that these photographers reported all of their income, as the income tax was very unpopular. In 1869, the *West Jersey Press* reported, "Probably no law was ever enacted the provision[s] of which were so utterly disregarded or evaded, as the one imposing tax on income."²⁵

Table 2 provides evidence that the largest firms were almost all in the major cities, particularly Newark (these four studios were all on Broad Street within a short distance of each other). But more surprising is the impressive business Owen did in Newton, which had a population of only 2,403 in 1870. At this time, cartes de visite generally sold for \$2 per dozen, ²⁶ so at this price Owen would have had to have made 37,032 (3,086 dozen) in just one year to gross \$6,172. His tax returns reveal that he maintained his volume in August (\$565), when most of the others had a slow month; in fact, August was an above average month for him. This is a strong indicator that vacationers in Sussex County visited his studio and also that there still was a veritable craze for portraits at this time, even though there were complaints by some professional photographers of a decline in demand after the Civil War. Customers bought numerous copies, assembled albums, and traded extras with friends and family. As a result of their huge production volumes, Kirk's and Owen's cartes de viste are still frequently encountered today in archival and personal collections.

In the late nineteenth century, the number of residents and photographers in New Jersey rapidly increased as a result of immigration from Europe and in response to the development of the Jersey shore as a summer destination for both in and out of state middle class families. The year-round population of Atlantic City increased from 250 in 1855 to more than 27,000 in 1900. Asbury Park, founded in 1870, had about 15,000 summer residents in 1881 and by 1900 could accommodate 25,000 daily visitors. Visitors came to the shore in steamboats and on railroads built in the 1870s and 1880s. Having pictures taken became part of the vacation experience and photographers opened busy studios near what had been lonely sand dunes a few years before.

In addition to resort-related photography, the demand for portraits at town and city studios also remained strong. Immigrants desired portraits to send to their relatives in Europe. Families whose children had gone West to seek their fortunes exchanged photographs with their loved ones. Social and business organizations trooped to the local photographer to have pictures made of all their members. Portraits were made to mark important life transitions such as graduations and marriages. Thus the town photographer contributed to the fabric of community life, creating visual documents of family history. On occasion, they ventured out of the studio to record local scenes and make photographs for businesses and other institutions.

Between 1880 and 1900, the population of New Jersey increased by two-thirds to 1.9 million, with about half of all residents in Essex, Hudson, and Passaic counties. During this twenty years, the number of professional photographers more than doubled. The 1900 federal census recorded 618 male photographers, including two African Americans. I could not locate the number of female New Jersey photographers in 1900 but nationally 13% were women. By 1940, there were 1,224 professionals in New Jersey, including 122 females.

Although some New Jersey professionals joined the National Photographic Association formed in 1869 or local camera clubs beginning in the 1880s, they eventually had their own organization, The Professional Photographers' Association of New Jersey, founded in 1909. But the heyday of the professional portrait studios ended by 1920, as families often were satisfied with their own snapshots. Although professional portrait photography continued in the twentieth century, photographers increasingly made a living photographing social occasions (especially weddings) and school classes; others specialized in news, magazine, industrial, scientific, forensic, or advertising photography.

Stereographic and Other Views

Historian Martha Sandweiss has drawn a useful distinction between public and private photographs: "If private photographs, the vast majority of which were portraits, were made for particular clients and designed to be held and used as private mementoes, public photographs were produced for less personal uses, and intended to be distributed through exhibition, publication, or sale." In New Jersey, as elsewhere, professional photographers produced views for sale of local scenery, buildings, and other subjects in the stereographic and other formats. The stereograph, with its pair of images viewed through a stereoscope, created a dynamic three-dimensional spatial illusion that increased its marketability.

From the late 1850s to about 1880, the vast majority of stereographic images were exposed on collodion glass plate negatives and contact printed in sunlight on albumen paper. Photographers were able to stop motion in street scenes only taken at a distance, such as from second-story windows. After 1880, photographers used gelatin dry plates for their negatives, gradually changing to film negatives beginning about 1890. Unlike collodion negatives, gelatin dry plates and film came in the box ready to use and were several times more sensitive to light, shortening exposure times and improving stop action photography. By 1900, silver gelatin prints developed in the darkroom had supplanted albumen for stereographs.

While most professional photographers in nineteenth century New Jersey worked in the field of portraiture, approximately 150 are known to have made stereographs, most in addition to other types of photography.³³ The actual number is probably higher, as documentation of occasional stereographic activity by portrait specialists is difficult to find. Several view makers are discussed in the ensuing geographic sections.

Unlike portraits for individual customers, genre scenes or images of tourist attractions in the stereo format offered the possibility of selling numerous copies of a single view, if the subject had appeal to either local residents or tourists. In the era before photographically illustrated magazines, movie theaters, and television, many New Jerseyans had collections of stereographic views that allowed them to make the nineteenth century's version of virtual reality trips to California, Europe, and other places of particular interest. Consequently, they would have had hand-held or tabletop stereoscopes to enable them to see local scenes in 3-D. Gustavus Pach (Long Branch and Ocean Grove), Guillermo Thorn (Plainfield), and other photographers found that they could sell stereographs taken at the Jersey shore to tourists and local residents, such as Pach's view of President Grant at his cottage in Elberon.³⁴

Pach also must have done a good business in Ocean Grove, making stereos of crowds in front of the cottages at which they stayed or on the beach listening (fully dressed) to sermons (figs. 4 & 5). Stereos of disasters such as major fires and shipwrecks also found a ready market. How many were sold is unknown; what we do know is that although many different views were available for sale (Pach alone offered approximately 800) most stereographs issued before 1900 by New Jersey photographers are uncommon or rare today. 35

New Jersey photographers producing stereographs of the Jersey shore had competition from out-of-state publishers. The first was probably E. & H.T. (Edward and Henry T.) Anthony of New York, who marketed 10,000 different worldwide views by 1881. Anthony issued a series of seventeen stereographs, "Up and Down the Shrewsbury," in 1859-1860. Near the end of the century, Keystone, Underwood & Underwood, B.W. Kilburn, and both other out-of-state giants of the industry and less prominent firms also produced New Jersey views. 37

Photographers who produced scenic stereographic views often made prints of the same or similar subjects available in other formats. In 1872, John Reid, Jr. exhibited at the American Institute: "Quite a large space was occupied by the excellent rendering of Mr. J. Reid, of Paterson. His specialty is out-door work of large size, consisting of bridges, locomotives, residences, landscapes, etc." Reid (1805-1882) made about 200 stereographs of local scenery, but one could also buy similar or the same subjects in a cabinet card or larger print from him. (fig. 6) Since high quality enlargements were not feasible before gelatin silver bromide papers became generally available ca. 1890, photographers wanting a large picture needed to make contact prints from same-sized glass negatives taken with heavy, bulky cameras. Given the investment of time, energy, and expense, photographers would not often use such cameras unless they were sure that they had a buyer for the results.

In addition to making stereo views that they hoped to sell in quantity, photographers also sold single or small numbers of views to individual customers of their houses. J.C. Scott of New Brunswick advertised, "Buildings Photographed and Stereoscopic Pictures Made to Order." The Pine Brothers made views of residences

in the Trenton area, including one of mine which much to my surprise I found at the Trentoniana collection at the Trenton Free Public Library. It may be presumed that most such views that survive are unique and many may be hidden away in family collections and inaccessible to researchers. Some are on cards without photographer identification, probably by itinerants. A few customers asked that photographers make portraits in the stereo format; one in my collection of a baby by Frank Fritz of Lambertville is distinguished only by its unusual format (fig. 7).

Amateur Photography

Few amateurs used the daguerreotype process because it was complicated, relatively expensive, and used highly toxic chemicals. It required intensive polishing of the silver coated copper plate and fuming with iodine, bromine, and mercury vapors. Collodion processes, introduced in the 1850s, were less expensive to produce than the daguerreotype but there were still many steps involved. And the collodion process employed silver nitrate, which stained fingers and could ruin clothes, and potentially lethal potassium cyanide, the preferred fixer for glass plate negatives.⁴⁰

Among the few hardy amateurs who practiced wet plate photography was a New Yorker, Frederick F. Thompson, who traveled through New Jersey and Pennsylvania in May 1862 and recounted his adventures in "Two Weeks on the Road by a Straggling Amateur" in the *American Journal of Photography*. Thompson managed to make four pictures in Pompton. His published comments that New Jersey inns were bug infested and that the locals were sots and idiots hardly encouraged photographic tourism to the Garden State.

With the growing distribution and popularity of gelatin dry plates around 1880, followed by portable cameras and then roll film in 1888, amateur snapshot photography began to spread rapidly. (The most obsessed with their new hobby were known as "photographic fiends.") To the benefit of both amateurs and professionals, "gaslight" papers were introduced: photographic paper sold with a gelatin coating impregnated with light sensitive silver salts that could be printed at night with artificial light instead of in the sun as was required for albumen. This paper could also be used for enlargements from small negatives. Gelatin printing out paper (P.O.P.), printed in sunlight, also came into use as another convenient alternative to albumen paper, which had to be sensitized by the photographer.

In the 1880s and 1890s, other printing papers became available as well. While silver gelatin papers were the most widely used both by amateurs and professionals after about 1890, collodion, platinum, and, steadily declining in popularity, albumen prints were also made. Amateurs, such as William Dayton Rosencrantz (1852-1915), who lived in The Hermitage, now a musum in Ho-Ho-Kus, generally used silver gelatin, still available today for black-and-white printing, or cyanotype, a blue print which required only water for processing. Among Rosencrantz' photographs are humorous self-portraits taken outdoors, for example, balancing a broom on his chin (fig. 8) or standing with his "caddie" dog holding a golf club in its mouth. While professionals

occasionally did such intentionally funny shots in the studio, it is not until the amateur era begins that frequent attempts at were made at "stopping time," showing the delight that people often felt when first using cameras.

While some camera enthusiasts were content to be self-taught and share their informal photos with family and friends, others sought opportunities for education, competitive exhibitions, and recognition for their work by joining photographic societies. The most ambitious (and usually wealthy) club members sent their photographs to international juried salons held all over the world; the first one in New Jersey was the Princeton salon of 1935-1936.⁴³

Among the first such organizations in New Jersey were the Camerads (New Brunswick, established 1886). The Camerads began meeting one Wednesday evening each month in the chemistry rooms at Rutgers University.⁴⁴ The President, and probably the founder, was chemistry professor Peter T. Austen (1852-1907). Most members were local citizens, not students or faculty. Among the twenty-eight, including six women, in 1893 was attorney George Anthony Viehmann, who became mayor of New Brunswick from 1900 to 1903 and director of several major businesses in the area.

The largest such group in the state was the Newark Camera Club, founded in 1888. With more than 200 members by 1921, the club included some of the wealthiest men in the city. 45 It initially had rooms on Broad Street, just below William Street. Like other clubs, it held photographic excursions and juried exhibitions, in the form of either photographic prints or lantern slides, and it provided instruction. The Newark and Orange clubs belonged to the American Lantern Slide Interchange, organized 1885, which afforded members the opportunity to see work by photographers in other cities. 46 On one occasion, March 21, 1889, the Newark Camera Club screened the best of 1,500 lantern slides submitted for an evening's entertainment at Association Hall. 47

Other clubs which began before 1890 included the Bridgeton Camera Society (1888), the Hoboken Camera Club (by 1888), and the Jersey City Camera Club (May 1889), which had over thirty members by the end of that year and met at 4 Oakland Avenue.⁴⁸

The recreational benefits of club membership are suggested by the activities of the Hoboken Camera Club in the fall of 1889, when its members went on their second annual outing with Pike County, Pennsylvania, as its destination. At Port Jervis, the party of twenty-five was arrested for speeding by a drunken policeman and the whole group was taken to the station house, cameras and all. "The complaint was dismissed and the officer reprimanded for the unwarranted arrest." Later that year, on November 1, twelve club members submitted nearly 300 photographs for a juried club competition, in five categories: landscapes; interiors, marine views; genre scenes; and animals. After the judging, the participants enjoyed a sumptuous feast, followed by a group photo taken with magnesium "flash" (a new term at the time) by professional Charles de Lapotterie, whose studio was in the same building as the club's headquarters at 140 Washington. ⁵⁰

In the 1890s, serious amateurs who sought to establish photography as a fine art advocated the tenets of Pictorialism, the international movement influenced in part by Japanese prints and the paintings of James Whistler. Such photographers often made soft-focus imagery and some employed time-consuming, hand crafted printing processes, especially gum bichromate. To make a gum print, the photographer coats paper with a pigmented emulsion of gum arabic, light sensitized with potassium bichromate. The emulsion hardens under the influence of light, so after light is passed through the negative onto the sensitized paper, the image is formed by washing away the less exposed areas. During washing, the photographer can use a brush to modify selected parts of the print—for example, to suppress unwanted detail. Some photographers still use the process today, including Sandra C. Davis, who teaches non-silver photography at Mercer County Community College.⁵¹

But despite the beauty of gum bichromate, most amateurs of the 1890s were quite satisfied with the more conventional albumen or silver gelatin. A few New Jersey camera club members probably emulated gum prints in exhibitions they had seen at the Camera Club of New York or in the salons of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, but I have not seen a nineteenth century example. By the early 1900s, T. O'Conor Sloane Jr., who grew up in Orange, was making gum prints; he might have made some before the turn of the century (see the geographical section).

With the greater ease of camera work, more women became both amateur and professional photographers, encouraged by marketing efforts such as "The Kodak Girl" ad campaign beginning in 1893. Done gifted amateur was Reina Andreade Lawrence (1869-1948), who moved from New York City to Plainfield in 1882. Despite leg braces as a result of polio at age twelve and multiple sclerosis, which she contracted at twenty-two, Lawrence produced a large body of work with cameras that she loaded with gelatin dry plate negatives or roll film. She photographed family and friends, villas and more modest houses, interiors, floral studies, rural architecture and more (fig. 9). Although her earliest dated photograph is from 1901, it is likely that she started using a camera about a decade earlier. Sa

The kinds of photographs valued by typical amateurs of the late nineteenth century may be seen by the recognition given to Harry N. Supp of Red Bank. In December 1898, Supp won first prize and three second prizes at the first exhibition of photographs by the Vive Camera Club of Eatontown. The first prize, for which he won a gross of Velox gaslight paper, was in the class for "instantaneous exposures with hand cameras, and was for a snap-shot at Muhlenbrink's mill near Colt's Neck." Supp won a second prize for "On the Fence," a picture of his seated buddies, Bert White, Harry Hawkins, and Oliver Sutphin. Another prize was for a picture of a twelve-inch gun that was being taken through Highland Beach to Sandy Hook at the beginning of the Spanish-American War. His other award was in the landscape category, a ruined bridge at Allaire. 54

Nineteenth Century Photographers in the Larger Cities

By the 1890s, the largest cities in New Jersey, by size, were Newark and Jersey City, with between 180,000 and 200,000; Paterson, about 78,000; and Camden, Trenton, and Hoboken, about 55,000 each. Of the rest, only Elizabeth, with about 37,000, had more than 20,000. About one-third of the state population lived in these seven urban centers, five of which were in the portion of New Jersey closest to New York City. While there were photographers in every county, the biggest market for both portrait and commercial photography was concentrated in this more densely populated region and, as a result, more photographers worked and lived there than elsewhere in the state. Because photographers tended to concentrate in the cities, only a small proportion for each city can be discussed here.

Although the largest photography businesses were in the cities, even the biggest were still relatively small firms. Some studios were partnerships, but most were sole proprietorships, with perhaps one or two employees including family members, except for the very largest. In the text below, dates shown in parentheses after photographers' names are, unless otherwise indicated, the dates during which they were active at a given location.

Newark

Born in 1823, Albert Speer, a carpenter's apprentice in Newark, built a daguerreotype camera in 1842 with which he made some of the first views of the city. He later became the town father of Passaic, owner of the largest vineyard in New Jersey, and inventor of the moving sidewalk, which he unsuccessfully tried to get New York City to adopt to relieve congestion.⁵⁷

Between 1844 and 1849, at least eleven professional daguerreotypists worked in Newark for varying periods, more than any other location in the state during that decade. Of the pioneer photographers in New Jersey, the best known today is George S. Cook (1819-1902), although his reputation was made in other states. One of the first American daguerreotypists, Cook spent part of his youth in Newark, traveled widely, then returned in 1845 to court his future wife, Elizabeth Smith Francisco. He was active as a daguerreotypist in Newark and New York, 1845-1846, before settling in Charleston, South Carolina. His career continued to take him to other cities for varying periods, including New York (where he filled in at Mathew Brady's in 1851 while the owner was in Europe), Philadelphia, and Chicago. Back in Charleston, Cook became the leading photographer of the Confederacy and its leading supplier of photographic materials. As a widower in 1865, he returned to Newark and married Lavinia Pratt, a niece of his first wife, but spent most of his later years in Charleston and Richmond, Virginia. 58

Charlotte Prosch was a dressmaker before becoming a daguerreian in about 1845 in New York. She may have become the first female photographer in New Jersey when she operated a daguerreotype studio under her name at 259 Broad Street, Newark, from 1848 to 1853. In the latter year, she began advertising as The Excelsior Daguerreotype Gallery. Her premises offered a large assortment of frames and cases

and insertion of pictures into lockets, breast pins, bracelets, and other daguerreian jewelry. Charlotte Prosch was the sister of Andrew Prosch, with whom she lived in New York in 1846-1847; both Andrew and his brother George W. were manufacturers and suppliers of daguerreian materials. (George also was a daguerreotypist in Newark in the 1850s.) In about 1853, Charlotte married daguerreian Alfred Day. Alfred and Charlotte left New Jersey in the mid-1850s for Michigan, where their second daughter, Ada, was born in 1855. Soon thereafter, the family returned to Newark. Charlotte and Alfred, who became a baker, eventually had four children, one of whom was named George W. Day. By 1870, according to the census, they had moved to Bristol, Rhode Island. In the 1880 census, Charlotte is listed as living with her sister-in-law in Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Whether she did any photography in these later years has not been determined. A portrait of a woman (fig. 10) by Charlotte Prosch was discovered in Las Vegas by collector Paul Thompson in 2003.⁵⁹

Orrin C. Benjamin had studios in Newark from 1853 or 1854 to 1865. Benjamin was born about 1827 in De Ruyter, Madison County, New York, and came to Newark in 1853 after working as a daguerreian in Millburn in 1851 and Rahway in 1852. He was quick to adopt the ambrotype when it was introduced in 1854 and by 1856 was offering hand-colored ones from 50 cents to \$25. At the New Jersey State Fair, Benjamin received awards for best daguerreotypes (1856 and 1860); best plain photographs (1856, 1857, and 1859); best ambrotypes (1857); best India Ink photographs (1860); best photographs of views and engravings (1860); best stereographs (1860); and he was awarded a silver cup in 1860 for plain photographs since he could not compete in that category having won the previous year. ⁶⁰ Benjamin advertised regularly and liked to use poetry in his promotions. Here are two examples of his verses:

New Jersey

Talk of your "Roots," your "Gurney," or others, Who take Pictures of Mothers, Sisters, or Brothers, A chance is now offered, which if missed is a sin; His pictures are matchless, I need say no more. His Gallery is in Broad Street, Number 274.⁶¹

What I Love

I love the midnight hour,
When care its flight is winging far,
And hope beams out from every star
In its beguiling power.

I love the hour of the day, When forms and faces that I love Can go to BENJAMIN'S and have their likenesses portrayed with all of Nature's loveliness. 62

After a fire burned him out in 1865, Benjamin moved to a farm near Elmira and

then opened a studio in Corning for two years. In 1867, he returned to New Jersey and set up in Orange, where he was assisted by his son, Orrin, Jr., born in 1857. Orrin, Jr., took over the studio from 1889 to 1899. After his retirement, Orrin, Sr., went into the real estate business; he died on September 9, 1895. With nearly fifty years in business, the Benjamin studio was in operation the longest of any in New Jersey before 1900. A fine example of a daguerreotype by Benjamin is at the New Jersey Historical Society.

Joseph Kirk, born in England in 1830, opened his first Newark studio in 1862 and soon did a high volume business. (fig. 11). In May 1867, he grossed \$955, the highest monthly total for any photographer in the state in the May tax returns for New Jersey photographers, and as indicated in Table 2, he had the highest annual total in the state that year. Between 1870 and 1882, he amassed 40,000 glass plate negatives, each of which could have contained a number of separate images. In the latter year, his facilities on the second floor at 661 Broad Street were described as impressively large, 25 by 100 feet, and he did all types of photography. His last year in business was 1894.

Henry J. Thein, born in Chicago in 1851, moved to Newark after he lost his studio in the great fire of 1871. By 1876, he opened another in Newark and continued to be active well into the 1900s. Thein served as director of the Northern Republican Club for seventeen years and was a member of several other political and social organizations. He was Alderman of the First Ward from 1898 to 1906 and president of the Common Council in 1904-1905. In 1911, he was elected as a State Assemblyman, becoming perhaps the first professional photographer to hold state office in New Jersey. ⁶⁵

William F. Cone's long career began in Newark in 1895 and lasted until the 1960s. He began photographing as early as age 13, when he shot the Blizzard of '88. His output was unusual in that he is not known for portraits but rather for commercial work; before the 1890s, when half tone reproductions of photographs began to be widely used in magazines and newspapers, this specialization was not a viable option for photographers. Cone also did some landscape photography; among his first commissions was the pleasant job of photographing all the parks in Essex County, including Branch Brook Park. Despite his short stature, Cone lugged about a thirty-five pound view camera (not including tripod and glass plates) for decades. His store front views were so detailed that they retained their sharpness when blown up to mural size for an exhibition in 2003 at the New Jersey Historical Society, which holds the major portion of his output. 66

At least four hundred other professional photographers practiced and/or lived in Newark in the nineteenth century; by 1890, customers had a choice of more than one hundred studios, most of them on or near Broad Street. Among Newark photographers not mentioned above, those active for long periods in the city included George DeCamp (1866-1893); Ferdinand L. Huff (1867-1894); J. Henry Smith (1872-1889); and Jonas Thieleman (1872-1897).

Photographic Manufacturing in Newark

By the late 1840s, Newark became an important center for daguerreotype plate manufacturing; in particular, it was known for "Phoenix" or "Phenix" plates. Edward White, a daguerreotypist and daguerreian case maker, also active in New York and New Orleans, began making daguerreotype plates in 1843. He produced his "Phoenix" plates in Newark in 1848 -1849; his highest quality plates have been described as the finest ever made.

From 1851 to 1853, Ebenezer Larwell (a.k.a. Larwill) of Newark produced daguerreotype cases, including his patented "double-door" cases, now collector's items.

In 1861, Horace Hedden and his son, Horace M. Hedden, opened a tintype (ferrotype) plate factory in Newark that supplied their "Phoenix" plates to large New York distributors. The Heddens made Newark a nationally important center for plate making. In 1863, the Hedden firm merged with another company and moved to Worcester, Massachusetts, where it fabricated "Phenix" plates. On March 1, 1870, Horace Hedden patented the very popular chocolate-tinted plate, the most significant innovation in tintypes since their introduction in the 1850s. Although the Heddens left New Jersey in 1867, by 1890 (according to a U.S. Census publication), there were eighteen other photographic manufacturing firms in Newark employing an average workforce of 45 employees.

In the late 1870s, the more light-sensitive and convenient gelatin dry plates began to replace wet plate collodion negatives, but the search was on for a more lightweight support than glass. By 1887, John Carbutt's Keystone Dry Plate and Film works in Philadelphia was coating gelatin emulsion on thin celluloid cut from blocks to make sheet film (also known nitrocellulose or nitrate film). The Celluloid Manufacturing Company in Newark produced the celluloid blocks. Despite this innovation, professionals like Cone and serious amateurs continued to use glass plate negatives for many years because they rendered superb detail.

The Reverend Hannibal Goodwin of Newark played an important role in the next step in the technical development of the photographic industry. Born April 30, 1822, in Tompkins County, NY, he graduated from Union College, Schenectady, in 1848, and later trained in a seminary. Goodwin held several rectorates in the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Jersey, then lived in the Far West for health reasons. By 1867, he was rector of the House of Prayer in Newark, retiring from there in 1887. Goodwin filed his famous patent for transparent roll film in 1887, with seven revisions by September 12, 1889; the patent was issued in 1898. Long litigation ensued over the conflict with the Eastman/ Reichenbach patent issued December 10, 1889. The final opinion on the lawsuit, handed down by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on March 10, 1914, was favorable to Goodwin. George Eastman paid \$5 million to the owners of the patent, Goodwin's heirs and Ansco (created by the merger of Scovill and Adams and the E. & H.T. Anthony photographic supply business in 1901); the sum was the largest paid in a lawsuit in U.S. history up to that time. Unfortunately, Goodwin had died on December 31, 1900, from injuries received the previous summer in a streetcar accident, just as his Newark film factory was being completed. ⁶⁹ By 1900, roll film had a huge impact on the

spread of photography as a hobby because snapshooters now could take numerous pictures without changing film or plates.

Jersey City

After Newark, Jersey City, the state's second largest metropolis, had the next most photographic activity in the state. At least 175 photographers, manufacturers or suppliers of photographic materials, photographic chemists, or other photographyrelated professionals lived there before 1900. Some worked in Jersey City, while others, such as Edward Bierstadt (one of the three celebrated Bierstadt brothers known for their painting, photography, and photographic manufacturing activities), lived there but worked across the Hudson.

Before 1860, nearly two dozen daguerreotypists, ambrotypists, and photographists (the term used at the time to describe those who produced photographs on paper), were active in Jersey City for varying amounts of time. One, William H. Dutton, was possibly the first African American photographer in New Jersey. He daguerreotyped in New York City, 1853-1854; Jersey City in 1855-1856; and then, while living in Brooklyn, on Broadway in Manhattan from 1857 to 1859.

Inventor Joseph Dixon was born in 1799 in Marblehead, Massachusetts. In September 1839, he made one of the first daguerreotype portraits anywhere, of his wife. In 1847, he moved his lead crucible factory from Salem, Massachusetts to Jersey City, where he died in 1869. Among Dixon's photographic innovations were a daguerreotype reflector, improvements to the collodion process, a lens grinding system, and most significantly, photolithography. In 1860, with William Campbell, he managed the *Photographic and Fine Art Journal*, one of the key photography serials of the era. ⁷⁰

Henry E. Insley, born in 1811, was the brother-in-law of George Prosch and one of the first daguerreotypists in New York. In 1856, Insley relocated his studio to 47 Montgomery Street, Jersey City. The enterprise continued at this location until 1872, when Insley retired. His son, Henry A. Insley, worked at the studio from 1866 to 1872, and continued it at another location nearby until 1876, in partnership with his brother, Albert B., who was primarily a landscape painter. An 1860s carte de visite from the Insley studio shows a man standing in front of an unusually detailed landscape painting, perhaps painted by one of the Insleys (fig. 12). Photographers such as the Insleys who had an artist in the family had the option of painting their own backdrop rather than purchasing it from such photographic supply firms as E. & H.T. Anthony, which was based in New York but had Jersey City premises between 1885 and 1893.

Another pioneer associated with Jersey City is Victor Piard, born in France about 1825. From 1842 to 1847, in Washington, D.C., Piard daguerreoptyped members of Congress when he was the chief cameraman in a studio owned by Edward T. Anthony, one of the most successful and renowned early daguerreotypists. In 1847, Anthony entered the photographic supplies business, in which he became the dominating force in the nineteenth century; unfortunately, his collection of daguerreotypes, including

many political leaders taken by Piard, was destroyed in an 1852 fire. Piard moved to Jersey City in 1854 and worked for a daguerreotypist in New York, then as a grocer in Jersey City for several years. In 1858, he joined Charles D. Fredricks, who had one of the largest studios in New York, but in 1859 opened his own gallery in Jersey City, where he remained until 1867. Piard was a master of all the processes of his era—daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and paper prints. One of Piard's cartes de visite from the 1860s shows a rather dour young girl whose appearance is enhanced by a beautifully balanced composition featuring the subject's hat on a fancy fabric arrayed on a table, with a drape and painted landscape in the background (fig. 13). The girl's large dress creates a shadow so that her feet are not visible; she seems to be floating in the picture frame. Pushed out of the photography business by competition, Piard worked in later years as a carpenter, boat builder, and fisherman in Oceanport, Monmouth County, where he died in 1901 at age seventy-six.

Born in Baden about 1843, Theodore Gubelman sailed to America in 1854. He began his photography business in Jersey City after serving in the Army of the Potomac in 1862 and working as a photographer in Trenton and Tennessee. Active in Jersey City from 1864 to 1906, Gubelman was awarded premiums for photography at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, Paris exhibitions, and the American Institute. In addition to portraits, he was known for scenes "of city streets and marine views, as well as still life, interiors of churches, factories, railroad cars, and saloons of ocean steamers." By the 1880s, he had a large and impressive studio and was known as "the celebrated dry-plate worker," who used a self-constructed drop shutter placed between the lenses. Gubelman was also a lithographer and photoengraver. His cabinet card of a child standing on a pile of blocks would have been recognized as a tour de force in the 1870s: there is no sign of an "immobilizer," the clamp used by photographers to hold heads still (fig. 14). Gubelman died October 31, 1926.

Other Jersey City photographers included Lewis S. Griffing (1864-1876); Edgar M. Ayers (1865-1894); Alfred B. Costello (who had at least five sons and daughters in the business, 1875-1900s); John H. Keim, 1885-1900s; Philip J. Rice (1879-1901); and Charles Rossbach (1889-1900s). At his Jersey City Heights studio on 338 Central Avenue, Rossbach offered customers portraits that gave the illusion that the subjects were printed on a scroll, a style that was more popular in Pennsylvania than in New Jersey (fig. 15). His inclusion of both camera and pallet in his "Art Photography" imprint on the back of his cabinet cards conveyed graphically his self-concept as an artist.

Paterson

In Paterson, brothers John Reid, Jr. (born 1805-died 1882), and Alexander Reid (died 1861) were both dentists and daguerreotypists, with John beginning professional camera work in 1848, joined by Alexander in 1859. (John Reid was discussed above in the section on stereographic views.) A second John Reid, Jr. (born 1857-died 1911) continued the studio until at least 1887.

Another early daguerreian in Paterson was Mrs. J.P. Martin (1850-1851).

Jonathan B. Jenks was there from 1851 to 1876; his brother Robert V., another dentist, was his partner from 1855 to 1859.

John P. Doremus (died 1890), succeeded by his sons Harry and Leonard H., was a renowned portrait and landscape photographer based in Paterson. Doremus began his career as a painter in the early 1860s but by 1863 became a photographer. Ten years later, he was selling numerous stereographic views of Passaic Falls and other scenes in northern New Jersey. In 1874, Doremus built a large floating gallery near Minneapolis and spent several summers photographing along the Mississippi River. A contemporary account stated, "The deck is 18x76 feet, on which there is a house with a reception room, toilet room, private room for Doremus, operating room, private dining room, private parlor, state room with two berths, kitchen, pantry, store room, and silvering and toning room. The hold is three feet deep and can be used for storage."

When Leonard Doremus moved the Paterson studio in 1889, he issued a composite photograph on a cabinet card with more than 65 portraits, landscapes, and architectural views; on the back was a notice about the "New Photographic Parlors" at 240 Main Street (fig. 15). In February 1902, Leonard photographed the major fire that destroyed the Paterson business district; the photographs were used in a book with thirty illustrations showing the devastation.⁷⁷

Among more than one hundred other nineteenth century Paterson photographers were Daniel H. Howd (1883-1896); John M. Kemp (1865-1900+); Samuel Klugherz (1880s-1900+); Nathaniel Lane (1860s-1900+); Willard P. Simpson (1879-1894); Isaac G. Speakers (1881-1900+); and William G. Grotecloss (1887-1901+).

Camden

Pioneer photographers in Camden included Gabriel Moore (active 1850) and John Hood (active 1850s). By 1860, there were eight competing studios. While most of the approximately one hundred nineteenth century Camden studios were short-term, several photographers had long careers there, notably Andrew Sims, who had a series of galleries from 1865 to 1885 and whose work is found frequently today. Sims was born in Scotland in 1831 and had seven children, including John and Leonard who became photographers.

Among other Camden photographers were E.J. Hunt (1881-1890)⁷⁸; William R. Fearn (1883-1892), sometimes with his brother Frederick H.; Henry D. Garns & H.L. Wardle (1889-1897); and John W. Mountain (1890-1897). During their careers, some Camden photographers worked for Philadelphia photographers or had their own locations in the larger city.

Henry D. Garns, an example of the Camden-Philadelphia connection, began work in photography about 1860. After four years of experience as a photographer in the U.S. Navy and serving as operator for several Philadelphia studios, he became partners with Herman Henrici, who also was a hat dealer. They had a gallery at 709 S. 2nd Street, Philadelphia, from 1874 to 1876. Then Garns, with H.L. Wardle as

operator, ran a studio at 526 S. 2nd Street from 1877 to 1890. In February 1889, Garns and Wardle expanded to 206 Federal, Camden. Their Camden studio was sixteen by seventy-five feet and employed four assistants in 1890. It was one of the busiest in the county.

Trenton

The earliest known professional "shadow catcher" in New Jersey was J. Vandeusen, who rented a room on the northeast corner of Warren and State streets in Trenton in February 1841 and advertised "Daguerreian Miniatures." Vandeusen was followed by traveling daguerreotypists Livermore and Stinson, who set up a temporary studio at the Rising Sun Tavern (later site of American House) on Warren Street in May 1842.⁸⁰ Another early visitor was John Jabez Edwin Mayall, a daguerreotypist in Philadelphia from 1842 to 1846, when he return to his native England. In London, in 1847, he exhibited a daguerreotype taken no later than 1844, entitled, "New Jersey Convention Sitting to Amend the State Constitution."

But the first daguerreotypists to make a lasting mark in Trenton were Morris Moses (active 1850-1873) and Edward Harris Stokes (active 1852-1860). ⁸² Morris Moses received the award for the best daguerreotypes at the New Jersey State Fair in 1858. Born in England, July 1826, to John and Martha Moses, who came to New Jersey in about 1833, he was one of five children; his brother John Moses and sister Margaret (Maggie) Moses Brown also became photographers. In Moses' standing portraits of the early 1860s, he used the standard props of the time: chair, round table covered with a patterned fabric, and a drape. In one, a standing youth holds another common accessory, a large book, suggesting that he is a student (fig. 17). The base of the immobilizer used to hold the head steady is visible, suggesting that Moses was not particularly concerned about a "third foot" appearing in the composition; one of the hallmarks of the more art-conscious photographers was to avoid such intrusive reminders of the tools of the trade.

Morris Moses' studio burned on March 23, 1870, a catastrophe that may have led him to other pursuits, although he continued working as a photographer until at least 1873. He had a coal, wood, & bone dust business, from at least 1870 to 1879, in partnership with his brother Martin, who is not known to have been a photographer. By 1880, according to the Census, Morris had become a coal dealer. Morris died at his home at 221 Perry Street, Trenton, on Dec. 11, 1891, and was buried in Riverview Cemetery.

Born in New Jersey in 1834 or 1835, Maggie Moses was an active portrait photographer from 1874 to 1879. During part of this time, she operated the Adolph G. Beer & Co. studio in Trenton (fig. 18), which was in continuous operation from 1873 to 1894 and reopened in 1901. Maggie married Louis H. Brown, a carpenter and a widower with several children, on November 24, 1874.

Edward Harris Stokes was born June 22, 1824, in Moorestown. Although his

Trenton daguerreotype business flourished in the 1850s, he made his fortune in 1860 by marrying Permelia S. Wood, the daughter of Trenton ex-mayor Joseph Wood: the 1860 federal census reported that Permelia had an astonishing net worth of \$200,000. After his marriage, Stokes and his wife bought Woodlawn, his father-in-law's home built in 1720 by William Trent, the founder of Trenton. Stokes retired from daguerreotypy after his marriage to manage real estate interests and died at Woodlawn on February 17, 1900. His son, attorney Edward A. Stokes, donated the mansion to the city in 1929; it is now the Trent House museum.

Edward Harris Stokes may have been related to Stockton Stokes, who had thriving studios in Trenton throughout the 1860s before moving to Philadelphia, where he remained active until 1889. In one of Stockton Stokes' cartes de visite, a bearded man is seated in a standard pose but his face is florid and he is listing distinctly to the viewer's right (fig. 19); perhaps he needed a few drinks to get up his courage to go to the photographer.

In 1880, when her children Mabel and Oliver were young, Emma I. Kemp stayed at home while her husband worked as a hatter. In 1882, she sold hats, caps, and "New Home" sewing machines from her residence at 131 S. Greene Street. But from 1889 to 1894, she operated a photography studio at 137 S. Greene Street (renamed S. Broad Street in 1889) (fig. 20). In 1895, her husband Frederick W. Kemp succeeded her; he relocated to two other addresses by 1900.⁸⁵

Others among nearly two hundred Trenton photographers in the nineteenth century were John Bainbridge (active 1864 to about 1883); William B. Gaston (1867-1884); John F. Goehrig (1880-1899); Henry C. Lovejoy (1869-1901); the Pine Brothers (George and Robert, 1872-1888); Harry M. Slack & William H. Hatfield (1889-1900s); and William H. Stauffer (Trenton and Asbury Park, 1870s-1900s).

Hoboken

Several daguerreotypists and manufacturers of daguerreotype cases and apparatus lived in Hoboken in the early 1850s but worked across the river in New York City, as did many photographers after them. The first studio actually in Hoboken may have been that of Franz Vannino (1856-1857). In 1859, John Henry Pein was the proprietor of the American Porcelain Photographic Co. in Hoboken and held a patent for photographs on uneven surfaces. A few photographers opened Hoboken studios in the 1860s, of whom Louis Nagel, a native of Germany, had the longest career there, at 192 Washington Street from 1868 to 1887.

Charles de Lapotterie, at 140 Washington Street from 1874 to 1892, was a veteran Hoboken photographer. In 1887, at the age of 45, de Lapotterie was said to have had 37 years experience. He learned photography from his father, who was a photographer in Brooklyn after the family emigrated from Holland in 1862 or 1864. De Lapotterie initially worked in New York, then moved to Kansas City for three years before buying the Hoboken gallery of Charles F. May. His studio consisted of one large

room, twenty by seventy-five feet, divided by function into reception room, operating room, finishing area, and others. In 1893, he moved to 316 Washington for a year but then disappeared from the city directories. A carte de visite of a baby taken by de Lapotterie in the 1870s illustrates the difficulties faced by photographers of children in the collodion era, when exposures indoors could be a second or more. The child's head is being held still by someone on the other side of the curtain behind the chair (fig. 21).

Among about one hundred Hoboken photographers in the latter nineteenth century, Herman N. Lay was among the most prolific. After seven years as a cameraman in Brooklyn, he had five different studios in Hoboken between 1879 and 1895, when he moved to Bayonne. Charles A. Henkel had a studio at 505 Spring Street in Hoboken from 1893 to at least 1900; previously, from 1882 to 1893, he had one in Jersey City Heights at 345 Palisade Avenue. Henkel was a native of Hudson County; according to the 1880 census, his German immigrant father was a saloonkeeper.

Elizabeth

Of the nearly twenty photographers in Elizabeth between 1850 and 1870, Frank H. Price, originally from Connecticut, was there the longest—seventeen years from 1861 to 1878. Price was one of the leading photographers in the state (see Table 2). He won first premiums at the New Jersey State Fair in 1873 for best photo colored with pastel (five dollars); 1st premium for best photo in crayon (five dollars); 1st premium for best photo in watercolors (diploma); and 1st premium for one "Rembrandt frame." Although it cannot be stated with certainty, Price's Rembrandt frame probably was a two-part wooden frame with an ornate filigreed border surrounding a plainer wood insert. From 1878 to 1880, Price worked in New York. He then returned to New Jersey, where he opened a magnificent establishment in Newark with three floors, each twenty-five by seventy-two feet, and five assistants. There he did every variety of work with portraiture a specialty. It was described in 1887 as an "exceedingly large business. . . the photographic establishment *par excellence* of Newark." Price continued to have his own studio in Newark until 1892.

Alfred S. Campbell, born about 1840 in England, had an Elizabeth studio circa 1870-1873, first seen in an 1870 ad in the Elizabeth City Directory. The ad mentioned that Campbell had worked for New York photographer Napoleon Sarony, renowned portraitist of theatrical and other celebrities such as Oscar Wilde. After a hiatus of about two years, at a nearby location in 1876, he advertised in the 1877 Elizabeth City Directory, "Late Principal Artist at Brady's Gallery, Washington, D.C. All pictures finished in the highest style of the Art, and delivered four days from time of sitting, and at One-Half the price usually charged in New York." By the 1890s, Campbell had expanded from studio work to publishing, under the name Alfred S. Campbell Art Company, which not only reproduced fine art but issued thousands of different stereographs by himself and other photographers (fig. 22). Subjects included African Americans in the South, scenes in New Jersey and New York, the Spanish-American War, Saratoga Springs, and Italy. In 1909, Campbell won a United States Supreme Court copyright case after he was sued for selling reproductions of a painting for which copyright protection was unclear because the artist was from Peru, which did not have a reciprocal copyright agreement with the United States.

The Campbell Art Company also did a large business in frames; one designed for Campbell in 1901 was included in "The Frame in America: 1860-1960," an exhibit at the Huntsville Museum of Art in 2000. Although the Campbell Art Company was based in New York, Campbell himself continued to live in Elizabeth with his family.

Approximately fifty other professional photographers worked in Elizabeth between 1870 and 1900, most for brief periods. Among those who made the most lasting mark in the 1870s and 1880s was William H. Hill, who had secondary locations in Asbury Park and Long Branch. George W. Tichenor, who entered the field of photography in 1861, had a studio in Elizabeth from 1870 to 1873, then relocated to Burlington where he remained in business until 1897.

Photographers in Selected Towns and Villages, by County

Atlantic County

Atlantic City

Rutherford & Co. (1860s-1870s) and S.R. Morse (1870s) produced stereographic views of Atlantic City, but whether these photographers had studios there has not been determined. In 1880, William T. Humberstone opened a gallery on Ocean Front between Arkansas and Michigan avenues. Humberstone hailed from Pennsylvania, where he had become a photographer (probably without his own studio) in 1862. His first Atlantic City gallery was destroyed in the great storm of September 1889. Humberstone's new studio in 1890 was the first in Atlantic City electrically equipped, with four arc lights. Three assistants helped him finish photos in five minutes, whether tintypes, cabinet cards, or crayons (hand colored portraits). Humberstone remained active in Atlantic City until about 1894.

Tintypes went out of fashion by 1880 in most parts of New Jersey, but on the Jersey shore they continued to be popular into the twentieth century as an old-fashioned recreational amusement. Tintypists in Atlantic City and other beach resorts sometimes used painted backdrops that depicted waves and sailing ships (fig. 23). The tintypes usually were delivered to customers in flimsy paper folders imprinted with the photographer's name and address. Since often these folders were discarded or have disintegrated over time, most of the tintypes extant today have lost their photographer identifications, if they ever had them.

Englishman Harry Smith, described as having large hands stained from photographic chemicals, was a tintype pioneer in Atlantic City from 1876 to at least 1894. In the latter year, he was charging twenty-five cents for eight tintypes. 90

Photography in Atlantic City developed in tandem with the rapid development of tourism in the 1880s. Because a large proportion of the resort's summer visitors were from Philadelphia, it is not surprising that at least twenty Philadelphia photographers, including self-made millionaire James R. Applegate, followed their clientele there before

1901.91 A Toms River native, born on April 11, 1828, who had a number of studios in Cincinnati between 1858 and 1863, Applegate had very successful galleries in Philadelphia beginning about 1865. Known for his high-volume, cheap tintype business, Applegate had two patents for Improvement in Machines for Encasing Pocket Portraits, 178706, June 13, 1876, and 189,167, Apr. 3, 1877. He was probably operating in Atlantic City seasonally by 1880, when his wife and children, including his son Frank. then a 21-year-old photographer, were listed in the U.S. Census for Atlantic City. In 1884, James opened Atlantic City's first amusement pier extending more than 600 feet into the ocean. A photo studio and a merry-go-round, which he patented, were located on the boardwalk adjacent to the pier. After attracting large crowds for seven years, Applegate sold the pier in 1891 but kept the carousel, which he moved to Philadelphia. On January 28, 1892, more than 200 customers, most of them minors, were arrested in a raid at his Philadelphia establishment; Applegate was apprehended at home and accused of running a disorderly house," a legal euphemism for a den of iniquity. Subsequently, his son Frank was listed as the proprietor of both the Atlantic City and Philadelphia galleries until 1897, when his father returned to operate the Philadelphia business for a few years before relocating to Trenton. Frank Applegate continued the photography business in Atlantic City until at least 1900.92 In old age. James squandered his fortune and in 1911 was arrested as a vagrant in Los Angeles. The Pennsylvania delegation of Congress contributed \$5 each to extricate him from the work house and pay his train fare to Philadelphia, where he went to the police station and asked for overnight lodging. At that time, the plan was for him to go to his son's residence in Hammonton. 93 He died there on Aug. 20, 1913, and was buried in Pleasantville.

Each summer between 1882 and 1900, between nine and fourteen photographers could be found on or near the Boardwalk. In 1893, James B. Shaw, with a Boardwalk gallery near New York Avenue, was credited with introducing the multigraph photograph, in which three, five, or seven different images of the same person were captured in a single exposure by placing the subject in front of two mirrors placed at an angle. ⁹⁴

A substantial proportion of the photographers operating in Atlantic City had studios in Philadelphia. In addition to Applegate, other noteworthy Philadelphia firms that opened branches in Atlantic City included Chandler & Scheetz, William G. Entrekin, Conrad M. Gilbert, Harry Phillips, and Comly T. Santman. Peripatetic Harry Phillips operated at eleven different locations between 1882 and 1900. Many of these businesses were short-term, as during this period about 85 different photographers, including at least five women—Jane C. Curran, Emma L. Heck, Mary Snyder, Amelia Van Buren, and Eva Lawrence Watson—conducted business there.

Among these women, Van Buren and particularly Watson became the best known. They were partners at 1520 Atlantic Avenue from 1894 to 1897, living at the same address. In one of their cabinet card portraits, a young woman looks at the camera with an expression of openness, confidence, and trust that one rarely sees in nineteenth century photographs of women (fig. 24). Van Buren and Watson fit the generalization that female photographers in this period tended to have more art training

than men:⁹⁶ they met while students in the 1880s at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, studying painting with Thomas Eakins both there and privately. Eakins and/or his wife may have taught them photography since they were both active in that medium. In about 1887, Van Buren and Watson started a photoengraving business which they conducted for seven years before moving to Atlantic City.

Van Buren, probably from Detroit, is renowned less for her photography than for a moody painting Eakins did of her in 1890 or 1891 that appeared on the cover of an Eakins monograph in 1995. After her partnership with Watson, which lasted for at least ten years, she exhibited in the 1898, 1899, and 1900 salons of the Philadelphia Photographic Society, widely accepted as the finest exhibitions of photography in the United States up to that time. In 1900, she also was a participant in *American Woman Photographers*, the landmark exhibit organized by Frances Benjamin Johnston at the Paris World's Fair (Exposition Universelle). Van Buren had a professional studio in Detroit from 1899 to 1913 and remained in that city until at least 1917. At some point in the early 1900s, she became associated with an artists' colony at Tryon, North Carolina.

Although more has been written about Watson than Van Buren, there are uncertainties in her early chronology. Publications state that she was born in Jersey City in 1867, but birth records at the New Jersey State Archives indicate she was born in Woodbridge on September 16, 1867, to Dr. John C. and Mary Watson. ⁹⁹ By 1870, her father seems to have either died or left the family, as in that year, according to the Census, Eva was living with her mother, a boarding house keeper, and older siblings Lizzie (22), Ellen (14), and Lawrence (13), in Rahway. Where she was between 1870 and 1882-1883, when she was at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, has not been determined. She studied with Eakins and Thomas Anshutz at the Academy and then privately for six years. Although they no doubt had a profound influence on her development as an artist, she later stated that her art training stifled her imaginative impulses. ¹⁰¹

In 1898, a year after leaving Atlantic City, Watson was elected to the Philadelphia Photographic Society and, like Van Buren, her work was selected for the first Philadelphia Photographic Salon. The leading figure of American photography, Alfred Stieglitz, who was the principal judge for this juried show, named Watson as one of the five most promising talents to emerge there, along with Gertrude Kasebier, Clarence White, F. Holland Day, and Joseph Keiley. ¹⁰² Joseph Keiley, writing in 1905, stated that Eva Watson-Schütze (Watson had by then married) "was a little above the average height, slight of figure, rather pale, with earnest, searching, expressive eyes that I recall as of violet hue. She is quick and nervous of motion, reserved and self-reliant in bearing, and in speech quiet, thoughtful, and to the point." ¹⁰³ She also appeared in, and was a juror for, the Philadelphia salons of 1899 and 1900.

At this time, "japonisme" was sweeping the art world and Watson was among the first photographers to incorporate its influence, such as off-center vertical compositions, into her work. By 1900, she had a studio in Philadelphia at 10 S. 18th Street and was exhibiting widely: at the *New School of American Photography* exhibition in London,

organized by F. Holland Day, Watson had twenty of 375 prints on exhibit. ¹⁰⁴ The aforementioned *American Woman Photographers* held in Paris included twelve of her photographs, more than any other photographer. ¹⁰⁵ According to Keiley, Watson's studio "became the recognized rendezvous in Philadelphia of the pictorialist movement" after a schism in the Philadelphia Photographic Society resulted in the resignation of its leading Pictorialists.

1901 was another busy year for Watson. She was elected to the Linked Ring, the elite international group of Pictorialist photographers based in England. Johnston profiled Watson in her articles on the seven foremost women photographers in America in the *Lady's Home Journal*. And, perhaps most importantly, she married a German scholar, Martin Schütze, Ph.D., and moved to Chicago. ¹⁰⁶ In 1902, Watson-Schütze opened a portrait studio in the Fine Arts Building in Chicago where she photographed William Butler Yeats, H.L. Mencken, John Dewey, and other famous figures. The same year, she became a charter member of the Photo-Secession, the leading American photographers organization led by Stieglitz, who placed her on the governing council. Watson-Schütze wrote for the Photo-Secession's journal, *Camera Work*, in which her photographs also appeared. She continued to exhibit internationally until 1912. In later life, she spent three to six months of the year at or near the Byrdcliffe artists colony in Woodstock, New York, concentrating on painting rather than photography. She died on May 20, 1935, in Chicago. ¹⁰⁷

Except for portraits produced during her Atlantic City partnership with Van Buren, I have not identified photography Watson did while in New Jersey. But much of her pictorial work circa 1900 is undated, so it is possible that some of her negatives were made during her years in Atlantic City, 1894 to 1897. Her prints are highly prized by collectors, with prices at auction averaging close to \$2,000. An exhibition of her photographs was held at the Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art at SUNY New Paltz in 2009, accompanied by a catalog.

Bergen County

Hackensack and Englewood

In 1890, Hackensack, the largest town in Bergen County, had a population of only 6,004, with Englewood second at 4,429. Consequently, relatively few professional photographers worked in Bergen County before 1900.

Born Sept. 23, 1846, at Ho-Ho-Kus in a house that was in the family for four generations, Albert D. (A.D.") Terhune served in the Independent Battalion, New Jersey Militia, in 1861-1862. Terhune worked as a telegrapher, then a started photo gallery in Hackensack which he sold to his brother John by 1866. He then became a traveling photographer with a horse-drawn wagon, "The Palace of Art on Wheels," for thirty years around northern New Jersey. In his old age before his death in 1930, Terhune wrote articles on local history. John D. ("J.D.") Terhune was born about 1847 and operated the studio on Main Street in Hackensack until at least 1880. Among the handful of other

photographers in Hackensack before 1900, S.H. Foley produced a series of stereo views.

In Englewood, James W. Gunner was listed as a photographer in the 1874 State Business Directory. In the 1890s, Charles Van Wagner, an Ohio native born about 1876, did professional portraiture in Englewood and Hackensack, including "at home portraits (fig. 25)." In one example from Englewood, unusual in its informality for a professional cabinet card, a baby held in a woman's arms faces the camera; the woman's face is partially obscured by the child. A hammock in the background suggests a back porch.

Burlington County

<u>Burlington</u>

The story of traveling daguerreotypist Samuel Swain, the earliest known daguerreotypist based in Burlington (1854-1855), is illustrative of the risks involved in the profession. On January 27, 1855, when Swain was visiting Freehold, someone burned his daguerreotype wagon just as he was beginning to realize his investment of about \$600, leaving him and his family destitute. He was a "good and worthy member" of the Burlington Lodge of the Odd Fellows, and the brothers took up a collection on his behalf. ¹¹⁰

John Bainbridge, born in New Jersey in 1837 to English immigrants, was open for business in Burlington from 1863 to 1865, then relocated to Trenton from 1865 to 1884, in later years assisted by his son, John, Jr. (born 1860).

Thomas Baker was active the longest (1863-1893) in Burlington in the nineteenth century. A native of New York, Baker came to Burlington after working briefly in Virginia. He was a veteran of the Battle of Antietam and other Civil War engagements, serving in the 95th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Baker became an Alderman in 1886, Justice of the Peace in 1888, and Notary Public in 1890.

About 1875, Baker partnered briefly with George W. Tichenor in a gallery at Brick's Opera House. Originally from Union County, where he was born in 1846, Tichenor became a photographer in 1861. In addition to individual portraits, he specialized in outdoor views, scenery, buildings, still life, animals, and large groups. After his years in Elizabeth, mentioned above, and his partnership with Baker in Burlington, Tichenor had a studio on South Street in Philadelphia from 1879 to 1884, when he returned to Burlington and opened another establishment. From 1884 to 1897, he remained in Burlington, where he was assisted by his daughters, Sarah F. ("Sadie," born 1868) and Lillie (born 1871). A good example of Tichenor's skill is his cabinet card of two older gentlemen, one with a top hat, the other seated in a rustic chair; rustic furniture was very popular studio decor, from 1875 to 1885 (fig. 26). At first glance, the portrait seems taken outside, until we realize that the landscape behind them is a painted backdrop with a path, fence, trees, and a mountain in the distance. Tichenor

carefully composed the figures, framing the two men between parallel diagonal lines formed by the arm of the chair and the standing man's cane.

Bordentown and Mount Holly

Elsewhere in Burlington County, there were photography studios in the next largest towns, Bordentown and Mount Holly, which had populations of 4,232 and 5,500, respectively, in 1890. Daguerreotypist Thomas E. Sexton worked in Bordentown from 1859 to 1862, by which time he was making photographs on paper. In the 1860s, the Kinch Brothers seem to have dominated photographic activity in Bordentown, then from 1868 to 1897, John E. ("J.E.") Smith was the major figure. He was born in Provincetown about 1841; after serving in the Civil War with a Massachusetts infantry regiment, he came to New Jersey. J.M. Letts was also in Bordentown in the late 1860s and 1870s; in December 1868, Letts photographed students at the co-educational New Jersey Collegiate Institute, which became the Bordentown Military Institute in 1881 (fig. 27).

More than twenty different photographers worked in Mount Holly before 1900, many more than would be expected given the size of its population. Daguerreian partners Woodbridge & Tracy were there in 1849. William Swaim (or Swain) was active in both Mount Holly and Bordentown in the 1860s and 1870s. He stated on the back of a carte de visite, "Negatives will not be preserved longer than one year, unless purchased, in which case a reduction will be made in the cost of Pictures printed from them." James S. ("J.S.") Walker photographed in Mount Holly in the 1860s and 1870s, while Peter Walker was there in the 1880s and 1890s; it seems likely that they were related. 115

Camden County

Outside the city of Camden, discussed above, there were a few photographers who worked elsewhere in the county: in Gloucester City, Charles B. Hepburn was a photographer in 1866. In the 1880s, there were two named Frank Snyder (Francis H.F. and Frank H. are both listed in the 1885 directory), as well as a George Snyder. Little biographical information has been found about these practitioners.

Cape May County

Cape May

In July 1867, William Aitkin paid a special tax to the Internal Revenue Service to practice photography for ten months in the town of Cape Island, renamed Cape May in 1869. He may have been the first photographer to stay for any length of time. But most of the nineteenth century professional photographers in Cape May visited briefly to make scenic stereographic views or operate summer studios. For example, Oliver H. Willard had a gallery in Philadelphia from 1854 until his death in 1875 or 1876. In the summers, he could be found at Congress Hall in Cape May. Since his career spanned

the evolution of photographic technology, Willard produced images in a wide variety of processes, including but not limited to daguerreotypes, talbotypes (1854), 117 and stereographs (including views on glass).

Early Cape May photography had connections to Mathew Brady. After the Civil War, Brady's sole studio was in Washington, D.C., where he gradually turned over most of the operations to his nephew, Levin C. Handy. In the 1870s, Handy also was partners with Samuel C. Chester at a studio in Philadelphia and they had a branch in Cape May (1870s-1880s). Their Cape May firm produced both stereographs of local views and portraits. 118

Cumberland County

Bridgeton

More than two dozen professional photographers worked in Bridgeton, the county seat, between 1860 and 1900. Daguerreotypists James W. Scott and Lawrence Woodruff were there in 1860. By 1864, Woodruff, a New Jersey native born in 1828, had established a partnership with a dentist, Henry Laning. In 1865-1866, Woodruff had his own studio across the street from the County Clerk's office. Woodruff appears again as a photographer in Bridgeton in 1885 but, like many others, he seems to have tried other ways to make a living: in the 1880 census, he is listed as a fruit butter maker living in Camden with his wife Hannah and two children.

Charles E. Edwards' new Bridgeton studio on Commerce Street in 1866 was described as "the handsomest rooms in that region." In January 1867, he grossed \$1,074, the highest monthly total found in income tax records among seventy New Jersey studios that year (see Table 2). About this time, Edwards also had a "Traveling Photograph Gallery" based in Cedarville.

From 1874 to 1877, William Riley and A. Owen Gregory owned a studio at 71 Commerce Street that had been started by M.C. Edwards about 1864 and changed hands several times thereafter. The firm had two stories, twenty by sixty feet, with five rooms: the first floor was the office and the second had a parlor and "operating" room, where the portraits were made. In 1878, when he was twenty-eight, William Service succeeded Riley and Gregory; he remained at 71 Commerce until 1883. In addition to portraits, Service specialized in landscape photography. By 1882, he had invested about \$2,500 in the business and had three to four assistants. He opened at a new location, 4 E. Commerce, in 1887 and stayed there until the early 1900s. Around 1900, he produced Penny Photos, small portraits on cards about half the size of cartes de visite. On the back was his offer, "15 photos for 15 cents." Service's portraits in various formats are frequently found in collections today.

Another major figure in early Bridgeton photography was Isaac H. Bowen, born about 1845 in Salem County. By 1870, Bowen had a gallery at E. Commerce Street, probably in Grosscup's Building opposite the Post Office, where he was listed in 1871.

He moved to Philadelphia about 1877, then returned to Bridgeton in 1879 and was a partner in the firm of Bowen and Gregory at 14 S. Laurel. By 1881, Bowen occupied the eighteen by sixty-foot second floor at 83 E. Commerce Street. There he employed two assistants (three in busy seasons). Portrait clients could order photos from the smallest tintypes to life-sized crayon portraits, and choose from a large variety of painted backgrounds.

Millville

Millville was the largest town in Cumberland, with about 10,000 people in 1890. John Hartman worked there as a professional photographer as early as 1860 and as late as 1899, but pursued other activities for many years in between, including selling sewing machines and musical instruments.

William Aitkin is documented in Millville from 1868 to 1870. His cabinet card portraits entitled, "The Young Milliners" and "Our Artist," were praised for "careful lighting, posing, and composition" in the October 1868 *Philadelphia Photographer* and he exhibited at the National Photographers Association Convention in Boston in June 1869.

Daniel W. Carpenter was born about 1842 in New York and had a series of studios on High Street in Millville from 1871 to about 1887. He advertised his "National Photograph Gallery...Long may it wave, it's the place to get Pictures, and your money save." There he offered all styles of work, with finishing in India Ink a specialty. He also sold frames, albums, stereoscopes, brackets, etc. By 1889, he was succeeded by Samuel C. Chester, also active in Cape May and Philadelphia.

Marmaduke Dare, born in Pennsylvania about 1847, worked professionally as a young photographer in Deerfield, Cumberland County, in 1864-1865, but by 1880 was taking pictures in Millville. He married Elizabeth T. Tozer in 1865 and by 1880 they had six children, including Winfield (14) and Charles (12), both of whom worked in a cotton mill to help supplement their father's income.

Vineland

The first known professional photographers in Vineland were David Astle (1860s) and N.D. Haley (1865-1866). But the most significant scenic and portrait photographer in nineteenth century Vineland was Levi D. Johnson (1832-1905). Johnson became a photographer in 1854 and had a studio in Bristol, New Hampshire (1860-1867) before coming to New Jersey. He established his operations in the Vineland Post Office by 1869, before moving to a series of other locations in the town. His wife, Abbie, born in New Hampshire, was described as the studio artist, responsible for retouching and coloring. By 1883, Johnson had made ten thousand numbered negatives in Vineland (fig. 28) and he was also manufacturing gelatin dry plates, selling picture frames and glass, and serving as clerk of both the Borough of Vineland and Township of Landis. Still active as a photographer in Vineland as late as 1897, he died in Philadelphia.

Essex County

The Oranges

Outside Newark, most of the photographers in Essex County worked in the Oranges. Orrin C. Benjamin, discussed above in the section on Newark, was one of nearly fifty professional photographers known to have worked in the Oranges before 1900. One of his chief competitors from 1881 to 1899 was Hugh J. Brady. Born about 1858 in New York, he began his photographic career in Philadelphia at the age of eleven. As a young adult, he traveled in a photographic wagon and apparently made enough money by 1880 to buy a lot in Orange and erect a two-story building, fifty-six by forty feet, for a permanent studio. The first floor was for his office, the second housed the waiting room and operating area, and the attic, no doubt equipped with skylights, was for printing by sunlight and retouching. Brady, however, did not give up his wagon: in the 1880s; he had three traveling galleries for taking portraits and views of houses. Brady claimed to make a specialty of photographing babies "quick as a wink." He made tintypes as well as photographs on paper.

George C. Cox, active in East Orange from 1874 to 1880 and 1883 to 1885, Orange (1887-1889), and West Orange (1889), made a specialty of views, but he also produced portraits, including one of Walt Whitman; his large format print of Whitman is at the Monmouth County Historical Association.

Frederick G. Handel, born in Saxony in 1850, changed his name from Haendel early in his career. He was in business in Orange from 1871 to 1889, concentrating on copying and enlarging, then colorizing with oil, crayon, watercolor, Indian ink, or pastel. If music is a genetic trait, Handel might have been distantly related to the famous composer, since from 1886 to 1889, he was a both a photographer and a "professor of music."

In 1880, photographer Stephen Henry Horgan (1841-1941) was living in East Orange. He was hired by the *New York Graphic* in 1874 and in 1880 was responsible for the publication of the first halftone reproduction, a process that revolutionized the publishing of images. Horgan is justifiably considered one of the most important figures in the history of photomechanical reproduction.

From 1879 to 1882, Mrs. Mary S. Lewis had a business called "Photo Parian Painting" (that is, photographs on ceramics) at 21 Main Street in Orange.

Thomas Edison moved his "Invention Factory" from Menlo Park to West Orange in 1887. In the 1890s, he began manufacturing 35-mm equipment for cinematography, built the "Black Maria" motion picture studio, and produced some of the earliest motion pictures.

T. O'Conor Sloane, Jr. (1879-1963) began photography as a pre-teen when he

lived in Orange, while his father was a professor at Seton Hall. An original member of the Photo Secession in 1902, Sloane did much of his work in gum bichromate. In the early 1900s, he became a professional and eventually relocated to Connecticut, where he was friendly with Edward Steichen. He remained active until the 1940s, when a swimming pool accident severely damaged his eyesight. 121

Maplewood

Whether James Ricalton (1844-1929) of Maplewood photographed in New Jersey has not been determined, but he was one of the most prolific travel photographers in history. By 1871, Ricalton and his first wife, born Christina Rutherford, moved from their hometown, Waddington, New York, to Maplewood, where he became a teacher and principal. A year after his wife died in 1878, Ricalton began his travels. Known primarily as a stereographic photographer, Ricalton turned professional in 1891 to work under contract with Underwood and Underwood and may also have supplied views to the Keystone View Company, which eventually purchased Underwood. By 1914, Ricalton had traveled more than 500,000 miles, "crossed the ocean 43 times and visited most countries of the world," taking "over 100,000 photographs and 30 miles of motion picture film." It has been claimed that his work was "seen by more Americans than any other photographer between 1880 and 1930." Between trips, he became a professional travel lecturer entertaining New Jersey audiences with lantern slides and stereographs. Although informative, his illustrated lectures tended to reinforce, if not promote, stereotypes white Americans held about other races and cultures.

Thomas Edison sent Ricalton around the world in 1888 in search of bamboo for electric light filaments and again in 1911 to test a new movie camera; Ricalton's son died in Africa on the second trip. Ricalton photographed extensively in both the Spanish-American War and the Russo-Japanese War. In 1924, he offered his vast worldwide collection of photographs and memorabilia to the town of Maplewood at a fraction of its worth but was turned down. He sold some and brought two trainloads with him to Waddington, where he died in 1929. His second wife, Barbara Campbell Ricalton, who married him in 1885, sold the remainder at auction. Ricalton was largely forgotten until 1985, when the New Jersey State Museum recreated his lectures in conjunction with the exhibition, "America Discovers the World."

Gloucester County

Very few photographers with studios have been documented in Gloucester County before 1900 and those found are known to have practiced only for short periods of time. One reason may be the proximity of Philadelphia: the vast majority of nineteenth century portrait photographs currently at the Gloucester County Historical Society were taken there. Early Gloucester County photographers, with dates known, included daguerreotypist George R. Pullinger (Swedesboro, 1860), E. S. Costill (Clayton, 1875), John N. Jones (Glassboro, 1875), and Lewis C. Fowler, listed in the 1880 census in Woodbury as 19 years old and living with his wife, Elmira, and infant daughter, Luella.

Hudson County

While most photographers in Hudson County worked in Hoboken or Jersey City, discussed above, a few also worked in Bayonne and Kearney. Born in 1817 in Massachusetts, William Snell began his photographic career as a daguerreotypist in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1843. Working mostly in Salem, but also sometimes in Lynn and Newburyport, he remained in Massachusetts until at least 1865. By 1879, he was in New Jersey, working in Elizabethport. The 1880 census found him in Elizabeth living with his wife Helen (52) and daughter Grace (20). He opened a studio in Bayonne in 1881, where he remained until 1894, with a possible hiatus between 1884 to 1887. Eight other professional photographers worked in Bayonne in the 1890s, of whom Herman Lay, previously in Hoboken, was active the longest, 1895-1899.

In about 1900, Bayonne amateur Frederick Kissan Lord (1878-1968) actively photographed nautical and other scenes in and near New Jersey. Mystic Seaport Museum has 950 of his photographs.

Six professionals worked in Kearney in the 1890s, beginning with Charles W. Crooks (1889-1893).

Hunterdon County

<u>Flemington</u>

The Hunterdon Gazette is an excellent source for information about itinerant daguerreotypists in Flemington in the 1840s. 127 J.A. Beardsley and G.R. Auten placed an ad on May 7, 1845: "having fitted up rooms" at the hotel, will take portraits "in a style of perfection which cannot be surpassed in the Union. . . . They will be taken at a less price than any other artist of equal skill in the United States." The following year Philadelphia daguerreotypist Thomas Colley arrived and the Gazette's editor opined that his pictures were "vastly superior to any ever before taken in Flemington." Colley's prices ranged from \$1.50 to \$2.50, case included. He also offered instruction and supplies used in the business. ¹²⁸ On July 21, 1847, J.R. Shorb & A.B. Woodruff announced their presence over J. Parse's Tin & Stove Shop, opposite Emery's store "for the purpose of taking Dayguerreotype [sic] likenesses." They offered hand coloring at no extra charge and advised the public not to come to the gallery wearing much blue. white or other light material, since the correct exposure for such clothing would result in underexposure for the face. On September 8, 1847, the Gazette reported that Woodruff had relocated to Clinton. A similar pattern of visiting daguerreotypists occurred in other New Jersey towns during this period.

Several photographers were established in Flemington during the Civil War era, including Maurice M. Mallon (1863-1870s) and William K. Sherwood (1863-1866). By the end of the 1860s, John C. Sunderlin, born in 1835 in New Jersey, opened for business; previously, he was partners with Levi Walling (died about 1870) in Fort

Edward, New York. 130 Though perhaps not continuously, Sunderlin continued to work in Flemington until at least 1900. In the 1880s, he was joined by his unmarried daughter, Mary Sunderlin, born in 1860, who was still a photographer at the turn of the century, when the 1900 federal census found her living with her widowed father. Mary Sunderlin issued at least one stereo view, of a church interior, under her own name; her father also produced stereo views taken in Flemington. In 1891, one or both Sunderlins traveled to Hightstown to photograph faculty and students of the Peddie School.

Before 1900, the only other photographic professional in business for more than ten years in Flemington was George B. Spencer from Connecticut. From 1871 to 1883, he was situated on the third floor of the Evans Building on South Main Street, did all kinds of photographs, and stocked pictures, frames, albums, and stereoscopes, a typical range of goods for photographers of his era.

Edward Livingston Wilson, was a major nineteenth century figure in photography, with several Philadelphia businesses. He was a photographer; author and/or publisher of books on photography; editor of several photography magazines; and purveyor of photographic equipment and supplies through the firm of Wilson, Hood & Co. Born in 1828 in Flemington to local luminary Hart Wilson and his wife Amelia (the daughter of Flemington hotel owner, Neal Hart), Wilson first became well known in photographic circles when he and M.F. Benerman started the widely read journal, *Philadelphia Photographer*, with less than \$100 in January 1864. In 1889, it was renamed *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* and, in 1915, *Photographic Journal of America*. According to historian William Welling, Wilson became "a prime chronicler of photographic events" in the nineteenth century. ¹³¹ Among myriad other activities, he was the official photographer of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and, in the 1880s, traveled to Egypt and thereafter became a popular lecturer on the Orient. Although Wilson left Flemington, he ended his life back in New Jersey: he died in Vineland on June 26, 1903.

Lambertville

Despite its relatively small population, 3,845 in 1870, Lambertville's strategic location on the Delaware River insured a stream of numerous visitors and a market for photographic services. The earliest known daguerreotypes were taken in 1846 by John A. Anderson, a teenager who learned the process from Charles Evans, an itinerant daguerreotypist. Anderson made daguerreotype portraits, including one of himself (fig. 29), and scenes on an amateur basis until 1847, when he began a railroad career. After his retirement in 1899, he began photographing again and wrote several articles for photographic journals. 132

The first professional with a lasting presence in Lambertville was John C. Reeve, from about 1855 to 1870. During the Civil War, he had several short-term competitors but in 1867, two photographers arrived who stayed: John R. Ellenger (also spelled Ellinger) and Frank Z. Fritz.

Ellenger worked in Philadephia and Newton, Pennsylvania, before arriving in Toms River in April 1867. After a few months, on October 31, 1867, the *New Jersey Courier* reported, "J.R. Ellinger, our Photographic Artist, has removed from Toms River to Lambertville. . . . Mr. Ellinger is an artist of more than ordinary talent, and is excelled by none—not even in the cities—a first class artist. We wish Jack all sorts of good luck at Lambertville, and hope that his many good qualities will be appreciated by his good friends." Ellenger remained in Lambertville until about 1873, after which he worked in Camden and Philadelphia.

Frank Fritz, a native of Pennsylvania born about 1840, also learned his craft in Philadelphia and, as mentioned previously, became a "traveling Artist" before settling in Lambertville, where he changed his appellation to "Artist in Photography." Although much of Fritz' business was portraiture, he also made stereo and other format views of the town. Fritz remained active until the 1890s, primarily at 32 N. Union Street where he occupied all three floors: reception on the first; "operating room" and business office on the second; and framing and finishing on the third. After his death or retirement, Fritz' enterprising wife Maria sold pianos and organs at another location.

Although he did not stay in business as long as Ellenger or Fritz, John C. Tibbels, described as "in love with his profession," did excellent quality portraits at his studio on the corner of Church and Union streets from 1879 to about 1885. ¹³⁴ In a portrait of a boy with his dog on a pedestal, the lad is standing in deep straw and the stairs behind him lead into a scene in the painted backdrop, creating an effective illusion of deep space outdoors (fig. 30). Tibbels came from Pennsylvania, where he was born about 1845. His brother-in-law, Harry Williams, served as his apprentice and lived with Tibbels, his wife Caroline, and their children.

Mercer County

Princeton

Although Trenton, discussed above, dominated photography in Mercer, Princeton University (called the College of New Jersey until 1896) and the Theological Seminary assured activity in Princeton. In 1846, daguerreotypist George W. Prosch of New York assisted Joseph Henry, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Princeton University, with scientific experiments in the classroom. Prosch's involvement with photography began in 1839, when he made a daguerreotype camera for Samuel P. Morse. In 1840, Prosch became the first commercial camera manufacturer in the United States. He had daguerreotype studios in Newark between 1850 and 1856.

Most of the other photographic activity in Princeton during the daguerreian era consisted of eminent New York or Philadelphia daguerreotypists who visited to photograph Princeton University students, faculty, and local Princetonians. Among these daguerreotypists were Frederick DeBourg Richards, Montgomery P. Simons, George Warren, John Moran, and William Howell.

Of those nineteenth century photographers who stayed in Princeton, R.H. (Royal Hill) Rose stands foremost. Rose was born in Hudson, New York, in 1840, and opened his first photographic studio in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1860, at the corner of Broad and Jersey streets. After serving in the Civil War and working in Poughkeepsie, he joined Edward R. Stoutenburgh from 1865 to 1867 in a partnership at 244 & 246 Broad Street in Newark. By May 1867, Rose had left Stoutenburgh to establish his own studio nearby at 257 Broad Street. After a brief period working in Poughkeepsie with his step-father-in-law, photographer Samuel Walker, Rose came to Princeton in 1873, where he remained until his death in 1910. In addition to being the town's leading photographer, Rose became active in local civic affairs. By 1889, he was joined by his son, Royal Cutting Rose, who continued the business after the founder's death. The studio was closed in 1951 by R.H.'s grandson, Carlton W. Rose Sr. Nearly ten thousand glass plate negatives by the Rose studio, as well as many prints, are at the Historical Society of Princeton.

Despite the presence of Rose and a few other local photographers, notably George K. Warren (active 1860-1877), Princeton University continued to attract major out-of-town photography businesses, notably the "Photographer of the Queen," William Notman of Canada, active seasonally in Princeton, 1874-1876, and 1878. Notman personally photographed the classes of 1874 and 1875. Gustavus W. Pach of the Pach Brothers of New York and Long Branch started photographing Princeton classes in 1879 and by 1888 had opened a branch studio there, which continued until around 1900. Both Notman and Pach also photographed at other colleges in the Northeast during this period. (For more about Pach, see Long Branch below.)

Hightstown

An era marked by a long succession of short-term daguerreotypists in Hightstown ended with R.R. Priest, who in 1864 succeeded George H. Auxer and acquired his negatives. 140 Priest stayed until March 1871. He was succeeded by Daniel P. Hutchinson, who advertised that he could make one thousand tintypes per day. Whether he ever did so is unknown but to have that capability he probably had a Wing's Patent Camera that could take dozens of one-inch wide "Gem" tintypes or hundreds of tiny half-inch tintypes on a single plate. 141 Hutchinson died on September 17, 1872, and his widow sold the business to G.A. Griffin (1872-1875). Joseph P. Dalrymple came from Philadelphia and was a leading town photographer from 1883 to 1889, when he resumed his career in the City of Brotherly Love. His studio was taken over by Edwin P. Thornburn, also a skilled engraver who did photo engravings for the local newspaper. He specialized in interior and exterior views of churches, schools, and other local landmarks. One section of his gallery was set aside for tintypes, produced by his "operator," Walter B. Ayres. He also made picture postcards when they came into fashion at the turn of the century. Thornburn was succeeded by Miss Annie L. Hay in February 1907.

Middlesex County

New Brunswick

Little is known of New Brunswick daguerreotypist Jonathan H. Vail, other than that he was active by 1848 to 1852, when he died. It is likely that Vail was related to Alfred Vail who worked with Samuel F.B. Morse to develop the telegraph. Jonathan H. Vail's successor, David Clark, born in Connecticut on April 12, 1825, had a much longer and more illustrious career (fig. 31). In 1852, Clark took over Vail's gallery on Peace Street, where he remained until relocating, probably in 1863, to King Block, Commerce Square. There he continued until 1891, at which time he moved to George Street.

Clark exhibited a few very fine daguerreotypes, including a highly praised portrait of a lady, at the Crystal Palace exhibition in New York in 1853. At the New Jersey State Fair in 1857, he was awarded the prize for the best daguerreotypes in the state. Clark did a large portrait business, but he also did other kinds of work, including now rare stereographic views of New Brunswick. His career of fifty years spanned important developments in photographic technology, so his work is found in a variety of formats and techniques; the most commonly seen today are cartes de visite (see Table 2).

Clark died in 1902; soon thereafter Isaac S. Van Derveer (1880-1975) was operating at Clark's last location and may have acquired his negatives. A collection of Van Derveer negatives, including a few that may be Clark's, are now at Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick.

Native New Brunswicker Robert M. Boggs' motto at his Combination Light Daguerreotype Gallery in 1855-1856 was "Suit the Person." Boggs partnered with ambrotypist C.K. Bill in New York from 1858 to 1860; they also had a branch in New Brunswick. After the partnership dissolved, Boggs had his own studio in New Brunswick from 1860 to 1868, during which time, like other studio photographers, he photographed Civil War soldiers. In an 1860 ad, he offered life-sized portraits for one dollar each and expressed his willingness to take anything "from a pin to a mountain." In 1876, assisted by his wife, Boggs became the manager of the Brunswick House, an Ocean Beach resort.

John C. ("J.C.") Scott started his career as a photographer in New York in 1844, but his first known gallery opened in New Brunswick in 1868; it succeeded Boggs' at 226 Burnet Street. This second floor studio, twenty-five by one hundred feet, was divided into a reception area and an operating room. Like most other commercial photographers, Scott made portraits, copied old pictures, and enlarged new ones in oil, crayon, or India ink. By 1872, when he moved to Peace Street, he was toning his albumen photographs with a lead salt solution after fixing and washing. He wrote that the process saved "labor and time," presumably in comparison to gold toning. A public-spirited man, Scott was reported in 1882 to be giving stereopticon lectures about "all countries on the globe" to churches and Sunday schools. In 1885, having adopted the gelatin dry plate process, Scott advertised that he took pictures "quick as a wink." He remained active in New Brunswick until 1890.

References in early 1890s Freehold directories to a John L. Scott of Freehold are probably typographical errors for John C. Scott. Scott also had a branch in Spring Lake in the 1890s: an 1892 "Scott" cabinet card of the world's first bicycling champion, Arthur A. Zimmerman from Manasquan, reads, "New Brunswick and Spring Lake" (fig. 32). In the 1890s, Zimmerman lived in Freehold, where he manufactured "Zimmy" bicycles. 147

Although a number of other professionals offered their services in New Brunswick before 1900, the only other one of note is Frank P. Dunn, active in the 1880s and 1890s. Dunn's cabinet card portraits of children made effective use of studio accessories such as furs, columns, a painted backdrop, and a garden gate with grass and plants (fig. 33). On July 31, 1884, the *New Brunswick Daily Times* reported that the largest group photo ever made in the city, by Dunn, was on view at Van Deusen's drug store.

In the 1880s, the increased facility of photography, due to the introduction of gelatin dry plates, attracted a number of local enthusiasts, including architect George K. Parsell. On July 30, 1884, from the top of Reformed Church, he made a series of seven panoramic views, which he sold for \$3.50 per set. They were considered the first "aerial shots" of New Brunswick (fig. 34). The lack of traffic with just a few horse and buggies visible documents how sleepy a town New Brunswick was in the summer back in those days; the undeveloped countryside, clearly visible on the far side of the Raritan River, is also strikingly different from today.

Perth Amboy

John M. Hart, after working as a daguerreotypist and ambrotypist in Newark from 1855 to 1859, became the first known ambrotypist in Perth Amboy in 1859-1860. In the 1860s, John E. La Forge did a steady business there; his carte de visite of Civil War soldier Captain George Stover of the 28th New Jersey Volunteers is at the New Jersey State Archives. In the 1890s, William R. Tobias was an "Artist Photographer" in Perth Amboy, as well as a partner in a bicycle business. Tobias' photograph of a young boy in a white dress with crossed hands on a fake stump covered with grass, the boy's gaze off camera, with an out of focus painted landscape in the background, shows his skill in handling compositional elements (fig. 35).

Woodbridge

No nineteenth century studios have been identified in then rural Woodbridge but it was the home of Charles deForest Fredricks (1823-1894) and his family from about 1860 to the 1880s. According to both the 1860 and 1880 censuses, he and his wife and children lived on a farm owned by John H. Campbell. Fredricks began his career in New York as a daguerreotypist and case maker in the 1840s. Beginning in 1843, he worked in South America and Paris before returning in 1853 to New York, where he was associated with Jeremiah Gurney before opening his own gallery on Broadway around

1855, then another in Havana from 1856 to 1858. In the 1850s, he introduced life-sized portraits on paper and was one of the first in the United States to make the immensely popular cartes de visite; he also held the patent rights to the photograph album for card photographs in the early 1860s. By 1860, he was reported to have eleven camera operators in his employ. Rebuilding after an 1886 fire, Fredricks had the largest photography studio in the United States. He retired in the late 1880s. ¹⁵⁰

Monmouth County

Freehold

The earliest established photographer in Freehold was John Roth, whose daguerreotype studio shared space with his jewelry shop, where he sold and repaired watches. Roth was born in Bavaria in about 1821 and emigrated in 1848. He opened his daguerreian rooms in 1853 and expanded his practice to ambrotypes and paper photographs by the end of the decade. After 1872, he seems to have given up professional photography and gave his profession as watchmaker. Roth is listed in the 1875 and 1880 censuses along with his wife and children. ¹⁵¹

Ferris C. Lockwood was born about 1848 in New York and called himself, "Artistic Photographer." By the late 1860s, he was established in Freehold and remained active until about 1880. In 1872, Lockwood published a pamphlet, "For Parlor or Pocket. The Photograph Album. All About Photography," which states that at the Monmouth County Fair he received a "premium for work in the Highest Department of Photography." The *Monmouth Inquirer* of November 6, 1873, reporting the great fire in Freehold, stated, "Lockwood, the Photographer, obtained several fine pictures of the fire from different points, and is doing a good business selling copies for 25 cts. each. Many are purchasing copies to send to their friends." In his teens, Lockwood lived in Keyport with his uncle, Samuel Lockwood, who may have taught him photography. Samuel Lockwood also moved to Freehold and became the first Superintendent of Schools for Monmouth County.

Since Freehold is the county seat for Monmouth, professional photographers located their studios near the Courthouse, since that was the center of activity in the town. In April 1892, before his hanging, convicted murderer Louis Harriott signed copies for jail visitors of his carte de visite by Freehold photographer John C. Scott, whose studio was a block away on Throckmorton Street. 154

Of the few other studios in Freehold before 1900, the one of longest duration was that of Arthur T. Hall from the late 1890s to 1922. Hall was born in New York in 1878.

Long Branch

As a very popular summer resort community in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Long Branch attracted its share of professional photographers: at least twenty established businesses before 1900. Some specialized in stereographs to sell to

tourists, others in portraits, and some engaged in both pursuits. Undoubtedly, a number of tintypists whose names are unknown today situated themselves seasonally along the beach.

Alfred Fisher may have been the first professional photographer in Long Branch (1862), but by far the best known was a native of Berlin, Gustavus V. Pach (born 1845-died 1904), one of five brothers who in some way engaged in photography. An older brother, Morris, was Gustavus' first partner in the 1860s and 1870s. The Pachs began photographing in Long Branch from a mobile wagon in 1866 and opened a studio the following year. They are highly regarded for their stereo views, some also issued in other formats, as well as for thousands of fine portraits. Among their subjects were prominent summer residents of Long Branch, including George Jay Gould, Ulysses S. Grant, Theodore Roosevelt, and Mark Twain; they also photographed the houses and families of the rich and famous. As their business grew, the Pachs hired cameramen to make some of the photos that carried the Pach imprint.

In 1870, subsequent to the establishment of their Long Branch studio, Pach Brothers opened another in New York City, which beginning in 1903 was under the direction of the youngest brother, Gotthelf (born 1851-died 1925). The New York studio went out of family ownership in 1966 but continued operations as "Pach Brothers" until the 1990s. Pach's was thus one of the longest lasting photography businesses in the United States, along with Bachrach's and Sarony's, both of which are still in existence but which were not active in nineteenth century New Jersey.

In addition to New York and Long Branch, Pach Brothers managed studios in Ocean County: Dover Township (1864); Jones River (1865); and Toms River (1864-1865, 1874-1875), as well as Poughkeepsie (1879-1880). One of their specialties was college portraits; as previously noted, they photographed Princeton University classes for many years beginning in 1879; they operated in other college towns as well. By 1888, they were conducting business in Long Branch, Ocean Grove, and Princeton, New Jersey; New Haven and Middletown, Connecticut; Cambridge, Amherst, Wellesley, and Williamstown, Massachusetts; New York City and West Point (where through the influence of President Grant, they photographed the classes for over thirty years); Hanover, New Hampshire; and Easton, Pennsylvania. 155

In 1896, Gustavus Pach opened another Ocean County studio in Lakewood, New Jersey. After his death in 1904, the Lakewood firm was run by his wife and children living at the studio/residence, with George A.M. Morris, another German immigrant, as chief photographer. (A branch continued on Brighton Avenue in Long Branch.) George Morris (born 1879-died 1948) began working for Gustavus in 1898 and eventually took over the New Jersey Pach Brothers business, retaining the Pach name until about 1918. George H. Moss, Jr., who with Karen Schnitzspahn wrote the authoritative book about the Pachs, *Those Innocent Years*, ¹⁵⁶ acquired a large collection of Pach's glass plate negatives from George Morris' son; this collection, along with a smaller one donated by Schnitzspahn, is being preserved by the Monmouth County Historical Association.

Red Bank

Like so many of the early daguerreotypists in New Jersey, not much is known of J.F. Earl, who practiced in Red Bank in 1850-1851 and therefore was one of the first photographers in Monmouth County. William K. Sherwood, moving from Flemington, produced cartes de visite in Red Bank in 1867 (fig. 36). About three dozen professionals followed them by 1900 and Red Bank become a center for photographic activity in the county.

The New Jersey Stereoscopic View Company had offices in Red Bank and Long Branch in the 1870s; it also had an office in Philadelphia in 1875. It produced almost two hundred different views, about half of which were cataloged by George H. Moss, Jr. 159 Although most of these were taken in Long Branch, Red Bank, and the Highlands, three were from Maracaibo, Venezuela. The company president was Colwell Lane, who began photographing in Long Branch and Red Bank before 1866. One of the company's stereos supposedly depicts a sunrise, with the sun a little higher in one of the two frames (fig. 37). In 1876, Lane left the company and later had a studio in New York from 1888 to 1890.

For a few years in the 1870s, David N. Carvalho joined Lane as partner and manager. Carvalho (born 1848), was the son of Solomon Nuñes Carvalho, the first Jewish daguerreotypist in the United States and perhaps in the world. Solomon was from Charleston, South Carolina, and worked primarily in Baltimore and New York. In 1853, Solomon was daguerreotypist for John C. Fremont's memorable expedition to California, the fame of which led the Republicans to nominate Fremont for U.S. President in 1856. David Carvalho accompanied his well-traveled father on a photographic expedition to Martinique in 1872, after which he joined Lane in Red Bank. In 1877, David opened a photography studio in New York City at 65 E. 127th St., the first of six locations in the period 1877-1885. He later became an expert on handwriting and inks. ¹⁶⁰

Arthur H. White of Red Bank won the award for best portrait colored with pastel at the 1874 New Jersey State Fair. He could be found plying his trade in and around Red Bank in the 1870s and 1880s. One of his cabinet cards shows a child standing next to a tree stump with an elaborate painted backdrop of a forest scene thrown slightly out of focus, creating an effective illusion of an outdoor portrait. (fig. 38). Both he and his father William were described in the 1880 census as born in England and as "Photo Artist." On September 11, 1889, a local newspaper reported that Arthur was on the road in a "handsome photo-wagon, which is fitted up with the best instruments for all kinds of outdoor photography." 161

In the 1890s, DeHart & Letson, a partnership consisting of Augustus V. DeHart and William W. Letson, described themselves as "Portrait and Landscape Photographers." Although apparently based in Red Bank, where they lived, DeHart and Letson had branch studios in Atlantic Highlands and Sea Bright. Letson also worked solo in Asbury Park, Keyport, and Red Bank in the 1890s, while DeHart has not been

found listed without Letson. Although precise dates have not been established, DeHart & Letson's partnership lasted from the 1890s to at least 1909.

Another active photographer in Red Bank toward the end of the century was Andrew R. Coleman. Before moving to Red Bank, Coleman's parents lived at the Phalanx, a utopian community near Farmingdale in Monmouth County. Born in Red Bank on December 5, 1858, Coleman first worked in his father's jewelry business until 1888, when he became interested in photography. He opened his own studio in 1892 and in an 1895 ad modestly stated, "My work is of the best and my prices are moderate. My out-door work is especially good." Coleman was based in several successive downtown locations before moving to the Red Bank Daily Register building in 1912 and becoming staff photographer for that newspaper.

Morris County

Boonton

About a dozen different professional photographers are known to have worked in Boonton. John P. Doremus, later of Paterson, worked in Boonton in 1862. William L. Teush worked professionally in Boonton from the 1860s to the 1890s, but not continuously. From 1897 to about 1905, Frank Wendt had a studio opposite the church in Boonton. Formerly in New York City, Wendt was cameraman at the Bowery studio of Charles Eisenmann from 1893 to 1897 and may have married Eisenmann's daughter. Both Eisenmann and Wendt specialized in photographing circus people, including performers with unusual physical characteristics, and their work is very well known today among collectors. Some of the photographs with Wendt's imprint are low contrast copies of images previously sold by the Eisenmann studio. Subjects included Piramal and Sami (Brother and Sister, The Double Bodied Hindoo Enigma), Jennie Reynolds (a midget), and a snake charmer.

<u>Dover</u>

More than fifteen photographers practiced in Dover in the nineteenth century, of whom Charles Weitfle achieved the most renown. Born in Germany in 1836, he emigrated to the U.S. about 1849-1850 and became a photographer in Newark by 1854. Said to have introduced the ambrotype to Rio de Janeiro in 1856, Weitfle returned to Newark, then photographed military encampments during the Civil War. He had a studio in Dover from about 1866 to about 1877. On the back of one of his stereographs from this period, he listed forty-two views taken in Dover, Boonton, Morristown, and other northern New Jersey locations. Weitfle then moved to Colorado, where he became recognized both for portraits and views that won silver medals in Denver state fairs in 1878 and 1879. He died in 1921. When Weitfle left Dover, Edward George Lacey took over his establishment as a branch of his main studio in Morristown.

Morristown

In 1850, *Kirkbride's New Jersey Business Directory* listed George Treat in Morristown as one of eight daguerreian artists in the state. By the 1860s, the public could patronize Thomas J. Davis (1860-1864) or Daniel Alexander, who during part of his career was probably one of the partners in the firm of Alexander and Stevens (1860s-1870s).

Edward George Lacey (born 1846-died 1916) became the best known nineteenth century Morristown photographer. Lacey was born in London on June 8, 1846, and at about age fourteen worked there for the high volume photographic firm, Maull & Polyblank, which was in business from 1856 to 1865. According to *Industries of New Jersey* (1882), Lacey opened his gallery in Morristown in 1867. Persevering despite the losses of his daughter Emily in 1875 and his wife Emily in 1878, Lacey continued working diligently until he got an inheritance from England in 1895 that allowed him the opportunity to travel. After his retirement in 1902, the Lacey Studios lasted until 1927. Lacey's second wife, Julia (née Julianna Wylle, married 1879), was listed as a photographer in the 1887 and 1902 Morristown directories; she may have remained active in the business after Edward's retirement. 165

In addition to the Laceys, about two dozen other professional photographers had studios in Morristown before 1900, including the Parkers. Due to health problems, Charles N. Parker gave up a career as a farmer in Perry, New York, and opened a photography studio in Morristown by 1885; assisted by his sons, he remained active until about 1896. After Charles N. Parker died in 1898, his sons William C. and Lewis C. Parker continued the business as The Parker Studio. From 1918 to 1930, the brothers were located in a beautiful building at 29-31 South Street that they designed; according to a magazine editor, it was "from an artistic viewpoint . . . probably unsurpassed by any studio in the country."

Another long-term Morristown photographer was Henry Ensminger, in business from 1894 to 1922.

Ocean County

Toms River

Ocean County, which split off from Monmouth in 1851, was very sparsely populated in the nineteenth century: the total population was only 14,455 in 1880, exceeding only Cape May County with 9,765. A few villages such as Toms River attracted photographers, but they usually stayed just for a short time. For example, daguerreotypist Arthur B. Clarke boasted in the *Ocean Emblem* on January 12, 1854, that he had studios in New York and Philadelphia but was temporarily in Toms River until February 25. Clarke's local success was such that he extended his stay until March 27, 1854. 168

Gustavus and Morris Pach were in Toms River for about six months early in their careers before their establishing themselves in Long Branch. The *Ocean Emblem*,

September 29, 1864, carried their ad: "The subscriber would respectfully announce to the Public of Tom's River, and vicinity, that they are prepared to take PHOTOGRAPHS, CARTE DE VISITES, AMBROTYPES, MELAINOTYPES, and every thing appertaining to the Art, in the very best manner, and at Prices, WHICH CANNOT FAIL TO SUIT. Having had long experience in the business, we feel confident in saying that we can give entire satisfaction or no charge. NB.— Particular attention paid to copying pictures of Deceased relatives of friends. Also, OUT-DOOR VIEWS, such as groups and Residences." The Pach firm returned in 1874-1875, after which their studio was occupied by C.C. Luce, who also photographed in Brooklyn and, in New Jersey, Elizabethport, New Egypt, and Seaside Park.

Lakewood

In addition to Toms River, a few cameramen briefly worked in Bricksburg (Lakewood today). One of the first was Augustus F. Pawley, about 1870, who was also a dentist and jeweler, serving as an example that, in general, small villages could not support a full-time photographer. Gustavus Pach established the first long-term studio in Lakewood in 1896.

Passaic County

Passaic

While Paterson was the center of photographic activity in Passaic County, more than two dozen photographers worked in the town of Passaic before 1900, including several, such as John M. Kemp (1870s-1885), who kept their main studio was in Paterson One probably retired photographer associated with Passaic is Charles H. Fontayne. Born in 1814, Fontayne was a prominent early daguerreotypist, who began his career in Baltimore in 1841 and subsequently became partners with W.S. Porter in the 1840s and 1850s, first in Baltimore and then in Cincinnati. Fontayne and Porter are renowned for their prize-winning, eight daguerreotype panorama of the Cincinnati waterfront in 1848. In 1856, Fontayne joined portrait photographer James F. Ryder in Cleveland, spent a brief period in New York City, about 1858-1859, then returned to Cincinnati in 1859. On January 20, 1891, he was living in Passaic but whether he did any photography in New Jersey has not been determined. Fontayne died in nearby Clifton on March 18, 1901, at the age of 87. 170

Salem County

Salem

To raise money to pay the costs of the Civil War, the Federal government began licensing numerous occupations, including photographers, in 1862. Tax records held by the National Archives are thus an excellent research source for Civil War photographers (see Table 1). These records show, for example, that James H. Simkins (a.k.a. Simpkins) of Salem took out a ten-dollar license in May 1864. The Simkins is simplified to the Civil War, the Federal government began licensing numerous occupations, including photographers, in 1862. Tax records held by the National Archives are thus an excellent research source for Civil War photographers (see Table 1). These records show, for example, that James H. Simkins (a.k.a. Simpkins) of Salem took out a ten-dollar license in May 1864.

remained active in photography into the 1880s, was born in New Jersey in 1829. In 1880, he was single and living with his eighty-two year old father Job, who had a retail grocery.

John P. Flynn was born in Ireland in 1846. By 1869, he was a photographer in Salem where he lived with his wife, Annie. The 1880 census found them with their four children and a live-in Irish servant. In addition to studio work, Flynn also sold stereoviews, chromolithographs, and picture frames. He was an active photographer until at least 1883.

Lorenzo ("L.D.") Compton was not listed in Salem in the 1880 census, but fairly soon thereafter, he began a photography portrait business there that last until at least 1910. Compton's impressive success in photographing twin babies for a cabinet card in about 1890 (fig. 38) demonstrates the "instantaneous" speed offered by gelatin dry plates as compared to collodion.

Outside the town of Salem, very few photographers have been found in Salem County before 1900. In Pilesgrove, Hannah H. Flanagin, a single, forty-two-year-old woman born in New Jersey, was listed as a photographer in the 1880 census. Although she lived in Pilesgrove, Flanagin's studio was nearby in Woodstown, where she operated from the 1860s to 1885.

Somerset County

Somerville 172

At least thirty professional photographers had operations in Somerville in the nineteenth century. Between 1841, when James Ackermann came to Torgert's Hotel, ¹⁷³ and 1854, fifteen different daguerreotypists are known to have worked in Somerville for relatively brief periods. A succession of at least seven daguerreotypists, ambrotypists, and photographers used space over Vroom's hardware store between 1853 and 1860. The first who stayed any length of time was B. Cooke between 1856 and 1858.

After the Civil War, two photographers, Edward T. Kelley and William A. Apgar, had galleries in Somerville for long periods. Kelley was active in Somerville from no later than 1865 to about 1885, making portraits, stereo views of local scenery, and advertising photographs, including a carte de visite of a soda fountain at Barkalow's store in the same building as his studio (fig. 39). The back of the card indicated that the fountain used pure soda water and that sixteen different flavors were available.) Kelley was born in about 1830 in Maine to parents born in New Brunswick, Canada; his wife Sarah was from Nantucket, where Kelley had a studio in the 1860s, as well as one in New York City. He died suddenly in New York on June 21, 1889, of Bright's Disease, and was buried in Nantucket by the Masons.

William A. Apgar, who called himself, "Artist in Photography," was born in New

Jersey in 1849 and worked in Trenton before moving his business to Association Hall in Somerville in 1876. Producing both portraits and stereo views, he was said to have a "polite lady assistant." By 1883, Apgar had switched from the wet plate collodion negative process to gelatin dry plates. Apgar made a cabinet card of a broadly smiling young black man wearing a very worn straw hat that was reproduced in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in February 1892 to accompany an ad to promote tourism to Bermuda (fig. 41). 176

A New York native, C.R. Howard purchased Apgar's studio in 1892 and remained there until about 1896. He is listed as a photographer in the 1900 federal census, living in East Somerville with Melissa, his wife of twenty-five years. The couple had two children, both of whom had died by 1900.

Sussex County

Newton

In 1870, Sussex County had only 23,168 inhabitants, about ten percent of that total living in Newton. Two photographers named Levi Loncore (a.k.a. Loncor), probably father and son, are associated with early photography there. The first provided photographic services as early as 1853 in the rear of Van Blarcom's grocery store. The second Levi, born in 1849, was listed as a photographer in the 1880 census. In the 1870s, the Levi Loncore store in Washington, Warren County, sold picture frames, albums, stereos, and other photographic goods.

Ira G. Owen (see Table 2), occasionally in partnership with other family members, produced a large volume of carte de visite portraits on Spring Street opposite the Green in Newton between 1860 and 1872. Owen was awarded 1st premium medal for the best display at the Eighth Annual Exhibition of the New Jersey State Agricultural Society, September 30, 1862. He also photographed in Hackettstown in 1868 and Scranton, PA, from 1870 to 1873; the latter studio was continued by his relatives until 1891.

Sussex County may have been without a professional photographer for a few years after Owen went to Pennsylvania; then, between 1878 and 1880, Charles A. Smith occupied his former studio. Smith, born in 1856, must have been proud of a photograph he made of Theodore Morford's setter, May, since he sent a copy to the *Philadelphia Photographer*. In November 1878, editor Edward Wilson averred, "It is 'still to a hair,' and the pose capital." ¹⁸⁰

Of Spanish parentage, Clatonia Joaquin Dorticus was born in Cuba on December 24, 1863, and came to the United States in 1868. Settling in Newton and operating a photography studio on Spring Street, he married New Jerseyan Mary Fredenburgh in 1890 and had two daughters, Serita and Josephine. Between 1895 and 1901, Dorticus was awarded five patents, one for a machine that embossed photographs and another for a print washer. Although Dorticus, his wife, and children are listed as white in

archival records, he is considered a man of color by some sources. Currently, Dorticus turns up regularly on the Internet as a black inventor, sometimes misidentified as a woman. Dorticus died on July 21, 1903, in Manhattan and was buried in Newton. 181

From no later than 1883 to 1913, A.C. Townley's studio was located over Earl's Billiard Parlor, on the upper floor, in the rooms formerly occupied by Owen and Smith, and across the alley from where Longcore had been located. 182

Union County

<u>Plainfield</u>

Outside Elizabeth, discussed above, Guillermo Thorn (1837-1920), a Quaker from the Catskills based in Plainfield, was the leading Union County photographer from the early 1860s to 1910. Although Thorn produced portraits, his more than two hundred architectural and landscape views of "Picturesque Plainfield" are particularly valued today. One 1880s view depicts the Elm Street tennis courts, with a group of fully dressed men in suits and women with long dresses holding rackets; no doubt they would have been shocked to see what tennis players wear today (fig. 42). Thorn also photographed Scotch Plains, Fanwood, Feltville, Dunellen, Netherwood, the Jersey shore, and elsewhere in the region: the Central Rail Road of New Jersey commissioned Thorne to photograph small towns and the photos were sold in the stations. Thorn also photographed monuments at Gettysburg and at Ellis Island. After his first wife died, Thorn married again and outlived the second one as well; altogether, he sired at least seven children. Collections of his work are at Kean University and the Historical Society of Plainfield.

Thorn's only long term Plainfield competitor was Francis C. Langhorne (1870s-1900s). Langhorne. born in New York in about 1845, was the son of English immigrants. His wife Kate's parents were from Scotland; she was born in New York in about 1855. The 1880 Plainfield census lists the Langhornes with their one-year-old daughter Agnes; Kate's mother, Agnes Swinton; and a nurse.

Warren County

Many Warren County residents in the second half of the nineteenth century would have been familiar with portrait specialist Samuel S. (S.S.) Teel, born in New Jersey in 1834. By the 1860s, Teel had a "Photographic Car," based in Hope. He also photographed out of Belvidere (1866) and, for a much longer period, Washington (1860s-about 1905).

Hackettstown

Although he made portraits, Davis Hamish Naramore, born in New York State in 1844, is more appreciated today for at least 139 different local stereo views, including "Hackettstown and Vicinity," "The Port Morris Coal Works," "Schooley's Mountain,"

"Budd's Lake," and other titles. Active in Hackettstown in the 1870s and 1880s, Naramore also worked in Tioga and Wellsboro, Pennsylvania. In the 1880 census, another photographer, Fred H. Hollis, 26, was recorded as living with Naramore's family in Hackettstown and no doubt worked for him.

Other photographers active in Hackettstown included J.P. Percival (1860s-1870s) and A.B. Buell (1880s- about 1900).

Phillipsburg

With a population of 5,950 in 1870, Phillipsburg was more than twice as large as any other municipality in Warren County, but its modest size did not permit it to support more than one or two photographers at a time. Before 1900, John Lee probably was active the longest, from the 1870s to the 1890s, although whether his work there was continuous has not been established. In 1894-1895, he worked at a branch in Raritan, Somerset County, where he charged two dollars for a dozen cabinet cards, but then returned to his headquarters in Phillipsburg. 185

A Legacy of "Likeness Taking"

With photographic imagery so ubiquitous today, it is hard to imagine the first decade of photography, when citizens of the Garden State saw their first daguerreotype or had their picture taken for the first time. One veteran photographer recalled that, as a child, his neighbor burst into his home to show his mother a daguerreotype of her sister, made by something he had also never seen called a camera. "The picture was a wonder to me, and as the first will always be remembered." ¹⁸⁶ Typically, such experiences would be followed by a visit for a "likeness-taking" with a traveling, selfstyled, silk-hatted "professor" acquainted with the mysteries of the new art. Some customers were so enthralled that they paid the daguerreotypist to teach them and tried their hand at professional photography. Of these, most, like Mr. Holgrave in Nathaniel Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables, drifted into daguerreotypy after a series of other careers and then moved on after a short try at camera work. A few, including some of those mentioned in this survey of New Jersey photographers, made it their lifelong passion. Collectively, all these professionals, joined by the numerous amateurs who began shooting in the 1880s and 1890s, have left us a major legacy of images of the people and places of their era and, embodied in copper, glass, iron, and paper, their ideas of what they thought photographs should look like.

New Jersey Photographers Mentioned in This Article

The following nineteenth century photographers are mentioned in the article, either in the introductory sections (*), the discussion of photographers by town, or both.

*Ackermann, James — Somerville Aitkin, William — Millville Alexander & Stevens — Morristown Alexander, Daniel — Morristown

Anderson, John A. — Lambertville

Apgar, William A. — Somerville

Applegate, Frank — Atlantic City

Applegate, James R. — Atlantic City

Astle, David -Vineland

*Austen, Peter T. — New Brunswick

Auxer, George H. — Hightstown

Ayers, Edgar M. — Jersey City

Ayres, Walter B. — Hightstown

Bainbridge, John & John, Jr. — Burlington and Trenton

*Baird, H.C. — Somerset County

Baker, Thomas — Burlington

Beardsley & Auten — Flemington

Beer, Adolph G. — Trenton

Benjamin, Orrin C. — Newark and Orange

Benjamin, Orrin C., Jr. - Orange

Bierstadt, Edward — Jersey City

Bill, Charles K. — New Brunswick

*Boggs, Robert M. — New Brunswick

Bowen, Isaac H. — Bridgeton

*Bowlby, J. McPherson — Somerville

*Boyden, Seth — Newark (inventor)

Brady, Hugh J. - Orange

Brown, Margaret (Maggie) Moses — Trenton

Buell, A.B. — Hackettstown

Campbell, Alfred S. — Elizabeth

Carpenter, Daniel W. — Millville

Carvalho, David N. - Red Bank

Chandler & Scheetz — Atlantic City

Chester, Samuel C. — Cape May and Millville

Clark. David — New Brunswick

Clarke, Arthur B. —Toms River

Coleman, Andrew R. — Red Bank

Colley, Thomas — Flemington

Collier, Paul Revere — Plainfield

Compton, L.D. — Salem

Cone, William F. — Newark

Cook, George S. — Newark

Costello, Alfred B. — Jersey City

Costill, E.S. — Clayton, Gloucester Co.

Cox, George C. — Oranges

Crooks, Charles W. — Kearney, Hudson Co.

Curran, Jane C. — Atlantic City

Dalrymple, Joseph P. — Hightstown

Dare, Marmaduke — Millville and Deerfield

Davis, Thomas J. — Morristown

*de Lapotterie, Charles — Hoboken

DeHart & Letson — Red Bank, et al.

Dixon, Joseph — Jersey City

Doremus, Harry — Paterson

Doremus, John P. — Paterson and Boonton

Doremus, Leonard H. — Paterson

Dorticus, Clatonia Joaquin — Newton

Dunn, Frank P. — New Brunswick

Dutton, William H. — Jersey City

Earl, J.F. — Red Bank

Edison, Thomas — West Orange (manufacturer)

*Edwards, Charles E. — Bridgeton

Edwards, M.C. — Bridgeton

Ellenger, John R. — Lambertville and Toms River

Ensminger, Henry — Morristown

Entrekin, William G. — Atlantic City

Evans, Charles —Lambertville

Fearn, William R. and Frederick H. — Camden

Fisher, Alfred — Long Branch

Flanagin, Hannah H. — Pilesgrove, Salem Co.

Flynn, John P. — Salem

Foley, S.H. — Hackensack

Fontayne, Charles H. — Passaic

Fowler, Lewis C. — Woodbury, Gloucester Co.

Fredricks, Charles deForest — Woodbridge

*Fritz, Frank Z. — Lambertville

Garns & Wardle — Camden

Gaston, William B. — Trenton

Geissinger, Howard B. — Atlantic City (endnote)

Gilbert, Conrad M. — Atlantic City

Goehrig, John F. — Trenton

Goodwin, Hannibal — Newark (inventor)

Gregory, A. Owen — Bridgeton

Griffin, H.A. — Hightstown

Griffing, Lewis S. – Jersey City

Grotecloss, William G. — Paterson

Gubelman, Theodore — Jersey City

Gunner, James W. — Englewood

*Haines, Edward C. — Woodstown

Haley, N.D. — Vineland

Hall, Arthur T. — Freehold

Handel, Frederick G. — Orange

Handy, Levin C. — Cape May

Hartman. John — Millville

Hays, John - Newark

Heck, Emma L. — Atlantic City

Hedden, Horace — Newark (manufacturer)

Hedden, Horace, Jr. — Newark (manufacturer)

Hepburn, Charles B. — Gloucester City, Camden Co.

Hill, William H.— Elizabeth, Asbury Park & Long Branch

Hollis, Fred H. — Hackettstown

Hood, John — Camden

Horgan, Stephen Henry — Orange

Howard, C.R. — Somerville

Howd, Daniel H. — Paterson

Howell, William — Princeton

Humberstone, William T. — Atlantic City

Hunt, E.J. — Camden

Hutchinson, Daniel P. — Hightstown

Insley, Albert B. — Jersey City

Insley, Henry A. — Jersey City

Insley, Henry E. — Jersey City

Jenks, Jonathan B. and Robert V. — Paterson

Johnson, Levi D. - Vineland

Jones, John N. — Glassboro

Keim, John H. — Jersey City

Kelley, Edward T. — Somerville

Kemp, Emma I. — Trenton

Kemp, Frederick W. — Trenton

Kemp, John M. — Paterson & Passaic

Kinch Brothers — Bordentown

Kirk, Joseph — Newark

Klugherz, Samuel — Paterson

Lacey, Edward G. — Morristown and Dover

Lacey, Julia — Morristown

Lacey, William — Morristown

Lane. Colwell — Red Bank

Lane, Nathaniel — Paterson

*Lange, Dorothea — Hoboken

Langhorne, Francis C. — Plainfield

Laning, Henry — Bridgeton

Larwell, Ebenezer — Newark (casemaker)

*Lawrence, Reina Andrade — Plainfield (amateur)

Lay, Herman N. — Hoboken and Bayonne

Lee, John — Phillipsburg and Raritan

Letts, J.M. — Bordentown

Lewis, Mary S. — Orange

Livermore and Stinson — Trenton

Lockwood, Ferris C. — Freehold

Loncore, Levi (2) — Newton and Washington, Sussex Co.

Lord, Frederick Kissan — Bayonne

Lovejoy, Henry C. — Trenton

Mallon, M.M. — Flemington

Martin, Mrs. J.P. — Paterson

May, Charles F. — Hoboken

Moore, Gabriel — Camden

Moran, John — Princeton

Morris, George A.M. — Long Branch, Lakewood and Long Branch

Morse, S.R. — Atlantic City

Moses, Maggie — see Brown, Margaret

Moses, Morris — Trenton

Mountain, John W. — Camden

Nagel, Louis — Hoboken

Naramore, David H. — Hackettstown

New Jersey Stereocopic View Co. — Red Bank

Notman, William — Princeton

Owen, Ira G. — Newton

*Pach, Gustavus V. — Mercer, Monmouth & Ocean counties

Pach, Morris — Long Branch and Toms River area

Parker, Charles N. — Morristown

Parker, Charles W. — Morristown and Newark

Parker, Lewis C. — Morristown

Parker, William C. — Morristown

Parsell, George K. — New Brunswick

Pawley, Augustus F. — Bricksburg (Lakewood)

Pein, John Henry — Hoboken

Percival, J.P. — Hackettstown

Phillips, Harry — Atlantic City

Piard, Victor — Jersey City

Pine Brothers — Trenton

Price, Frank H. — Elizabeth and Newark

Priest, R.R. — Hightstown

*Primrose, G.M. — Belvidere

Prosch, Charlotte — Newark

Prosch, George W. — Princeton

Pullinger, George R. — Swedesboro, Gloucester Co.

Reeve, John C. — Lambertville

Reid, John, Jr. (son of John, Jr.) — Paterson

Reid, John, Jr. and Alexander — Paterson

Ricalton, James — Maplewood, Essex Co.

Rice, Phillip J. — Jersey City

Richards, Frederick DeBourg — Princeton

Riley, William — Bridgeton

Rolf, William Henry — Newark (footnote)

Rose, Carlton W., Sr. — Princeton

Rose, Royal Cutting — Princeton

Rose, Royal Hill — Elizabeth, Newark, and Princeton

*Rosencrantz, William Dayton — Ho-Ho-Kus

Rossbach, Charles — Jersey City

Roth, John — Freehold

Rutherford & Co. — Atlantic City

Santman, Comly T. — Atlantic City

Schorb & Woodruff —Flemington

*Scott, John C. — Freehold, New Brunswick, and Spring Lake

Scott, James W. — Bridgeton, Cumberland Co.

Scott, John L. — Freehold

Service, William — Bridgeton

Sexton, Thomas E. — Bordentown

Shaw, James B. — Atlantic City

Shear, Seth — Monmouth County (footnote)

Sherwood, William — Flemington

Sherwood, William K. — Red Bank

Simkins, James H. — Salem

Simons, Montgomery P. — Princeton

Simpson, Willard P. — Paterson

Sims, Andrew — Camden

Slack and Hatfield — Trenton

*Sloane, T. O'Conor, Jr. — Orange

Smith, Charles A. — Newton

Smith, John E. — Bordentown

Snell, William - Bayonne

Snyder, Francis H.F. — Gloucester City, Camden Co.

Snyder, Frank H. — Gloucester City, Camden Co.

Snyder, George — Gloucester City, Camden Co.

Snyder, Mary — Atlantic City

Speakers, Isaac G. — Paterson

Speer, Albert — Newark

Spencer, George B. — Flemington

Stauffer, William H. — Trenton and Asbury Park

*Stieglitz, Alfred — Hoboken

Stokes, Edward Harris — Trenton

Stokes, Stockton — Trenton

*Stoutenburgh, Edward R. — Newark (see also Princeton)

Sunderlin, John C. — Flemington

Sunderlin, Mary — Flemington

*Supp, Harry N. — Red Bank

Swaim, William — Bordentown and Mount Holly

Swain, Samuel — Burlington

*Teel, Samuel S. — Warren Co.

Terhune, A.D. — Bergen Co.

Terhune, John D. — Hackensack

Teush, William L. — Boonton

Thein, Henry J. — Newark

*Thompson, Frederick F. (New York)

*Thorn, Guillermo — Plainfield

Thornburn, Edwin P. — Hightstown

Tichenor, George W. — Elizabeth and Burllington

Tichenor, Lillie — Burlington

Tichenor, Sarah (Sadie) F. — Burlington

Tobias, William R. — Perth Amboy

Townley, A.C. — Newton

Treat, George —Morristown

Vail, J.H. — New Brunswick

Van Buren, Amelia — Atlantic City

Van Derveer, Isaac S. – New Brunswick

Van Wagner, Charles — Englewood

Vandeusen, J. — Trenton

Vannino, Franz — Hoboken

*Viehmann, George Anthony — New Brunswick

Walker, Peter — Mount Holly

Walker, James S. — Mount Holly and Trenton

Warren, George K. — Princeton

*Washington, Augustus — Trenton

Watson, Eva Lawrence — Atlantic City

Weitfle, Charles — Dover, Morris Co.

Wendt, Frank — Boonton

White, Edward — Newark (manufacturer)

Willard, Oliver H. — Cape May

Wilson, Edward Livingston — Flemington

Wing, Simon — Newark (in notes for Hightstown)

Woodruff, Lawrence — Bridgeton

*Yogg, Morris (or Morriss) — Newark

1

Where not noted, sources for information about particular photographers in this essay are cited in the author's database of approximately 3,000 different nineteenth century New Jersey photographers compiled from many sources, including but not limited to city directories, census records, newspapers, photographic journals, imprinted mounts of original photographs, other records, and information shared by individuals.

Far too many people have assisted me in this research than can be named here, but I must first acknowledge the prior work of John O'Connor, who in 1986 started me on this project by sharing a list of 357 photographers that he had developed with the help of Charles F. Cummings. My directory, which at present includes more than 3,300 entries (including some for the same photographer at different addresses) builds upon O'Connor's list, as well as those in John S. Craig, Daguerreian Registry (Torrington, CT: John S. Craig, 1996) of U.S. daguerreotypists, and Ross J. Kelbaugh, Directory of Civil War Photographers, Volume Two. Pennsylvania. New Jersey. (Baltimore, MD: Historic Graphics, 1991). Andrew Eskind and Thomas M. Weprich, respectively, generously shared substantial computerized data on New Jersey photographers at the George Eastman House and in the Darrah Collection at Penn State University. Paul W. Schopp answered with ease obscure research questions on numerous occasions and provided leads to sources that turned out to be gold mines; his generosity, sagacity, and encyclopedic knowledge are extraordinary. Others who provided invaluable help include, but are not limited to, Bruce Baryla, Joe Cavallaro, Ellen Callahan, John Celardo, Bob Craig, Bette Epstein, Juliana Fulbright, Robert D. Gantz, Carol Johnson, William Johnson, Albert C. King, John Kuhl, Eileen K. Morales, George H. Moss, Jr., Cynthia Motzenbacher, Elsalyn Palmisano, W. Douglass Paschall, Stephen Perloff, Scott Peters, Fred Sisser III, Bob Stewart, Joseph Struble, Carla Tobias, Tex Treadwell, Charles Webster IV, Jim Wright, and other librarians, archivists, historians, descendants of photographers, and friends who made available collections of photographs and other resources. For all those not mentioned here by name, please also accept my thanks.

Michael Kernan, "A Durable Memento," *Smithsonian* 30, no. 2 (May 1999): 26-28. Washington's father was an ex-slave and his mother an Asian. The daguerreotype of John Brown was acquired by the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., which held an exhibit of his work, from 24 September 1999 to 2 January 2000.

Stieglitz wrote his credo in 1921: "I was born in Hoboken. I am an American. Photography is my passion. The search for truth my obsession." Waldo Frank, et al., eds., *America & Alfred Stieglitz: A Collective Portrait* (New York: Literary Guild, 1934), 116.

The Pool — Deal, 1910," *Camera Work* 36 (Oct. 1911): 43.

6 Professor Peter C. Bunnell of Princeton University selected the photographs for the postage stamps.

Daguerreotypists use a sensitized silver-coated copper plate, usually developed in mercury after exposure in the camera, to form a positive image. No negative is produced and each daguerreotype is therefore unique. It was the most commonly used photographic process in New Jersey until the mid-1850s and is still made today by a few enthusiasts. Talbot invented the negative/positive system of photography familiar to most photographers before the digital era. He employed paper negatives from which multiple paper positives could be made. Although Talbot's ideas formed the basis for most subsequent processes, a license was required to use his patented invention on a commercial basis. In part for this reason, paper prints only became widespread after the introduction in 1851 of collodion glass plate negatives, which were not covered by Talbot's patent.

Several daguerreotypes made by Boyden with a camera he constructed were reported in the *Newark Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 17, 1840, 2.

9 Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 80.

Taft, *Photography and the American Scene*, 440-441. A halftone is a photomechanical reproduction in

which the image is formed by variably sized dots visible through low-power magnification. The process revolutionized illustrated books, newspapers, and magazines because it allowed for the printing of both image and text on one page with a single-plate impression. This innovations greatly reduced the cost of illustrated publications.

11 Somerset Whig, June 22, 1841, courtesy Fred Sisser III.

Baird, who was born in Raven Rock in 1830, wrote two letters mentioning his early photographic career to the Flemington postmaster in 1914, copies of which were kindly shown to me by Fred Sisser III. The location of originals is unknown.

Other photographers who had studios took to the road occasionally to take scenic views as well as portraits of people in front of their houses.

Somerset Whig, March 20, 1856.

Somerset Messenger, May 30, 1858. By this time, Boggs was in a partnership and the studio was known as Boggs & Bill.

Somerset Messenger, Sept. 1, 1853.

Prosch had visited Princeton at least once before, in 1846. In the 1840s, he was based primarily in New York; in the 1850s, he worked in Newark.

Albumen was the most common type of paper photograph from the 1850s to about 1890. Photographers bought thin paper coated with albumen (egg white) and then sensitized it by floating it on a bath of silver nitrate. Prints were made in contact with the negative by placing the printing frames in sunlight. After the image became visible, the paper was fixed and then toned with a gold chloride solution, leaving an attractive purplish tone. Since the nineteenth century, most albumen prints have yellowed.

An ambrotype is an underexposed collodion glass negative that is made to look positive either by a dark backing or by making the negative on a dark glass; ambrotypes on dark red glass are called ruby ambrotypes. The process was popular from 1855 to the early 1860s.

Tintypes got their name for being cheap. The proper name for them is ferrotype, since they were made on iron plates, not tin. Melainotypes was another name for tintypes used in the first years after their introduction.

Photographers complained that the two-cent tax amounted to half the price of small photographs. William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), 180. See also Bruce Baryla, "The Tax Laws for Photographs," http://www.pipeline.com/~ciociola/baryla/laws.htm, last accessed 14 October 2004.

Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue on the Operations of the Internal Revenue System for the year Ending June 30, 1865 (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1865), 306. Since some photographers paid for part of a year, the dollars in most categories do not divide evenly. I have rounded up to the next whole number but the actual number of photographers was probably a bit higher than the numbers in the table since some did not pay the full amount. In his index to Civil War era photographers, Kelbaugh, Directory of Civil War Photographers, 2: 71-83, using Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, listed individual license payments for 55 New Jersey photographers during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865. Of these, 13 (23.6%) paid less than the full amount, as low as \$.83 for one month of a \$10 license, although most were for more than half a year. All of the payments for less than one year that Kelbaugh listed were for \$10 or \$15 licenses. The 1865 report also listed the revenue by type of license by each of the five collection districts in New Jersey. Approximately two-thirds of the \$25 licenses were from District 5, which includes Newark. Total estimated numbers of New Jersey photographers based on the 1863, 1864, and 1866 reports were 74, 54, and 102, respectively, information courtesy of Carol Johnson, Library of Congress.

Data here, based on New Jersey State Tax Assessment Lists, RG 58, National Archives, New York, Boxes 360-364, is expanded and revised from that in Table 2 in the Fall/Winter 2004 issue of *New Jersey History*, in which the source note for Table 2 was misplaced under Table 1. Because records for

photographers are mixed in with those for numerous other taxpayers in the ledger books, it is possible that I missed some of them. However, with the assistance of NARA archivist John Celardo, data for the photographers listed individually in Table 2 has been thoroughly checked.

24

Payments only found for Edwards in January (\$1,074) and June (\$634). Data was found for another Bridgeton photographer, William Westcott, in June and August-December. It is possible that Westcott took over Edwards' studio during June; his gross for six months was \$943. Regarding Stoutenburgh, no monthly returns found for November or December 1867, so it is possible he was not in business then.

July 21, 1869, quoted in Dennis G. Raible, *Down a Country Lane* (Camden, NJ: Camden County Historical Society, 1998), 154.

According to William C. Darrah, "Throughout the 1860s the price of a dozen cartes [de visite] ranged from \$1.50 to \$3.50 per dozen, with the usual price \$2.00." *Cartes de Visite in Nineteenth Century Photography* (Gettysburg, PA: by the author, 1981), 181. Tintypes the same size as cartes de visite cost about half this price.

His number of negatives would have been much less, as most photographers took cartes de visite with a four lens camera with a sliding back that could take eight pictures on a glass plate negative. Darrah, Cartes de Visite, 12.

Floyd and Marion Rinhart, Summertime: Photographs of Americans at Play (New York: C.N. Potter, 1978), 56; Sarah Allaback, ed., Resorts and Recreation: An Historic Theme Study of the New Jersey Coastal Heritage Trail Route. The Atlantic Shore: Middlesex, Monmouth, Ocean, Burlington, Atlantic, and Cape May Counties (Mauricetown, NJ: Sandy Hook Foundation and National Park Service, 1995), 25.

Some females have not been identified since photographers were often listed in directories only with first initials and not given names. Others are hard to trace because they worked in establishments owned by men. 30

The name was changed temporarily in 1929 to the Inter-City Association of Photographers.

Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 4.

Stereographic views were produced primarily as a pair of nearly identical images on paper, mounted to cardboard, that look three-dimensional when seen with a viewer. Less commonly, stereos were produced using the daguerreotype process, as tintypes, or as glass transparencies; very few of such views from nineteenth century New Jersey have come to my attention.

Total from my database, which includes unpublished data from T.K. (Tex) Treadwell's National Stereoscopic Association database of stereographers with nearly 100 from New Jersey; William C. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettysburg, PA: by the author, 1977), which lists 54; and other sources.

Reproduced in George H. Moss, Jr., *Double Exposure Two* (Sea Bright, NJ: Ploughshare Press, 1995), 152.

The Keystone View Co.'s "600 Set" of worldwide views, according to the firm, was in every U.S. school district in the 1920s, included ten from New Jersey, but these were twentieth century views. Moss listed more than 600 Pach stereos and estimated that there were another 200 he had not located. Moss Jr., *Double Exposure Two*, 125.

36 Moss Jr., *Double Exposure Two*, 86.

37 See Moss Jr., *Double Exposure Two*, for an in-depth study of stereographs in New Jersey.

American Photographic Bulletin 3, no.11 (November 1872): 750.

39 Moss, *Double Exposure Two*, 156.

In the collodion process, the sensitized support, whether glass, iron, or other substance, had to be exposed in the camera and then immediately developed in a darkroom while still damp from the sensitizing solution.

American Journal of Photography 5, nos. 6-7 (Sept. 15-Oct. 1, 1862): 137-141, 155-159, 161. Thompson (1836-1899) was a Wall Street broker. Secretary of the American Photographical Society, and a captain on leave from the Union Army. William S. Johnson, Nineteenth Century Photography: An Annotated Bibliography, 1839-1879 (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1990), 629.

Cyanotypes, invented by Sir John Herschel (1840), were quite popular among college student snap shooters in the 1890s. A few amateurs with artistic aspirations also began experimenting in the 1890s with more esoteric and laborious processes, such as gum bichromate, that afforded more control and resulted in images that looked more like etchings or engravings than photographs. 43

Of approximately 2,000 Pictorialists worldwide who sent their work to more than one salon per year in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, about a dozen were from New Jersey. Mrs. Grace M. Ballentine of Upper Montclair was ranked eighth in the world in acceptances (1,029 prints) for the period 1939-1953. H. Richardson Cremer, also of Upper Montclair, participated in more than 100 salons between 1925 and 1936. For data on salon exhibitors, see appendices in the series American Annual of Photography. Professionals also participated in some of these exhibitions.

Extract from "Blue Book of Amateur Photographers, The New Photographic Club Directory, American Societies," 1893, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University, New Brunswick.

Photographic Times and American Photographer 19, no. 426 (Nov. 15, 1889): 573, and 20, no. 434 (Jan. 10, 1890): 21 reported that \$13,000 had been budgeted for new facilities that would include a first floor with lounges and reception rooms, a second floor with committee rooms, a darkroom in the basement, a screening room for lantern slides, and an upper floor with skylights for indoor photography. Although at first it was planned to purchase a building, by January they decided to build their own and that "no pains or money will be spared."

For example, the Newark Camera Club viewed slides from the Syracuse Camera Club on Dec. 12, 1889. Photographic Times and American Photographer 19, no. 432 (Dec. 27, 1889). In 1900, there were twenty-eight clubs and societies in the Interchange; for members, see American Annual of Photography and Photographic Times Almanac for 1900, which also lists organization dates and current officers for several of the New Jersey clubs.

Photographic Times and American Photographer (Apr. 5, 1889): 176. Another such event was held on December 12, 1889, featuring a lecture by "Prof. Yrneh Lagu Odem, the Chinese camera tourist." Ibid.. 19. no. 432 (Dec. 27, 1889); 655.

48 As reported by the President, George H. Blake, in *Photographic Times and American Photographer*, 19, no. 424 (Nov. 1, 1889): 548. Other clubs with early founding dates included the Orange Camera Club (March 1892), Elizabeth Camera Club (May 1893), Atlantic City Camera Club (November 1895), Montclair Camera Club (November 1898), Trenton Photographic Society (January 1898), Essex Camera Club (1899), and the Elysian Camera Club (Hoboken, 1902). 49

Photographic Times and American Photographer, 19, no. 423 (Oct. 25, 1889); 536.

Photographic Times and American Photographer, 19, no. 430 (Dec. 13, 1889): 616. See Hoboken section below for more about de Lapotterie.

See http://sandradavis.artspan.com, last accessed 18 October 2004.

52 Nancy Martha West, Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

Reina Andrade Lawrence (Plainfield, NJ: Plainfield Public Library, May 2004), exhibition brochure concerning collection of 864 glass plate negatives by Lawrence, who ran a small catering business in the town. 54

Clippings, probably from *Red Bank Register*, Dec. 14 & 28, 1898, courtesy of George H. Moss Jr. and Elsalyn Palmisano. Supp was also an original member of the Red Bank Camera Club, organized in December 1898. Inexpensive Vive cameras competed with Kodaks in the late 1890s. Velox was a popular brand of gaslight paper.

In 1895, Newark had a population of 197,500 and Jersey City, 182,636. "Population of the Principal Cities and Towns of New Jersey, according to U.S. Census 1890," *Allen's Bayonne City Directory* (1895), 24. This list includes some data based on the 1895 NJ Census.

The 1880 Report of Manufactures of the U.S. Census found forty-five establishments engaged in "Photographing" with 111 employees, including nineteen women above fifteen years of age and nine children.

Donald Charles Lotz, "Albert Speer: Vintner, Publisher, and Inventor," *PCHS Newsletter* (January-April 1987). Speer convinced the United States Postal Service to adopt "Passaic" as Acquackanonk's postal address in 1854.

Jack C. Ramsey, Jr., *Photographer . . . Under Fire: The Story of George S. Cook (1819-1902)* (Green Bay: Historical Resources Press, 1994). Among many other photographers who left New Jersey was view maker Seth Shear of Monmouth County, who in 1886 moved to Florida, where he became known as "The Indian River Photographer." See also discussion of Charles Weitfle.

Paul Thompson, "Female daguerreotypist's Work Found," *Daguerreian Society Newsletter* 15, no. 4 (July-August, 2003): 8. The brass mat identifies the photographer as "Miss C. Prosch," so it was made before her marriage; after that event, she referred to herself as Mrs. Day in newspaper ads. Additional information, courtesy Julia Driver, Dartmouth College, who corrected my original article which, based on an incorrect secondary source, stated that Charlotte Prosch married Moses Day who died soon after their union, when in fact she married Alfred Day, who lived for many years thereafter.

Annual Report of the Agricultural Society of New Jersey, 1856-1860.

61 Newark Daily Advertiser, Jan. 4, 1855. The references in the first line of the doggerel are to prominent photographers Marcus Aurelius Root of Philadelphia and Jeremiah Gurney of New York.

Newark Daily Advertiser, May 2, 1855.

New Jersey State Tax Assessment Lists, RG 58, Box 360, National Archives and Records Administration, New York branch.

Industries of New Jersey, part 5 (New York, et al: Historical Publishing Co.,1882), 629.

65 1912 New Jersey State Legislative Manual, s.v. "Thein, Henry J."

Joshua Brown, "City on Display: A Newark Photographer and His Clients, 1890s-1940s," *New Jersey History* 121, nos. 1-4 (2003): 4-22; William Gordon, "Photographer William Cone Captured Newark on Camera; Images of a Changing City," *Star-Ledger* (Newark, NJ) (Nov. 8, 2003): 21.

Reese V. Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise: Technology and the American Photographic Industry, 1839 to 1925* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1975), 52-53.

Dr. Fritz Wentzel, *Memoirs of a Photochemist* (Philadelphia: American Museum of Photography, 1960), 26. John Carbutt also was the first U.S. manufacturer of gelatin dry plates, no later than 1878. Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 503.

Taft, *Photography and the American Scene*, 394-403; Jenkins, *Images & Enterprise*, 125-127. The Scovill firm backed Goodwin's suit.

) In part, William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900. A Documentary* *History* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), 132-133, 154. A later product of the company founded by Dixon was the mass-produced Dixon Ticonderoga yellow pencil.

Insley died at Nanuet, Rockland Co., New York, on 7 August 1894. See Joan M. Schwartz, "The Enigmatic Henry E. Insley," *History of Photography* (Oxford) 16, no.:1 (Spring 1992): 70-72.

See William D. Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), 34, 36, which includes Piard's 1857 self-portrait.

Piard's obituary, *Red Bank Register*, Feb.13, 1901, and that of his second wife, Winifred, whom he married in 1872, July 25, 1900. Victor's obituary mentions his photographic career but does not do it justice. See also deed, Monmouth County Deeds 241:474-476, Monmouth County Archives, documenting Piard's purchase of 1.2 acres and premises from Emma D. West. The federal 1880 census lists his profession as fisherman and his age as 45, ten years younger than he really was at the time. Thanks to Greg Drake for discovering Piard's obituary on DistantCousin.com.

"The Studios of America: Theodore Gubelman's Atelier, Jersey City, N.J.," *Photographic Times*, 14, no. 170 (Dec. 19, 1884): 678-679.

A.J. Peluso, Jr., "Theodore Gubelman, Photographer," *Maine Antique Digest* (1998), http://www.maineantiquedigest.com/articles/gub0199.htm. Biographical details about Gubelman, including his birth year and date of immigration, vary in available sources such as census records, obituaries, and secondary sources. Peluso's article is based in part on an unpublished memoir by Gubelman written for his family.

Philadelphia Photographer, 11, no. 130 (Oct. 1874): 318-320. A photograph of his floating gallery may be found in Floyd Rinhart, et al., *The American Tintype* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1999), 83, and in Moss, *Double Exposure Two*, 77.

Joshua Griffith, Souvenir of the Paterson Fire, February 9, 1902 (Paterson: Griffith, 1902). The Passaic County Historical Society has excellent collections of work by both the Doremus and Reid studios.

Same as, or related to, F.J. Hunt, who was listed at the location in directories from 1877 to 1879.

Historical and Industrial Review of Camden, New Jersey (New York: Commercial Publishing Co., 1890), 104.

Harry J. Podmore, "Early Days of Photography in Trenton," *The Trenton Magazine*, 14, no. 10 (Apr. 1939): 12-13.

Photographic Exhibitions in Britain, 1839-1865: Records from Victorian Exhibition Catalogues Web site, http://www.peib.org.uk/index.php. For an excellent biography of Mayall, see http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/DSmayall.htm.

Spans for years of photographers' activity given in this article are conservative; while they may be longer, they are not likely to be less.

Francis Bazley Lee, *History of Trenton, New Jersey* (Trenton: Smiley, 1895), 316-317, with portrait of Stokes.

Just to confuse matters, another photographer named E.H. Stokes, younger than the husband of Permelia, is also listed in the 1860 Trenton Census.

1880 census and Trenton business directories, which list Mrs. Kemp as E.I. Kemp. The Kemp studio is a good example of how changing addresses are useful for identifying the photographer and for dating. Emma was born in New Jersey, while Frederick was from Massachusetts. In 1898, the business was called Kemp & Son, with the addition of the Kemps' son Oliver, born in 1876. Their daughter Mabel was born in Pennsylvania in 1868; I have not found reference to photographic activity by either Emma or Frederick in Pennsylvania.

86

See Quarter-Century's Progress of New Jersey's Leading Manufacturing Centres (New York: International Publishing Co., 1887), 172. Paul W. Schopp generously conveyed information from this source, which also includes brief articles on twelve other photographers. Although I could not locate Charles De Lapotterie in any census, the 1900 Census for Brooklyn includes one household with that surname, that of Frank L. De Lapotterie, age 39, whose father was born in France and whose mother was born in Holland.

Quarter-Century's Progress of New Jersey's Leading Manufacturing Centres, 62.

88

The ad erroneously reads "B.S." instead of "A.S." Campbell.

Bong v. Alfred S. Campbell Art Co., 214 U.S. 236 (1909), 214 U.S. 236. Ironically, his former employer, Sarony, also won a notable copyright case over pirating of his 1882 photo of Wilde. Mitch Tuchman, "Supremely Wilde," Smithsonian (May 2004): 17-18.

Floyd and Marion Rinhart, The American Tintype (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1999), 84-85.

91

Howard B. Geissinger had a gallery in Atlantic City before opening one in Philadelphia.

See William and Marie Brey, Philadelphia Photographers, 1840-1900 (Cherry Hill, NJ: Willowdale Press, 1992), unpaginated.

Trenton Times (February 9, 1911): 11(erroneously calls him John); Trenton Evening Times (March 18, 1911): 10.

Irwin Reichstein, "A Multigraph from Montreal," Photographic Canadiana, 33:1 (May/June 2007), 12-17, citing Popular Science News and Boston Journal of Chemistry, 27, no. 10 (October 1893): 148.

1882 is the earliest year for which I could locate a business directory for Atlantic City.

Judith Fryer Davidov, Women's Camera Work: Self/Body/Other in American Visual Culture (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 76.

Bronwyn Griffith, ed. Ambassadors of Progress: American Women Photographers in Paris, 1900-1901 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2001), 176; this volume has excellent reproductions and bibliographies for both Watson and Van Buren. The exhibit was seen in St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1900 before coming to Paris.

Gillian Greenhill Hannum, "Coming to Light: Frances Benjamin Johnston and the Foremost Women Photographers in America, Manuscript, Women in Photography International Collection, Yale University, 1996; John Wilmerding, ed., Thomas Eakins (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Michael McCue, Tryon Artists 1892-1942: the First Fifty Years (Tryon, NC: Upstairs Gallery, 2001). The Eakins book includes a photograph of Van Buren by Eakins; the two became good friends.

Watson's death record states that her father was "Dr. Watson," further evidence that the Eva born in Woodbridge was the future photographer. Jersey City directories ca. 1867 do not list any John Watson or doctors named Watson. There are no similar directories for Woodbridge.

1870 US Census, Union County, Rahway, 2. By 1900, Eva's mother was living in Philadelphia, where she was listed in the Census as a "capitalist."

Jean F. Block, Eva Watson-Schütze: Chicago Photo-Secessionist (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985), 2. 102

Camera Notes, 2 (January 1899): 132.

Joseph Keiley, "Eva Watson-Schütze," Camera Work (January 1905), reprinted in Camera (Switzerland) 56, no. 3 (March 1977): 13.

Weston J. Naef. The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz: Fifty Pioneers of Modern Photography (New York:

Metropolitan Museum of Art/Viking Press, 1978), 78. The London show traveled to Paris in 1901. 105

The organizer, Frances Benjamin Johnston, had a large number of her own photographs on view in other exhibits. She retained many of the photographs by the photographers in *American Woman Photographers* and her collection is now split between the Library of Congress and the National Museum of American History. Griffith, *Ambassadors of Progress*, especially 179-182 and plates 64-69. See also Toby Quitsland, "Her Feminine Colleagues: Photographs and Letters Collected by Frances Benjamin Johnston in 1900," in *Women Artists in Washington Collections* (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1979).

They met when Schütze, who had immigrated in 1888, was studying for his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania. For most of his subsequent career, Schütze taught German language and literature at the University of Chicago. Witnesses at their wedding included R.H. Sayre Sr., Chairman of Lehigh University's board of trustees; Louis Kenton and his wife Elizabeth Macdowell Kenton (Eakin's sister-in-law); and Eva's mother. 1930 U.S. Census; Hannum; records of Church of the Nativity, South Bethlehem, PA, 6 July 1901, courtesy of W. Douglass Paschall.

Death records, State of Illinois. Sources vary on how long she studied with Eakins. According to William Innes Homer, Pictorial Photography in Philaldelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy Salons, 1898-1901 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1984), she studied with him in 1884, while both Joseph Keiley, "Eva Watson-Schütze, Camera Work (January 1905), reprinted in Camera (Switzerland) 56, no. 3 (March 1977) and Hannum, "Coming to Light" (based on Martin Schütze's papers at the University of Chicago) assert that she studied with him for six years. Naef, Collection of Alfred Stieglitz, 477-478, lists more than three dozen exhibits between 1897 and 1912, including several in London, New York, Hamburg, The Hague, Dresden, Vienna, Toronto, et al. See also Jean F. Block, Eva Watson-Schütze: Chicago Photo-Secessionist (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 1985); Keiley, "Eva Watson-Schütze," cover, 4-13, 33; Harry H. Lunn, Jr., Catalog 5. 19th and 20th Century Photographs. (Washington, DC: Lunn Gallery Graphics International Ltd., 1976); Harry H. Lunn, Jr., Catalog 6. Photo-Secession (Washington, DC: Lunn Gallery Graphics International Ltd., 1977); Mary Panzer, Philadelphia Naturalistic Photography, 1865-1906 (New Haven, CT: Yale, 1982), 47-48; Naomi Rosenblum, A History of Women Photographers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994), 325, 346-347; Martin W. Sandler, Against the Odds: Women Pioneers in the First Hundred Years of Photography (New York: Rizzoli, 2002). 108

Three photographs, about 1904-1908, each about six by eight inches, fetched the following prices in New York auctions: "Boy with toy cowboy," Swann Galleries, Oct. 1997, #507, \$1,150; "Nude woman on rock," Phillips New York, April 1999, #161, \$2,300; and "Mother and children looking at album," Phillips New York, Apr. 1999, #162, \$2,185. Information courtesy of Stephen Perloff, ed. and pub., *The Photo Collector*.

Van Wagner lived in New Barbadoes Township, Hackensack, according to the 1900 Census. Women photographers such as Mathilde Weil of Philadelphia popularized house calls by photographers in the late 1890s.

110
Records of the International Order of Odd Fellows, Burlington Lodge No. 22, in Special Collections,
Rutgers University, from a document prepared by the Lodge Secretary, Samuel Swain Jr., on 20 February
1855, at a meeting at Cape Island City (which became Cape May in 1869).

1880 federal census. George Tichenor's wife was Elizabeth (born 1852). The Tichenors had a son, George S. Tichenor (born 1866).

Dating of photographs by inclusion of rustic furniture from Darrah, *Cartes-de-Visite*, 196. Darrah provides a useful guide to dating card photographs by card thickness, portrait styles, and types of imprints.

One example is reproduced in this article; for another, see Moss Jr., Double Exposure Two, 31.

114 Author's collection.

115 J.S. Walker also had a studio in Trenton, 1871-1877.

New Jersey State Tax Assessment Lists, RG 58, District 1, Division 1, code 207, National Archives and Records Administration, New York branch. Aitkin also was a photographer in Glassboro and Millville in the late 1860s.

117

Silver chloride paper prints, also known as salt prints, introduced by William Henry Fox Talbot; the term calotypes, sometimes used synonymously with salt prints, more properly refers to Talbot's process for paper negatives.

118

Moss Jr., Double Exposure Two, 187. Much more obscure than Handy was a Cape May photographer named Williams, who in the 1870s produced a few stereo views that on the back stated. "late with Brady of Washington, D.C."

119

Philadelphia Photographer, 3, no. 32 (Aug. 1866): 255.

A. Owen Gregory was Bowen's brother-in-law, married to Bowen's sister, Rachel. Gregory worked both with other photographers and in his own Bridgeton studio at various times.

Information primarily through the courtesy of Sloane's granddaughter, Juliana Fulbright. See also William Innes Homer and Catherine Johnson, Stieglitz and the Photo-Secession, 1902 (New York: Viking, 2002).

122

The negatives of the Keystone View Company, including the Underwood collection, are now at the California Museum of Photography at the University of California, Riverside.

"James Ricalton," NJ Bell Tel-News (Aug. 1980); Margaret Loke, ed., The World As It Was , 1865-1921: A Photographic Portrait from the Keystone-Mast Collection (New York: Summit Books, 1980); America Discovers the World: James Ricalton's Travels on Next to Nothing, A 3-D Sound-Slide Show (Trenton: New Jersey State Museum, 1985).

Woodbury, the largest town, had 3,911 people out of a county total of 28,649 in the 1890 US Census. For those not familiar with New Jersey geography, the town of Gloucester is in Camden County. not Gloucester County.

125

Pullinger's widow and children are listed in the 1880 census.

126

Snell's whereabouts between 1865 and 1879 are unknown but he may have been the same William Snell reported as a photographer in Chester, Pennsylvania, in the 1860s and 1870s. Linda A. Ries and Jay W. Ruby, Directory of Pennsylvania Photographers, 1839-1900 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999), 258.

127 Copies of clippings generously shared by Fred Sisser III.

128

Ad and article in Hunterdon Gazette (Aug. 26 and Sept. 2, 1846), document Colley's short visit to Flemington, where he was in the "first door south of Jones' Hotel." Colley was then based at 129 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Colley (also spelled Colly or Cooley) was active in Philadelphia from 1845 to 1852.

129

Sherwood was in Raritan in 1862 and Red Bank in 1867.

Information courtesy of Richard Walling.

William Welling, Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839-1900. A Documentary History (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), 172. In addition to Edward, Hart and Amelia Wilson had five other children—Joseph, William Dunbar, Charles A., Eliza (Mrs. Joseph Van Doren), and Sarah (Mrs. H.W. Mercellus).

132 Mark S. Johnson, "Thank You, Mr. Anderson: the Story of an Amateur Daguerreotypist," The Daguerreian Annual 1998 (Pittsburgh: Daguerreian Society, 1999),70-88. 133

Clipping courtesy of Scott Peters.

134 Quotation from *Industries of New Jersey*, Vol. 7 (New York, et al.: Historical Publishing Co., 1882), 1081.

Melissa A.. Johnson, *Reflections on Photographing Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1998), the best published source on early photography in Princeton.

Welling, *Photography in America*, 8-9.

A few years earlier, Stoutenburgh had joined William Henry Rolf, who had been at this location or at 242 Broad since 1859. When Rolf left, Rose joined Stoutenburgh. Rose and Stoutenburgh had one of the largest gross monthly incomes for New Jersey photographers in early 1867, before Rose left in April to establish his own studio in Newark, where he also did well. New Jersey State Tax Assessment Lists, RG 58, Box 360, National Archives and Records Administration, New York branch.

Maureen M. Smyth and Sally K. Davidson, "The Rose Family," *Princeton History* 16 (2000): 3.

139
"Practical Photographers: The Rose Family Studio," Historical Society of Princeton web site, last accessed 5 May 1998.
140

Much of this Hightstown summary is based on John W. Orr, Jr., *Reflections from the Shrine: An Anecdotal History of Hightstown and East Windsor* (Hightstown, NJ: Longstreet House, 1998).

141 Simon Wing, originally from Maine, was an important photographic entrepreneur and innovator who, after opening a studio in Boston about 1860, patented cameras and card mounts for tintypes. He had studios from Boston to California, including one in Newark in 1863. For a biography of Wing, see Marcel Safier's Web site, http://members.ozemail.com.au/~msafier/photos/tintypes.html, last accessed 14 October 2004.

Clark's father (David or Daniel) was a carriage manufacturer in Connecticut, where young David learned daguerreotypy. A member of the Second Reformed Church, Clark married Mary Viler in 1847; they had one child, William R. Clark. See Samuel T. Wiley, *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopedia of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey* (Philadelphia: Biographical Publishing Company, 1896), 745.

Examples at New Jersey State Archives, Trenton.

Times (New Brunswick), June 28, 1860. Life-sized portraits were low quality enlargements usually enhanced with charcoal, crayon, or watercolor, sometimes to the point that the photographic origins of the picture were obscured.

Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, 3, no. 4 (April 1872): 531. Whether or not toning with lead resulted in a different color in his photographs is an interesting topic for further research.

A photographer named Scott began operating in Freehold in the 1870s and early 1890s Freehold directories list a photographer named John L. Scott, probably a typographical error for John C. Scott, since no other information on a photographer John L. Scott has been found. Some "Scott" cabinet cards from the 1890s have the imprint "New Brunswick and Freehold," although no photographer named Scott is listed in New Brunswick directories after 1890.

Cabinet card at Spring Lake Historical Society. Information about Zimmerman from http://ebs.gmnews.com/News/2002/0711/Front_Page/026.html, last accessed 8 August 2003.

New Jersey State Archives Web site with many other examples of cartes de visite by New Jersey photographers of the Civil War era, http://www.njarchives.org/links/guides/sdea4010images7.html#319, last accessed 31 May 2004.

After John Campbell died, the Fredricks family continued to live with his widow, Frances M. Campbell. 150

Welling, *Photography in America*; Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene*; Robert M. Levine, *Cuba in the 1850s: Through the Lens of Charles DeForest Fredricks* (Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1990).

151

In the 1875 census, Monmouth County Archives, he is listed as a watchmaker. In the 1880 census, his profession is listed as "works for jeweler."

Copy at Monmouth County Historical Association. It was reproduced in the *Freehold Transcript*, April 15, 1892.

153

Samuel Lockwood had a photography business in Keyport in 1865. Before moving to Freehold, Ferris Lockwood was a teenage photographer in Keyport in 1865-1866 and may have worked with or succeeded his uncle Samuel Lockwood. Ferris is identified as the nephew of Samuel in *Monmouth County in the Centennial Era: A Pictorial Review* (Freehold, NJ: Monmouth County Board of Chosen Freeholders, 1976), unpaginated [14], Monmouth County Archives.

An unsigned copy is at the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold. See section on New Brunswick for more about John C. Scott.

The early studios in Dover, Jones River, and Toms River carried the name, "G. & M. Pach" (Gustavus and Morris Pach). Morris later had a cigar store in Red Bank. See George H. Moss Jr. and Karen L. Schnitzspahn, *Those Innocent Years* (Sea Bright, NJ: Ploughshare Press, 1993), xii-xvii. The number of Pach brothers and their photographic involvement is discussed in a profile of Gotthelf Pach in *Portrait Magazine* (August 1916).

See note 155.

157

According to John Craig, *Daguerreian Registry*, a daguerreotypist named Earl was reported in Reading, PA, in 1851; unfortunately only the surname was given, but it is possible that it is the same individual. 158

Some cartes de visites are imprinted "W.H. Sherwood" on the backs but this may be a typographical error.

159

Moss Jr. Double Exposure Two; Moss Jr. and Schnitzspahn, Those Innocent Years.

160

Solomon Nuñes Carvalho: Painter, Photographer, and Prophet in Nineteenth Century America (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1989). This catalog includes a portrait of David N. Carvalho by his father. It is conceivable that David Carvalho worked with Lane before going to Martinique but records of such a relationship have not been found.

Clipping, probably from *Red Bank Daily Register*, courtesy George H. Moss Jr. and Elsalyn Palmisano. In 1889, the only photographer listed in the Red Bank business directory was Arthur H. White. Unfortunately, only a few such directories are available for Monmouth County before 1900. Most, but not all, are listed in Michael Brown, *Guide to New Jersey City Directories* (Kendall Park, NJ: New Jersey Information Service, 1993).

Randall Gabrielan, Images of America: Red Bank (Dover, NH: Arcadia, 1995), 113.

163

Ronald G. Becker, "Chas. D. Eisenman—Sideshow Photographer" (Manuscript, Syracuse University, 1986), includes information about both photographers, whose work may be found in the Bird Library at Syracuse. See also Michael Mitchell, *Monsters of the Gilded Age: the Photographs of Charles Eisenman* (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1979).

Paul Weitfle Jr. (great grandson of Charles Weitfle), email messages to author, 2, 3, 4, 11, and 28 September and 19 November 2000.

See *Jerseyman*, Oct. 12, 1875; Aug. 13, 1878; Apr. 2, 1886, 3; Sept. 16, 1887, 3; Mar. 1, 1889, 2; Mar. 21, 1890; Jan. 4, 1895; and Mar. 20, 1896. Dates for Maull & Polyblank: Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers, 1841-1908. Revised and Expanded Edition* (Watford: PhotoResearch, 1994), 85. Lacey sold his Morristown studio in April 1886 but opened another one in September 1887; it is possible that he went back to England in the interim. William Lacey (relationship unknown), a painter and photographer, worked with Edward in 1887.

166 Charles W. Parker, previously a photographer in Newark, joined him in about 1890 and worked at least intermittently at the studio until 1897. I have not determined Charles W.'s relationship to Charles N. Parker.

167

Portrait, 10 no. 10 (February 1919), 13. This source states that Charles N. Parker had health problems that led him to move the family briefly from the farm in Perry to southern California. His son, William C., was twelve years old when they went to California. Soon after their return, Charles N. opened the studio in Morristown. The active dates of 1918-1930 are from Jonathan Falk, "A Brief History of Photography and a List of Local Photographers, 1873-1930," (Manuscript, 1969), Morristown & Morris Township Library.

Courtesy. Scott Peters. Clarke's claim about his other studios has not been verified. No Philadelphia studio for him is listed in Ries and Ruby, Directory of Pennsylvania Photographers. 169

Ries and Ruby, Directory of Pennsylvania Photographers. Melainotype is another term for tintype or ferrotype.

Craig. Daguerreian Registry, 2: 198.

Kelbaugh, Directory of Civil War Photographers, 81. Kelbaugh compiled photographers' tax records in New Jersey from 1862 to 1865. To date, I have examined the 1867 records only. While a fascinating resource, the records pertaining to photographers are not separate from those of other taxpayers. The licensing tax was abolished in 1873. 172

This section on Somerville has been enhanced significantly by copies of newspaper clippings generously shared by Fred Sisser III.

Somerset Whig, June 22 & 29, 1841.

Author's collection. Kelley may have worked in Somerville as early as 1858 when a photographer with that surname was there.

Somerset Democrat, June 21 and 28, 1889.

176

Author's collection.

Unpublished list of Newton photographers by Myra Snook, 1996.

In August 1867, he grossed \$567, a monthly total exceeded by only a few photographers in the state. See table in text for annual figures. New Jersey State Tax Assessment Lists, RG 58, Box 360, National Archives and Records Administration, New York branch.

Industries of New Jersey: Morris, Hunterdon, Warren, Sussex, 7 (New York: Historical Publishing Co., 1882), 1108.

180 A.F. Hochwalt, in The Modern Setter (1923), described a strain of orange and white setters originated by Theodore Morford that became quite popular in the East during the early 1870s and 1880s. Morford, a Newton resident, lived from 1835 to 1908. Morford Historian, 1, no. 2 (October 1980): 2, from the Morford Historian Web site, http://home.att.net/~kmorford/vol1-no2.pdf, last accessed 24 October 2003.

This paragraph is based primarily on death and other records generously shared by Jim Wright, Sussex County Historical Society, and copies of marriage and census records provided by Bette Epstein. New Jersey State Archives. His death record gave his race as "Cuban." Dorticus was identified as African American by Henry Baker, a U.S. Patent Office employee who kept a list of black inventors about 1900, as explained by Reggie Smith, Smith-Lenoir Graphic Creations Web site, http://www.Smith-Lenoir.com, last accessed 15 August, 2003.

182 See Snook, note 177.

In the twentieth century, professional photographer Paul Collier photographically documented

Plainfield for decades; his negatives are at the Plainfield Public Library. Another local attraction for photohistorians is the Fleetwood Museum of Art and Photographica, located in North Plainfield.

184
Partial list printed on back of stereo card at Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers

University.
185
Unionist Gazette, July 5, 1894, and June 14, 1895, courtesy Fred Sisser III.

186 James F. Ryder, *Voigtlander and I: In Pursuit of Shadow Catching* (Cleveland, OH: Imperial Press, 1902), 13.