The Commerce of Art in the Nineteenth Century Hudson Valley

by Richard C. Wiles

The names of Asher Durand, J.F. Kensett, Thomas Cole, and Albert Bierstadt, among others, today conjure up in our minds visions of luminous paintings with golden-hued views of Hudson valley scenes or renderings of man versus nature parables. Such familiarity is the result of a century of exhibits and book and catalog reproductions of the work of such artists of the Hudson River school.

But what was their impact on their contemporary world of the nineteenth century? Did the ordinary resident of the Hudson valley or the Catskill mountain region have any knowledge of such art? Did he or she have access to Cole’s work in Katterskill Clove or Frederick Church’s renderings of the Hudson from his beloved Olana? Did the paintings of the lower Hudson, its lighthouses, and density of its boat traffic gain their attention?

In fact, many opportunities existed for nineteenth century travellers and admirers of the American “picturesque” to view these paintings, not as originals but in reproduced forms, as illustrations in the numerous publications of the day.

Was the popularization of these regional subjects merely artists’ expanding the reach of their original works in another form? Were the
images, on the other hand, merely "hypes" of a commercial nature, sold as advertising by railroads, steamboat lines, hotels, and resorts to attract the traveller of the day to visit the American scene? Or was the appearance of such engravings, lithographs, and prints simply a part of the romantic movement in the representation of nature? An amalgam of such reasons is difficult to construct, but it is quite clear that all three had some role to play.

Throughout the nineteenth century, a bewildering array of artists, print makers, literary figures and publicists attempted to carve out a niche for a "picturesque" that was truly American. This was not simply a derivative from representations of English and Continental European scenery, place, and romantic imagery. As Dennis Berthold has recently shown, from 1790 onwards, travel articles available to U.S. audiences began to stress U.S. topics. The views of nature of Hawthorne and Cooper were part of this search for the picturesque in nature that was widely accepted in American by the 1840s. As aesthetic in objective as this search may have been, there was also a nativist element in its course. In his popular offering, the monumental two-volume gift book *Picturesque America* (1872), William Cullen Bryant defended the isolation of American nature and its scenery. Bryant, in his Preface, wrote of the Old World nature having become overcivilized:

> It will be admitted that our country abounds with scenery new to the artist's pencil, of a varied character, whether beautiful or grand, or formed of those sharper but no less striking combinations of outline which belong to neither of these classes. In the Old World every spot remarkable in these respects has been visited by the artist; studied and sketched again and again; observed in sunshine and in the shade of clouds, and regarded from every point of view that may give variety to the delineation. . . . Art sighs to carry her conquests into new realms.²

This search for American aesthetic values was answered in this two-volume work of U.S. "places" via steel engravings of artists' work. Photography, according to Bryant, even at this date, would not do: "Photographs, however accurate, lack the spirit and personal quality which the accomplished painter or draftsman infuses into his work."³ Thomas Cole had expressed the same sentiments thirty years earlier: "... the art of painting is a creative, as well as imitative art, and is in no danger in being superceded by any mechanical contrivance."⁴
Bryant’s work, popular as it was, had a long ancestry which attempted earlier to do—perhaps not so self-consciously—what *Picturesque America* did for the nature-loving American and traveller of the late nineteenth century. Representation, by original work or engraving, print, or lithograph from the art of others, drew the attention of audiences and travellers, actual or in imagination, to the wonders of America. The Hudson valley was an important phase, especially by mid-century, in such a process. The appeal extended beyond the American viewer and reader. John Howatt cites the London *Times* statement in reference to Cropsey’s “Autumn on the Hudson” (1860): “American artists are rapidly making the untravelled portion of the English public familiar with the scenery of the great western continent.”

Thus the celebration of American scenery was a process that went on throughout the entire nineteenth century. In its popular art forms, this pride weathered the decline of interest in landscape painting, especially by the Hudson River artists in the later decades of the century. The raw materials for such a campaign had been produced either as original paintings, drawings, or in other genres of representation. Reproduction could continually take place and did so via popular magazines, view books, travel guides, commercial pamphlet advertisements, etc. The lure for traveller and tourist as well as vicarious armchair viewer was ever in demand.

Popular response was to the representation of scenes that were accessible by public and private transportation—not pilgrimages to the sites of artists’ activity, but to spectacular and picturesque land forms, cataracts, and the frequently nearby tourist accommodations of the mountain house type. While the Hudson valley figured prominently in supplying this need, it did not, as we shall see, have a corner on the market. Even its own artists such as Cole and his successors sought out equally challenging scenic spots in the White Mountains of New Hampshire and the Adirondack area of New York State. The extent of the artist’s trampings is shown in the variety present in their sketchbooks. For example, Sanford R. Gifford’s pencil sketches in one of his notebooks show the geographical diversity of his travels and renderings: drawings from the Beaverkill and Neversink valleys of Orange and Sullivan counties to views of the more rugged scenes in the Adirondacks.

Popularization of these artistic interpretations by the Hudson River artists began early in the nineteenth century, though the pace accelerated dramatically from the Civil War years. In the Hudson valley, the Catskill Mountain House probably deserves first place in terms of
frequency of representation in engraving and lithograph, due in large part to its spectacular setting and long list of celebrity visitors from home and abroad, but also stemming from its early date of service to a vacationing populace. As early as 1828, *Rural Repository*, published in Hudson, New York, presented an engraving of the Catskill Mountain House sitting on its promontory in the Pine Orchard of Greene County. This view was a harbinger of things to come for the remainder of the century.

While the discussion of American scenery by the aesthetic theorists of the day and the seeking of prime subjects for reproduction transcend our area of concern, it is no accident that so much work, and early in the process, had its location in the Hudson valley and its mountains. In many ways it was a perfect laboratory in which the burgeoning aesthetic views could be worked out. In one of the most successful and meaningful publications of the time, *The Home Book of The Picturesque: or, American Scenery, Art, and Literature*, published in 1852, a series of essays by prominent writers interprets for the layman the philosophy of scenery. Here the reader is introduced to some of the theories that Cole, Church, Durand, Kensett, and others worked out in their painting or wrote of in their explanations of landscape art. Interspersed between engravings, many of the Hudson valley, these essays ran the gamut from the inevitable comparison of the Hudson to the Rhine River by James Fenimore Cooper (who rates the Hudson higher on a scenic scale), to discussions of that famous dichotomy of the period, the distinction between the “picturesque” and the “sublime.” Cooper’s daughter, Susan Fenimore Cooper, like many of the Hudson River school, concludes that for scenery to be either picturesque or sublime, man and nature are needed in conjunction. In representing such scenes, one needs the hand of man visible, in fields and clearings, and not only the untapped forest. Yet, at the same time, men must not do too much: she goes on to complain that the last Dutch house in New York is gone and laments: “We are the reverse of conservators in this Country.”

It was the river and the mountains that were heralded in these works, but it also was more than that. It was the mood, the mystery, and the scale of scenes in the Catskills, the Highlands and throughout the valley as a whole that the visual presentation of such word pictures would exploit. The man versus nature theme so familiar to the viewers of Hudson River school painters is present in these writings in an
admixture of mystery, grandeur, and the power of nature. John Burroughs in 1886 states precisely a theme common to the description of our landscape in an essay explaining his personal response to the Hudson on whose banks he had lived for years at West Park:

A small river or stream flowing by one's door has many attractions over a large body of water like the Hudson. One can make a companion of it; he can walk with it and sit with it, or lounge on its banks, and feel that it is all his own. It becomes something private and special to him. You cannot have the same kind of attachment and sympathy with a great river; it does not flow through your affections like a lesser stream. The Hudson is a long arm of the sea, and it has something of the sea's austerity and grandeur. I think one might spend a lifetime upon its banks without feeling any sense of ownership in it, or becoming at all intimate with it: it keeps one at arm's length.8

Burroughs clearly sees the conjunction of river and landscape as a dualism which is really the subject of the depictions of the Hudson valley: "But there is one thing a large river does for one that is beyond the scope of the companionable streams—it idealizes the landscape, it multiplies and heightens the beauty of the day and of the season."9

Such ideas were the foundations for travel books, scenery, and view books as well as more literary assessments of the valley. It was not simply a "sense of place" or the mere touting of the Catskill Mountain
House or Cozzen's Hotel at West Point that was the message. It was a deeper and more all-encompassing atmosphere that writers, artists, and the travellers alike created from the geography and topography of the valley. Surrounded with such an atmosphere, the specific visual reproduction and the vivid word portraits of scenes move to a synthesis that became the Hudson valley and into which the railroad, steamboat, and resort literature could intrude with their more mundane fare of rates, recreation possibilities, and timetables. An image had been created; the exploitation of it was a more commercial, though important matter: the appeal to the public via the popular press that would hold out the prospect of "on site" investigation of both the atmosphere and its concrete embodiment in the burgeoning resort industry of the region.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attempts were made to isolate a meaning or series of meanings for the Hudson valley region and to interpret them from an aesthetic point of view. But such attempts lacked a framework within which to view the area and often ended up in overromanticized results with the "creation" of an aesthetic, even changing place names to fit the ideal of what a land feature should be.

In recent years there have been novel attempts to cover this old ground in new ways, stressing denotation as well as the earlier connotation of the landscape. These newer works are not from the usual sources; they are by geographers and geologists who treat the Hudson valley not as a static series of topographical features but as a unique blend of land and water forms that have elicited a bewildering array of responses from those who lived there or from those who sought to interpret them via paint, engraving, sketch, or words.

Raymond J. O'Brien's 1981 work American Sublime analyzes part of this region—the Hudson Highlands and Palisades—in such a manner, showing the growth of a sense of place and how economic and commercial development, which threatened to destroy it, allowed residents and others to step back and take a closer look. O'Brien approaches his topic in an interesting manner, arguing that geological aspects are joined by historical associations and the sublime appearance of the sites to bring about the regional identification. If one ponders why the Hudson valley has been unique, it is perhaps useful to consider Paul Shepard's concept, developed in 1961 in the journal
Landscape. Shepard isolates the Hudson valley, among other U.S. landscapes, as a perfect example of what he calls the “Cross Valley Syndrome,” a geological formation in which a water gap or river crosses ridges or mountains over years and creates “topographical passages,” resulting in historic and economic landmarks and spectacularly “wild” scenery. As Shepard explains: “From a distance the cross valley has an emotional impact, since, unlike most mountain valley landscapes, it may be observed looming above a horizontal foreground.” Both Shepard and O’Brien see the nineteenth-century literary and artistic activity in the Hudson valley as a “revolution in American sensibility to the habitat” and therefore as an unlimited series of experiences that could be brought to the public’s awareness for a variety of commercial purposes.

But a habitat is not simply topography. Changes were happening in the valley and the mountains during the nineteenth century. Away from the river, nascent industrialization was taking hold in the pre-Civil War decades with the demands of the Catskill tanning industry, a major force in U.S. economic history, making a widespread impact on topography—denuding the slopes of millions of virgin hemlocks and polluting the streams so beloved by the artists of the region. A bit later, the quarrying of bluestone in the mountains and the exploitation of the Highlands and Palisades for stone also had their impacts. The river banks themselves were intruded upon and their “wildness” was tamed by the appearance of brick works in Putnam, Ulster, Dutchess, and Greene counties. Cement factories, their raw materials exhumed from the bowels of the river hills, also appeared and continue to exist in the twentieth century. Hudson valley industries were not easy on the environment. The post-Civil War rise of textile factories, breweries, and relatively large scale iron foundries on both sides of the river further added to the changes from economic developments. The overall effect was a formidable contrast to earlier years.

What was the response to this? First, what changes in economic and social relationships occurred over these years in terms of in and out migration? What ethnic groups entered and left? Did they have a sense of what was happening to their place? One usually looks for visual records of such dramatic occurrences beyond the data of demographic change. Yet the records and responses are not only to be sought in artists’ renditions. Valley residents in their journals and other accounts saw what was happening around them and viewed the developments as carrying mixed blessings, with the possibility of a loss of the sense of place they had known.

Secondly, what was the aesthetic dimension and what forms did it
take? Did the artist have the sensibility of the ordinary resident and document these commercial and industrial intrusions or did the painter “paint out”? Did the landscape architect design with imagined surroundings in mind? In short, the industrial transformation of the valley, pre- and post-Civil War, should be investigated in the light of aesthetic output and interpretation of valley scenes.

Yet industrialization in the sense of the exploitation of natural resources and the growth of manufactures is not the only impact. Transportation changes in the forms of steamboat and railroad affected the river proper on its banks as well as in the fastnesses of the mountains. The rails to the mountain top opened the caves to smoking engines as well as to visitors seeking respite from the city and artists seeking remote and unspoiled scenery. The resort period of the region, both a cause and effect of the railroads in the Catskills, also is of importance. Was it a retreat to the “wilderness” with one artistic result being a re-creation of scenery that, if one looked closely or in a different direction, had been severely disfigured? Some saw this clearly. John B. Jervis, engineer for the construction of the Hudson River Railroad on the east bank of the Hudson, responded to the hue and cry of mid-nineteenth century “environmentalists” and their objections to the railroad in this manner:

To a very great extent the construction of the Road will improve the appearance of the shore; rough points will be smoothed off, the irregular indentations of the bays be hidden and a regularity and symmetry imparted to the outline of the shore; thus by a combination of the works of nature and of art adding to the interest, grandeur and beauty of the whole.12

The art of the region, in many ways, responded to the situation much as did Jervis and simply ignored the “improvements” of the railroad. The purveying of this vision of the Hudson valley region to the general public—both for aesthetic and commercial pay-off—involved a fascinating and complex marketing effort by artists, engravers, and publishers via the popular journals and books of the day. While this was an effort that lasted virtually throughout the entire nineteenth century, the golden age for this type of literature and artistic reproduction was heavily concentrated from the 1820s through the 1850s. The growth of steamboat and rail travel during the period created a new access, especially to the valley, for the readers of travel books, periodicals, and annuals of the time. Armchair travellers were now joined more frequently by excursionists.13
Popular representation of American scenery took on an almost overwhelming variety of formats and genres. Whether lithograph or engraving, the prodigious number of reproductions of Hudson valley scenes, in many cases, defies a definite provenance for the “original” of the scene. Some of the hand-tinted lithographs and engravings were original works, some copied from photographs; others were renderings of the famous products of painters of Hudson River settings. The publications in which these images appeared were also prodigious in number. One must, however, isolate some of the more prominent reproductions of such art to gain a flavor of the extensiveness of the practice as well as the personalities involved in their presentation.

One of the most obvious of the success stories in this literature was the production of *Picturesque America*, mentioned above. Announced in 1870 as a publication of Appleton and Co., New York, it was first published in monthly parts in 1872 through 1874, finally appearing in two gigantic volumes. The November 19, 1870, issue of *Appleton’s Journal* printed a call for subscription to the new publication. Care was taken to make the work “one of the most valuable pictorial series ever issued of American localities.” The engravings produced “will be what is technically known as ‘fine book-work,’ and not of the ordinary inferior newspaper execution.” With William Cullen Bryant as editor, the two volumes contained remarkable scenes of the U.S. with several representations of the Hudson valley region, especially the Kaaterskill Falls and mountain house areas. Though *American Picturesque* was probably the best known of this type of work and one of the most handsome volumes to be produced, other earlier successful attempts had also popularized the landscape of the region.

The work of William Henry Bartlett ranks foremost among the popular presentations of this type of art in the Hudson valley. As artist, observer, and traveller through the U.S. and Canada, Bartlett provided the new material for many of the engravings in the mid-nineteenth century. As his biographer, Alexander M. Ross, points out, our knowledge of Bartlett as a watercolorist is limited: he is known for hundreds of black-and-white illustrations of his paintings and sketches, the latter sketched on site and sent to engravers to reproduce. His best known products are the companion books *American Scenery* and *Canadian Scenery*, which appeared, like *Picturesque America*, first in separate issues, each containing a few engravings and selling for very little. By March 1839, twenty of a total of thirty parts were offered to the public. Sketches for these widely circulated engravings, which retain their popularity today, were done by Bartlett during his three

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visits to America in 1836-37, 1838, and 1841. The idea of a book devoted to American scenery was the suggestion of N. Parker Willis, a well-known literary figure of the time in the Hudson valley. Bartlett's work contained 120 steel engravings, a quarter of which were devoted to Hudson River subjects. These engravings were later copied profusely in the view books of the 1850s.

Unlike many of his contemporaries who wished to filter out undesirable elements from the landscape, Bartlett sketched his scenes warts and all in many cases. City buildings and streets in New York City, Albany, and Utica were a favorite subject. He also had a fascination for transportation in his work. His “vista” work on Hudson valley sites includes Fort Putnam, Hyde Park, Newburgh, and Peekskill Landing.¹⁵ He had the appropriate connections to coordinate his supply of potential engravings to both England and the U.S., for he was an employee of George Virtue's press in London, which produced the engravings. Virtue also owned the Art-Journal in the U.S. and sold books featuring engravings here and abroad. The circularity of this process of production is shown by the fact that much later landscape painting was based on engravings or aquatints like those of Bartlett. As William Diebold has written recently, “Bartlett’s views did much to shape the way people came to see the Hudson. They were copied in magazines in the United States and several other countries, with and without credit. Currier and Ives used them with no acknowledgement, . . .”¹⁶ Examples of prints “after” W. H. Bartlett are colored engravings produced in the 1830s of the Palisades and views from West Point and Hyde Park. One of the most famous is E. Benjamin’s engraving of Bartlett’s drawing of the “Catterskill Fall (From Below).”

The voyage from painting or sketch to engraving and back to painting was, thus, a common part of the production of popular representation of the American landscape and Hudson valley subjects in particular. Many of the names most revered as members of the Hudson River school enter this chain of production-reproduction at more than one spot. In fact, the connections between many of these artists began first in their work at engraving and only later in the world of landscape painting.

John F. Kensett, for example, in the late 1820s went to New York City to work in the shop of Peter Maverick, the best known engraver in the U.S. This Maverick connection was to lead to a remarkable inter-relationship of Kensett and other Hudson River school artists. In the shop, Kensett met John William Casilander who also arrived to study with Maverick. Asher Durand learned the art of engraving also with Peter Maverick and went on to become a partner in the business. After
Maverick's death in 1831, Kensett, Casilaer, and another familiar name in the school, Thomas Rossiter, studied with Asher Durand as engraving students. In fact, in 1832, Kensett applied for a permanent position with Durand but was refused, so moved to Albany to work with an engraving firm. During his formative years in England and Europe, Kensett exploited his engraving talents and supported his travels and study by sending engravings back to his U.S. employers.

Though Kensett turned away from the engraving process after his stay in Europe, engravings of his work and of his associates continued to flood the American travel guide and journal markets. Kensett's famous painting "The White Mountains—From North Conway" was purchased by the American Art-Union which had it engraved for its 13,000 subscribers. The engraver of this major work was James Smillie, a name that was to become famous for Hudson valley subjects. Smillie produced fine steel engravings of landscapes of well-known artists, notably Thomas Cole. One of Smillie's most prominent engravings was his famous view of the Catskill Mountain House, which was taken from a drawing of the mountain house by George Harvey.
Perhaps the most interesting popular offering involving reproductions of major artists was the 1852 appearance of the above mentioned *Home Book of the Picturesque*. Containing essays on the picturesque by Bryant, Irving, and Cooper, the aging giants of the American literary scene, it presents 13 steel engravings based on the work of what Motley F. Deakins calls, in his 1967 reprint of the book: “... the honor roll of our first great school of painters.”¹⁹ The popularity of this offering was impressive. Later the same year another edition appeared under the title *Home Authors and Home Artists* while sixteen years later, in 1868, Putnam, the original publisher, refashioned the work and issued it under yet a third title, *A Landscape Book*.

Dedicated to Asher B. Durand by the publisher, the original edition’s engravings include a rendition of Kensett’s “Catskill Scenes” by H. Beckwith, a second Beckwith engraving of Durand’s “Catskill in the Clove,” and an S. V. Hart engraving of R. W. Weir’s painting “The Church of the Holy Innocents, West Pt” along with non-Hudson valley scenes by T. A. Richards, F. E. Church, Durand, and Thomas Cole.

Such major works and popular gift books were joined, however, by a whole panoply of popular journals, profusely illustrated throughout the nineteenth century with engravings of the fantastic and the tragic
Winter Sports—Ice-Boats on the Hudson, in Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization, New York, Jan. 16, 1869. The Poughkeepsie Ice Yacht fleet in this engraving, modeled on a photograph, suggested the winter pleasures to be found along the river.

as well as with beckoning glimpses of watering holes, mountain retreats, and peaceful vistas to be sought out and enjoyed on the spot. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Appleton's Journal, and Harper's Weekly, to name a few, presented continual spreads of engravings of events and sites in half page, full page, and even fold-out doubled-paged versions. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper for December 8, 1860, contained a fine reproduction of a "Scene on the Hudson River, Looking towards Newberg," accompanied by a commentary on the view from Cold Spring, noting: "At all seasons of the year this view is charming, but in the leafy summer time it is inexpressibly lovely." Harper's Weekly for January 16, 1869, presented an engraving after a photograph by the Slee Brothers depicting the Hudson valley nineteenth-century craze "Winter sports—Ice Boats on the Hudson." Iceboating, the pastime of the well-to-do whose estates lined the banks of the Hudson, added to the picturesqueness of the views. Though the books and periodicals cited here are only a small sample of the outpouring of such popular offerings of Hudson valley vistas and places of beauty and sojourn, they do present an accurate flavor of the character of this type of art.

Yet another variant was to arrive on the scene and catch the imagination of the American public: the work of the firm Currier and Ives. Already a successful printmaker, Nathaniel Currier was joined by James Ives in 1852, the same year as the first appearance of the Home

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Book of the Picturesque. Thus began the association that would present hand-colored lithographs until the firm's dissolution in 1907. The goal was unabashedly to give the public prints "that were easy to understand and appreciate, pictures that were typically American, and pictures not only with subjects that were to widen the knowledge and experience of the average man but at prices that were within the range of his pocketbook." No struggle with the sublime or picturesque here. The firm's interest was admirably realized, for their attributed output of over 7000 prints was distributed at the wholesale price of 6¢ each, while the retail price ranged from 15 to 25¢ per print. Large folio-sized lithographs were higher, with unit prices ranging from $1.50 to $3.00.

The "production line" for such a vast output was similar in form to the process of popular engravings discussed, except that in the case of Currier and Ives, the artists were, in most instances, hired by the firm. In addition, a large number of their prints, like the engravings in the popular magazines, were copies of well-known paintings and line engravings which were available for lithographic reproduction, since copyright protection was virtually non-existent. Many of the prints were done communally by more than one artist so that they often are difficult to attribute.

The firm had international distribution outlets for its products, even maintaining a London office. In New York City, pushcart peddlars handled their prints and sold them on the streets. One of the most productive of the Currier and Ives artists, Fanny Palmer, dealt mainly with rural and suburban scenes in her work, as in her "View on the Rondout." Palmer and others produced works reflecting not only the firm's location in New York City but also the fact that New York, the Hudson, and the Erie Canal were the important links for travel west and the route taken by most New York City immigrants. Several of the lithographs portray these regions: "Upper and Lower New York Bay," "The Entrance to the Highlands," and Washington Irving's "Sunnyside" on the Hudson and the "Mill Dam at Sleepy Hollow."

John K. Howat, in his well-known work on the Hudson River school, documents the denouement of the popularity of landscape painting in the Barbizon-Rome style and its replacement with a variety of French influences. In his work on Kensett, the theme is taken up with the statement that Kensett's death at the relatively young age of 56 in 1872 allowed him to escape the "anxiety of seeing his art hidden away from public view and almost forgotten in basements and attics across the nation," a fate experienced by Church and Bierstadt in the 1870s and '80s.
View of the Rondout, a Currier and Ives print from a drawing by Fanny Palmer. The goal of this famous New York printmaking firm was to market large quantities of typical American scenes at very reasonable prices.
The popularization of art and the scenes portrayed held on a little longer. In 1872, the year of Kensett's death, *Picturesque America*, the finest example of the popular presentation, appeared. Prints, engravings and lithographs would hold the public's and potential travellers' imaginations for another two decades before photography and the growth of affluence and mobility would thrust such literature and reproduction aside. It had served in some measure a dual function over the century: the creation of accessibility to the art and style of the time, and the linkage of such art with public appreciation of the picturesque as well as with its commercial application.

**Notes**

3. Ibid., p. iv.
9. Ibid., 203.
11. Ibid., 5.
20. Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* XI (December 8, 1860), 36.
23. Ibid., 19.