

John Sloan: Between Philadelphia and New York, 1892-1907

Jennifer Stettler Parsons
Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

B.A., University of Delaware, 2006
M.A., George Washington University, 2008

A Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Art and Architectural History

University of Virginia
May 2016

Dissertation Director:

Professor Elizabeth Hutton Turner

Committee Members:

Professor Matthew Affron

Professor Richard Guy Wilson

Professor Anna Brickhouse

JOHN SLOAN: BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK, 1892-1907

© 2016 Jennifer Stettler Parsons

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

This dissertation takes the early career of John Sloan (1871-1951) as a case study for understanding the importance of place and artistic community in American art. While Sloan is best known as a member of The Eight or the so-called Ashcan School in New York at the turn of the century, his formative years in Philadelphia have not been fully explored. This project recasts a well-known story in the history of American art with new attention to the geographic and temporal specificity of events in Sloan's life and in his artistic development. The "sensation" caused by The Eight exhibition in 1908, and the legacy of the works he displayed there, cemented his reputation as a New York artist. However, Sloan spent the first thirty-three years of his life in Philadelphia and produced a large body of work there as well. Revisiting his earliest choices and diverse artistic output—newspaper illustrations, caricature drawings, prints, photographs, amateur theatrical scripts, and oil paintings—reveals the sources of Sloan's progressive, pictorial invention. The seeds of it lie in Philadelphia. This study reverses the commonly-held notion that Sloan's modern vision derived chiefly from his New York experiences by concentrating on the understudied Philadelphia period between 1892 and 1904 and by finding correspondences between that oeuvre and the more well-known art he produced in New York between 1904 and 1907. In doing so, this research demonstrates that Sloan's experiences in Philadelphia, and the journey between the two cities, significantly fostered his approach to seeing, apprehending, and transcribing modern life.

The dissertation is organized around environments to assert the importance of place for Sloan and to argue that his regional consciousness catalyzed his coming of age.

Chapter 1 begins in “The Newspaper Room” to consider first how the institution’s working conditions contributed to the development of Sloan’s artistic identity; and second, how the materiality of the newspaper’s physical space engendered the artist to invent new pictorial devices that he would utilize in his later paintings. The second chapter, titled “The Studio,” examines how Sloan and his colleagues sought to create a Philadelphia version of the artists’ Bohemia. Chapter 3, “The Street,” turns to Sloan’s first paintings in Philadelphia. It elucidates how the conceptual and compositional devices Sloan learned in Philadelphia combined with his attention to regional identity, history, and modernity to form building blocks for the creation of his iconic New York paintings. Ultimately I argue that Sloan’s art and artistic identity were importantly informed by his regional consciousness and his specific position as a Philadelphia artist removed to New York at the turn of the century. What he learned in Philadelphia, and through his circulatory movement between the art world’s center and periphery in 1898, culminated in 1907 with the works shown at the Macbeth Gallery.

To my parents and my husband

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
Place and Space: Between Philadelphia and New York	
CHAPTER 1	28
The Newspaper Room: Finding Place in Print	
CHAPTER 2	83
The Studio: Incorporating Artistic Identity at the Margins	
CHAPTER 3	130
The Street: Sloan’s Pictures of Philadelphia and New York	
EPILOGUE	189
<i>The Wake of the Ferry, 1907</i>	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	195
ILLUSTRATIONS	216

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

These paragraphs cannot adequately express the depth of my gratitude for the unwavering support of so many teachers, colleagues, friends, and family members during the years in which I wrote this dissertation. My first, heartfelt thanks are due to my incredible advisor, Elizabeth Hutton Turner, who made all of this possible. Beth catalyzed this project's inception and expertly guided me through to its completion. The lessons she has taught me extend far beyond these pages—I couldn't be more grateful. Appropriately, the idea for the dissertation originated in Philadelphia, where in 2007 Beth connected me with Anne d'Harmoncourt, the late director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA). Anne hired me to research the ties between the Calder family of artists in Philadelphia in preparation for the founding of a Calder Museum on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway and posed the question: "Why does it matter where an artist comes from—or does it?" This inquiry has driven and inspired me ever since. It was through my research on the Calders that I became interested in John Sloan. Alexander Stirling Calder was the same generation as Sloan and socialized with his coterie in Philadelphia in the 1890s, but there wasn't much written about them during these years. When I took up this subject as a dissertation topic at the University of Virginia in 2010-11, I set out to write the manuscript I had been looking for during my first job at PMA.

I would like to thank the McIntire Department of Art for supporting me in this endeavor. In addition to Beth, I am grateful to my wonderful committee members: Matthew Affron's generous insights and challenges helped to importantly shape my work; Richard Guy Wilson's perceptive questions aided in advancing my argument;

Thoughtful feedback from Anna Brickhouse (American Studies department) has inspired ways to mold this into future publications. I am especially appreciative to Department Chair Larry Goedde, and also to professors Paul Barolsky, Sheila Crane, Dan Ehnbohm, Francesca Fiorani, Douglas Fordham, Carmenita Higginbotham, Maurie McInnis, Howard Singerman, and Eric Ramirez-Weaver. I thank all of my colleagues, principally Tracy Cosgriff, Alicia Dissinger, Veronica Ikeshoji-Orlati, Camille Shamble, Anne Williams, and my “sister,” Emily Reed. I am thankful for additional financial assistance from the university’s Carl H. and Martha S. Lindner Center for Art History; and for a Robert Lehman Foundation Dissertation Fellowship from the Rockwell Center for American Visual Culture, which supported research in Philadelphia.

I feel enormously fortunate that, by choosing to study John Sloan’s work, I entered into a brilliantly collegial group of Sloan scholars. I owe immense thanks to Heather Campbell Coyle at the Delaware Art Museum (DAM) for sharing with me over the past few years her deep knowledge of Sloan, DAM’s object collection, and the John Sloan Manuscript Collection, and for very generously answering my numerous queries and offering advice. I am also obliged to Rachel DiEleuterio for her expert management of DAM’s archival collection and hospitality during my many visits. I offer my sincerest thanks to Michael Lobel for his exceeding generosity from the moment we first met in 2011; from sharing with me portions of his unpublished manuscript while I formulated my topic, to helping me brainstorm, to offering feedback—I’m so grateful. I am obliged to John Fagg for our helpful discussions and his comments on my work. Additionally, for beneficial conversation, email correspondence, and responses to conference papers I would like to gratefully acknowledge Charlie Brock, Andrew Davis, Howard Gillette,

Charlene Mires, Lily Milroy, Aliya Reich, the late Joyce K. Schiller, Wilford Scott, Janice Simon, Edward S. Slavishak, Anne Verplanck, Domenic Vitiello, and Rebecca Zurier.

The Center for American Art at the PMA became a second home to me when I served as the 2013-14 Barra Foundation Fellow in American Art. I am deeply appreciative to Kathy Foster for her enduring support and invaluable counsel on matters related both to my dissertation and to my professional development. Likewise, I am indebted to Mark Mitchell, who has been a consummate mentor and friend. I would also like to express my thanks to Elisabeth Agro, David Barquist, Alexandra Kirtley, Emily Leischner, Lucy Peterson, Carol Soltis, and Jen Zwilling. For help with research at PMA I also extend my gratitude to Susie Anderson, Bertha Adams (Archives); Rick Sieber, Evan Towle (Library); Anna Juliar, Nora Lambert, Nancy Ash, Rebecca Pollak (Prints, Drawings, and Photographs); Laura Camerlengo, Kristina Haugland (Costumes & Textiles), Ashley McKeown (Modern & Contemporary Art); and Jane Joe (Registrar).

From 2014-16 I had the honor of participating in yet another great community of scholars at the Smithsonian American Art Museum as the Sara Roby Predoctoral Fellow in Twentieth-Century American Realism. I am beholden to my co-advisors Virginia Mecklenburg and Joann Moser for their vital support and assistance. For so many thoughtful discussions, engaging experiences, and encouragement during my fellowship I also thank Anne Evenhaugen, Amelia Goerlitz, Evelyn Hankins, Liza Kirwin, Karen Lemmey, Wendy Wick Reaves, Mary Savig, Emily Shapiro, Keri Towler, Leslie Umberger, and Helena Wright. The importance of “fellowship” cannot be overstated and I am thankful to both of the fellows’ classes with which I sat, especially to Lauren

Applebaum, Katie Jentleson, Ellen Macfarlane, Juliet Sperling, Julia Rosenbaum, and Taylor Walsh.

For facilitating research appointments and providing consultations at various institutions I would like to explicitly thank Jorge Santis, Rachel Diana (Nova Southeastern University Art Museum, Fort Lauderdale), Sarah Weatherwax, Nicole Joniec (Library Company of Philadelphia), Jeff Richmond-Moll, Jennifer Johns (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), Aurora Deshauteurs (Prints and Picture Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia), Karin Suni (Theatre Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia), John Pollack (Rare Book Collection, University of Pennsylvania), Jennifer Burrini, Brian Kurtas (Walnut Street Theater), Erin Monroe (Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art), Sarah Montross (Bowdoin College Museum of Art), Barbara Beaucar (Barnes Foundation Archives), Joyce Robinson, Beverly Sutley, Adam Thomas (Palmer Museum of Art, Penn State University), and the generous staffs of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University, Michael Altman Fine Art, New York, and the Museum of Modern Art Archives, Queens, New York.

To bring my acknowledgements full circle I must return to Philadelphia. Just days after Anne d'Harnoncourt's untimely passing in 2008, I met Roberta K. Tarbell in the Scholar's Study at the PMA. Roberta took me under her wing and since that time has been an inexhaustible and cherished mentor. I'm grateful for the immeasurable ways she has helped me.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, especially my mother, father, and my husband, Tim. They are the foundation on which everything I do well is built. I dedicate this dissertation to them.

**INTRODUCTION / PLACE AND SPACE:
BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK**

This dissertation posits a new way of understanding the art of the American artist John Sloan (1871-1951) by focusing on the understudied, earliest period of his career. While Sloan is best known as a member of The Eight or the so-called Ashcan School in New York at the turn of the century, his formative years in Philadelphia have not been fully explored. This project seeks to reveal the source of Sloan's progressive, pictorial invention. The seeds of it lie in Philadelphia. This study recasts a well-known story in the history of American art with new attention to the geographic and temporal specificity of events in Sloan's life and in his artistic development. It argues that Sloan's idiosyncratic construction of pictorial space is intrinsically linked to place.

When the landmark independent exhibition of The Eight American painters opened on February 3, 1908, crowds poured into William Macbeth's commercial gallery on 450 Fifth Avenue in New York City at a rate of 300 people an hour. After the two-week run, over 7,000 visitors had crammed into the two adjoining octagonal-shaped rooms to view paintings by Robert Henri, John Sloan, William Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn, Arthur B. Davies, Maurice Prendergast, and Ernest Lawson. (fig. 0.1)

Chiefly organized by Henri and Sloan, the show was held in response to the unwillingness of the National Academy of Design's conservative jury to hang work in their salons by some of the more progressive artists in Henri's circle. Instead, The Eight's autonomous exhibition would have no jury and no prizes. The participating artists sought freedom from academic idealism in favor of expressive and subjectively rendered

pictures portraying the diversity of modern life. “The show at Macbeth’s is creating a sensation,” Henri reported to a friend, “It was packed like an academy reception from early morning to night.”¹ The varied subjects and styles presented by each artist resulted in what the critic James Huneker called “clashing dissonances. . . . the jangling and booming of eight differently tuned orchestras.”²

Henri’s animated portraits such as *Laughing Child* (1907) (0.2) shared a room with Luks’s ghoulish *Woman with Macaws* (1907) (fig. 0.3), and Glackens’s urbane *At Mouquins* (1905) (fig. 0.4) hung alongside Davies’s ethereal *Many Waters* (c. 1905) (fig. 0.5). In the second room, Shinn’s dramatic *The Hippodrome, London* (1902) (0.6) hung near en-plein-air landscapes by Lawson (fig. 0.7) and park scenes by Prendergast (fig. 0.8). Sloan exhibited seven recently painted scenes of New York City life.³ (figs. 0.9-13) The public pushed in to see *Easter Eve* (1907), picturing a couple admiring flowers outside a shop on a rainy night. In *Hairdresser’s Window* (1907) they observed urbanites gawking at a woman receiving a beauty treatment. Audiences were curious to see a hapless woman carrying a pail of beer at the corner of *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* (1907). Inside a theater in *Movies, Five Cents* (1907), they saw a socially and racially diverse audience take in a film. And in *Election Night* (1907) a raucous crowd celebrates

¹ Robert Henri to Hartman K. Harris, February 4, 1908, quoted in William Innes Homer, “The Exhibition of ‘The Eight’: Its History and Significance,” *American Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1969): 60.

² [James Huneker], “Eight Painters: First Article,” *The [New York] Sun*, February 9, 1908, quoted in Elizabeth Milroy and Gwendolyn Owens, *Painters of a New Century: The Eight & American Art* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1991), 46.

³ *Exhibition of paintings by Arthur B. Davies, William J. Glackens, Robert Henri, Ernest Lawson, George Luks, Maurice B. Prendergast, Everett Shinn, [and] John Sloan* (1908. Miscellaneous art exhibition catalog collection, 1813-1953. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution).

results in Herald Square.⁴ These works were a culmination of Sloan's sudden, prolific production that year.

Even through a relatively facile comparison, one can detect something drastically distinctive about Sloan's work from that of his colleagues. Sloan constructs his compositions through a series of pictorial devices that invite affective responses, inciting the viewer to engage with the vignette. His pictures offer alluring narratives—"stories without endings"—that require participants to decipher their meaning by way of their own imaginations.⁵ He depicts non-traditional subject matter—working-class populations and underdog characters rendered in a direct and unidealized manner—and raises them to a place of exaltation. Sloan takes public scenes drawn from everyday life and makes them intimate by pulling us in close and provoking our curiosity. He arranges figures and form within the composition to create intrigue and invents opportunities for tension and release through the formal effects of contrasting light against dark, and empty beside dense space. The success of Sloan's work comes from its unique ability to convey the real world while simultaneously inhabiting an ineffable, fictive space of imagination and memory. They appeal to our senses and involve us by intimating universally shared axioms of joy, pleasure, suspense, fear, and guilt. Sloan's pictorial encounters with urban life have become icons of modern American art, but how did he arrive at this point?

Fifteen years before they formed the core of The Eight in New York, five of the artists became acquainted in Philadelphia. Sloan, Henri, Glackens, Luks, and Shinn met

⁴ The other two paintings included in Sloan's display were *The Cot* (1907, Bowdoin College Museum of Art) and *Nursemaids, Madison Square* (1907, University of Nebraska), which was listed as *Nurse Girls, Spring* in Macbeth's catalogue.

⁵ I take the phrase "stories without endings" from Rebecca Zurier, *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 300.

in and around the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA) during the 1890s, and quickly rejected the Academy's conservative pedagogy to found their own "Charcoal Club." Boisterous parties and performances of amateur theatricals followed their studio sessions leaving a visual trail of sketches, caricatures, and snapshots as telling evidence of their camaraderie. They also worked together (except for Henri) as illustrators on the Philadelphia newspapers, where the newspaper room functioned as the new academy that taught speed and mechanical technique.

The Philadelphia coterie dwindled, however, as more artists succumbed to the pull of New York. One by one, Luks, Glackens, Shinn, and Henri moved to New York for better opportunities and higher pay. Sloan lingered longer, however, and didn't attempt to move until 1898, when his former Philadelphia colleague Frank Crane recruited him to join the *New York Herald*. But after a short stay, Sloan returned to his hometown, telling Henri he felt "more like an artist" where he could be "the big frog in the little puddle."⁶ He remained in Philadelphia nearly a decade longer before joining his colleagues in the metropolis in 1904. Many artists outside of New York at the turn of the century grappled with this choice, but not all artists found New York conducive to their work. For Sloan and others, mounting urbanization and modernization threatened some traditional notions of community and social life. While the story of The Eight is well

⁶ John Sloan to Robert Henri, October 30, 1898. Bennard B. Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 34. The original letters between Sloan and Henri reside in the John Sloan Manuscript Collection at the Delaware Art Museum and in the Robert Henri Papers at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Throughout this dissertation I cite them in Perlman's published book for easy reference.

known, Sloan's complicated transition between Philadelphia and New York is not fully understood.

This dissertation takes the early career of John Sloan as a case study for understanding the importance of place and artistic community in American art. It reverses the commonly-held notion that Sloan's modern vision derived chiefly from his New York experiences. The "sensation" caused by The Eight exhibition in 1908, and the legacy of the works Sloan displayed there, cemented his reputation as a New York artist. However, Sloan spent the first thirty-three years of his life in Philadelphia and produced a large body of work there as well. This project revisits his earliest choices and diverse artistic output—newspaper illustrations, caricature drawings, prints, photographs, amateur theatrical scripts, and oil paintings—with a concentration on the understudied Philadelphia period between 1892 and 1904. By comparing Sloan's Philadelphia work with art he produced in New York between 1904 and 1907, this study demonstrates that Sloan's experiences in Philadelphia, and the journey between the two cities, significantly fostered his approach to seeing, apprehending, and transcribing modern life. Ultimately I argue that Sloan's art and artistic identity were importantly informed by his regional consciousness and his specific position as a Philadelphia artist removed to New York at the turn of the century. What he learned in Philadelphia, and through his circulatory movement between the art world's center and periphery in 1898, culminated in 1907 with the works shown at the Macbeth Gallery.

Growing Up in Philadelphia

John French Sloan was born to Henrietta Ireland and James Dixon Sloan in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania on August 2, 1871. Henrietta came from a Philadelphia family, but was living in the lumber town in central Pennsylvania as a schoolteacher when she met James Sloan, who owned a failing furniture and undertaking business. James scraped together a living by also working as a photographer and a bicycle repairman, and spent his leisure painting.⁷ Because the economic recession that had started in 1873 made it difficult for the family to remain in remote Lock Haven, the Sloans and so many others made plans to move to the city—to Philadelphia. One of Sloan's prominent childhood memories was a visit to the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. Sloan remembered, as a five-year-old, marveling at the monumental Corliss Engine in Machinery Hall. When the Sloans lost their house, the family (which included Sloan's younger sisters Bess and Marianna) lived first with his Grandmother Ireland in Germantown, a Philadelphia suburb, while their father looked for work. When Henrietta's familial connections to the Marcus Ward & Co. stationery and publishing business resulted in the elder Sloan's employment as a traveling salesman, the family settled into 1921 South Camac Street. Sloan continued to live there for the next fifteen years.⁸

Henrietta first educated Sloan at home and then sent him to schools in the neighborhood. At age thirteen he entered Philadelphia's prestigious Central High School,

⁷ Henrietta was the granddaughter of Samuel Priestly, a well-to-do Pennsylvania paper merchant. Her younger sister, Emma married the wealthy William Hardcastle Ward, son of the founder of the Marcus & Ward, Co., stationery and publishing business. See John Loughery, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995).

⁸ For Sloan's biography I rely on John Loughery, *John Sloan*.

where his classmates included William Glackens and Albert Barnes, the future art collector. After his father suffered a nervous breakdown in 1888, Sloan was forced to leave school just a few months short of receiving his degree in order to support the family. He worked first as an errand boy for the office of J. Morris Harding and then at Porter & Coates, a dealer in books and fine prints. There he taught himself to etch using Philip Gilbert Hamerton's *The Etcher's Handbook* (1871). In 1890 he joined A. Edward Newton's Fancy Goods Business as a designer of novelties, calendars, and the like.⁹ That same year Sloan enrolled in a night freehand drawing class at the Spring Garden Institute where he drew from plaster casts and clothed models. He left Newton to work as a freelance artist full-time in 1891.

In the fall of 1892 Sloan enrolled in Thomas Anshutz's evening antique class at PAFA, where his classmates included Edward W. Davis, Glackens, Frederick Gruger, James Preston, and Joseph (Joe) Laub. It ended abruptly, however, when Anshutz reprimanded Sloan for sketching his fellow art students instead of the assignment—the antique cast at the center of room. The dispute ended with Sloan storming out of the class. Although he rejected PAFA and academic teaching, the connections Sloan made at the school during his short time there was enough to merit an invitation to a fateful Christmas party held by the sculptor Charles Grafly; at this fete Sloan met Robert Henri. The two reportedly bonded over the death of their favorite poet, Walt Whitman, who had recently passed away in nearby Camden, New Jersey. This dissertation asserts that the

⁹ Many of these objects can be found at the Delaware Art Museum (DAM), Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA), and National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution (NMAH). Many are reproduced in Peter Morse, *John Sloan's Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings, Lithographs, and Posters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

events which followed—Sloan’s work in the newspaper rooms, his activities and interactions in the studio, and his first experiences looking for subjects to paint on the streets of Philadelphia—constituted a more lasting influence and a more authentic education than any of his formal training.

Review of Literature & Approach of this Project

This project expands on the important work of such art historians as Heather Campbell Coyle, Virginia Mecklenburg, Elizabeth Milroy, Joyce Schiller, Robert Snyder, and Rebecca Zurier, each of whom has produced scholarship concentrating on Sloan’s production as a New York artist after 1904.¹⁰ Building on this scholarship, the first task of this dissertation is to illuminate the breadth of Sloan’s Philadelphia oeuvre and to provide analysis and context for that material. Despite the artist’s eleven years working as a newspaperman and artist in Philadelphia, few scholars have investigated seriously this formative period of his career. The reasons for this follow the nature of Sloan’s output: first, that much of it (illustration) straddles the realms of fine art and mass culture; and second, that the work is difficult to access (newspaper illustrations on microfilm) or unknown (in museum archives and print departments).¹¹ The problem with the status of

¹⁰ Heather Campbell Coyle and Joyce K. Schiller, *John Sloan’s New York* (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2007).; Rebecca Zurier, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York* (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art in association with W. W. Norton & Company, 1995).; Elizabeth Milroy and Gwendolyn Owens, *Painters of a New Century: The Eight & American Art* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1991).

¹¹ The full run of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* is now available online. I viewed microfilm rolls of *The Philadelphia Press* (which Sloan illustrated from 1895-1903) at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. between 2012-2016. Caricatures from Sloan’s personal collection reside in the John Sloan Manuscript Collection at DAM and at the PMA in the Prints, Drawings, and Photographs Collection. Other similar ephemeral materials are at the NMAH.

mass-produced illustration as fine art is not unique to Sloan, but rather, as Michelle Bogart and Michael Lobel have written, part of a broader problem with the field of illustration.¹² Not only has illustration been historically deemed less worthy of attention, but very few of Sloan's drawings for the newspaper survive in their original form. Subsequently, they were rarely collected or included in exhibitions.¹³

The first attempt to provide extended analysis of Sloan's newspaper work appeared in graduate scholarship. Master's theses by Edgar John Bullard III (1968) and William Forwood (1970) laid the groundwork for further study by providing the first biographical overview of Sloan's activity during the 1890s and drawing stylistic connections between his illustrations and the pictorial conventions of French, Japanese, and British Pre-Raphaelite art.¹⁴ Elizabeth H. Hawkes added depth to the newspaper period by offering further details on the *Philadelphia Inquirer's* history in the 1890s and significant conclusions on which this study builds.¹⁵ Other monographic studies and articles on Sloan's work tend to gloss over his newspaper career and look at the images

¹² Michele H. Bogart, *Advertising, Artists, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).; Michael Lobel, *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014).

¹³ Known collections which house examples of Sloan's original illustrations include the DAM, the NMAH, the PMA, the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, and the Susan and Herbert Adler Collection, New York. The DAM also holds a collection of newspapers saved by Sloan that contain his illustrations. However, they are incomplete, very fragile, and sometimes in poor condition.

¹⁴ E. John Bullard, "John Sloan and the Philadelphia Realists as Illustrators, 1890-1920" (MA thesis, University of California, 1968).; William Forwood, "John Sloan, Japonisme, and the Art Nouveau" (MA thesis, University of Delaware, 1970).

¹⁵ Hawkes's well-informed article is thanks to her deep knowledge as Curator of the John Sloan Manuscript Collection. Elizabeth Hawkes, "John Sloan's Newspaper Career: An Alternative to Art School," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 105, no. 1 (April 1995): 193-209.

divorced from their context on the newspaper page.¹⁶ Although Rebecca Zurier’s seminal study, *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School* (2006), contributes important theses concerning Sloan’s reliance on memory for the pictorial construction of his urban narratives, she does not view his Philadelphia newspaper room experience as central. Rather, Zurier privileges the influence of literature, film, and his time spent observing, or “looking,” at life in New York.¹⁷ Most recently, Michael Lobel’s monograph *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration* (2014) takes the most serious look at Sloan’s early work by reconsidering some of his Philadelphia illustrations in dialogue with his works in other media, such as prints and paintings, to reveal how Sloan self-consciously and repeatedly referred to one pictorial medium through another. Through the example of Sloan, Lobel divulges the ways in which the art of illustration depends upon dialogue and collaboration and therefore cuts across the worlds of fine art and mass culture.¹⁸

¹⁶ E. John Bullard and David W. Scott, *John Sloan 1871-1951: His Life and Paintings, His Graphics* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1971). Although notable for taking on the subject, *City Life Illustrated, 1890-1940: Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Shinn – Their Friends and Followers* (Delaware Art Museum, 1980), is too brief to go into any depth. The very important compendium on Sloan’s graphics by Elizabeth Hawkes, *John Sloan’s Illustrations in Magazines and Books* (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1993), deliberately eschews the newspaper illustrations. Because most publications on Sloan and the Ashcan School focus on New York, they subsequently do not deal with Sloan’s period in Philadelphia or his newspaper work, as in Zurier, Snyder, and Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives.*; and Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan’s New York*.

¹⁷ Zurier, *Picturing the City*.

¹⁸ I am very grateful to Michael Lobel for sharing the draft of his manuscript with me while I was first formulating my topic in 2011. This allowed me to strategize how my work would make an original contribution apart from his. While Lobel’s scholarship has been invaluable for my own, our studies begin with similar illustrations but diverge into different arenas. Whereas Lobel focuses on the relationship of Sloan’s mass-produced illustration in tandem with technical change across 1892-1920, my study remains rooted primarily to Philadelphia and concerns of regional consciousness between 1892 and 1904. Lobel, *Drawing on Illustration*.

This dissertation builds on this important work but asks different questions and focuses on alternative material. After surveying nearly the full run of Sloan's illustrations in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Philadelphia Press* between 1892 and 1903, I look for patterns in Sloan's work across time and consider the significance of his repetitive production and sustained involvement with subjects and form in the different pages of the newspaper. Using a formalist approach, I consider the designs of Sloan's images in relation to the newspaper text and line up shifts in his style with chronological events in Philadelphia and in the artist's life to reveal the contingency of his development on his environment.

One of the major contributions of this dissertation is to bring to light some of Sloan's work for the very first time. Countless hours poring over microfilm reproductions of *The Philadelphia Press* proved fruitful through the discovery of numerous previously unknown "poster-style" illustrations by Sloan (examined in Chapter 1) (for example, fig. 0.14). Additionally, many of the caricatures from Sloan's personal collection, housed at the Delaware Art Museum (DAM) and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA), receive their first scholarly examination here (in Chapters 1 and 2) (for example, fig. 0.15), as does the group's amateur theatrical, "The Widow Cloonan's Curse" (1893) (in Chapter 2) (fig. 0.16).¹⁹ Although Sloan's Philadelphia paintings (figs. 0.17-20) are discussed briefly by many of the scholars above as a prelude to studies of the New York work, this is the

¹⁹ Coyle includes some of the caricatures in the DAM collection in her study, "Laughing Matters: Art Caricature in America, 1878-1918" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2011). She made a detailed analysis of the group's most famous theatrical, "Twillbe," in Heather Campbell Coyle, "Pranks, Processions, and Parodies: Performing Bohemia at the Pennsylvania Academy" (MA thesis, University of Delaware, 2005). I was able to undertake the study of the caricatures and theatricals thanks to the groundwork she laid.

first study to provide them with deep contextualization (Chapter 3). The first attempt to analyze Sloan's Philadelphia paintings came in Bruce St. John's article "John Sloan in Philadelphia, 1888-1904" (1971).²⁰ My work would not have been possible without Rowland Elzea's invaluable catalogue raisonné on Sloan's oil paintings (1991).²¹ Later, Coyle and Schiller amplified how we understand the paintings in their catalogue, *John Sloan's New York* (2007).²² I cite the ways in which my work draws on and dialogues with the aforementioned scholars throughout my text.

While scholars frequently identify Sloan's coming of age as a consequence of his permanent move to New York and locate his revelatory moment to 1904, this study seeks to reposition the artist's turning point to 1898, when Sloan attempted to move to New York but returned to his hometown after just ten weeks. Sloan wrote to Henri in July 1898 explaining his highly emotional removal from Philadelphia:

Surely tis as tho' the bronze creation of the Elder Calder should leave his perch on the City Hall I wonder how you would advise me? I think I have done as you would suggest—I will have a better opportunity and self preservation will necessitate my keeping out of the clutches of the "dry rot" Don't ever betray me but I said "Yes" under the influence of two or three of the whiskies that Scotland was named after—But how did I forget the old "806" It nearly breaks my dusty heart to leave it but then I leave it with Laub and Preston who promise to respect the dirt—guard the Books—pay rent and honor our memory—I stare blankly around the old room now and the scenes I can recall to my minds eye with this old "stage" as a background make me physically weak when I think of "Curtain"²³

²⁰ Bruce St. John, "John Sloan in Philadelphia, 1888-1904," *American Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1971): 80–87.

²¹ Rowland Elzea, *John Sloan's Oil Paintings: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991).

²² Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan's New York*.

²³ Sloan refers to the monumental bronze sculpture of William Penn by Alexander Milne Calder, which was lifted to the summit of the City Hall's tower in 1894. "806" stands for the address of the studio shared by Sloan and Henri at 806 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. Sloan to Henri, July 21, 1898, in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 27.

Tinged with nostalgia for their shared history, the artist compares his rootedness to the monumental sculpture of the city's founder, William Penn, on the tower of Philadelphia's City Hall. He expresses his heartbreak over his departure through several regionally conscious characterizations. The reference to Penn and the linguistic uses of "dry rot," "dusty," and "old" point to Sloan's understanding of Philadelphia's regional identity as the Quaker City, and its continued association with the country's founding as its first capital during the American Revolution. Likewise, when Sloan left New York to return to Philadelphia in October, he wrote:

But don't think that I have been unable to hold my own in the Metropolis or that I have returned to sleep the sleep of the Philadelphian I have returned by my own wish—and under my own steam—to the *Press*, The Town and the Studio in order to be worked under more pressure. Of course a New Yorker might not believe it but it is a fact. . . . I have learned a great deal in the 3 months of New York and somehow I feel differently from my old rusty self. . . . I feel more like an artist in Philadelphia, even tho' the town is so ugly compared with N.Y.²⁴

Sloan's language points to his newfound conviction that Philadelphia would be his permanent home, as a place more conducive for his art making, where he felt "more like an artist." Again, he refers to Philadelphia as sleepy; his lack of mobility had made him "rusty," but he preferred to be an artist in the "town" instead of the "Metropolis." The letters also call attention to the environments of his livelihood. The newspaper room (Chapter 1) of the *New York Herald* beckoned him away from *The Philadelphia Press* and his beloved Philadelphia studio (Chapter 2). A postscript (written three weeks later) to the latter letter provides an update that the shift had indeed stimulated the "awakening" that Henri had predicted—Sloan began painting (Chapter 3) two or three mornings a week, and finally with some success. This dissertation organizes itself around these

²⁴ Emphasis original. Sloan to Henri, October 30, 1898, in *Ibid.*, 34.

environments to assert the importance of place for Sloan and to argue that it was Sloan's movement between the two cities, the contrast between them, and his regional consciousness that catalyzed his coming of age.

Regionalism as an Interpretive Framework

Following the work of social scientists, I define regionalism or regional consciousness as a special attention, awareness, or understanding of place that reflects social or cultural differences between environments. Sociologist Barbara Allen explains, "A sense of place, a consciousness of one's physical surroundings, is a fundamental human experience. It seems to be especially strong where people in a neighborhood, a community, a city, a region, possess a collective awareness of place and express it in their cultural forms."²⁵ Sloan's conceptions of Philadelphia and New York stemmed not only from his lived experience, but were also culled from a reservoir of media influence he accumulated over his lifetime. His initial reluctance to leave Philadelphia, and then his inability to adapt to New York during his first sojourn in 1898, evidences not only the physical contrasts between the two (in their built environments and the working conditions of the newspaper room, for example), but also the psychological struggle such an adjustment entails. As Polly Stewart so aptly states, "Regional consciousness is less a

²⁵ Barbara Allen, "Regional Studies in American Folklore Scholarship," in Barbara Allen and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds. *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures* (The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 1. For other helpful definitions of regionalism see Harry W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1938).

matter of geography than it is a state of mind.”²⁶ Although a shared regional consciousness clearly asserts itself in the evidence I will present, it also operates in a dynamic, shifting state according to a person’s unique circumstances, leading them to develop what Barbara Allen has called “a regional sense of self.”²⁷ A sense of a place, therefore, is not fixed or absolute; regionalism is a construct both actual and conceptual—the identity of place is highly subjective and contingent on factors such as economics, class, and race, which shift through time and space.²⁸ By looking closely at Sloan as a case study, I will argue that regionalism played a key role in the conception and production of his art. This project paves the way for studies of other artists in alternative localities at the turn of the century.

The subjects of regionalism and regional identity loom large across academia as an interdisciplinary field. As Allen explains, regionalism has long been a topic of study “in the work of American geographers, economists, sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, historians, literary scholars, and folklorists.”²⁹ While art historical scholarship of the United States has considered regional identity in the art of the Hudson River School, American modernists between the wars, and the 1930s “Regionalists” (to

²⁶ Polly Stewart, “Regional Consciousness as a Shaper of Local History: Examples from the Eastern Shore,” In Allen and Schlereth, eds. *Sense of Place*, 75.

²⁷ Cited in Thomas J. Schlereth, “Regional Culture Studies and American Culture Studies,” In Allen and Schlereth, eds. *Sense of Place*, 170.

²⁸ In addition to Barbara Allen, Thomas J. Schlereth, Harry W. Odum, and Harry Estill Moore cited above, this definition is informed by such scholarship as, Edward L. Ayers et al., *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).; Wayne Franklin and Michael Steiner, eds., *Mapping American Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992).; Gabrielle M. Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

²⁹ Barbara Allen, “Regional Studies in American Folklore Scholarship,” in Allen and Schlereth, eds. *Sense of Place*, 1.

name only a few),³⁰ my project offers a new perspective by comparing the significance of regionalism for an American artist in two cities.³¹ This study looks to the early moment of the 1890s, which is arguably the progenitor for the groundswell of regional interest in the 1930s, to position the genesis of regionalism with America's escalating preoccupation with place at the turn of the century.

In a recently published compendium on the current state of the field of American art history, leading art historian John Davis makes a case for studying “the dynamics of localities” as an antidote to the outmoded discourse of American exceptionalism. His essay, “Only in America: Exceptionalism, Nationalism, Provincialism” (2015) traces the historiography of the field from its inceptive claim to American exceptionalism (“the belief that there is something different, even unique, about the democracy of the United States and the culture to which it gave rise”) through to the field's most recent transnational turn.³² Davis suggests that this generation of Americanists should seek not only to internationalize the study of American art, but also to embrace the country's storied provincialism by looking “at the specifics of local environment.” He writes,

³⁰ A very useful bibliography of regionalism as addressed by art historians appears in Michael Steiner and Clarence Mondale, *Region and Regionalism in the United States: A Source Book for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 79-103.

³¹ For example, Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).; Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).; Matthew Baigell, *The American Scene: American Painting of the 1930s* (New York: Praeger, 1974). Baigell identifies American Scene artists Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood, John Stewart Curry, Reginald Marsh, Ben Shahn, and Stuart Davis. The term “Regionalist” was applied to certain of these artists who focused on localized subject matter. *Ibid.*, 55.

³² John Davis “Only in America: Exceptionalism, Nationalism, Provincialism,” in John Davis, Jennifer A. Greenhill, and Jason D. LaFountain, eds., *A Companion to American Art*, Wiley Blackwell Companions to Art History (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 317.

A belief in the importance of localities privileges place *and* space in ways that acknowledge their mutual role in the production of culture and society. It suggests that sensitive and probing microhistories that take proximal and temporal relationships into account are the necessary building blocks for the more sweeping interpretive thrusts that often change a field of study.³³

I aim to heed the call for an American art history based in “situational specificity”³⁴ by looking closely at Sloan’s work and the regionally conscious pattern it exhibits as a way of fleshing out one precise example from what was undeniably a larger national issue.

Americans had many reasons to be regionally conscious in the late nineteenth century. The growth of cities, due to the movement of rural populations to urban areas, combined with the increased number of immigrants, led people to question who and what was American and how.³⁵ The spread of the transcontinental railroad enabled people not only to travel farther and more efficiently than ever before but, as Leigh Ann Litwiller Berte describes, those physically unable to travel could become “armchair tourists” by perusing the pages of American magazines like *Harper’s New Monthly* and *Scribner’s*. These publications and others began featuring illustrated articles on American destinations in 1850 and especially on cities beginning in the 1870s and 1880s.³⁶ Although American identity had been historically associated with limitless expansion, by

³³ Emphasis original. *Ibid.*, 331.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ An important source for my understanding of the historical context for regionalism has been Julia B. Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging: New England Art and the Making of American Identity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

³⁶ Leigh Ann Litwiller Berte, “Geography by Destination: Rail Travel, Regional Fiction, and the Cultural Production of Geographical Essentialism,” In Martin Brückner and Hsuan L. Hsu, eds. *American Literary Geographies: Spatial Practice and Cultural Production, 1500-1900* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 173.

1893 the country's borders were clearly established.³⁷ World's fairs contributed to the drive toward unity, first with the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia, and then the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. As Julia Rosenbaum has shown, "Unlike previous fairs, the organizers [of the 1893 fair] fastened on state and regional identities, promoting and greatly expanding them as components to a larger nation-building project."³⁸ This was largely achieved through the design of the fair's built environment, a point to which I return in Chapter 3. Moreover, at the Chicago fair, Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his seminal proclamation, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," and announced the frontier officially closed. Territorial issues came to the fore again in 1898 with the Spanish-American War. The conflict ended the Spanish colonial empire in the western hemisphere when it ceded sovereignty of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States. Headlines concerning the war appeared on the front pages of daily newspapers. Its ubiquity not only set regional identity in the forefront of American minds but, as we shall see in Chapter 1, had a direct effect on Sloan's newspaper career by triggering his move to New York.

In tandem with Sloan's regional consciousness, the work he produced in his formative period also evidences the importance he placed on his cohort and his working community. Building on the scholarship of Sarah Burns, I will argue that the construction of identity likewise stems from the artist's sense of himself in relation to the community, as Sloan evaluated his autonomy within the art world's network and considered the

³⁷ Excluding Alaska and Hawaii only four territories still had to be admitted (Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Oklahoma) and they were all within the interior. See Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 15.

³⁸ Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging*, 11.

merits of each city for artistic work.³⁹ As Howard Becker has written, all artistic work is contingent on the cooperative network of the art world, which affects both its production and consumption.⁴⁰ Sloan serves as an ideal case study for this analysis because of the variety of networks within which he circulated: as newspaper illustrator, art student, freelance designer, and budding painter. An examination of how these Philadelphia matrices shaped Sloan highlights his autonomy from his colleagues—as one who lacked the skills of quick execution, who never traveled abroad, and who hesitated, for important reasons this project sorts through, to move to New York.

Reading Regional Identity

Regional characterizations of Philadelphia and New York proliferated across media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Philadelphia was constantly characterized as the quiet, slow, historic city of the past in contrast to New York—the humming, rapidly paced, modern metropolis of the future.⁴¹ In 1895, Sloan prepared a book cover design and poster (fig. 0.21) for the novel, *The Lady and Her Tree: A Story of Society*, by Philadelphia-born author, Charles Stokes Wayne.⁴² For his design, rendered in his then famous “poster style,” Sloan draws a woman in a shadowy forest. The accompanying poster containing this image reads in bold font, “The American Aristocracy / Graphically Depicted and Its Hollowness Exposed in the latest and Most

³⁹ Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁴⁰ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 1.

⁴¹ An important source for my thinking on this subject has been Michael P. McCarthy, “The Unprogressive City: Philadelphia and Urban Stereotypes at the Turn of the Century,” *Pennsylvania History* 54, no. 4 (October 1987): 263–81.

⁴² Charles Stokes Wayne, *The Lady and Her Tree: A Story of Society* (Philadelphia: The Vortex Company, 1895).

Interesting Novel of the Season / For Sale Here.” The novel exemplifies regionally conscious trends in turn-of-the-century literature and periodicals.

The plot revolves around Mrs. Katherine Yorke, a high society New Yorker recently removed to Philadelphia with her new husband, after his business takes a financial hit and they no longer can afford to live in New York. Mrs. Yorke was born in Philadelphia, but as it turns out, not in the correct part of town for a lady. She hailed from Spring Garden Street, the uptown neighborhood of the nouveau riche. This heritage tarnished her reputation as a society woman. Among multiple dramatic plot lines, including gossip of marital infidelity, Mrs. Yorke is told she will never be welcomed by Philadelphia society on account of her uptown origins. Meanwhile, an old aunt of Mrs. Yorke’s passes away, leaving a family chest containing records of her true ancestry. The papers divulge that in fact the lady descends from the very best families in Philadelphia *and* New York, including Revolutionary War heroes. The story prints in the newspaper and she is vindicated—all of Philadelphia throws themselves at her feet. But offended and proud, Mrs. Yorke takes her inheritance and travels to Europe.

Stokes’s novel negotiates regional identity through the movement of his characters between Philadelphia and New York, and the subsequent class judgments they faced based on geographic and ancestral origin. What Stokes and others, as we will see, make clear is that place and geography equal status. The characters that reside in Philadelphia know those boundaries very well, and they know the character of their city like they know a family member. Although Sloan drew a literal “tree” to illustrate *The Lady and Her Tree*, it stands as a metaphor for Mrs. Yorke’s family tree—the tree by which members of Philadelphia society would measure her value. Sloan’s literal

translation of the title does not mean he misunderstood its meaning, rather, he exploited the full potential of the tree as a decorative motif.

In her book, *Urban Intersections: Meetings of Life and Literature in United States Cities*, Sidney H. Bremer surveys the means by which authors began to write about and characterize American cities following the Civil War. As urban boundaries and characteristics began to be defined and fixed, authors sought to differentiate cities as national centers.⁴³ Seemingly in competition with each other, authors weighed American cities against one another to assess which best deserved the title of the American metropolis. In novels such as *Waiting for the Verdict* (1868) by Rebecca Harding Davis, *Democracy* (1880) by Henry Adams, and Henry James's *The Bostonians* (1886), the major cities took on discreet personifications characterizing Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston respectively. On the first page of Davis' *Waiting for the Verdict*, her description of Philadelphia as "a great flat Quaker city locked in by the two lazy rivers, going off into a sleep" circumscribes a regional identity that reverberates in other literature throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴⁴ In 1898, essayist Agnes Repplier wrote that two centuries after Philadelphia's founding,

something of the same spirit lingers in the quiet city which preserves the decorum of those early years, which does not jostle her sister cities in the race of life, nor shout loud cries of triumph in their ears...Philadelphia...still bears the impress of the Founder's touch. Simplicity, dignity, reserve, characterize her now as in Colonial Days.⁴⁵

⁴³ Sidney H. Bremer, *Urban Intersections: Meetings of Life and Literature in United States Cities* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 39.

⁴⁴ Rebecca Harding Davis, *Waiting for the Verdict* (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1868), 5.

⁴⁵ Agnes Repplier, *Philadelphia: The Place and the People* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1898), xviii.

In William Dean Howell's *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1889), one of the protagonist's orations seems to match Sloan's sentiment, when she laments the idea of moving from Boston to New York. Mrs. March cried, "I could go West with you, or into a new country—anywhere; but New York terrifies me. I don't like New York, I never did; it disheartens and distracts me; I can't find myself in it. . . . I know I'm foolish and narrow and provincial. . . but I could never have any inner quiet in New York."⁴⁶ When Henry James returned to the United States in 1905 after time abroad, he toured the country and observed that Philadelphia was alone among American cities in that it "didn't *bristle*."⁴⁷ Instead, he wrote that Philadelphia had an "admirable comprehensive flatness,"⁴⁸ "a note of the homogeneous," "It drew its breath at its ease, clearly—never sounding the charge, the awful 'Step lively!' of New York."⁴⁹

Similar characterizations promulgated in periodicals. *Harper's* ran such articles on Philadelphia as "A Clever Town Built by Quakers" (1882) and "The City of Homes" (1894), where the latter described how "All Philadelphians have a strong feeling for their homes."⁵⁰ Even such essays meant to express Philadelphia's modernity as "The New Philadelphia," (1891) still emphasized the city's "quiet and peaceful aspect of the Quaker." "Philadelphia has been called dead, but it has not been dead, but sleeping."⁵¹

⁴⁶ William Dean Howells, *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1889), 29.

⁴⁷ Emphasis original. Henry James, *The American Scene* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1907), 275.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 282.

⁵⁰ "A Clever Town Built By Quakers," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64, no. 381 (February 1882): 323–38.; Charles Belmont Davis, "The City of Homes," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 89, no. 529 (June 1894): 3–19, quotation taken from page 3.

⁵¹ Henry C. Walsh, "The New Philadelphia," *Cosmopolitan* 11 (October 1891): 37, 47.

Coming from the New York perspective, Will H. Low's "National Art in a National Metropolis" (1902) addressed the art worlds by writing,

In Philadelphia, —the butt of countless witticisms emanating from New York,— at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, exhibitions are held which New York artists are glad to visit, knowing that they will there see many works never shown in their own city. Yet, in the face of these facts, and despite the neglect to which they are subjects, the greater number of American artists of repute are to be found in New York City, thus tending to make it, though so far apparently against its will, the metropolis of art in the United States in the same sense as are Paris and London in France and England.⁵²

A few months after its publication, Herbert Croly responded to Low in his paper, "New York as the American Metropolis" (1903) in order to define further how and why New York had won its status. Croly's survey even fails to mention Philadelphia as a candidate for art center, drawing comparisons only to Chicago and Boston. As this project will reveal, however, Croly's conclusion closely matches Sloan's reasons for moving between Philadelphia and New York:

The artists proper are drawn to New York not because it is a very beautiful city, not because New Yorkers are peculiarly appreciative of American art, but almost entirely because the association with his fellow-craftsmen, which is helpful to men of letters, is essential to artists. As a rule the latter feel themselves peculiarly isolated in American social life.⁵³

The correspondence between Sloan and Henri indeed bears this out. Sloan sometimes signed his letters, "Your lonely philadelphia [*sic*] friend."⁵⁴ Henri responded with a caricature of his face in place of a signature.⁵⁵

⁵² Will H. Low, "National Art in a National Metropolis," *International Quarterly* 6, no. Sept.-Dec. (1902): 109.

⁵³ Herbert Croly, "New York as the American Metropolis," *The Architectural Record* 13, no. 3 (March 1903): 204.

⁵⁴ Sloan to Henri, October 11, 1902, in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 62.

⁵⁵ Henri to Sloan, October 22, 1902, in *Ibid.*, 63.

The local newspaper, which employed Sloan for eleven years, acted as the mouthpiece of regional consciousness, touting local concerns, tracking the movements of its residents, and propagating Philadelphia's identity as the historic Quaker city for its audience. As we heard from Sloan above, William Penn served as the perpetual personification of the city, appearing in diverse guises from political cartoons to special celebrations (figs. 0.22-23). The weekend after Sloan returned to Philadelphia from New York in 1898 marked the country's Peace Jubilee celebrating the end of the Spanish-American War. A special number released by *The Philadelphia Press* (fig. 0.24) features a full-page illustration of William Penn, holding a miniature Independence Hall inscribed "Cradle of Liberty," stepping off of the tower of City Hall to extend a hand to Uncle Sam.⁵⁶ Reoccurring sections featured reports on regions in and around Philadelphia such as "The State at a Glance," "Up the Lehigh Valley" and "All Over New Jersey."⁵⁷ Obviously the papers reported local news and current events, but the special interest sections were filled also with localized topics (figs. 0.25-27) ranging from "Peerless Philadelphia: The Manufacturing Metropolis of the World," to "Prize Ponies of Philadelphia," to "Breadmaking in Philadelphia."⁵⁸ Other serial stories reappear with more information on Philadelphiana, as in "Philadelphia's 500" (fig. 0.28) which featured

⁵⁶ "Peace Jubilee Number," *The Philadelphia Press*, October 23, 1898.

⁵⁷ See for example, *The Philadelphia Press*, March 29, 1896, 40.

⁵⁸ "Peerless Philadelphia: The Manufacturing Metropolis of the World," *The Philadelphia Press*, July 30, 1896, 13.; "Prize Ponies of Philadelphia," *The Philadelphia Press*, March 21, 1897, 29.; "Breadmaking in Philadelphia," *The Philadelphia Press*, June 13, 1897, 34.

exposés on 500 of the city’s wealthy and prominent families, including the Cadwaladers, the Biddles, and the Whartons.⁵⁹

A less flashy, but just as important example may be observed in a short, weekly column that ran in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* the same month that Sloan joined the staff in February 1892. Entitled, “Views of Philadelphia: What Various Newspapers Find to Say About Us,” it published reports on Philadelphia that had appeared in other cities’ newspapers. Most of them seem to be jokes, but all of them adhere to Philadelphia’s standard regional characterization. For example, from the *Chicago Daily News*, “At last Philadelphia has some snap to her, even though it is but a cold snap”; and from the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, “Philadelphia has waked up with a sensation. . . .”⁶⁰ The newspaper also reported when the city lost something to New York, such as an artist. When the well-respected artist Henry Rankin Poore left Philadelphia for New York in 1895, the write-up published by the *Inquirer* read like an obituary, commenting on his Philadelphia birth, his family, and his achievements:

It will be very unwelcome news to all lovers of art in this city to learn that Harry R. Poore, one of the best and best known artists in this city has followed so many other Philadelphians of his profession and taken up his abode in New York city. It is a strange anomaly that Philadelphia educates the larger part of the best artists in the country, but does not afford them the patronage which other cities do.⁶¹

⁵⁹ “Philadelphia’s 500, No. 14—The Wharton Family,” *The Philadelphia Press*, Dec. 27, 1896, 28.

⁶⁰ “Views of Philadelphia: What Various Newspapers Find to Say About Us” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 6, 1892, 4. Other examples of the same column are found in issues from February 11, 1892; February 17, 1892; February 24, 1892. I found the column resurfaced again in January 13, 1895 and November 18, 1895, the latter includes from the *Chicago Record*: “Philadelphia, a city which it is customary to disparage as sleepy and slow-going to the last degree, is well abreast of the times in those things that make for the comfort and well being of its people.”

⁶¹ “Another Artist Gone,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 11, 1895, 6.

Many writers, critics, and artists made similar comments about Philadelphia's inability to keep artists. Sloan watched many of his colleagues make the identical trip until it was his turn as well.

Organization of Project

The dissertation proceeds more or less chronologically, with an Introduction, three chapters organized by environment: "The Newspaper Room," "The Studio," and "The Street," and an Epilogue. It begins in 1892, when Sloan met Henri and joined the *Philadelphia Inquirer* staff, and ends in 1907, when the group gained notoriety in New York as they planned their landmark exhibition at the Macbeth Gallery in February 1908.

Chapter 1 begins in "The Newspaper Room" where Sloan worked for eleven years as a staff artist for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Philadelphia Press*. It provides a survey of his stylistic developments across time in order to reevaluate how we understand Sloan's "realist" subjects in New York developing from his experience as a newspaper illustrator. The chapter aims to reveal what the artist learned from the newspaper room through a dual approach: first, by considering how the institution's working conditions contributed to the development of Sloan's artistic identity, and second, how the materiality of the newspaper's physical space engendered the artist to invent new pictorial devices that he would utilize in his later paintings.

The second chapter examines how Sloan and his colleagues sought to create a Philadelphia version of the artists' Bohemia in "The Studio." During a time when artists looked to organizations for professionalization, legitimization, and opportunity, this chapter investigates how the group's use of photography, caricature, and play-acting

functioned to fashion their artistic identities and codify their brotherhood. It draws comparisons with similar activities of leading artists of the day to nuance our understanding of the artists' clean break with past traditions. A contextual analysis of the works points to the contemporary challenges the artists faced and the local debates they encountered in their art world.

Chapter 3 turns to Sloan's first paintings of "The Street" in Philadelphia, which he began making following his return from New York in 1898. It looks for patterns formed by the artist's chosen subject matter to reveal Sloan's interest in portraying local, historic landmarks. An analysis of the historical and contemporary concerns bound up in painting those particular buildings at that moment in time makes clear the regionally conscious lens through which Sloan was seeing the city, which was different from the Impressionists and his colleagues. This chapter elucidates how the conceptual and compositional devices Sloan learned in Philadelphia combined with his attention to regional identity, history, and modernity to form building blocks for the creation of his iconic New York paintings.

**CHAPTER 1 / THE NEWSPAPER ROOM:
FINDING PLACE IN PRINT**

John Sloan was employed full time by *The Philadelphia Press* for eight years before he moved to New York. That newspaper, which released daily a fresh issue to newsstands, reliably greeted Philadelphians each morning with a bold, recurring masthead: *The [Philadelphia] Press*. (fig. 1.1) However, in place of the word ‘Philadelphia,’ the reader encountered not letters from the alphabet, but a shallow, line-drawn landscape containing the iconography that stood for that place. At the center of the masthead a giant printing press stands flanked on the left by steamboats, the crest of the Pennsylvania state flag, and a house; and on the right by clipper ships, an American eagle, a lighthouse, and a ferry. These highly legible emblems communicate a strong message about the significance and centrality of the press to the place their readers called home, as the principal anchor necessary for the proper functioning of daily life. Good Philadelphia citizens began their day by informing themselves with the latest news and current events. Within the masthead’s design, the central position of the printing press likewise indicates its function as a fulcrum between the local (Pennsylvania state flag) and the national (American eagle). Moreover, surrounding the press and its emblems of place are, appropriately, various signs of movement and stasis—of both the rootedness and circulation inherent to the geography in and around a burgeoning urban metropolis. Immediately behind the printing press is a domicile-like structure perhaps signaling “the home.” Philadelphia was often called the “City of Homes.” Encircling the home are smokestacks that indicate Philadelphia’s role as a manufacturing center and gesture

toward the additional moniker by which it was known: “Workshop of the World.” The additional modes of transportation (steamboats, clipper ships, and ferry) likewise point to the important role of mobility, not only for people but for communication. The newspaper’s masthead visually evokes its position as the stable center anchoring a growing network of traveling people, goods, and information. Finally, in the upper right corner, a small lighthouse stands on the edge of the horizon, radiating light out onto the harbor. As a communication device and watchman, the lighthouse is an apt icon for the daily newspaper, which keeps local residents informed and thus provides stability and protection from uncertainty and misinformation. This thoughtfully constructed, iconographic landscape serves as a metaphor for the newspaper itself. The newspaper acted as an engine made up of many cylinders (well-staffed departments) each working in the service of a larger machine (the city) that produced a constructed identity of place, rolled out and distributed for its resident readers to consume on a daily basis.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, advancements in the printing, managing, and circulation of the metropolitan press led to a shift in the public value system whereby the people looked to the head of the newspaper for information instead of the head of the church. The mass movement of populations from rural to urban areas, the influx of immigrants into American cities, and the quickened pace of life due to new technologies contributed to the search for identity and stability in a rapidly changing world. As historian Gunther Barth has written, “The burgeoning newspaper industry represented the response of one instrument of communication to a new market created by the longing of urban masses for identity. The press pioneered journalistic practices that satisfied people’s need for information about the bewildering place they found

themselves in.”⁶² The daily newspaper’s stories about local neighborhood populations, work, and leisure rendered the city knowable and helped residents recognize their own identity within their city. Although the overwhelming aspects of the city rendered it impossible to visibly comprehend in total, “being informed was a substitute for the visible ordering of people by appearance or location” that had been possible in smaller communities decades earlier. In other words, “the residents’ search for knowledge about their world blended with their quest for identity.”⁶³ Similarly, political scientist Benedict Anderson and historian John Henry Hepp IV have observed that the newspaper served not only as a form of communication but also as an instrument of connection that united populations and gave credence to the idea of community.⁶⁴ Readers gained a sense of participation in their society by consuming the news, all the while knowing that thousands of other people around the city were all reading the same thing.

During Sloan’s time in Philadelphia, which significantly comprised the first thirty-three years of his life, he was deeply entrenched in the newspaper business as an artist—an illustrator of the Philadelphia people and its daily events. Sloan began working at the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in early 1892, switched to *The Philadelphia Press* in December 1895 and remained there (with one significant interruption in 1898) until the end of 1903. Through these eleven years of sustained employment with the Philadelphia dailies the artist participated in rendering the city knowable by serving as a cog in the

⁶² Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of the Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 59.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁶⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Eleventh impression (London and New York: Verso, 2002), 35-36.; John Henry Hepp IV, *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876-1926* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 25-26, 91. See also Barbara Groseclose, *Nineteenth-Century American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 74-75.

wheel of the newspaper's art department—as one element of an assembly line that constructed images both of the city and for the city to consume. As such, Sloan's own artistic identity was molded by these early experiences. This artist, who is best known for his innovative renderings of urban life, first saw the city through the lens of the Philadelphia newspaper. So, what exactly did the medium of the newspaper and the newspaper room experiences in 1890s Philadelphia teach him?

This chapter provides a thorough survey of Sloan's illustrations for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Philadelphia Press* in order to explore this question in two ways. It considers first how the newspaper room environment served as an incubator for the development of Sloan's artistic identity; and second, how the relationship between image and text in the physical medium of the newspaper contributed to Sloan's formal innovation in his later paintings. Although it is generally assumed that Sloan's "realist" style evolved from his experience working and sketching from life as a newspaper reporter in Philadelphia, a long view of his newspaper illustrations between 1892 and 1903 tells a more complicated story. Instead of strictly "realist" or naturalistic representations drawn from life (famously sketched with gusto by Glackens, Luks, and Shinn), a large portion of Sloan's newspaper work in the 1890s may be more accurately described as "poster style," a term that originated to describe the decorative style used in French advertising and poster art that drew formal influences from Japanese prints, Art Nouveau, and the English Pre-Raphaelite movement. Sloan lacked the quick-sketch skills required to capture current events and instead remained in the office to conjure pictures from his imagination. Everett Shinn described the newspaper room experience:

In the Art department of the Philadelphia Press on wobbling, ink-stained drawing boards William J. Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn and John Sloan went to school, a school now lamentably extinct . . . a school that trained memory and quick perception . . . a newspaper of 1900 was a school far more important in the initial training of the mind for quick perception than the combined instruction of the nation's art schools The four mentioned men and many others who had the schooling of newspaper pictorial reporting, have been forever grateful for the rigid requirement that compelled them to observe, select and get the job done.⁶⁵

This kind of writing, which recollects their Philadelphia period some fifty years after the fact, perpetuates the farce of Sloan's reportorial talent and falsely assumes his proficiency to be in line with his colleagues. So, if for Sloan the newspaper room was not "a school that trained memory and quick perception" through habitual on-the-spot sketching then what kind of school was it?

The chapter sections that follow locate Sloan's illustrations in the different sections of the newspaper in order to reveal the challenges the artist faced within the hierarchy of the newspaper room staff. In conjunction with the illustrations, a number of caricatures the newspapermen drew of each other and displayed in their workroom serve to illuminate the importance of camaraderie, but also their concerns with status or rank (both within their small community and in relation to national figures like Charles Dana Gibson), as well as the necessity of mobility to improve their positions. Furthermore, tracing the shifts in Sloan's style and practice against the context of Philadelphia's art world show how Sloan absorbed certain lessons and influences and adapted in order to stand out on the newspaper page. Sloan's early exposure to issues of class and gender and

⁶⁵ Everett Shinn, "Life on the Press," in Henry Clifford, John Sloan, and Everett Shinn, "Artists of the Philadelphia Press: William Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn, John Sloan," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* XLI, no. 207 (November 1945), 9.

the conceptual techniques and compositional strategies learned and employed on the newspaper serve as building blocks for his future work.

Newspaper Room as Incubator

The transformation of American culture between the 1830s and the 1890s, due to advancements in technology, communication, and transit, echoed in the content and format of the American presses. The advent of Samuel F. B. Morse's telegraph, invented in 1837, placed new demands on the news—it had to be new! Newspapermen no longer could wait for news to drift into their offices. Instead, the news had to be up to the minute, immediate, and accurate, which required an army of reporters. This need for eyewitness reports necessitated a new kind of newsman, one who served as a full-time, traveling professional.⁶⁶ With the demand for quickened and accurate news came the need for quickened and accurate images to accompany the texts. Like the reporter, the artist-reporter also traveled to the scene to sketch on the spot and sent his drawings back to the newsroom. The Civil War was the first long-run news event in the history of American journalism and covering it revolutionized how news was reported thereafter. The heyday of the artist-reporter, beginning with the Civil War in the 1860s, can be bookended with the Spanish-American War in 1898, as the last major military event in which the artist-reporter played a leading role in recording events for the popular press

⁶⁶ Peter C. Marzio, *The Men and Machines of American Journalism: A Pictorial Essay from The Henry R. Luce Halls of News Reporting* (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of History and Technology, 1971), 53.

due to the advent of reproducing photography via the halftone.⁶⁷ As Michael Lobel has explained, Sloan's newspaper career coincided with a pivotal moment in journalism's technological evolution. Sloan's entry into the newspaper field in 1892 just preceded the medium's adoption of the halftone, and by the time he left full-time employment on *The Philadelphia Press* in 1903, photography had largely replaced the newspaper artist.⁶⁸

In the final decades of the century the innovations of Joseph Pulitzer in his *New York World* drastically changed the content, character, and readership of the daily paper, leading other papers, including the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, to follow suit. Beginning in the 1880s, Pulitzer's pioneering use of investigative reporting to expose fraud and social ills, combined with increased space given to advertising and entertainment, boosted sales and democratized circulation. He was the first to take advantage of the newspaper's full potential as an entertainment medium by adding sports and humorous sections and more material for women and young readers. James Elverson, who had bought the *Inquirer* in 1889, immediately took steps to gain new readers using Pulitzer's *World* as a model. Like Pulitzer, Elverson lowered the price of his paper and used headlines to target a new mass audience, including the lower classes and immigrants.⁶⁹ The *Inquirer* prided itself on appealing "to everyone and to every condition of life," and in doing so elevated its

⁶⁷ Both illustrators and photographers covered the Spanish-American War and large city papers began to employ local photographers to carry their heavy equipment around to assignments.

⁶⁸ *The Philadelphia Press* released Sloan from full-time work in December 1903 (instigating his move to New York in 1904), but he continued to illustrate puzzles for the *Press*'s Sunday supplement until 1910. Michael Lobel, *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 15.

⁶⁹ Elverson lowered the daily price of the *Inquirer* to one cent while most papers sold for two or three cents. Elizabeth Hawkes, "John Sloan's Newspaper Career: An Alternative to Art School," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 105, no. 1 (April 1995): 195.

readership from 5,000 to 70,000 between 1889 and 1892.⁷⁰ In other words, when Sloan entered the business in the early 1890s, the metropolitan newspapers had taken on a modern form.

The modernity of Sloan's office environment is expressed in a special Sunday article announcing the *Inquirer's* newly renovated offices. Titled, "The Inquirer In Its New Home," the sprawling essay spans nine pages of that morning's edition, including the entirety of the newspaper's fourth section, plentifully illustrated with photo-engravings and halftones of the many rooms that made up their workspace, newly located at 1109 Market Street. The article's language continually emphasizes the modernity of the *Inquirer's* new offices, but it balances the description of the building as something that hovered between gentility and an industrial machine: "The elegance and comfort of the editorial rooms and the complete equipment of every department for the speedy dispatch of work met with the approval of all business men who value the use of time."⁷¹ (fig. 1.2) Sloan was a part of this machine as one of nine men working on the fourth floor in the "artists' room and the mechanical art department." The author emphasizes the efficiency of the workspace that enabled the artists to produce accurate illustrations in record time.⁷²

The fourth and fifth pages of the special section are especially graphic (fig. 1.3)—composed entirely of photographic portraits of 127 members of the *Inquirer's* editorial, business, and mechanical departments—individually numbered and identified by name

⁷⁰ Ibid., 195. Hawkes cites *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 10, 1892, 4.

⁷¹ "The Inquirer In Its New Home," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 16, 1894, 1.

⁷² Ibid., 39

beneath the pictorial display.⁷³ Largest and at the center of the Editorial and Business Department's page of employees are James Elverson and James Elverson, Jr., the publisher and general manager, respectively. And, centered directly below and between the Elversons sits none other than their newspaper artist, John Sloan. Surrounding Sloan's picture are five other members of the newspaper's Art Department: Joseph (Joe) Laub and Edward Wyatt Davis on either side of him, and under them, R. C. Swayze, W. E. Worden, and Harry Ponitz. A photograph of the men (fig. 1.4) posing together perhaps provided the source for these portraits. The central position of the artists' portraits beneath the two most important heads of the paper signals their status within the ranks of the newspaper staff, and thus the critical importance of graphic images to the success of the local newspaper. Moreover, Sloan's centrality both in relation to the edges of the page and to the group of artists further points to his value on the staff. These portrait pages and the accompanying article encapsulate the network of the newspaper room. Although the article describes the newspapermen as divided by separate departments, the two-page spread of portraits emphasizes the newspaper's staff as a community of people. A list of names would have been adequate information, but someone deemed it important enough to photograph each staff person and represent his face, thus creating a bold graphic statement about the identity and inner workings of the newspaper.

Like the organization of such other modern systems as the railroad and the department store, interests within the newspaper were classified, characterized, and

⁷³ Ibid., 40-41.

reliably ordered for the reader on a daily or weekly basis.⁷⁴ The news became subdivided by interest into different sections, pages, columns, and corners. In the 1890s a Sunday edition of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* consisted of anywhere between sixteen and sixty pages (typically skewing toward the latter). The first three pages were dominated by local and national current events and politics. Beginning on the fourth page other editorials and special interest columns claimed space, including sports, scientific developments, reports on theater shows, upper-class gossip, travel and leisure—each subject had its own place.⁷⁵

With the compartmentalization of the paper and hence the specialization of the newsman, a hierarchy of reporters and artists covering these topics emerged. Not surprisingly, the front-page news, where stories of current events, covered by reporters haunting police stations, courts, and city halls were higher on the ladder than those assigned to cover society events at theaters, ballrooms, or sports arenas and financial districts.⁷⁶ The reportorial artist needed not only to produce work quickly, as observed from life, but he also had to work cooperatively within a team of other newspapermen. The regulations of their employment required them to often work together on an assembly line to produce a drawing, sometimes sketching different parts that would later form a whole, copying or resizing an image, or redrawing a picture to suit certain column requirements. Sloan described the collective aspect of their process:

⁷⁴ For more see Hepp, *The Middle-Class City*; and George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999).

⁷⁵ For example, in February 1892, the month Sloan joined the staff, one finds the columns “Society in Washington,” “Money in Stocks,” “Secrets of Societies” and “The Gossip of the Clubs” on pages seven and eight. Following, the editors reserved pages nine to sixteen nearly exclusively for entertainment, including a “Page for Boys and Girls”; “At the Theaters”; a “Society” page and “A Page for Women.” See *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February, 28, 1892.

⁷⁶ Barth, *City People*, 102.

When the news came in by telegraph, two or sometimes three artists would be put to work drawing sections of the scene in the sketch that was most appropriate. We worked side by side, using the same type of technique. As the deadline for going to press came close, the most skilled draughtsman would “pull together” the three sections that had been pasted on one large sheet of cardboard. Then the final drawing would be rushed to the engraving department, photographed, the plate etched, the stereotype made—and this wholly imaginary document would come out in the paper.⁷⁷

His description of the procedure for creating an image makes clear the extent to which the work was produced communally. Yet, although they worked together “side by side,” Sloan also hints at the competitive nature of the job by referencing “the most skilled draughtsman.” Artists jostled for the best position of their work within the organization of the paper, probably aiming for the first page or a page that allowed ample space to showcase their talents. This organization would naturally fuel the illustrators, driven by the challenge to be the most adept and most versatile artist, to aspire to the apex of the hierarchy. Since Sloan lacked the proficiency for sketching quickly from life, this placed him at a lower ranking position. Where was Sloan’s place in the newspaper room hierarchy and how was he and his work classified?

“Society” Pages in Spring

When he first joined the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in February 1892, the editors sent Sloan out to cover current events around the city. His first signed picture appears on page six of the Tuesday paper, February 16, 1892 (fig. 1.5), where he illustrates the burned out remnants of a hotel following a boiler explosion at the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

⁷⁷ Helen Farr Sloan, *American Art Nouveau: The Poster Period of John Sloan* (Lock Haven, Pennsylvania: Hammermill Paper Company, 1967), n.p.

Evidently uncomfortable with his assignment, Sloan's drawing provides the bare minimum. To borrow Lobel's phrase, the first responders look like "little more than stick figures."⁷⁸ The editors gave Sloan a second chance the next day by featuring his illustration on the front page. (fig. 1.6) However, instead of appealing to the reader's interest with more dramatic drawings of his on-the-spot impressions, Sloan sketched two static scenes divorced from the action. The larger drawing, captioned "Before the accident," imagines a scene before the explosion picturing two men working on the locomotive. The smaller drawing below it shows a rather morbid detail of a dead man suspended in the air, hanging from the wires. As Sloan's biographer, John Loughery, has remarked (echoing Sloan's own recollection), the editors must have been dissatisfied with Sloan's work, since nearly a month elapsed before another signed example appeared on the *Inquirer's* front page.⁷⁹ Moreover, when the editors again featured Sloan's work on the front page on Friday, March 4, 1892 it wasn't a subject observed from life. Rather, Sloan's signature accompanied a portrait of the recently arrested criminal, Walter K. Richards, copied after a photograph. (fig. 1.7a, b) While the placement of his illustration in such a prominent position indeed indicates the artist's merit, Sloan's demotion from the apex of the hierarchy—from an on-the-spot field-working sketch hunter to a stock photo copyist, after only a month on the job, must have been demoralizing.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Lobel, *Drawing on Illustration*, 15.

⁷⁹ John Loughery, *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), 20.

⁸⁰ The signed drawings of Sloan's colleague R.C. Swayze appear on the front page. A number of unsigned drawings in the intervening issues are probably the work of Sloan, such as portraits, and drawings accompanying ads for the likes of tobacco products and women's facial products (i.e. Sat. February 20, 1892 p. 3, Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound and Mastiff Plug Cut Tobacco)

Sloan's deficiency at sketching quickly and from life was noted by his confidants and himself. Henri famously quipped that Sloan's surname was the past participle of "slow."⁸¹ Sloan apparently said that all of his best work "was made sitting down."⁸² Later in life he remarked, "The editors soon discovered that I did not have any facility in quick reportorial drawing. Glackens, Luks, and Shinn were very adept at this; I was only sent out on a news assignment when the staff was shorthanded."⁸³ Sloan coped with this shortcoming by producing work for the newspaper not drawn from life but rather portraits, decorative work, and other images designed from his imagination. In a review of an exhibition of Philadelphia newspaper artists' work organized by the Pen and Pencil Club, the critic described Sloan's work as "original designs and ornamental work."⁸⁴ A writer on the *Inquirer*, commenting on the publication of Sloan's drawings in *The Chap Book*, noted "that they show him to possess marked originality and fine decorative instinct."⁸⁵ Sloan later recalled, "The editors liked the kind of poster style drawings I showed them, so I was given work to do for the feature pages and Sunday supplement."⁸⁶

So, instead of illustrating current events in the first few pages of the newspaper, Sloan's signed work appeared in the "Society" pages on Sundays. In one example published March 20, 1892 (fig. 1.8), Sloan's signature appears on all four illustrations of

⁸¹ Van Wyck Brooks, *John Sloan: A Painter's Life* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1955), 20.

⁸² Lloyd Goodrich, *John Sloan* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art by the Macmillan Co, 1952), 9.

⁸³ Sloan in Helen Farr Sloan, *American Art Nouveau*, n.p. Sloan similarly commented, "They found I was not much good at work on quick assignments anyhow." In "Autobiographical Notes on Etching," Peter Morse, *John Sloan's Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings, Lithographs, and Posters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 383.

⁸⁴ It is not known exactly what kinds of examples Sloan exhibited. "Newspaper Art on Exhibition," *American Journal of Photography* 15, no. 172 (April 1894): 159.

⁸⁵ "Publisher's Notes," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 19, 1894, 7.

⁸⁶ Helen Farr Sloan, *American Art Nouveau*, n.p.

upper-class women.⁸⁷ Each shows a different well-dressed woman posing passive and inactive. At the upper left Sloan draws Mrs. Harry McVicker, “a Charming Belle of Gotham” wearing a melancholy expression as she stares off into space, seated and languidly holding a fan on her lap. At the center of the page, “Mrs. Edmund Russell, the Beautiful Delsarte Enthusiast,” stands resting against a mantelpiece with her hand in her hand. The poses and tone recall other contemporary images of idealized women in decorative environments and open Sloan up to comparison with artists such as William Merritt Chase, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, William McGregor Paxton, and James McNeill Whistler (figs. 1.9-10).⁸⁸ Sloan continued doing this type of work for the *Inquirer* for the next year. During that time, a series of critical events conspired that would lead to a great shift in the artist’s work.

Japonisme Comes to Philadelphia

The year 1893 would be incredibly formative for Sloan. It began with the fateful meeting of Sloan and Henri at a Christmas party hosted by PAFA colleague, Charles Grafly, in December 1892. Henri and Sloan first bonded over their mutual affection for Walt Whitman, the great poet who had recently passed away in nearby Camden, New Jersey. Additionally, their shared discouragement with the Academy (PAFA) led them to unite in founding an alternative art club called the Charcoal Club in March 1893, which ran to the end of the summer (the activities of which will be discussed at length in

⁸⁷ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 20, 1892, 12.

⁸⁸ See Bailey Van Hook, “Decorative Images of American Women: The Aristocratic Aesthetic of the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 44–69.

Chapter 2). When he wasn't presiding over meetings of the Charcoal Club, Sloan produced more drawings of society women for the *Inquirer's* resort pages. In August his idealized women, often framed in decorative borders, appear under headings like, "At the Springs, In the Mountains, In the Country," and "Down by the Sea Shore." (figs. 1.11-12) Simultaneous with these local encounters was an international event of such enormous proportion that the ramifications trickled back down to Sloan in Philadelphia and would significantly alter his style and hence the course of his career.

Between May 1 and October 30, 1893, over twenty-seven million people visited the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Henri was among the visitors. He toured the Hō-ō-den, or Phoenix Hall building erected by the Japanese government, which was profusely decorated with Japanese paintings and screens; went to the Java Village, with its displays of native costumes and decorative arts; and watched the dancers at the Javanese Theater. Further, Henri made the acquaintance of Beisen Kubota, a noted Japanese artist and lecturer who traveled to cover the Chicago fair for a Tokyo newspaper, and arranged for his invitation to lecture in Philadelphia at the Women's School of Design, where Henri taught.⁸⁹ Henri evidently arranged for Sloan to join the lesson, which included a demonstration of the Japanese sumi brush-and-ink technique.⁹⁰ A couple of sketches that Kubota made in this style include a portrait of Henri and a

⁸⁹ Bullard corrects the misidentification of Kubota as a Japanese Art Commissioner by previous writers (Goodrich, Brooks, Perlman) through the primary source, Yone Noguchi, "Modern Japanese Illustrators," *The Critic* XLV 6 (December 1904), 516. See E. John Bullard, "John Sloan and the Philadelphia Realists as Illustrators, 1890-1920" (PhD diss., University of California, 1968), 26.

⁹⁰ William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 75.

Japanese “good luck” scene.⁹¹ (figs. 1.13a, b) Following, Kubota delivered an “instructive and entertaining” lecture at PAFA where he also demonstrated the sumi brush technique.⁹² As a result of their personal interaction with Kubota, Henri and Sloan embraced his method by carrying bottles of Higgins ink, Japanese brushes, and sketch pads on their outings around the city. Sloan recorded characters like “Man Reading a Newspaper” and “Man and Woman at Theater.” (figs. 1.14a, b)

A few months later a second Japanese art expert who had also visited the fair, Ernest Fenollosa, traveled to Philadelphia. He delivered four lectures on the history and value of Japanese art at PAFA in March 1894 under the auspices of the Lecture Association of the University of Pennsylvania.⁹³ Concurrently, an exhibition of Japanese art opened at PAFA, filling the entire second floor of the school’s gallery. It is very likely Sloan attended these lectures and visited the show, given his previous interest in Japanese art and technique during Kubota’s visit a few months prior.

The World’s Columbian Exposition further shepherded an awareness of Japanese art to Philadelphians through a business deal that resulted in the acquisition of a Japanese

⁹¹ The “good luck” scene is dated October 5, [1893]. These sketches were kept in Sloan’s collection until the end of his life and later gifted to the DAM following his death. They are reproduced in Morse, *John Sloan’s Prints*, 384-385.

⁹² The *Inquirer* write-up described: “The listeners saw the artist turn suddenly toward a large square of Japanese paper, and while he still spoke the lines flowed as readily from his brush as the words from his mouth. In a twinkling the idea which he was endeavoring to convey, was there upon the paper in black and white.” In “Japanese Art: Beisen Kubota’s Instructive and Entertaining Lecture at the Academy,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 14, 1893, 4. See also “Art Notes,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 15, 1893, 5.

⁹³ “Art Notes,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 18, 1894, 13.; “Japanese Art. Mr. Fenollosa Shows That it Will Not Look Queer after it is Understood,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 6, 1894, 5.; “Japanese Art. Its Early Stages Described by Professor Fenollosa,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 10, 1894, 3.

art collection by the city.⁹⁴ In April, the *Inquirer* ran an article describing a trip to Chicago taken by a man called Dr. Wilson in order to collect objects from the fair to bring back to Philadelphia. As a result, the Japanese government agreed to sell their entire educational exhibit displayed at the fair to Philadelphia (at a cost of \$3,600), whereupon it would be exhibited first at the Women's School of Design. The article's language rings extremely close to the ideology espoused by Henri and later Sloan:

In Japan every artist works from memory, the student is told to go and observe nature and then in his school or studie [*sic*] he records his impression. Some of these "impressions" are marvelous in detail as well as otherwise and it is truly wonderful, how, in some cases, the most intricate and elaborate botanical forms have been rendered in so faithful a manner from memory.⁹⁵

Clearly, *Japonisme* was taking hold. The formal influence of Japanese art on Sloan's early illustrations is widely acknowledged, but connecting these events makes it possible to also trace the development of Sloan's use of memory as a conceptual technique back to Japanese theories first learned in Philadelphia.

⁹⁴ Of course Philadelphia had a very long history with the Japanese, beginning in 1853 when Commodore Perry sailed from Philadelphia to Japan on a mission to end the country's closed-door policy, open contact, and establish diplomatic relations. Later, the American vogue for everything Japanese swelled during the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, held in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. The fair featured the first official Japanese display, including two authentic Japanese structures, one of which remained permanently after the fair was dismantled. For a detailed description of the Japanese Exhibition at the Philadelphia Centennial, including the two structures see Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963), 37-49. At the close of the fair some of the objects from the Japanese government's official display were acquired by the Pennsylvania Museum (located in the fair's art pavilion, Memorial Hall) and remained on display for the public. Felice Fischer, ed., *Phila-Nipponica: An Historic Guide to Philadelphia & Japan* (Philadelphia: Japan America Society of Greater Philadelphia, 2015), 44-47.

⁹⁵ "Art Notes," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 1, 1894, 10. Seven days after this article ran in the paper, Henri wrote to a friend calling for "More art on a page of good Japanese rice paper than on yards and yards of Academy canvas. Back, back to Japan, to old Indian vases, to Egyptian hieroglyphs." Letter from Henri to Charles R. Harley, April. 8, 1894. Quoted from Homer, *Henri and His Circle*, 75.

Rebecca Zurier provides an analysis of what Sloan called his “memory pictures: the narrative images based on incidents seen and reconstructed in the mind, filled with visual clues that identify characters and situations.”⁹⁶ Sloan observed life outside his windows and on the street without taking notes and then returned to the studio to work directly on the canvas. This was a departure from Henri’s call for the artist to work quickly, spontaneously, and to capture life in action, “on the spot.” Zurier reasons that this method may have been an antidote for Sloan’s difficulty with working directly from a subject.⁹⁷ She also references Sloan’s remarks in *Gist of Art* and his autobiographical notes where he stresses the importance of drawing and the “superior ‘reality’ of his pictures made from memory over those made from the subject.”⁹⁸ Finally, Zurier credits the memory technique to Sloan’s reading of William Morris Hunt’s *Talks on Art* (1875), who also advocated the use of memory.⁹⁹ However, based on the above text printed in the *Inquirer* and knowing Sloan’s affinity for Japanese art and his connection to Kubota, I would add that Sloan’s use of memory as a technique finds its source in Japanese teachings first learned in Philadelphia. Lessons drawn from Japanese art were no doubt espoused at the Charcoal Club through Sloan and Henri’s readings of George Moore, who triangulates with Whistler, whom Sloan called one his “gods” in the 1890s. Moore writes,

⁹⁶ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 266.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 268. See also Goodrich, *John Sloan*, 22, 27.

⁹⁸ Zurier, 268-269.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 270. From Hunt, “I believe that the best paintings of landscape are made from memory. Of course you must study nature carefully for certain details, but for the *picture*, paint it in-doors, from memory. I never saw Millet out with an umbrella. When before nature you are so much occupied with representing what you see, that you can’t study combination and composition. You can’t make a picture!” William Morris Hunt, *Talks on Art*, First Series (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1875), 61.

The painter [Whistler] merely understood all that Japan might teach. He went to the very root, appropriating only the innermost essence of its art. We Westerns had thought it sufficient to copy Nature but the Japanese knew it was better to observe Nature. The whole art of Japan is selection, and Japan taught Mr. Whistler, or impressed upon Mr. Whistler, the imperative necessity of selection. . . . Japan taught him to consider Nature as a storehouse whence the artist may pick and choose, combining the fragments of his choice into an exquisite whole.¹⁰⁰

Sloan would have read these words, and studied examples by Whistler displayed on PAFA's walls, and intuited methods of seeing and selecting.¹⁰¹ So although Sloan did not study abroad like Henri or Glackens, several significant international trends came to him in Philadelphia. Through the teachings of Kubota and Fenollosa in the flesh, through Hunt and Moore in literature, and through examples by Whistler on the PAFA gallery walls, Sloan absorbed the techniques and the philosophy of Japanese art, namely the use of memory and selection in the comfort of his own home.

Summers “Down by the Sea”

All of these encounters culminated in a breakthrough for Sloan during the summer of 1894, when he began cultivating a new signature style: his own brand of the so-called “poster style.” Sloan's first poster-style illustration appeared in the *Inquirer* on Sunday, June 10, 1894 under the headline “June Society.”¹⁰² (fig. 1.15) It was evidently received

¹⁰⁰ George Moore, *Modern Painting* (London: Walter Scott, Limited, 1893), 12.

¹⁰¹ For example, the Sixty-Third Annual Exhibition at PAFA, held Dec. 18, 1893 to Feb. 24, 1894 included three Whistlers: *Fur Jacket*, *The Princess in the Land of Porcelain*, and *The Yellow Buskin*.

¹⁰² Sloan's first poster style drawing is sometimes incorrectly identified as “On the Court at Wissahickon Heights,” inaccurately dated February 12, 1892. This drawing actually ran the following week on June 13, 1894. Sloan laid the groundwork for this confusion by mistakenly stating that his first illustration in this style appeared in the *Inquirer* in February 1892, which is the month he began working at the *Inquirer*. See Helen Farr Sloan, *American Art Nouveau*, n.p.

favorably since Sloan subsequently secured his first regular assignments. His illustrations continue to appear weekly in the entertainment section (usually pages nine or ten and sometimes over a two-page spread) of the Sunday edition accompanying headlines like “Down By The Sea” and “At The Seaside,” illustrating various types of leisure. (figs. 1.16-17) Signed with his very distinctive, Art Nouveau-inspired signature, Sloan illustrates men and women engaging in sports like tennis or fishing, strolling in gardens, out taking a carriage ride, and gathering on the boardwalks and beaches of the New Jersey shore. Sloan’s poster-style drawings follow the European style used in poster art advertising by selectively blending the characteristics of Japanese ukiyo-e prints, European Art Nouveau, and English Pre-Raphaelitism. Their two-dimensional quality relies on a compressed perspective, flat areas of contrasting black and white, the use of a single-line contour in place of modeling, and a highly decorative use of pattern.

Sloan’s experience working as a newspaper artist for the last two years would have made him keenly aware of the newspaper’s layout, design challenges, and the conventions for illustrating each subject heading. Sloan’s poster-style designs were innovative for newspaper illustration, appearing remarkably different than the traditional sketches created by his fellow newspapermen. Swayze typically provided the political cartoon (fig. 1.18), Charles Foles drew comic cartoons (fig. 1.19), Ponitz and Davis covered a range of news stories (fig. 1.20) and Laub contributed additional decorative and ornamental work (not unlike Sloan but in a markedly different style) (fig. 1.21).¹⁰³

Perhaps this led John Bullard to incorrectly date “On the Court at Wissahickon Heights,” to February 12, 1892. See Bullard, “John Sloan and the Philadelphia Realists,” 22. Elizabeth Hawkes corrects the mistake in Hawkes, “John Sloan’s Newspaper Career,” 201.

¹⁰³ Many illustrations are not authored and signatures are often difficult to identify.

Within the newspaper page itself, Sloan's use of pattern and designs of solid black and white shapes stand in stark contrast to the crowded typescript, which overwhelms the eye to a dizzying degree. Distinct from his colleagues, Sloan's use of expansive blank white spaces and black monochrome shapes provide a kind of relief from the claustrophobia of the page.

For example, in a "Down By The Sea" page from July 22, 1894 (fig. 1.17), two unrelated scenes play out. In the top image, Sloan isolates three figures from the crowd and pictures the mob behind them on the boardwalk elevated above the sea. The woman at right in the striped dress takes in the view of the crowd and appears content to be apart from it. The woman at left and the man standing beside her gaze out at us, implicating the reader as part of the crowd. Sloan organizes the image into registers, an arrangement he repeats. He extracts individuals from the crowd and constructs a diagram of contrasts—black beside white; empty against full; and few to many. He carefully frames the woman's hollow profile against the crowded panorama of the promenade. Further, not only do the drawings *appear* formally distinct from the text, they *are* distinct from the text, as they do not specifically relate to anything the written copy describes.

The resort section contains stories each week on such topics as the benefits of the shore for health or the stylish attire of the fashionable set, but the majority of the copy describes the specifics of who traveled to the shore that week, relaying where they were from, their professions, their popularity, and where they resided during their vacation.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Example of passage: "North Broad Street society was represented at the San Marcos this week by Edmund J. Walenta and wife, and George J. Walenta . . . Miss Isabella Mayer, well known in Philadelphia's social circles, is a frequent and well-liked visitor to the shore. She is pleasant and entertaining to a degree. Cornelius Lane, of Philadelphia, is a familiar figure on the boardwalk

It reads like a modern day gossip column. Sloan's drawings, however, emerge autonomous from the exhaustive reports listed ad nauseam by staff correspondents. His images of crowds gathering on the beaches, docks, and boardwalks do not correspond to any particular narrative in the text, nor do they feature portraits of any of the hundreds of socialites listed individually each week by their proper names. One possible reason for that is that Sloan did not likely have the text in advance. Without the insight of what stories his images were meant to visualize, he would have gleaned inspiration from prior issues and other media, but relied primarily on his imagination.¹⁰⁵ Left to his own devices and without a textual reference, Sloan's images generate narratives within themselves.

On the same page in the bottom image a more dynamic scene ensues. The viewer reads the staging of gestures, glances, and body language to interpret some kind of quarrel occurring. At the edge of a dock, a man in a rowboat holds the oars. His female companion stands posed on the boat with arms crossed, facing a bevy of challengers. The group surrounding them, including some figures on a sailboat, mimics her posture. Three women hold their hands on their hips while a fourth gestures out to the couple in the water. A uniformed man, perhaps an officer stands at the edge of the group. Has the couple taken a boat belonging to them? Is there an argument about who will ride with whom? The text contains no reference to aid us in piecing together the narrative.

nowadays. Frank Brown, a clever young businessman of the Quaker City, spends a considerable portion of his time at the shore." "Summer Resorts," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 15, 1894, 10.

¹⁰⁵ There is evidence that Sloan visited Atlantic City, likely to visit Henri's family, who lived there. He may have observed scenes of leisure at the shore during those trips but I have not yet found evidence that he visited the shore specifically for artistic inspiration, or for his own vacations.

The pictorial devices used in these formative drawings foreshadow what Zurier has called Sloan's "storyteller's vision" in his later works portraying New York life.¹⁰⁶ According to Zurier, Sloan's city pictures engage the themes of vision and desire through conceptually conjured scenes (that is, from memory and imagination, not from life) that function through a series of pictorial techniques. Zurier argues that Sloan's techniques of compositional design, including his strategic staging of objects to be decoded and the organized network of glances, draw from sources of literary realism and cinema to create narrative coherence and reveal the limits of visual knowledge. Looking at Sloan's first illustrations for the *Inquirer* within the context of the newspaper page extends the possibilities of Zurier's thesis. Sloan's method of pictorial construction—his "modern vision"—stems not only from devices of literary realism or cinema, but developed during his work as an illustrator. The artist not only endeavored to communicate written narratives through pictures, but his illustrations also needed to stand out in the sea of text, catching the reader's eye and convincing him or her to read the story illustrated. Sloan recognized that the Japanese style, which was already popular both locally and abroad, fulfilled both of these functions, so he adopted it for the newspaper.

It wasn't long before Sloan's work drew significant attention from near and far.

The next month Sloan wrote to Henri,

The Japanese style has made a hit. I received a letter from the editor of the "Inland Printer" (a Chicago journal devoted to the interests of Publishers and Printers and a publication of good standing), in which he expresses his interest in my work on the "Inquirer" and asks for a selection of my drawings a portrait of yours truly and biographical data for publication in a future issue of his magazine. I shall respond. It will be a splendid "boost" for me I think.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ See "The Storyteller's Vision: John Sloan and the Limits of Visual Knowledge," in Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 249-303.

¹⁰⁷ Sloan to Henri, July 30, 1894, in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 8.

The article published in October featured three lavishly illustrated pages of Sloan's work.

(fig. 1.22a-c) The author, by the name of F. Penn, wrote,

The work of Mr. John Sloan on the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of recent months has shown a cleanness and strength, and a perceptiveness that has earned from critics the prophecy of greater things from him. . . . The strong contrasts in the sketches are in the Beardsley manner, but they have an individuality of their own which absolves Mr. Sloan from any criticism in selecting this style, which has been popularized to some extent by faddists.¹⁰⁸

After a short biography describing Sloan's artistic life, Penn wrote in closing, "But all the time he was seeking his proper medium of expression. At last he found it, and the result was the series of drawings, where he wove into the everyday life of the Occident the poetry and simplicity of the land of chrysanthemums."¹⁰⁹ The feature drew interest in Sloan's work from other publications, including *The Chap Book*, which also published them.¹¹⁰ It seems Sloan's editors took note as well when two months later they placed him at the center of a feature (described above) celebrating the *Inquirer's* staff (fig. 1.3).

Short Stories "With the Wits"

That same summer Sloan had taken on the additional responsibility of providing similarly styled drawings for a second special interest section in the Sunday paper, variously titled "Laugh and the World Laughs With You," "With the July Wits and Humorists," or "With the Wits." Located a few pages following the resort pages, Sloan

¹⁰⁸ F. Penn, "Newspaper Artists—John Sloan," *The Inland Printer* (October 1894), 50.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ A. H. McQuilkin to Sloan, Chicago, November 21, 1894, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, DAM. Three of Sloan's drawings were published in *The Chap Book* 2 No. 1 (November 15, 1894), 1, 38, 39.

drew two or three illustrations for fictional short stories alongside comics, poetic sketches, and occasional notices on science and invention. Meant to be humorous (an ironic humor, no doubt), the short stories contained fin-de-siècle themes of romance, illness, death, and betrayal. Often very gothic in nature, these stories were entirely in line with the late nineteenth century's culture of neurasthenia and, subsequently, Sloan's illustrations take on the formal qualities that characterize that phenomenon.

In one of his first appearances drawing for this column, Sloan illustrates the story, "Sentence of Death," by H. E. Clark.¹¹¹ (fig. 1.23) The ironic story pokes fun at sicknesses of the mind and the trust one places in modern medicine. The plot involves a young woman, Sylvia, who quarrels with her father over her lover, Sydney. Sylvia arranged to meet Sydney in secret in the office of Dr. Keith Jeffries, "the great nerve doctor," whereupon they receive startling diagnoses. The doctor tells each of them (including Sylvia's father) that they will soon die. When a second doctor is called to the house to check on the family on their deathbed, he brings news that the "great nerve doctor" had just tried to commit suicide in "a sudden access of mania." Apparently he had been sentencing his patients to death for days and, in fact, everyone was going to live. Sylvia turns to her lover and finds that the stress had caused him to age ten years, proclaiming, "my poor darling—Black and White."

Sloan's illustrations depict the dramatic tale in an appropriately high contrast poster style. At the top of the page, an alien-like creature holds a skull aimed at the narrative's three figures, who cower in fear. The center illustration shows Sydney and Sylvia at the doctor's office in the moment before the story climaxes, with the caption,

¹¹¹ H. E. Clark, "Sentence of Death," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 1894, 18.

“They took possession of a remote window embrasure.” At the bottom of the column, Sloan’s drawing shows the dark figure of Sydney in a white space alone in the midst of an active, crowded street. The caption explains the reason he stands rigid: “‘Heart disease,’ he muttered.” The moments Sloan selected to portray—the quiet interlude, the climax when they are diagnosed, and the ensuing inactivity caused by the shock of bad news bears a strong relationship to other nineteenth-century forms of representation grappling with picturing forms of psychosis.

Neurasthenia was formally introduced as a medical condition in 1869 by the respected neurologist George Beard. Beard asserted that neurasthenia, or disorders of nervous exhaustion were becoming more prevalent in Americans as a result of the stress put on the brain by urbanization and industrialization. Symptoms included depressed mood, anxiety, heart palpitations, headaches, listlessness, inability to sleep, loss of appetite, and a variety of aches and pains. Although it was thought to affect more women than men, statistics show that actually cases were reported equally between both sexes.¹¹² The belief that the disorder was more prevalent in women probably stemmed from the anxiety revolving around women’s changing role in society in the late nineteenth century. The gradual movement of women out of the domestic sphere and into public life, and the new freedoms and independence accorded to them as a result of this shift, posed a challenge to both women and men alike. As Wanda Corn has written, white male artists contributed to the imagery that enforced the medical discourse of neurasthenia by

¹¹² See Katherine Williams, “American Women and “Nervousness”: Neurasthenia Then and Now,” In Katherine Williams et al., *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stanford, California: The Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004), 7.

creating a body type and a physiognomy that followed neurasthenia's characteristics.¹¹³ Artists like Thomas Wilmer Dewing and John White Alexander repeatedly pictured women as passive, listless figures, sitting immobile or staring vacantly in empty settings. (figs. 1.24-25) Likewise, Edmund C. Tarbell and William McGregor Paxton represented women enacting small domestic activities that seem to, as Corn says, hold them under a spell.

Sloan's early illustrations participate in this genre by similarly illustrating men and women sitting or standing transfixed, caught in a listless moment, or appearing sick, distraught, or even devious. The following week's story offered a similarly disturbing tale entitled, "White Roses."¹¹⁴ (fig. 1.26) In the "vile, cold, cold world" described by this unnamed author, a love triangle involves two married couples whereby a blood-related brother and sister have an illicit affair. Sloan's abstract drawings do not give away the shocking dénouement, but the frowns, sinister smiles, and sequestering framing devices hint at something ominous. Although the subject matter aligns with Victorian themes, the compositional devices foreshadow similar techniques Sloan later uses in his urban scene paintings.

Formal correspondences can be drawn between Sloan's 1890s newspaper illustrations and later compositions created in New York. For example, one can trace an evolution of pictorial organization from the lower-most image in "White Roses" and Sloan's later painting, *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 2* (1907). (figs. 1.27-28) Both works image static female figures in states of solitude and contemplation ensconced in carefully

¹¹³ Wanda Corn, "Brain Fag," In Williams et al., *Women on the Verge*, 2.

¹¹⁴ "White Roses," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 29, 1894, 17.

constructed environments. In the illustration captioned “Doris stood for a moment in the doorway,” Sloan deliberately frames Doris’s figure through a series of thresholds: She stands on a precipice where her dress ends at the seam of a wood-paneled floor; the borders of a window surround and carefully frame her head; the edge of a wall falls just below her shoulders; and an adjacent Japanese screen echoes the shape of her body. Similarly, in *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 2*, the viewer finds a woman in line with the geometry of the ferryboat. She stands on an edge, at the brink between boat and sea; her figure echoes the vertical posts of the ferry’s structure while also dividing against the horizontal registers of the ferry’s fence, the ocean, and the sky just above her head. These structuring devices operate dually: first, by encouraging our eye to trace the geometry of the lines around the image; second, by focusing us on the single figure, which is held immobile within the grid.

Likewise, the lower-most image from “Sentence of Death” foreshadows the formal devices utilized in *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street, New York City* (1907). (figs. 1.29-30) In both pictures a central figure—seemingly ill in both instances—stands at a junction between crowd, street, and transportation.¹¹⁵ As described above, Sloan creates tension by strategically positioning spaces of light against dark and empty beside full. In this case, the sky and pavement serve as relief from the crowd of figures and the imposing facades in *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street*. This organization functions to concentrate our eye on a single narrative, which here consists of a distraught figure observed (and probably judged) by leering women. Here I can also draw a comparison

¹¹⁵ For the argument that the woman in *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* is a drunk prostitute, see Suzanne L. Kinser, “Prostitutes in the Art of John Sloan,” *Prospects* 9 (1984): 241.

between the “Sentence of Death” illustration and the *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* as further evidence that Sloan first learned the technique of conveying narrative through newspaper illustration. In the newspaper illustration, the woman who turns her head to peer at the man lends a certain anxiety to the image, which is buffeted and confirmed by the textual narrative. Although the painting uses the same device to suggest narrative, the outcome remains ambiguous. As Zurier says, it is a story without an ending.

Sloan’s gothic illustrations for the *Inquirer* during these years align with what Sarah Burns has termed the “dark side” of American art. In the epilogue to her book *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America*, Burns suggests that the gothic trend she identifies in nineteenth-century art by such artists as David Gilmour Blythe, Thomas Eakins, and Albert Pinkham Ryder may connect up with the artists of the Ashcan school in the twentieth century.¹¹⁶ The *Inquirer* illustrations also reveal the extent to which Sloan operated in and was a product of the nineteenth century, and teetered between the so-called Victorian and modern eras. The neurasthenic leitmotifs of fear, suspicion, and perversity that Sloan illustrated during the 1890s place him in conversation with the likes of Aubrey Beardsley and Oscar Wilde (I explore the latter in Chapter 2). Sloan’s experience with these dark themes in Philadelphia likewise presages his ability to represent the seedier side of New York.

¹¹⁶ Sarah Burns, *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 247.

The Philadelphia Press

On December 8, 1895 Sloan penned a letter to Henri from his studio at 806

Walnut Street:

I have one wheel out of the rut, or at least into a shallower rut. I have left the Inquirer and cast my fortunes with Preston, "Dinkbots," Davis, Ruyl, Crane, Howes and Company Mark makers and pen pushers; Office 5th floor Press Building. I am in better company and am getting more money for which Allah be thanked and may he speed the day when I shall quit the newspaper business entirely.¹¹⁷

That Sloan took care to list his colleagues, the new 'cast of characters' he was joining at *The Philadelphia Press*, attests to the importance Sloan placed on a fine working community. Even before mentioning the raise in salary he wanted Henri to know that he was in good company. Despite the frequency with which Luks, Glackens, and Shinn moved among papers, *The Philadelphia Press* was the only newspaper that employed all four men at the same time, during 1895-96.¹¹⁸ At the *Press*, art editor Frank Crane supplied the political cartoons; Louis Ruyl, William Glackens, George Luks, and Everett Shinn drew on-the-spot sketches for breaking-news stories; and James Preston and Ed Davis split various types of other work. On the same day that Sloan wrote Henri one finds Sloan's work in the pages of the *Press* again in his designated corner, illustrating a heading for "The Week in Society" on page twenty-seven of the thirty-eight-page Sunday edition. (fig. 1.31) Although the illustration is unsigned, it exhibits clearly Sloan's distinctive sinuous line, contrasting dark and blank spaces, and use of pattern. Even the

¹¹⁷ Shinn had also been at the *Press* since mid-1895 but Sloan curiously omits his name. Sloan refers to James M. Preston, Louis H. Ruyl, Frank Crane, and "Dinkbots" was the nickname for Glackens. Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 18.

¹¹⁸ It is difficult to track the many movements of the artists. Sloan sometimes updated Henri while he was abroad to this end. For example, "Glackens has left the "Ledger" and has returned to the "Press"" Sloan to Henri, July 30, 1894 in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 9.

woman's devious expression carries over from his *Inquirer* drawings. The following Sunday, Sloan's designs were featured even more prominently, sprinkled through several sections.¹¹⁹ Largest and most impressive was the poster-style page reserved for the Christmas holiday in which Sloan drew a Shakespeare-inspired, Pre-Raphaelite-like scene of the presentation of Christmas dinner. (fig. 1.32) It must have been popularly received, since Sloan henceforth became the *Press*'s habitual holiday decorator for the next year, producing similar full-page designs for the New Year, Easter, Thanksgiving, and Christmas editions in 1896.¹²⁰ (figs. 1.33-34) Following, pages like "A Merry Band of Skaters on Juniper Lake, Near Bala / Society on Skates" and "A Corner at a Fashionable Afternoon Tea" designate Sloan as the paper's official "society" illustrator.¹²¹ (figs. 1.35-36)

While Sloan was providing decorations inspired by the upper crust of society, his colleagues were out capturing breaking news events that appeared on the paper's front page. Shinn's rendition of a fire (fig. 1.37) on Chestnut Street, which appears the day following the publication of Sloan's "Fashionable Afternoon Tea," is oft quoted by scholars as the epitome of the so-called Ashcan School "Realist" style. The differences between the assignments and the styles are night and day. Likewise, while Ruyl's signature appears on sketches illustrating such social topics as "The Best and Worst Sides

¹¹⁹ For example, in addition to the full-page Christmas poster page on December 15, 1895, Sloan's work appears on page 7, "Glad Christmas with Royalty," [A Nativity Scene]; on p. 29 "A Week in Society"; and p. 38, in "Southward Ho."

¹²⁰ New Years; Easter, April 5, 1896, 24; Thanksgiving, November 22, 1896, 29; Christmas, November 29, 1896, 29.

¹²¹ Sun., January 12, 1896 and Wed., February 2, 1896 respectively.

of Philadelphia Life,” (fig. 1.38) Sloan draws a beautiful woman for the “Thanksgiving Number.”¹²² (fig. 1.39)

Later in life Sloan stressed the important collegiality of the newspaper room and (similar to Shinn, quoted at the opening of this chapter) even likened it to a school:

It is not hard to recall the Press “art department”: a dusty room with windows on Chestnut and Seventh Streets—*walls plastered with caricatures of our friends and ourselves*, a worn board floor, old chairs and tables close together, “no smoking” signs and a heavy order of tobacco. . . . But we were as happy a group as could be found and the fun we had there took the place of college for me.¹²³

A group of caricatures that were displayed on the newspaper walls were preserved by Sloan and later donated to the Delaware Art Museum (DAM) and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA). The group at the PMA, virtually unknown, was part of a gift made to the museum probably as a result of their exhibition “Artists of the Philadelphia Press: William Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn, John Sloan” held in 1945.¹²⁴ The others were held by Sloan his entire life and were included with the gift shepherded to DAM by Sloan’s second wife, Helen Farr Sloan, following Sloan’s death. That Sloan kept them in his possession for so long attests to their sentimental significance. An analysis of the caricatures within the context of the newspaper room environment provides insight into “the fun” they had, but also reveals the challenges they faced, notably regarding their status as illustrators within a hierarchy and the necessary mobility of the profession, from which, as we know, Sloan mostly abstained.

¹²² Louis Ruyl, “The Best and Worst Sides of Philadelphia Life,” *The Philadelphia Press*, Nov. 1, 1896, 35.; John Sloan, “Thanksgiving Number,” *The Philadelphia Press*, Nov. 22, 1896, 29.

¹²³ Emphasis mine. John Sloan, “Artists of the Press,” in Clifford, “Artists of the Philadelphia Press,” 7.

¹²⁴ Registrar’s files, “Artists of the Philadelphia Press: William Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn, John Sloan,” Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1945.

A playful example to aid in discerning the newspaper men's communal environment comes in the form of a caricature of *Philadelphia Press* art editor, Frank Crane (1857-1917), drawn by Luks (fig. 1.40). Crane served as a cartoonist and art editor of the *Press* between 1895 and 1898 before moving back to New York.¹²⁵ Luks depicts him as the newspaper staff artists may have often witnessed their editor, standing straight and tall with heels together, holding an illustration behind his back. He also appears to be actively smoking, although curiously there is no drawn cigarette. A ghostly mark remains where the drawn cigarette may have once been sketched, terminating at Crane's mouth with a mysterious puncture.¹²⁶ One can't help but smile when imagining the hijinks involved with this hole in the board. Perhaps late at night at work while sitting around, during a leisurely moment, waiting for assignments to come in, the men began chatting about their editor. Or maybe Crane was in the room looking over another artist's shoulder when Luks felt a stroke of inspiration and decided to sketch him. One can envision that as soon as Crane departed, Luks approached his fellow newspaper artists to share his handiwork, and, taking his own cigarette out of his mouth, decided to whittle a hole just large enough to hold it, and voilà! Luks's miniature Frank Crane could smoke on his

¹²⁵ Born in Rahway, New Jersey, Crane studied at the National Academy of Design before finding work as a cartoonist for the *New York World*, and later became its art editor. Following his five years at *The Philadelphia Press*, he moved back to New York to draw for the *New York Tribune* and became art editor of the *New York Herald*. He also had connections with the art departments of the *New York Times* and *The Boston Herald*. See *New York Times*, October 17, 1917, 17.; *The [New York] Sun*, October 27, 1917, 7.; "Cartoonists of America," *Deseret Evening News* [Salt Lake City, Utah], October 29, 1900, 20. See also a helpful blog entry on Crane: <http://strippersguide.blogspot.com/2012/11/ink-slinger-profiles-frank-crane.html> (Last accessed 21 April 2016). The veracity of his likeness may be seen in comparison to a photograph of Crane printed in the *Deseret Evening News* [Salt Lake City, Utah], October 29, 1900.

¹²⁶ My thanks to Nancy Ash and Rebecca Pollak in the PMA's conservation department for helping me examine the work under a microscope to understand the integrity of the puncture (which I originally hypothesized as a burned out hole) and the erased cigarette.

own! He would have proudly walked his creation around the room, sneaking up on his colleagues and surprising them with his smoking Crane, imitating his voice: “Get to work!” “Move along!” “Next assignment!” The men would laugh together, reinforcing and strengthening their bond as colleagues, bound together by their mutual understanding of their supervisor and the stresses he imposed on them. The popularity of Luks’s creation is easily seen in the material remnants of the board. Around and through Crane’s drawn figure are many stains, splatters, and extraneous marks, evidence of it being passed around by many hands, resting on multiple desks, or lying in the vicinity of numerous vigorous drinkers and draftsmen. A prominent pinhole at the top center of the board shows it hung for many years until Sloan, the last one in Philadelphia, inherited it as his own.

Other caricatures by Luks depict the artists contemplating their illustration boards. In *Famous Artists in Their Studios No. 2 / Mr. T. Guernsey Moore doing Gibson*, (fig. 1.41) Luks draws the thin, spindly figure of T. Guernsey Moore (1874-1925) seated on a flimsy chair with his long, reedy legs straddling his drawing desk.¹²⁷ He hunches over his work table with one hand holding his head and the other grasping a pen, staring at the blank drawing board in a state of apprehension. The title above his head indicates that this work was probably one in a series dedicated to famous artists (the rest are so far unlocated).¹²⁸ This one, of course, refers to Charles Dana Gibson, who was a giant in the illustration world by the early 1890s and set a lofty example. Since Luks’s drawn figure

¹²⁷ Born in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, T. Guernsey Moore attended Germantown Academy before enrolling at PAFA in 1891. Although it is unclear which years he spent at *The Philadelphia Press*, he had moved to the *Saturday Evening Post* by June 1900.

¹²⁸ One might imagine other caricatures in the “Famous Artists” series paying homage to Gibson’s peers, such as Howard Chandler Christy and James Montgomery Flagg.

of the artist does not resemble Gibson, it must refer to Moore's assignment to draw in the style of Gibson, whose beautiful, idealized, feminine, and independent "Gibson Girl" was often quoted, even by Sloan himself.

Beginning in 1897, Sloan's representations of women for the society pages started to evolve from the highly stylized Japanese-inspired woman into a more naturalistic rendering of his own brand of Gibson Girl (fig. 1.42). By 1898 Sloan styles his women in fashionable clothes, chic hairstyles, and confident expressions (figs. 1.43-45) clearly drawing on the Gibson Girl's attributes. Gibson first drew his famous heroine in the pages of *Life* magazine in 1890 and she became a national sensation by 1894, when Gibson published the first folio edition of his work.¹²⁹ As Lois Banner has written, the Gibson Girl dually functioned as an independent, brave, strong, athletic, casually dressed symbol of the "New Woman" on the one hand, but also as a fantasy figure in whom world problems were no issue.¹³⁰ Part of the popularity of the Gibson Girl was due to her ability to embody a variety of contemporary hopes for reforms.¹³¹ Her popular image grew ubiquitous, spurring a craze that inspired knockoff hairstyles, clothing lines, and even wallpaper. It is not surprising that Sloan's work took after Gibson since the Gibson Girl came to dominate standards of beauty in women between 1895 and World War I. Sloan's editor may have even encouraged it. The anxiety evident in Moore's expression, pose, and blank drawing board points to the apprehension these artists felt in producing

¹²⁹ Sloan, of course, was not Gibson's only imitator. Some imitators, such as James Montgomery Flagg, Howard Chandler Christy, and Henry Rutt, even came to rival Gibson in reputation. Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 154. See also Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The Turn of the Century, America Finding Itself*, 6 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 2: 194.

¹³⁰ Banner, *American Beauty*, 168-169.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 154-55.

creative work in Gibson's shadow. How could they make a name for themselves if their editors only wanted imitations of Gibson's popular reigning style?

Similarly, Luks caricatured *Louis Herman Ruyl as General Weyler* (fig. 1.46). Ruyl and Sloan were apparently close friends, as this is just one of several caricatures dedicated to him in Sloan's collection. Ruyl's name appears frequently in correspondence between Sloan and Henri in the 1890s, and he participated in at least one amateur theatrical staged by the group in Sloan's studio.¹³² Luks places Ruyl at his drawing board in the newspaper office, the environment of which is suggested by a drawing board, chair, and papers pinned to the wall adjacent to Ruyl's head. The inscription above Ruyl's head, "Herman Louis [*sic*] Ruyl as General Weyler" is perplexing because it inverts Ruyl's first and middle name, but offers the tantalizing piece of information about General Weyler.¹³³ General Valeriano Weyler (1838-1930) was a Spanish military man who served in Cuba during the Spanish-American War.¹³⁴ Weyler often appeared in cartoons on the front pages of major American newspapers, including in drawings signed

¹³² Born in Brooklyn, Ruyl illustrated various Philadelphia newspapers in the 1890s. He also participated in the studio activities outside of the newspaper office, including the group's theatrical, *Silvester Warren Atkinson*, performed on Saturday, Jan. 15, 1898 at 806 Walnut Street. The playbill lists Ruyl in the role of "M. Van Buren Green—A bold and bloody burglar" and a "Member of the C.S.S.," the "Consolidated Syndicate of Sin."

¹³³ The inscription must have come later—perhaps from Sloan's second wife, Helen Farr Sloan, who might have received the information orally from her husband and incorrectly inscribed his name. Sloan married Helen Farr in 1944, just a year before this caricature was gifted to the PMA (along with 155 other works). Dolly passed away in 1943.

¹³⁴ Weyler became governor when rebellion reached full swing in 1896, and was subsequently given authority to suppress the insurgency. Weyler decided that the best tactic for winning Cuba back for Spain was to separate the rebels from the civilians, whereby he placed the civilians in "reconcentration camps" protected by Spanish loyal troops. He relocated more than 300,000 people into these camps but failed to adequately provide for them. Thousands died as a result of disease and starvation. Weyler's inhumanity ultimately effected the political situation when his tactics were publicized as propaganda and won the sympathy of the U.S. to the cause of Cuban émigrés. See www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/weyler.html (Accessed 10 June 2015).

by Crane for *The Philadelphia Press*. (fig. 1.47-48) If Ruyl never drew Weyler for the newspaper (since that was Crane's assignment), perhaps the inscription on this caricature implies wishful thinking. Was Luks (or Sloan, who could have invented the Weyler association) placing Ruyl in the guise of his more successful editor (Crane) who repeatedly put his own signed illustration on the front page? In this way, Luks's caricature of Ruyl offers commentary on the challenges these illustrators ruminated over, as well as their status in an artist-illustrator hierarchy. In other words, to be a leading illustrator in the mid to late 1890s meant to draw General Weyler on the front page.

Although Sloan continued to illustrate the society pages throughout the 1890s, in 1898 his new, less stylized signature "SL" or "SLN" began appearing on drawings after photographs and current events in a more realist or naturalistic style, such as scenes illustrating "The Philadelphia Postal Service".¹³⁵ (fig. 1.49) In the months leading up to his first attempted move to New York in July 1898, signed illustrations by Sloan drawn in a realist style, at last, appear on the front page.¹³⁶ (fig. 1.50) Sloan exhibits a multiplicity of styles simultaneously by offering readers imagined views of the Spanish-American War on the front page, as well as his own brand of Gibson Girl in the special interest pages. (figs. 1.51-54) Perhaps Sloan's matriculation to the newspaper's front page enabled him to finally accept an opportunity to move to New York when the chance presented itself in the summer of 1898.

¹³⁵ Drawings after photographs include scenes of children supporting President McKinley on the page "Up the Lehigh Valley," where Sloan signed "SLN" and the caption credits the photographer W.S. Clow, *The Philadelphia Press*, Jan. 3, 1897, n.p.; and "The Philadelphia Postal Service," *The Philadelphia Press*, Jan. 31, 1897, 27.

¹³⁶ The front page illustrations appear in July 12th "The Siege Guns in General Shafter's Bombarding Lines" and July 14th "The Camera's Story of Cervera's Blasted Fleet."

Sloan's colleagues had been departing Philadelphia for New York since 1896. It was almost expected that newspapermen would participate in the virtual game of musical chairs, changing between papers based on need and advances in salary. An additional group of caricatures that survive in Sloan's personal collection allows us to discern just how vital mobility was for a newspaper artist.

Mobile Newspapermen

Of the caricatures that survive in Sloan's personal collection, a number of them commemorate instances of the friends' travel or departure. The earliest example, drawn by George Luks of William Glackens (fig. 1.55) contains an inscription at the bottom left-hand corner: "This drawing hung for years on wall [*sic*] of Phila Press Art Dept." It was displayed in the newspaper office where Sloan, Glackens, Luks, and Shinn worked together in 1895, and evidently kept on the walls long after some of them had departed. In June 1895, Henri led a contingent of the group to Europe to study art in the European collections and Parisian academies. (Sloan, of course, remained at home and never left the country.) The friends held a launching party, and in honor of Glackens' inaugural trip abroad, unveiled a large, poster-size caricature portrait—drawn by Luks with an accompanying poem penned by Sloan.¹³⁷ The figure of the young Glackens stands in profile in an empty space. His enlarged head seems to teeter on his narrow frame, balancing on spindly legs, while his mop of curly hair adds an increased sense of innocence and youth. His fashionable attire points to the significance of the journey on

¹³⁷ Stanley L. Cuba, Nina Kasanof, and Judith O'Toole, *George Luks: An American Artist* (Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania: Sordoni Art Gallery, 1987), 14-15.

which he will soon embark. An enormous, floppy necktie nearly reaches to the floor, tied around an ungainly “Chickasaw” collar (fig. 1.56), which obscures half of his face, and partially impedes his vision.¹³⁸ Glackens’ white-gloved hand grasps a top hat that would be a wee bit small for his exaggerated head! Hanging above his head is a poem, printed by Sloan in eight meticulously straight lines. The first two lines broke off the board, but Sloan took care to preserve them by re-writing them in pencil. It reads:

He goes from amongst us oh brothers the chaste one the little one leaves us
As the sandpiper flings off its eggshell he flings off his swaddling clothes
The heaving Atlantic shall rock him upon its broad treacherous bosom,
And spurious dinners compel him full often to gaze on its waters;
The huge jaws of Paris shall snap at this tenderest of morsels;
But a mind full of Art and a Chickasaw collar shall save him,
And kind Father Time shall at last bring him home to his friends.

The carefully chosen words are rife with metaphor and laden with the rhetoric of egression, challenge, and brotherhood. Sloan compares Glackens to a newly-born baby bird or infant, flinging off his “swaddling clothes,” with only the armor-like collar to protect him, to try his strength against the sublime of the ocean, seasickness, and the unforgiving Paris art world. Sloan’s verse predicts the perils Glackens will face, and, reading between the lines, reveals an underlying anxiety felt by Sloan, and presumably others. The transatlantic trip would serve as a kind of entrée into the professional art world, where the jaws of Paris could easily eat up this young artist who could barely see over his collar. Was he ready for the trip? Luks depicts him more likely playing dress up than embarking on an artistic rite of passage—would he appear parochial in Paris?

¹³⁸ The popular “Chickasaw collar” was the latest in American fashion—part of a line of accessories named after American Indian tribes. “The sales of the “Chickasaw” collar continue to increase as the season advances.” In *The Clothier and Furnisher* 24, no. 7 (February 1895), 88. Also *The American Hatter* 24, no. 1 (August 1894), 58.

Sloan's poem brings attention not only to the artist traveling abroad, but also to those left behind. This was a trip that Sloan would never take. "He goes from among us, oh brothers... the little one leaves us." Sloan's language, as well as the fact that he guarded it in his possession for his entire life, points to how seriously he felt the loss of his friends.

By the next year the departure of Sloan's fellow newspapermen for the metropolis had become a pattern. Luks had left Philadelphia for New York in 1896 to join the *New York World*, followed soon after by Glackens, and presumably they arranged for Shinn to join them a few months later in 1897. Sloan made a caricature of Shinn (fig. 1.57) attired in his distinctive plaid jacket and bowler hat, busily at work on a periodical, titled *The Times*.¹³⁹ At Shinn's feet are three paint cans, labeled and accordingly colored, "Yeller," "Red," and "Blu," a nod to the new color presses Shinn would soon utilize in the New York offices.¹⁴⁰ While he works toward his deadline, time is of the essence! Shinn appears tied to his chair, which is also bolted to the ground, with a "Skeen's Patent Time Lock" bolted to its back.¹⁴¹ Above his drawing table various papers are tacked to the wall with the labels "date" and "Skeen's 8 o'clock," "4 o'clock," and "3 o'clock." One

¹³⁹ I am grateful to Heather Campbell Coyle for bringing this caricature to my attention. My research on whether or not Shinn ever illustrated a publication called *The Times* is still ongoing. Perhaps Sloan didn't know which paper Shinn was going to, or didn't think he'd last at the *World* and decided to use a generic name to stand in for any metropolitan newspaper. My thanks to Heather Campbell Coyle for her thoughts on this.

¹⁴⁰ Wendy Wick Reaves, *Celebrity Caricature in America* (New Haven and London: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution in association with Yale University Press, 1998), 34.

¹⁴¹ John R. Skeen (also known as J.R. Skeen) was an illustrator for *The Times*, Philadelphia and a member of the Pen and Pencil Club. See advertisement for "The Newspaper Art Exhibition at the Pen and Pencil Club," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 14, 1894, 6.; "Newspaper Art on Exhibition," *American Journal of Photography* 15, no. 172 (April 1894): 159; "Gossip at the Clubs," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 15, 1895, 7. If Skeen was an especially facile and fastidious illustrator, it's also possible that the lock is a reference to Skeen's talent as an illustrator for *The Times*.

cigarette hangs in Shinn's mouth, while the box lays discarded on the floor and two cigarettes smolder dangerously. Above Shinn's head in capital letters, "EVER AT REST (NIT NOW) / EVERETT SHINN / OUR / YELLER / "KID"" and at the bottom of the board, "TO OUR EBBY GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN." Sloan puns on Shinn's name but infers that Shinn no longer "rests" but has left them for another newspaper where he is busy at work—on the clock, locked to his seat, and working on deadline in full color. "Yeller Kid" refers both to the cartoon character that graced the pages of Shinn's new newspaper employer, illustrated by none other than their friend Luks, and also to his status as the youngest man of the group.¹⁴² Shinn's pose, dress, and intensity closely match a photograph taken of him in a Philadelphia newspaper room (presumably *The Philadelphia Press*) in 1895 (fig. 1.58).¹⁴³ Wearing a stylish suit, high collar, and dapper hat, he leans over his desk in much the way he does in Sloan's caricature of him. The caricature functions as a kind of homage to a member of their club who had advanced elsewhere, as a vehicle for commemoration and memorial. The language of the inscription and tattered edges of the board suggest that it also hung on the walls of the newspaper office as a remembrance to the departed Shinn. As a comic medium, caricature is often associated only with humor, but these works evidence caricature's serious side—how it could act as a salve for sadness, the loss of a friend, or perhaps even heartbreak: "Our Ebby—gone but not forgotten."

¹⁴² Born in 1876, Shinn was five years younger than Sloan.

¹⁴³ Although the jackets are different, the jacket Shinn wears in the caricature is probably from the same suit he was photographed wearing while posing as Taffy for the burlesque, *Twillbe*, performed three years earlier in December 1894 and January 1895. (fig. 2.27) The photograph resides in the Everett Shinn Collection at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Collection.

In a third, very explicit example of mobility among newspaper artists, *Parting—Louis Ruyl and John Sloan*, Sloan sketched the torsos of Ruyl (left) and himself (right) locked in a handshake (fig. 1.59). My research dates the caricature to 1898, the year Ruyl made his second trip to Paris, based on evidence from his passport application.¹⁴⁴ Sloan served as the witness to that document, which he signed on May 9, 1898, just two months before he first attempted to move to New York.¹⁴⁵ Ruyl appears to have aged significantly since we last saw him at his newspaper office desk. His long hair has gone flat, his pointy jaw seems more prominent, and his deep smile lines (also present in the previous caricature) are the only indication of a facial expression. Ruyl leans towards Sloan in a gesture of friendship while Sloan openly weeps. Tears fall from his eyes, which are shielded by his glasses, while he holds a handkerchief already dotted with wet drops. The label above their heads, “PARTING,” leaves little room for interpretive error. Lining up the dates of Sloan’s departure for New York (late July 1898) and Ruyl’s departure for Paris (applied for passport in May 1898 and left at the end of September 1898) leads one to wonder if the two friends intentionally coordinated their exoduses from Philadelphia.

¹⁴⁴ Sloan could have drawn it in 1896 when Ruyl departed for Paris the first time, however, his close association with Ruyl’s departure in 1898, and the semi-permanent nature of that trip (see correspondence), makes an 1898 attribution more likely.

¹⁴⁵ Sloan signed his name with his address “1921 Camac St., Phila.” U.S. Passport Application, Issued November 11, 1896 to Louis H. Ruyl; U.S. Passport Application, Issued May 9, 1898 to Louis H. Ruyl (Accessed on Ancestry.com June 10, 2015)

¹⁴⁵ Around this same time, in June 1898 Henri and his wife Linda left for Europe. Bruce St. John, “John Sloan in Philadelphia, 1888-1904.” *American Art Journal* 3 no. 2 (Autumn 1971): 85.

To *The New York Herald* and Back Again

The letters exchanged between Sloan and Henri from July to November 1898 describe the highly emotional removal of Sloan from Philadelphia to New York and back again. With the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in the spring of that year, many newspaper editors sent their artists to Cuba to record the events, including Glackens, one of Sloan's oldest friends, who traveled to Cuba for *McClure's*. The war prompted a circulating movement among artists in New York, Philadelphia, and Cuba. The resulting vacancies in New York newspaper offices prompted editors to look to Philadelphia to fill those posts. Harry Dart, art editor of the *New York Herald* also left for Cuba. Dart's position was filled by Frank Crane who, as we saw above, had held the position of art editor at *The Philadelphia Press* and was a close colleague of Sloan's from that experience. Following, Crane recruited Sloan to join his team at the *Herald*.

My research shows that during Sloan's tenure at the *Herald* far fewer illustrations bear his signature than would be found in a comparable issue of *The Philadelphia Press*. The first illustration signed by Sloan in the *Herald* appears on the third page of the Tuesday, August 2, 1898 edition, illustrating (fig. 1.60) "View of San Juan's Old Fortifications and One of Its Principal Streets."¹⁴⁶ A second signed drawing (fig. 1.61) of Pope Leo XIII emerges a few days later.¹⁴⁷ The next week, Sloan's signature poster style (fig. 1.62) heading adorns the leisure page.¹⁴⁸ Following, he begins providing drawn decorations around photographic halftones in the Sunday sections (figs. 1.63-64). In

¹⁴⁶ It should be noted that there is no front-page illustration on this day. In general, the *Herald* posted fewer weekday front-page illustrations than *The Philadelphia Press*.

¹⁴⁷ *The New York Herald*, Sun., August 7, 1898, 10.

¹⁴⁸ *The New York Herald*, Sun., August 14, 1898, 11.

October Sloan wrote to Henri, “I have been over in New York nine weeks now—I am not as much of a star on the Herald as I was on “the Press.”¹⁴⁹ A week later Sloan left the *Herald* and penned a long letter to Henri explaining his departure.¹⁵⁰ He reassures his friend that his decision to leave was not spurred by any shortcomings of his own, but prompted by his distaste for the *Herald*’s working style. Sloan explains that he left New York in order “to be worked under more pressure,” and cites the *Herald*’s preferred style and unreasonably large staff (eighteen men compared to the *Press*’s nine) not to his liking. Although Sloan professes that the *Herald* liked illustrations “tickled up” & “finished,” my research found no real difference in their formal styles. The situation must have been dire since Sloan even accepted a pay cut in order to return to Philadelphia (although his money went further there).

¹⁴⁹ Sloan to Henri, [undated, October 1898], Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 31.

¹⁵⁰ Full passage: “But don’t think that I have been unable to hold my own in the Metropolis or that I have returned to sleep the sleep of the Philadelphian I have returned by my own wish—and under my own steam—to the *Press*[,] The Town and the Studio in order to be worked under more pressure. Of course a New Yorker might not believe it but it is a fact—A newspaper artist on the Herald[,] the Greatest Paper in the World don’t know what work is compared to the artist on the “Press” of Philadelphia The reason is easily given. The Herald has 18 men on its regular staff (all good men and “thorough”) It has also 10 men at least in the outside. The Herald likes work “tickled up” & “finished” The artist is expected to do so and is given time to do so. The Press has 9 men—5 of them only are equals in quality of work (from a newspaper standpoint) to the Herald staff The Press can not [*sic*] give a man the time to “finish” even tho’ the editors may wish to see Herald work in the “Press”. Now if Sloan must do newspaper work is he not better off where he is the big frog in the little puddle and where he dare not take the time necessary to turn out slick newspaper work I think so—and as the Press with much groaning came up to \$45 per and as \$45 here is equal to \$65 in New York I feel quite well satisfied with the change I have learned a great deal in the 3 months of New York and somehow I feel differently from my old rusty self This may be a delusion however At any rate I’ll give myself a trial and see whether I am changed at the end of, say, a year. I feel more like an artist in Philadelphia, even tho’ the town is so ugly compared with N.Y. And already I have had a chance to spread myself in a full page drawing for the Sunday Press, Of course my work will be “under a bushel” here in Philadelphia The world won’t know what it misses in not seeing the Press But on the other hand my bad efforts wont be seen—majority sways.” Sloan to Henri, October 30, 1898, Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 34.

His letter reifies the dualistic characterizations of the two cities: New York as the Metropolis with the “Greatest Paper in the World,” against the sleepy “Town” of Philadelphia. Sloan says he chose the latter because he felt “more like an artist in Philadelphia.” Traveling the circuit between the two cities had done him some good, he thought, and now he’d test out the results on the Philadelphia audience, musing:

And already I have had a chance to spread myself in a full page drawing for the Sunday Press. Of course my work will be “under a bushel” here in Philadelphia. The world won’t know what it misses in not seeing the Press. But on the other hand my bad efforts won’t be seen—majority sways.¹⁵¹

A palpable anxiety threads through the artist’s correspondence during this time period. Sloan’s apparent pride in the quality of Philadelphia’s newspaper (and its embrace of his work) rests uneasily beside his concurrent denigration of its influence and reach. Despite his hearty assertions of Philadelphia’s worth, he diminishes each commendation by providing an equivalent criticism. Sloan’s mixed feelings read like a love-hate relationship with his home city.

Sloan indeed fulfilled the role of “big frog in the little puddle” when he returned to the *Press* staff (as one of nine artists) and his illustrations returned to the front page. (fig. 1.65) Although seemingly coincidental, his homecoming coincided with the end of the Spanish-American War. He and the *Press*’s new art editor, William Magraw, shared the responsibility for illustrating the Peace Jubilee on the *Press*’s front page.¹⁵² Sloan’s illustrations continue to appear in a variety of styles and throughout multiple sections.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² William Miller Finney Magraw succeeded Frank Crane as manager of *The Philadelphia Press* art department. When Sloan’s job as artist for the paper’s Sunday supplement became redundant because of the decision to subscribe to the syndicated Associated Sunday Magazine, Magraw signed the letter dismissing Sloan. John Sloan Manuscript Collection, DAM.

(fig. 1.66) And true to his specialty, he often still illustrated the leisure pages (fig. 1.67a, b) for women.

By 1900, however, the halftone had largely replaced drawn illustrations as the dominant pictorial form. The artist would have been responsible for arranging the halftones into a cohesive design and uniting them through drawn decorations. In this way, Sloan's talent as a designer served him well. For example, in "The Daughters of the Cabinet" (Dec. 2, 1900) (fig. 1.68) Sloan arranged eight halftone portraits around a ninth central image and embellished the negative space with borders and daisies. Other pages signed by Sloan, like "Battle of Trenton to be Fought Again" (fig. 1.69) and "Queens of the Latin Quarter" (fig. 1.70) show his illustrations playing a more dominate role as the central focus, while in "Queer Occupations on the City's Payroll" (fig. 1.71) they operate symbiotically. By arranging the halftones and creating designs for the interstices, the newspaper page became an exercise in compositional arrangement. Through his prolonged engagement creating illustrations for the newspaper page, Sloan learned compositional strategies that would be innovative in his paintings of Philadelphia and New York.

The extent to which Sloan kept his illustrations at the fore while he painted can be seen in a photograph he took of his studio (fig. 1.72) taken around 1902. The view shows Dolly sitting at the piano, while behind her *Dock Street Market* (1903) (fig. 1.73) rests unfinished on the easel. Above the easel sits *East Entrance City Hall* (1901) (fig. 1.74) and farther back, above the doorway sits one of Sloan's original illustrations for *The Philadelphia Press*, "Symposium of the New Year's Greeting" (fig. 1.75) which ran in the newspaper on January 1, 1896. While the newspaper illustration and the paintings are

vastly different types of pictures, the relationship between the compositions of the three works is startling. Each of them employ the frame of an arch as the compositional motif. They also harness the juxtaposition of light and dark to dramatic effect; the opening of the arch in the illustration (the text) becomes the dark tunnel of *City Hall* and then opens into an arch in *Dock Street Market*. The arrangement in Sloan's studio cannot be a coincidence. He literally lived with his compositions. Together the photograph and resulting works evidence the extent to which Sloan honed the skill of dynamic compositional arrangement during his time working as a decorative illustrator on the Philadelphia newspapers.

In December 1903 Sloan received word that his services as a full-time illustrator on *The Philadelphia Press* were no longer needed. The *Press* would subscribe to a syndicate to fill content for its special interest pages. A few months later Sloan wrote to Henri that he was "quite determined to move to New York," and asked for help finding a place to stay.¹⁵³ Once settled, he worked on several projects simultaneously. He continued to create weekly full-page decorative picture puzzles (commenced 1899) (fig. 1.76) and sent them back to the *Press* until 1910.¹⁵⁴ Since 1902 Sloan had also been producing etchings for the Charles Paul de Kock's series, *The Novels, Tales, Vaudevilles, Reminiscences and Life*, (fifty-three in all) which continued through 1909.¹⁵⁵ He took over for Henri doing some substitute teaching at the New York School of Art, formerly

¹⁵³ Sloan to Henri, March 22, 1904, Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 90. In April 1904 Sloan and Dolly moved to Manhattan, first residing on the same floor as Henri in the Sherwood Building, and then settled in an apartment in Chelsea at 165 West Twenty-third Street.

¹⁵⁴ For more on Sloan's decorative puzzles for the *Press* see Lobel, *Drawing on Illustration*, 22.

¹⁵⁵ For more on Sloan's de Kock etchings and his complicated dealings with the publisher, Frederick J. Quinby Co., see Morse, *John Sloan's Prints*, 64-67.

the Chase School. The money earned from these projects enabled Sloan to concentrate on producing his first non-commercial, autonomous set of etchings.

Sloan's Women

The illustrations surveyed through this chapter demonstrate that Sloan's most commonly drawn subject for the first eleven years of his career was upper-class women for the Philadelphia newspapers' leisure and special interest sections. This fact becomes quite significant in light of Sloan's fame for his representations of women in New York. Perhaps more than any other topic of his work, scholars have offered abundant interpretations of Sloan's women, and the meaning and motives behind their varied representations. Sloan's women have been discussed as prostitutes, as urban spectators, as objects of spectatorship and of Sloan's personal voyeurism, as victims of society, as sympathetically rendered facts of life, and as carefree beings removed from political struggle.¹⁵⁶ But while most scholars acknowledge Sloan's previous experience as a Philadelphia newspaper artist, no one has considered seriously the specific subject matter he illustrated—women—in relation to his representations of New York women. How did

¹⁵⁶ Scholarship on Sloan's women includes Patricia Hills, "John Sloan's Working-Class Women: A Case Study of the Roles and Interrelationships of Politics, Personality, and Patrons in the Development of Sloan's Art, 1905-16," *Prospects* 5 (1980): 157-96 revised and reprinted in Patricia Hills, "John Sloan's Images of Working-Class Women: A Case Study of the Roles and Interrelationships of Politics, Personality, and Patrons in the Development of Sloan's Art, 1905-16" in *Reading American Art*. Edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 311-49.; Suzanne L. Kinser, "Prostitutes in the Art of John Sloan," *Prospects* 9 (1984): 231-54.; Ellen Wiley Todd, *The "New Woman" Revised: Painting and Gender Politics on Fourteenth Street* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).; Laural Weintraub, "Women as Urban Spectators in John Sloan's Early Work," *American Art* 15, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 72-83.; Janice M. Coco, *John Sloan's Women: A Psychoanalysis of Vision* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004).

nearly eleven years of illustrating the society pages and the women's pages in Philadelphia impact his later representations of women in New York?

In 1905 Sloan embarked on the "New York City Life" series of etchings, which remain some of his best-known works for their provocative subject matter rendered in an unidealized and unapologetically intimate manner. Of the ten prints, eight feature women prominently in a range of socially diverse public and private settings. For example, in *Fifth Avenue Critics* (1905) and *The Show Case* (1905) (fig. 1.77-78) women of contrasting ages and social statuses traverse the streets. In *Fun, One Cent* (1905), (fig. 1.79) adolescent girls take turns viewing a Nickelodeon and in *Roofs, Summer Night* (1905) (fig. 1.80), working-class families seek relief from the heat by sleeping unabashedly on the roof of their tenement building. Moving inside, Sloan captures two intimate bedroom scenes in *The Women's Page* (1905) and *Turning Out the Light* (1905) (figs. 1.81-82).

In March 1906, Sloan sent the set to the American Watercolor Society exhibition where four of them were rejected for being "vulgar" and "indecent."¹⁵⁷ Of the incident Sloan recalled, "I don't think I had any socially conscious justification for my choice of subject matter at this time. It was just under my nose, and the sight of city life interested me, especially in the summer."¹⁵⁸ While Sloan was finding his subjects on the streets and outside of his apartment window, the subject of women had also been "under his nose" in the newspapers for the last eleven years. While his newspaper assignments for the *Inquirer* and *Press* were probably imposed on him, the decision to represent women in

¹⁵⁷ Morse, *John Sloan's Prints*, 134.

¹⁵⁸ Sloan, "Autobiographical Notes on Etching," in Morse, *John Sloan's Prints*, 385.

New York, especially in this unconventional manner, was completely his own invention. The freedom to choose his own subjects from life seems to have impelled him to turn 180 degrees away from society women. Sloan went from illustrating a Japanese-styled vixen to an impossibly idealized Gibson Girl to a common, unrefined working-class woman. In order to accomplish this, Sloan required a gestation period.

As we've seen, in Philadelphia Sloan was not the adept sketch artist out capturing city life on the spot. Real-life subjects mostly eluded him during his formative years working on the newspapers. His talent was best used in the studio and hence, he mostly produced drawings for the special interest sections not from life but rather from his imagination. Moreover, what Sloan drew in Philadelphia was hardly a woman that existed in the real world, but rather an idealized fantasy-figure. Interestingly, Sloan mentioned the "New York City Life" etchings in a recollection of his working conditions in Philadelphia and New York:

The first New York etchings were made around 1905, when I worked quite steadily at them. I liked to work at night when there would be no interruptions, and would often work until four or five in the morning. I like to etch under a single light, in a small room. My first little studio in Philadelphia was so small that I could reach both walls with my hands when I was sitting at the table. It was ideal for concentration. There was nothing else to look at but the brick wall out the window.¹⁵⁹

While not directly describing the contrasts between them, it's clear that the two experiences were closely related in his mind. For when Sloan created the "New York City Life" set, the experience of Philadelphia was still temporally near and dear to him. In Philadelphia "there was nothing else to look at but the brick wall out the window,"

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 384.

while in New York the views from his window became the very subjects of his most renowned series of etchings.

Scholars commonly credit the innovation of Sloan's intimate and unidealized representations of New York life to his firsthand observation of his subjects. While his inspiration from life was certainly fundamental, I contend that it was the contrast between his respective experiences in Philadelphia and New York that instigated such a dramatic turn. That Sloan was a newcomer to the city, and that he came from Philadelphia, specifically, made the difference.

Additionally, being that Sloan spent over a decade imaging upper class women based on his imagined ideals (and the ideals of others), it is not surprising that he would continue to perpetuate some kind of feminine ideal even in representations of the lower class. As Patricia Hills has explained, Sloan's conflicting attitudes towards women cannot be neatly categorized. While on the one hand he showed great care and respect for the women in his family, including his wife, Dolly, and believed women were psychologically stronger than men, he also viewed them chiefly as pleasurable—both able to bring joy to themselves and to men, and as free of worry from such serious matters as class or politics.¹⁶⁰ Extending this analysis to Sloan's women in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Press*, I contend that one important way Sloan learned this idealism was from his experience drawing idealized women.

Although the 1890s was an economically troubled age, the Gibson Girl personified romantic escapism by remaining untouched by the decade's financial

¹⁶⁰ Hills, "John Sloan's Images of Working-Class Women," 328-329.

depression, labor turmoil, and immigration issues.¹⁶¹ Similarly, these social troubles never affected the women Sloan illustrated in the society pages. For example, in “Society on Skates” (1895) (fig. 1.35) the text describes the quaint history of ice-skating as a sport, the skating clubs formed by the wealthy Philadelphians who could afford it, and the loveliest local areas to enjoy a skate, including at Centennial Lake in Fairmount Park. Sloan illustrates beautiful woman skating gracefully in long, patterned skirts, warm fur coats and grasping luxurious scarves and muffs. The society pages were a non-political, trouble-free zone, completely separate from the stories on the plight of the poor, or the “other half.” By working on the newspaper and dealing with the requests of editors (who aimed to provide material that people wanted to read), Sloan would have gleaned lessons in period gentility. He would have learned and understood the kinds of stories and images people wanted to consume. As described previously, the organization of the newspaper was so that readers could easily find and peruse the types of stories they wanted to read. Of course the upper class was not the only audience to read the society pages. A person of any social status could read the stories, enjoy the carefree illustrations and escape from their everyday life—no matter how troubled, poor, or messy.

Sloan’s understanding of this readership of the newspaper and the escapism it provided may be seen in his famous etching, *The Women’s Page* (1905) (fig. 1.81). In an untidy bedroom, a working-class mother has taken a break from her chores to sit back on her rocking chair and open the daily newspaper. While the laundry sets unfinished and her child plays with the cat at the edge of the bed, the mother escapes the stresses of her

¹⁶¹ Banner, *American Beauty*, 169.

everyday life by indulging in “The Women’s Page.”¹⁶² The women’s pages presented varied content but, as we’ve seen, most often read like a gossip column for the well to do. On the page that this woman has opened to, the costume of the lady illustrated signals her upper- or middle-class status. In fact, the etched New York woman appears to read exactly the type of page that Sloan illustrated during his years in the Philadelphia newspaper offices.¹⁶³ As one of his first works created in New York, the etching announces the change in Sloan’s subject matter and style by referencing his past life in Philadelphia; it looks back to the place from where Sloan had come. Sloan was finished drawing the unattainable attributes of the Gibson Girl. The common, hard-working woman he observed first-hand would become his new focus.

Conclusion

Working as a newspaper artist in Philadelphia for eleven years taught Sloan how to construct a picture. However, looking at the patterns across his work and the subjects and style in which he engaged reveals a much different kind of newspaper career than scholars have previously acknowledged. As an artist who lacked the quick-sketch skills of a reporter, Sloan’s decorative designs for the women’s pages, the leisure pages, and the special interest section put him a grade below the political cartoonist or the adroit sketch artist whose work claimed the front pages. The location of Sloan’s illustrations,

¹⁶² For another discussion of “The Women’s Page” and an additional way Sloan responded to Gibson after 1907, see John Fagg, “Chamber Pots and Gibson Girls: Clutter and Matter in John Sloan’s Graphic Art,” *American Art* 29, no. 3 (Fall 2015): 28–57. Fagg’s article brings to light a group of Sloan’s work he called the “distortions,” in which commercial illustrations culled from mass-market magazines were ingeniously embellished to humorous ends.” (46) Dating from 1907-1909, many of the “distortions” embellish images by Gibson.

¹⁶³ For another discussion of this work that focuses on the differences in Sloan’s production between mass media and etching, see Lobel, *Drawing on Illustration*, 48-51.

his comments on his experience, and the caricatures created by himself and his colleagues evidence his constant anxiety to remain relevant and to understand his place as an artist.

The newspaper room functioned as Sloan's most important school through the communal aspects of the work, the exposure to diverse topics of class and gender, and the pictorial challenges it posed through the images' relationship to the text. Sloan picked up his conceptual memory technique through a combination of his experience illustrating fictional narratives and by studying Japanese theory offered in lectures, texts, and exhibitions around Philadelphia. Most importantly, drawing on the compositions used in Japanese prints, Sloan utilized the "poster style" to carve out a space for his illustrations on the newspaper page through skillful techniques of design. He combined skills of seeing, selecting, and imagination to win fame as a designer-illustrator. Some of the dark themes he pictured prepared him to take on less savory subjects in New York. Later, his modified task of arranging halftone photographs and providing illustrations for the interstices allowed Sloan to hone his skill of compositional design. He experimented with arranging forms to dramatic effect and carried this skill with him when he went to New York in 1904.

Sloan watched his friends circulate between papers and then between cities but he stayed put in Philadelphia, changing papers only once. He didn't attempt to move to New York until 1898 when he had become a "star" as the *Press's* front-page illustrator. His correspondence suggests his need to be in control of his situation, his wish to have a fine working community, and to possess freedom over his subjects and style. The Philadelphia papers provided him with the autonomy to experiment, which as we shall see, enabled

him to utilize these building blocks by inventing a new compositional space in his New York paintings.

**CHAPTER 2 / THE STUDIO:
INCORPORATING ARTISTIC IDENTITY AT THE MARGINS**

In a photograph dated to 1893 (fig. 2.1), twenty-three members of Philadelphia's Charcoal Club surround a nude model. She poses uninhibited on a platform in an unconventional stance of defiance, holding a beer bottle above their heads. On either side of her, the founding members of the club: Robert Henri with hands on his hips, the club president; John Sloan, seated, the club secretary; and Joe Laub, smoking, the treasurer. They founded the Charcoal Club in March 1893 to serve as a more affordable alternative to sketching classes held at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (hereafter PAFA or Academy). These young artists (between the ages of seventeen and twenty-eight) were Realists—looking to evolve as modern artists in tune with a modern world. In the words of Sarah Burns, “To be a modern artist in modern America meant to be incorporated, to be involved in organized, directed group projects, part of an art world system that could function only by sustained collaborative effect.”¹⁶⁴ Before Sloan joined his friends in New York, the letters he wrote to them from Philadelphia reveal his nostalgia for their time together. He missed their sketching sessions, the beer parties, and often evoked memories of the amateur theatricals they performed together in the studio. Their activities left a visual trail of artworks as telling evidence of their camaraderie. Through each of these pictorial documents, the young, aspiring artists grappled with issues of artistic identity and continuously asked themselves: Where is the most advantageous

¹⁶⁴ Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 31-32.

environment for a modern artist—Philadelphia, New York, or Paris, the Academy, the newspaper room, or the clubs? While the first chapter of this dissertation examined the newspaper room, this chapter focuses on the second setting where they came together—the Philadelphia studio—through a sampling of seemingly marginal materials—photographs, amateur theatrical scripts, and portrait caricatures that were privately produced, performed, and displayed there. An examination of the archival collections reveals a plethora of these ephemeral and sometimes carefully constructed works—the largest number being preserved in Sloan’s archival repositories. What examples remain probably represent only a portion of what the artists created in their studios during the 1890s. But that Sloan saved so many examples and held on to them for so many decades indicates the significance of that time in his life, and the important communal function the studio activities, and play more generally, held for them.

Perhaps because this material might be classified as minor, it has gone virtually unanalyzed by scholars thus far, with the only exceptions being the brief, but important attention given by Heather Campbell Coyle and Wendy Wick Reaves.¹⁶⁵ This work builds on Coyle’s considerations of the artists’ studio activities, and especially on her research on the amateur theatricals.¹⁶⁶ Both Coyle and Reaves interpret the caricatures as comical, contextualizing them within the artists’ idolization of the Parisian avant-garde’s spirit of levity encountered abroad. My research builds on this work and uncovers

¹⁶⁵ By marginal I mean art works that are not painting, sculpture, or finished pieces produced for official exhibitions. Heather Campbell Coyle provides a broad context for the group’s caricatures in both America and Europe in her dissertation, “Laughing Matters: Art Caricature in America, 1878-1918” (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2011).; Wendy Wick Reaves, *Celebrity Caricature in America* (New Haven and London: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution in association with Yale University Press, 1998), 31-35.

¹⁶⁶ Heather Campbell Coyle, “Pranks, Processions, and Parodies: Performing Bohemia at the Pennsylvania Academy” (MA thesis, University of Delaware, 2005).

additional patterns of underlying anxiety and attention to regional identity. This chapter explores these patterns through different media in four sections. After introducing the group's studio experience through the activities of the Charcoal Club, I consider its significance through an examination of the photograph, *Group of men standing around female nude model* (1893) and Sloan's caricature, *The Charcoal Club is on the Wain* (1893). In the second section, I look at the ways in which the studio served as an incubator for artistic identity through an examination of the photographs the men took of themselves inhabiting their studio spaces. I draw comparisons to other well-known artists and tastemakers of the time to reevaluate scholars' previous characterizations of the men's clean break with the past. The next section focuses on amateur theatricals the artists wrote and performed, concentrating specifically on *The Widow Cloonan's Curse* (1893). A deconstruction of this comic farce reveals particularly the young men's attention to place or regional consciousness, as well as their opinions on Impressionism, a movement that had recently arrived in Philadelphia in full force. The final section analyzes the portrait caricatures the artists produced of each other in the 1890s. Considered carefully, the caricatures shed light on the various ways in which the artists grappled with their artistic identity—as young artists seeking their place in the modern world and in determining the most conducive environment for their success. How did they carve a space for themselves? Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates that the 1890s studio photographs, amateur theatricals, and portrait caricatures, as forms of humor or play, also convey a serious message and served as important tools for the exploration of artistic identity and community at the turn of the century.

The Charcoal Club

The first meeting of the Charcoal Club occurred on March 14, 1893 when the members rented a photographer's studio at 112 North Ninth Street in Philadelphia. They cobbled together about half a dozen easels and chairs, the model's stand (pictured in the photograph), and a large table borrowed from Sloan's studio.¹⁶⁷ At the end of the Club's first month there were twenty-seven members and by May it had grown to thirty-eight, nearly half the enrollment of the Academy's entire school.¹⁶⁸ For five months the Club met three evenings a week (Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday) to sketch in charcoal and watercolor from a live model (alternatively nude and costumed) and to receive criticism on their work. Surviving works that Sloan created during these sessions include watercolor sketches of two different nude models, a seated model dressed as a nurse, and a male dressed in a suit and hat. (figs. 2.2-4) He paints each of them in a fairly academic, unremarkable style. None of them give many clues toward discerning the club's atmosphere except for the presence of two classical-looking busts behind the brunette model (fig. 2.2). Busts were common fixtures in an artistic academy and their presence points to the members' commitment to provide a legitimate educational atmosphere outside PAFA. The brunette model could be the same woman photographed in *Group of*

¹⁶⁷ The same table was later prominently memorialized in Sloan's print, *Memory*, 1905.

¹⁶⁸ The thirty-eight names in the Charcoal Club Ledger, now housed at the Museum of Modern Art Archives, Queens, New York are, in order: 1. Robert Henri 2. Harry Ponzit 3. R. H. Hicks 4. J. E. Laub 5. J. H. Rudy 6. Clark Sundstrom 7. W. E. Worden 8. W. Gosewisch 9. F. E. Weeder 10. E. H. Shellady 11. J. R. Spein 12. R. C. Swayze 13. Dennis Kelly 14. J. F. Sloan 15. E. W. Davis 16. Jos. Jennie [?] 17. Tom Farrady 18. W. J. Glackens 19. Gruger 20. Y. F. Jones 21. F. R. Snyder 22. C. A. Walraven 23. V. H. Bailey 24. J. R. Skeen 25. John Wright 26. Harry Ritter 27. McKnight 28. Benj. Story 29. Will Lipman 30. J. C. Fireman 31. Tom. Poinsett 32. P. J. McCaffrey 33. J. J. Murphy 34. Adolph 35. Davisson 36. L. Sullivan 37. W. Griffith 38. Alex. Carson. For previous histories of the Charcoal Club see Bennard B. Perlman, *The Golden Age of Illustration: F.R. Gruger and His Circle* (Westport, Connecticut: North Light Publishers, 1978), 21.

men standing around female nude model, an image altogether different in tone from the academic sketches Sloan produced there.

This photograph (fig. 2.1) of a nude, full-frontal female model standing in the center of twenty-three clothed men, holding an inverted beer bottle above their heads is a thoroughly provocative image for an American context. While a few of the men gaze at the model (including Sloan), most of them mimic her direction and look out at the camera, seemingly defiant in their unconventionality. In Paris it was common for artists to pose with their nude models in the ateliers where they sketched (fig. 2.5-6).¹⁶⁹ However, the nude was still a complicated and challenging subject in the United States.¹⁷⁰ While beautiful, idealized nudes were becoming more commonplace in American painting, a photograph of a nude surrounded by fully dressed men would have been a wholly shocking and incendiary image if ever placed before the eyes of the public.¹⁷¹ It begs the question then, what exactly is going on here? Why take a photograph like this and why preserve it? Is the model preparing to “baptize” them by smashing the bottle at their feet? Or, is she symbolic of something more? Perhaps she is a caricature of the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, or of Liberty Leading the People?—Liberté,

¹⁶⁹ I would like to thank Matthew Affron for bringing this to my attention and for suggesting these French photographs as evidence.

¹⁷⁰ See William Gerdtz, *The Great American Nude: A History in Art* (New York and Washington: Praeger, 1974).; Susan Danly and Cheryl Leibold, *Eakins and the Photograph: Works by Thomas Eakins and His Circle in the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Washington and London: Published for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).; Bram Dijkstra, *Naked: The Nude in America* (New York: Rizzoli, 2010).

¹⁷¹ As far as I can tell the photograph was never exhibited or published but created and shared only privately.

Égalité, Fraternité?¹⁷² This photograph serves as an entry point for many of the themes and questions this chapter addresses, namely the artists' use of photography, play-acting, and caricature within the studio environment and, consequently, how the studio space functioned as an incubator for artistic identity.

The young artists in the photograph who had had the opportunity to study in the Parisian ateliers, including Henri, would have been privy to the French practice of posing for photographs with their nude model. Thomas Eakins, who was a local hero to many of them, also studied in Paris. Back home in Philadelphia he often photographed nudes for private reasons. Eakins' use of the nude in photography serves as a useful comparative for understanding how this photographic activity served as a bonding mechanism, and a means of forging group identity for the members of the Charcoal Club in the early 1890s. Eakins began shooting photographs of his students and professional models, and posed nude for the camera himself around 1883 in a series now known as the "naked series." In their exhibition catalogue, *Eakins and the Photograph*, Susan Danly and Cheryl Leibold describe Eakins's forays into photographs of the nude as documents of scientific inquiry; as teaching tools in his art classes, and as studies for his own paintings and sculptures. Some photographs were created as independent works of art, although there are only two instances of Eakins publically exhibiting his photographs during his lifetime.¹⁷³

¹⁷² I am grateful to Beth Turner for suggesting these correspondences and for encouraging me to look more deeply at this photograph.

¹⁷³ Susan Danly and Cheryl Leibold, *Eakins and the Photograph: Works by Thomas Eakins and His Circle in the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Washington and London: Published for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 1-2.

Henri's admiration for Eakins, and thus the group's probable knowledge of his practice, is well documented. Henri enrolled at PAFA, the leading art school in America, just eight months after Eakins's departure in 1886, where his pedagogy was the most progressive in the United States.¹⁷⁴ Eakins's revolutionary teachings were received by Henri through Thomas Anshutz, Eakins's former pupil and assistant who took over his class upon the master's dismissal in February 1886.¹⁷⁵ Henri's brother, Frank, took him to Jefferson Medical College to see *The Gross Clinic* (1875), where Henri called it "the most wonderful painting I had ever seen."¹⁷⁶ Henri's early affinity for Eakins's realist principles may also be seen through his successful participation in PAFA's anatomy course. The Academy named Henri an assistant demonstrator of anatomy in December 1887, a minor position he shared with four other students.¹⁷⁷ Sloan's close relationship with Henri, as personal friends and off-and-on studio mates beginning in 1892 would have ensured Sloan's knowledge of Eakins and his teachings.

¹⁷⁴ Eakins began to teach at PAFA in 1876 following the death of Christian Schussele, the old life-class teacher. William Brownell detailed the modern interventions Eakins made to Schussele's direction, even while he was only his assistant. While the conservative Schussele advocated a long apprenticeship in drawing from the antique, "Mr. Eakins, who is radical, prefers that the pupil should paint at once, and he thinks a long study of the antique detrimental . . . as is natural with ambitious students, most of these take Mr. Eakins's advice. That advice is revolutionary, of course." William C. Brownell, "The Art Schools of Philadelphia," *Scribner's Monthly* 18, no. 5 (September 1879): 737–50.

¹⁷⁵ Henri wrote of Eakins, "It was an excitement to hear his pupils tell of him. They believed in him as a great master, and there were stories of his power, his will in the pursuit of study, his unswerving adherence to his ideals, his great willingness to give, to help, and the pleasure he had in seeing the original and worthy crop in a student's work." Robert Henri, *The Art Spirit*, Compiled by Margery Ryerson (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1923), 87.

¹⁷⁶ William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 32.

¹⁷⁷ Homer, *Robert Henri*, 34. Homer reproduces a photograph of Henri in the anatomy class, *Ibid.*, 29. According to Homer, Henri also worked on a painting of a medical clinic in September–October 1887. The fate of the painting is unknown. *Ibid.*, 34.

Not unlike *Group of men standing around female nude model*, Eakins's students used the camera to capture private moments and enact their fantasies. For example, at PAFA and at the Philadelphia Art Students League (formed after Eakins' dismissal from PAFA in 1886) the students dressed in classical costumes and posed with antique sculpture. In one photograph, attributed to Edward Boulton (fig. 2.7a, b) a costumed man poses with one nude man, while another reclines in the nude behind them. On the studio wall a curated display of photographs hang at eye level. The arrangement is anything but casual and it signals the important pedagogical role photography played in Philadelphia schools and studios. The existence of the camera opened up the possibilities for this theatrical play—the students wouldn't have posed if they didn't have a camera. The same rings true of the Charcoal Club posing with their beer bottle-holding model. Whose idea was it to pause from sketching and pose in this way? Who had the camera and who took the picture? We may never know the answer to these questions, but the photograph is evidence enough that this group of artists conspired to unite in the studio and that photography and play-acting played a significant role in their coming together.

Similar to that of Eakins and his students, the Charcoal Club's staged photograph captures and encapsulates the Bohemian community the men created in their studio, as a Philadelphia version of the Parisian artistic environment. Encircling their provocative mascot—the nude female, rife with symbolic associations—they simultaneously declare their brotherhood as well as their separation from the status quo. Elizabeth Johns's assessment of Eakins's use of the nude provides a useful comparative for the generation that followed:

A major factor in Eakins's and his friends' pursuit of the nude in photography was that it created a sense of bohemian community and inspired fierce loyalty in his students. Nudity in anatomical study and in photography represented for Eakins his distinctiveness from the society in which he lived, a context in which he felt that pretentiousness and false modesty took the place of honesty. With nudity in the studio, especially in photography, he created an ambience that set himself and his followers apart not only from ordinary laymen but also from less thorough artists.¹⁷⁸

In this way, the presence of the nude, captured by the photograph, served as a kind of bonding mechanism. The Charcoal Club's nude model, in this context, symbolized progressivism and freedom from academic or romantic constraint and aligned with the pedagogy of Eakins, who himself was a marginal figure following his controversial departure from PAFA in 1886.

The artist achieved professionalization and legitimization by unifying into organized groups. As Sarah Burns has written, the typical modern artist of the 1890s was fully incorporated as a "competent, energetic, well-connected painter-teacher-club member. . . fully integrated with the social body."¹⁷⁹ Artists depended upon their social connections for access to information and opportunities to exhibit and sell their work. Henri preached the importance of artistic community and that art students should bond together in "brotherhood" to work for a noble cause:

The student is not an isolated force. He belongs to a great brotherhood [of artists], bears great kinship to his kind. He takes and he gives. He benefits by taking and he benefits by giving. Through art mysterious bonds of understanding and of knowledge are established among men. Those are the bonds of a great Brotherhood. Those who are of the Brotherhood know each other, and time and space cannot separate them. The Brotherhood is powerful. . . . Institutions on the world surface can rise and become powerful and they can destroy each other. . . . No matter what may happen on the surface the Brotherhood goes steadily on. It is the evolution of man. Let the surface destroy itself, the Brotherhood will start it

¹⁷⁸ Elizabeth Johns, "An Avowal of Artistic Community: Nudity and Fantasy in Thomas Eakins's Photographs," in Danly and Leibold. *Eakins and the Photograph*, 67.

¹⁷⁹ Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 30.

again. For in all cases, no matter how strong the surface institutions become, no matter what laws may be laid down, what patches may be made, all change that is real is due to the Brotherhood.¹⁸⁰

His rhetoric points to the art world's dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion, and likely references the infighting that often took place in the academies. Henri believed that they could be 'powerful' through their own social organization—power in numbers and through self-education and self-imposed practice—and he knew they could achieve that on their own. Hence, the photograph may be further understood as a kind of declaration of the artists' shared sentiment, camaraderie, and brotherhood.

The aggressive stance of the Charcoal Club's model, however, and the specificity of her pose may be distinguished from the passive poses of the French models and holds additional meaning. First, Eugene Delacroix's *July 28: Liberty Leading the People* (fig. 2.8) has in common with the photograph both the pose of the model and the theme of revolution. The allegorical portrayal of the 1830 Paris uprising, in the form of Liberty as a bare-breasted woman hoisting the French flag above her head, was thoroughly modern for its time. Contemporary critics who were more accustomed to classically modest representations of historical events panned the painting. In consequence, King Louis-Phillipe hid the work from public view during his reign. It only entered the Musée du Luxembourg in 1863 and moved to the Louvre in 1874, where it would have been accessible to Henri, Glackens, and others in the group who traveled to Paris. It seems the Charcoal Club's nude model similarly challenges conservative artistic authority by standing immodest, although the presentation of their revolutionary cause lacks the same

¹⁸⁰ Henri, *The Art Spirit*, 9.

sort of seriousness. After all, the Charcoal Club's choice to replace Liberty's flag with a bottle of beer signals a sense of humor and leans toward parody. Moreover, the revolutionary status of the Charcoal Club, as a group operating in opposition and competition with the Academy likewise relates it to the mythical Liberty's cause.

The model's pose bears a strong relationship to the Statue of Liberty (fig. 2.9), sculpted by the French artist Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi. *Liberty Enlightening the People* (c. 1884) was a gift of friendship from the French people. Bartholdi was commissioned to prepare the sculpture for completion at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia to commemorate the anniversary of the United States' Declaration of Independence. Instead, the monumental arm holding the torch of liberty was the first piece to cross the Atlantic and the only piece displayed at the Centennial, where it may have held special meaning for these young artists in that city (fig. 2.10). The remainder of the sculpture arrived in three pieces and was dedicated on New York's Ellis Island on October 28, 1886. It stood as a welcome at New York's harbor and became a universal symbol of freedom and democracy, ideals also very important to these artists. While it may be a bit of an interpretive reach, if the men were in fact evoking the arm of the Statue of Liberty and hence the harbor of New York, one could also see the photograph as a comment on the competing art centers of Philadelphia and New York. As young members of a fledging club that was in direct competition with their local Academy, they would have been keenly aware of their institutional parallels and precedents.

The Charcoal Club was just one of the many clubs founded in urban centers in the late nineteenth century in response to artists' growing desire to organize themselves outside of art academies. The leading academies, PAFA, founded in Philadelphia in 1805,

and the National Academy of Design (NAD) founded in New York in 1825, were seen as conservative institutions by the second half of the decade. In consequence, the 1870s witnessed a flourishing of art clubs that provided alternative opportunities for education and socialization. In New York, for example, the Salmagundi Club (1871) and the Tile Club (1877) were primarily social organizations. The Art Students League (1875) provided an alternative for art education while the Society of American Artists (1877) presented a liberal challenge to the NAD through alternative venues for exhibitions and sales. In Philadelphia, PAFA students came together in 1860 to form the Philadelphia Sketch Club, where members sketched, discussed literature, and even partook in an occasional boxing match.¹⁸¹ The Art Club of Philadelphia formed in 1887 with the goal of advancing the knowledge and love of the fine arts, organizing exhibitions, lectures, social events, and acquiring collections for a library.¹⁸²

Although Philadelphia had pioneered the founding of the country's first art institutions at the dawn of the nineteenth century, by the 1890s it had lost its leading position to New York as the country's art capital.¹⁸³ New York bested Philadelphia by

¹⁸¹ See Henry Russell Wray, "A Bohemian Art Club," in F. Hopkinson Smith, et. al., *Discussions on American Art and Artists* (Boston: American Art League, 1893), 217-229; David Sellin, *Thomas Eakins and His Fellow Artists at the Philadelphia Sketch Club* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Sketch Club, 2001), 2-3.

¹⁸² *The City of Philadelphia as It Appears in the Year 1894*, Second edition (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Harris & Sons, 1894), 125-128.; "Charter, constitution and by-laws of the Art Club of Philadelphia with house rules, report of the Board of Directors and list of members." (Philadelphia: Patterson & White Co., 1917), 15. From Deborah Boyle, "The Art Club of Philadelphia," <http://www.phillyhistory.org/blog/index.php/2009/08/the-art-club-of-philadelphia/> (Accessed 31 July 2015).

¹⁸³ Venues around Philadelphia where art could be seen included PAFA, the Pennsylvania Museum, and the galleries of Charles F. Haseltine, James Earle and Son, McClees and Son, and Herman Teubner; private collectors like Henry C. Gibson, George W. Elkins, John G. Johnson, and Peter A.B. Widener sometimes opened their homes to the public. See Suzanne G. Lindsay,

the number of art schools, museums, clubs, galleries, and artists—creating a quantitative gap that continued to widen as time went on. The newspapers often commented on Philadelphia’s lack of an art atmosphere. William Brownell, in his 1879 analysis of American art schools for *Scribner’s Monthly* chided,

Philadelphia is, apparently, not to be described with precision as an art center. . . . Philadelphia, as an art center, is perhaps looked upon a little *de haut en bas*, from the towering aesthetic heights of the metropolis. It is, perhaps, in this regard somewhat provincial.¹⁸⁴

When the Charcoal Club formed, a writer for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* commented on its exceptionalism,

A number of young artists of this city have recently formed the Philadelphia Charcoal Club, which is a unique institution of its kind here, partaking of many of the characteristics of similar organizations among the art students of Paris and other European capitals, but comparatively unknown in this city. . . . it is expected that the Charcoal Club will do much toward creating an art atmosphere in Philadelphia, the absence of which has long been deprecated.¹⁸⁵

Helen W. Henderson, a writer, art enthusiast, and a contemporary of Sloan and his colleagues wrote a lengthy article on the matter in 1903, a decade after the Charcoal Club’s glory days. Titled “Glimpses of the Studio Life in Philadelphia: Where and What the Various Art Centres Are and What They Are Doing—Reminiscences of Days When Men Now Famous Were Beginning,” Henderson wrote: “Artists maintain that we have no “studio life” in Philadelphia. Certainly there is nothing which corresponds to the

Mary Cassatt and Philadelphia (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1985). For a discussion of New York’s institutions see Linda Henefeld Skalet, “The Market for American Painting in New York, 1870-1915” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1980).

¹⁸⁴ William C. Brownell, “The Art Schools of Philadelphia,” *Scribner’s Monthly* 18, no. 5 (September 1879): 737.

¹⁸⁵ “The Charcoal Club,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 20, 1893, 5.

Quartier Latin in Paris, while even New York and Boston outdo us in esprit de corps.”¹⁸⁶

She lamented Philadelphia’s secondary status as an art center as well as the fact that many people claimed that the city had no “studio life,” and undertook to describe the ways in which, “in her deprecating way the Quaker City has produced and fostered art to a remarkable extent.” Among the studios she features (along with photographs illustrating their studio spaces) are Sloan, Adolph Borie, John Lambert, Henry Thouron, Alice Barber Stephens, and Frederick Gruger. Henderson even expressed a special nostalgia for the shared studio of 806 Walnut Street, remembering:

No studio in Philadelphia has dearer associations than this one. In the days when Henri lived and worked there it was the rendezvous at all hours of the coterie of geniuses who were his struggling contemporaries. Glackens, George Luks, Sloan, Jimmy Preston, Shinn, Gruger, Redfield, Grafly, Young, Schofield, D’Ascenzo, Smith, Breckenridge and a score of others met there night after night, drinking in Henri’s wonderful personality, absorbing his strength of art ideals and growing great because of the intimacy of their associations one with another and with the one man of all others, at that time, who believed in himself and in his art.¹⁸⁷

These sentiments concerning Philadelphia’s waning art atmosphere find their echo in the writings and correspondence of Sloan and Henri. Sloan similarly remarked in 1898 when he pivoted between the two cities: “a good thing done in New York is heralded abroad—a good thing done in Philadelphia is—well—done in Philadelphia.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Helen Henderson, “Where and What the Various Art Centres Are and What They Are Doing – Reminiscences of Days When Men Now Famous Were Beginning.” [*Philadelphia*] *Public Ledger*, October 4, 1903. At the time of writing this article, Henderson (1874-unknown) was the Secretary of the Fellowship of PAFA.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Emphasis original. Sloan to Henri, [undated, October 1898] Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 19.

The final meeting of the Charcoal Club occurred on September 14, 1893 when John Sloan sketched *The Charcoal Club is on the Wain*.¹⁸⁹ (fig. 2.11) Sloan caricatures the club's demise through a scene of travel—the literal departure of the club's members on a horse-drawn cart. Embodying the deterioration of the club, the members appear in distress, aged, and sickly. The caricatured artists include (from left to right) Joe Laub, Henri (lying down), Sloan (hunched over with hands on head), and Glackens (hands on head, crying out). The anonymous, slightly skeletal driver sits beside another unidentifiable figure.¹⁹⁰ Laub, seated on the back of the cart, appears old and frail. His hunched shoulders cradle his oversized head. With his eyes closed and arms folded, he may even be sleeping. Behind him, the mustached Henri lays across the cart with his legs swung over its side. His expression, though difficult to read, is also one of distress or perhaps somnolence. Seated on the edge of the cart, Sloan draws himself nearly doubled over in agony. Identifiable by his high forehead and side-swept hair, Sloan's figure mimics the gesture of Glackens beside him, who similarly cups his head in his hands. Glackens squeezes his eyes tight and opens his mouth as if to cry out in anguish. In the drawing of himself and his friends, Sloan portrays the members of the Charcoal Club literally waning on a wain—a pun that foreshadows the wit of Sloan's puzzles and

¹⁸⁹ Charcoal Club Ledger, 7. Museum of Modern Art Archives, Queens, New York.

¹⁹⁰ I agree with these identifications made by Coyle, "Laughing Matters," 186-187. The figure next to the driver could be Everett Shinn. In Sloan's caricature, "Ever at Rest" Shinn is tied to his chair in a similar way as the figure appears tethered to the driver in "The Charcoal Club is on the Wain." He could also be wearing his trademark bowler hat.

comics for *The Philadelphia Press* in later years.¹⁹¹ The members “wane,” or decrease in strength upon a “wain,” a type of horse-drawn wagon.

As Coyle has noted, Sloan’s pun most likely references the English painter John Constable’s painting *The Hay Wain* (fig. 2.12).¹⁹² Constable was an interesting choice. Known for his deeply personal visions of his boyhood home, Constable, like Sloan, never left the country of his birth. When *The Hay Wain* was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1824, its scientific, yet expressive realism caused a sensation among French painters. Constable exhibited *The Hay Wain* at the Royal Academy in 1821, the year it was painted, but failed to find a buyer. When it was exhibited again at the 1824 Paris Salon, along with other paintings by the artist, Charles X awarded Constable a Gold Medal. As a painting initially thwarted by the French public, but was received favorably in another country (praised by Géricault, no less) perhaps the subject appealed to Sloan as an instance of the challenging conditions faced by the artist for acceptance by the academy and the public. In his drawing, the anguished detractors of the academy cry not only for the demise of their independent club, but because they have no choice but to succumb to the Academy, and accept the ride back to its hallowed halls. Sloan’s caricature of the Club’s demise, apparently presented to the group during their final meeting, bears similarities to the ways in which other French and American counterparts were involved in caricaturing famous works of art in the late nineteenth century.

The history of American art caricature at the turn of the century has been documented by Coyle’s dissertation, “Laughing Matters: Art Caricature in America,

¹⁹¹ For an in depth discussion of the *Press* puzzles and comics, notably “Paul Palette the Practical Painter,” see Lobel, *Drawing on Illustration*.

¹⁹² Coyle, “Laughing Matters,” 186-187.

1878-1918” (2011). She draws a correlation between these artists and their French counterparts, the Incohérents, who formed in Paris a decade earlier.¹⁹³ Comprised of French editors, illustrators, and writers, the Incohérents gathered in Montmartre and took pleasure in producing and displaying absurd artworks, including caricatures of works exhibited in the official French salons. Jules Lévy led the twenty-three-member club (which included Jules Chéret) in linking fine art and mass culture through a series of exhibitions and balls.¹⁹⁴ They held their first exhibition in October 1882 and reached international fame between 1884 and 1886, when they received much critical attention in French, English, and American newspapers.¹⁹⁵ In the United States, reviews of the Incohérents appeared in the *New York Sun*, the *New York Times*, and *The Art Amateur*. The first American caricature exhibition occurred at the Century Association on January 6, 1885, just after the extensive reports of the Incohérents’ exhibition appeared in the *New York Times*. It debuted during a celebration of the Twelfth Night, in which the club enjoyed a carnivalesque atmosphere where they donned costumes, decorated the club and spent the evening eating, drinking, singing, and performing.¹⁹⁶ The caricature exhibition served as another kind of entertainment during the evening.

Additional caricature exhibitions surfaced in other major American cities around the same time. In Boston, the Paint and Clay Club held a caricature exhibition in May

¹⁹³ See Chapter 4, Coyle, “Laughing Matters.”

¹⁹⁴ The core group consisted of twenty-three, but hundreds participated in the Incohérents’ exhibitions.

¹⁹⁵ Coyle, “Laughing Matters,” 103-109. The Incohérents also held all-night costume balls each year from 1885 to the late 1890s, where they dressed in clown suits and even large, bearded men appeared in tutus and in drag. See Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment & Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 61-62.

¹⁹⁶ Coyle, “Laughing Matters,” 114.

1885 at the prestigious gallery of J. Eastman Chase, where it was the first of its kind billed as such. As Coyle has noted, “Calling the show a caricature exhibition provided visitors with an expectation of humor and helped position the show as entertainment.”¹⁹⁷ Philadelphia’s first caricature exhibition took place in 1888 at PAFA. Organized by students, they held the show in conjunction with the Academy’s spring annual exhibition. Descriptions from Henri’s diary (who also served on the hanging committee) point to similarities between the Philadelphia show and their predecessors in Paris, Boston, and New York.¹⁹⁸ Following their lead, the PAFA students caricatured more well-established American artists as in, for instance, Hugh Breckenridge’s caricature of a work by Thomas Hovenden.¹⁹⁹ Overall, however, the exhibition was not a big success and the PAFA students did not attempt another caricature exhibition until 1894 (the year after Sloan’s *Charcoal Club* caricature), when they had become regular events in New York and Boston, and the Impressionist craze had arrived in full force. Although *The Charcoal Club is on the Wain* follows a similar formula of student art caricature parodying more established artworks, situated within this chronology, Sloan’s caricature does not appear to have been instigated by a public exhibition. Rather, it was created purely for private reasons and probably shared only among the friends for whom it held special meaning.

One final point to consider of *The Charcoal Club is on the Wain*’s subject matter is its dialogue with the idea of mobility. Although the Charcoal Club met in the city,

¹⁹⁷ The exhibition featured spoofs of such famous pictures as J.M.W. Turner’s *The Slave Ship*, Jules Vastien-Lepage’s *Joan of Arc*, Jean-François Millet’s *Flight into Egypt*, and John Singer Sargent’s *El Jaleo*. A credit to their thoroughness, they even prepared a catalogue, which included fake advertisements, mock reviews, and descriptions. *Ibid.*, 119-120.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 163-164.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

approximately six blocks (up Arch Street) from PAFA, Sloan's caricature emphasizes the experience of the Club and its end as a substantial journey. They travel together from one place to another—from the Academy to the Charcoal Club and back again. And interestingly, if the cart in fact escorts them back to the Academy, then the journey, according to the sketch, proceeds from rural to urban. To entertain this notion would mean a few things. First, if Sloan's inspiration were Constable's painting, then perhaps it mimicked the rural landscape of the River Stour in Suffolk County, England. Or, more generally, the rural scene may simply connote some kind of opposite to the Academy—in this case, the bucolic idyll in contrast to the urban conservative. Either way, Sloan's method of parody signals an attention to place and group identity. Although the Charcoal Club was short-lived, it represented the first instance of the group's secession from the Academy, and a successful one at that. They proved that they could make a difference when they came together, when they fashioned the proper space for themselves apart. And they would do it again, fifteen years later to much fanfare, with their independent exhibition of *The Eight* at the Macbeth Gallery in New York. Sloan's caricature of the Club's demise in *The Charcoal Club is on the Wain* functions on multiple levels. The humorous exaggeration of the men's response makes light of their failure and comically elevates them through the comparison to Constable's *Haywain*. Drawn on the final day of their meeting, it also commemorates the time they had together, and serves as a visual manifesto to the commitment of their assembly.

806 Walnut Street

Although the Charcoal Club disbanded at the end of the summer, their studio meetings were revived in the fall of 1893 with a weekly open house at Henri's space at 806 Walnut Street (which was also rented by Sloan and Laub beginning in September). The meetings began on Thursday nights and then switched to Tuesdays, with anywhere from four to twenty men in attendance. In addition to Sloan, Henri, Glackens, Luks, and Shinn, the group included Charles Grafly, Alexander Stirling Calder, Edward Redfield, Hugh Breckenridge, Elmer Schofield, James Preston, and Frederic Rodrigo Gruger, among others. Henri usually led the discussions, speaking chiefly about painting, music, and literature, but also politics and ethics. Whitman and Emerson served as theoretical models.²⁰⁰ The sessions were not only for art-making in the traditional sense but also functioned as an environment for revelry. They held banquets, stag parties, played music, and performed skits or plays as if to recreate the Parisian *esprit* of the artistic Bohemia that many of them had participated in abroad.

In the 1890s, artists in studios in Philadelphia and across America and Europe sought to create a kind of Bohemia—an unconventional space for avant-garde communion and exchange outside of the mainstream. Bohemianism had been ingrained in the American imagination during the second half of the nineteenth century. The American exposure to Bohemianism, however, was largely indirect. Most Americans learned about Bohemia as mediated through theatrical performances, novels, and the popular press. Henri Murger's *La Vie de Bohème*, published in 1851 solidified the

²⁰⁰ See Joseph J. Kwait, "Robert Henri and the Emerson-Whitman Tradition," *PMLA* 71, no. 4 (September 1956): 617–36.

association of Bohemia with vagabond artists living in Paris's Latin Quarter. Bohemia came to be identified with those living a life free from authority, marked by individual expression on the outskirts of society or as a kind of counterculture. The craze for everything Bohemian climaxed in the 1890s with the publication of George Du Maurier's semi-autobiographical novel *Trilby* (1894), a subject that I will return to shortly.²⁰¹

The artist's studio was an important subject in late nineteenth-century art and culture. After the Civil War, artists' studios became aesthetic sanctuaries—as highly decorated and carefully curated spaces where artists met, held open houses for patrons, and displayed their work.²⁰² The most famous of these was the studio of William Merritt Chase, who had his atelier in the popular Tenth Street Studio Building in New York.²⁰³ Chase frequently painted his studio, as in *Studio Interior* (c. 1882) (fig. 2.13) wherein the studio itself became the work of art. The environment of Chase's studio and its contents has been read by scholars as revealing much about the international sophistication of the artist. Overflowing with European paintings, Japanese prints, musical instruments, ceramics, Asian tapestries, and eclectic furniture, the studio accessories attest to the cosmopolitan status the artist aspired to. The studio space, therefore, reflected the artist's “rarefied environment populated by likeminded people,” separate from the common

²⁰¹ Jan Seidler Ramirez, *Within Bohemia's Borders: Greenwich Village, 1830-1930* (Museum of the City of New York, 1994); Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America*, Revised edition (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960). Parry devotes an entire chapter of his seminal history on American Bohemias to Philadelphia's scene. Titled “Hushed Murgeria in Philadelphia,” the chapter offers several examples of Philadelphians in want of a Bohemia in Philadelphia, but who all ultimately had to look for it elsewhere.

²⁰² I take the term “aesthetic sanctuaries” from Angela L. Miller et al., *American Encounters: Art, History, and Cultural Identity* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, Prentice Hall, 2008), 323-326.

²⁰³ Winslow Homer, Frederic Church, and Albert Bierstadt also had studios in the Tenth Street Building. For more on the Tenth Street Studio Building see Annette Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists* (Southampton, New York: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997).

sphere and with a unique set of skills for seeing and interpreting the world.²⁰⁴ The array of objects reflected the new vogue for travel and the new accessibility of objects thanks to the ubiquity of international expositions.

Although the studio of Henri and Sloan has been previously interpreted as the antithesis of aesthetic display, a closer look at the many photographs taken of the space during the 1890s complicates this generalization. Scholars have sometimes assumed that Henri and Sloan's fully formed modern and "realist" ideology was present from the very beginning, conflating their mature thoughts developed after 1900 with their studio setting and activities of the 1890s. For example, Sarah Burns writes that the artists'

ideology of life, energy, and vitalism. . . contrasted strongly with Whistler's reticent poetry. But by painting members of the urban working and slum classes they effectively distanced themselves from the taint of fashion and luxury that haunted the artist of high society, and by being observers of the rituals of mass consumption rather than its celebrants they constructed (fictive) positions for themselves outside that world. Further, by representing their subject matter as "revolutionary" and therefore presumably less marketable, Henri and his cohorts were able to blur the commodity character of the artwork and sharpen the emphasis on whatever made the artist appear genuine and substantial.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Miller et al., *American Encounters*, 325.

²⁰⁵ Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 75. Actually, in the 1890s, Whistler was one of the artists Sloan cited as a "god," and many of the works by Henri, Sloan, and Glackens bear a strong resemblance to his work in both technique and subject matter. In *Gist of Art*, Sloan wrote, "Back in the Nineties our gods were Whistler, Velasquez [*sic*], and Fran Hals. We were too much concerned with getting the impression of the moment, the beauty of easy brushwork, the surfaces of things." John Sloan and Helen Farr Sloan, *Gist of Art* (New York: American Artists Group, Inc., 1939), 15. Henri wrote in *The Art Spirit*, "The paintings of such masters as Titian, Velasquez [*sic*] and Whistler are like great documents hurled down. Each is a great decision." Henri, *Art Spirit*, 281. Works by Sloan resembling Whistler during these years include the etching, *Schuylkill River*, 1894 (Bowdoin) and the painting, *Schuylkill River*, 1900-1902 (DAM) and *Girl in White* (1906, destroyed by the artist). Elzea writes in the catalogue raisonné that Sloan was encouraged to destroy it by Dolly, because it was too much like what Henri was doing, and because it was a hassle to cart around every time he moved; and by Robert Henri, *Young Woman in White*, 1904 (NGA) made the year after Whistler's death. Henri employed the "soup" method of painting, as it was called, after Whistler. Henri was known to sometimes champion Whistler's work, along with that of Hals, Rembrandt, Velázquez, Goya, Manet, and Daumier. See Homer, *Robert Henri*, 83. Bennard B. Perlman, *The Immortal Eight: American Painting from Eakins to the Armory Show, 1870-1913* (New York: Exposition Press, 1962), 98. Glackens "rated Whistler

Focusing on one particular example, Burns interprets the environment of Henri's studio as indicative of a purposeful contrast to that of Chase. She writes, "For this construction of the artist, the commodity display of the opulent studio was inappropriate."²⁰⁶ She uses a photograph probably taken of Henri's second studio, 1717 Chestnut Street, (fig. 2.14) in the mid-1890s as evidence of his "rejected materialism, proving thereby his integrity, his depth, and his independence."²⁰⁷ Yet, by looking at other photographs taken during that same time, a more nuanced image of the studio emerges.

Before Henri left for Paris in 1893, he had rented the 806 Walnut Street studio space, which Sloan and Joe Laub took over upon his departure. Photographs of Sloan and others taken at 806 Walnut during the same year (1895) do not equate with the austerity Burns reads into the setting at 1717 Chestnut Street. In fact, Sloan appears quite dandyish! In one photo (fig. 2.15), he reclines in a relaxed pose in the corner of the studio upon a daybed covered with a rather Bohemian, patterned blanket. Lost in thought while casually crossing his left leg, he rests one hand languidly on his right knee while gently touching a book with the other. Behind his head, a section of the wall is covered in wallpaper consistent with the ubiquitous fashion of nineteenth-century aesthetes. Sloan's artwork adorns the walls around him.²⁰⁸ The photograph conveys an attitude not unlike

and Manet as the two great black-and-white artists of the nineteenth century." Perlman, *The Immortal Eight*, 102.

²⁰⁶ Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 76.

²⁰⁷ Burns refers to a group photo in the Sloan archives taken c. 1895, which she identifies as Henri's space at 1717 Chestnut Street. This was the studio space he used when he returned from Paris, since he had turned over the rental of 806 Walnut Street to Sloan and Joe Laub. *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ These include at least two illustrations made for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, three compositions made during meetings of the Charcoal Club, and probably the etching *Girl with Harp* (Bowdoin, 1891).

the widely circulated images of Oscar Wilde. For example, a portrait taken by Napoleon Sarony in 1882 (fig. 2.16) shows Wilde similarly seated on a bed of furs and tapestries, clutching a book, and gazing at the camera with dreamy eyes.

Another photograph showing a different angle of the 806 Walnut Street studio taken on an alternative occasion shows Sloan reclining again across multiple pieces of furniture, reading a book (fig. 2.17).²⁰⁹ This view shows more of the wall behind the daybed, which displays additional artworks pinned up, but also many paintings in thick gilded frames. When comparing a studio shot of Glackens at 1717 Chestnut Street (fig. 2.18), a space he shared with Henri in 1895, with a photograph of Chase's studio taken about a decade earlier (fig. 2.19), one may find more similarities than differences—if not in quantity then at least in concept. Although neither Sloan nor Glackens could afford anything comparable to Chase's luxurious accouterments, the setting certainly attempts something similar. Sloan fills the space as best he can with furniture and artworks similarly displayed salon-style on the wallpapered wall. Glackens and his easel painting bookend a thoroughly aesthetic display at center comprised of draped tapestries, Oriental lanterns, and a Japanese screen. Yet another photograph from the collection of Everett Shinn shows Shinn, Henri, and Sloan posing again in 1897—this time on a nicer couch, against a wall of elaborate wallpaper (fig. 2.20). Only two artworks, one tacked above Shinn's head and another, framed and cropped at the right edge give any indication that this is an artist's studio. Instead, the suited up men do nothing at all. Their body language conveys a certain comfort and familiarity with each other, but their gazes do not meet.

²⁰⁹ The change in time can be determined by the different bed cover and the rearrangement of the furniture.

Lost in thought, the artists pose as if mimicking the common artist-as-dandy guise to which so many artists at the time aspired, including Wilde, Chase, and Whistler (fig. 2.21).

Returning to the photograph that Burns makes an example of, the peripatetic Henri had neither the time nor money to fully furnish his new studio at 1717 Chestnut Street the way he might like. Henri, Sloan and their group would advocate for an art free from aestheticism after 1900, but during these early years in Philadelphia they were still in the processing of exploring and experimenting, and still navigating the many avenues of the art world. (fig. 2.22) The photographs of them posing in their studios thoughtful and dreamy, reading books, and studying portfolios among their own works of art and other identifying accouterments of the artist shows a desire to concretize their identities within this world. Like Chase, Whistler, Sargent (fig. 2.23), and other members of the studios at Tenth Street or the Sherwood Studios (fig. 2.24), Sloan and his comrades looked to solidify their status as artists by capturing images of themselves in the studio through the new medium of photography. In this early moment, the studios of Sloan, Henri, Glackens, and Shinn bear a close resemblance to that of Chase and others. Studio life was an essential part of becoming a modern artist.

Performing Fraternity in the Quaker City

At least once a year the men converted the studio into an improvised theater for the performance of amateur theatricals. These productions were primarily written by studio-member Charles S. Williamson, while Sloan painted the sets and Henri and Glackens prepared the costumes and makeup. On at least one known occasion, the men

even performed their theatrical at the Academy school. They staged *Twillbe*, an amateur version of George Du Maurier's *Trilby* on the stage of PAFA on December 29, 1894. (fig. 2.25-26) As mentioned previously, *Trilby* epitomized the international vogue for the artist's Parisian Bohemia. *Trilby* first appeared in January 1894 as a serial in *Harper's Monthly* and quickly became the most successful publication of the 1890s. As L. Edward Purcell writes, "Eventually pirated, parodied, and trivialized, [*Trilby's*] strange tale of student low life, romance, and hypnotism set the pace for the emerging bestseller publishing system in America."²¹⁰ Its popularity included the real-life entanglement of Whistler, who was a classmate of Du Maurier in Paris. The ultimate fin-de-siècle, Bohemian tale, *Trilby's* plot revolves around the Parisian artist's model named Trilby, who is befriended by three genteel British painters.²¹¹ The novel sold more than 200,000 book copies by February 1895 and was listed as the number one bestseller in American cities.²¹² *Trilby's* success extended to the professional theater, where its dramatic runs nearly equaled its book sales. By 1896, there were twenty-four productions of *Trilby* running simultaneously in the United States.²¹³

²¹⁰ L. Edward Purcell, "Trilby and Trilby-Mania, The Beginning of the Bestseller System," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11, no. Summer (1977): 62–76. For more commentary on *Trilby* see Kimberly J. Stern, "Rule Bohemia: The Cosmopolitics of Subculture in George Du Maurier's *Trilby*," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38 (2010): 547–70.

²¹¹ *Trilby*, who is befriended by three genteel British painters: Little Billie, Taffy, and the Laird, and a villain of Jewish decent named Svengali. The middle-class Little Billie falls in love with Trilby, but becomes heartbroken after discovering Trilby modeling in the "altogether" for a class of students. Trilby flees Paris in shame. Years later, the three artists discover she has morphed into "La Svengala," a singing sensation who developed her talent through the hypnosis of Svengali. When Svengali drops dead, Trilby/La Svengala also perishes, which causes Little Billie to die of a broken heart as well.

²¹² Purcell, "Trilby and Trilby-Mania," 64.

²¹³ An incalculable number of *Trilby* parodies also arose. These included *Biltry*, a novel published in January 1895 by Mary Kyle Dallas, and *Thrily*, presented at the Garrick Theater in New York in June. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

Sloan and Henri's group staged a four-act comic adaptation of Du Maurier's plot, which included the artist-actors Sloan, Henri, Williamson, Shinn, Edward Wyatt Davis, Glackens, Laub, Dennis Kelly, Frank A. Taylor, and James Preston.²¹⁴ (fig. 2.27-28) In addition to the playbill, the surviving script, photographs of the cast, a menu, tickets, invitations, and a review in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* verify the evening's activities.²¹⁵ The *Inquirer*'s review highlights the appearance of a "large pug dog" who acted the part of a "little rodent," as well as "a combat between James McNails Whiskers and George Dumarryher, which is stopped, however, by the "Harper Bros. (you know them by their harps)", who offer satisfactory apologies."²¹⁶ Davis provided the decorative cartoon for the headline, featuring a parody-portrait of *Twillbe*'s enormous feet. (fig. 2.29) A printed menu advertises a dinner that was evidently held the following Tuesday, January 15, 1894. (fig. 2.30) At the bottom of the menu in hand drawn letters the word "Bohemia" reiterates the artists' motivation for staging such a performance and the accompanying activities. With the performance of *Twillbe*, the artists sought to bring a national cultural phenomenon to their local stage and thereby create an environment conducive to modern art-making.

²¹⁴ The printed playbill in Sloan's manuscript collection announces the cast as follows: Sloan—*Twillbe*, Henri—Svengali and Miss Sylvia Amanda Wontville, Williamson—Little Billie and George Domarryher, Shinn—Taffy and James McNails Whiskers, E. Wyatt Davis—Laid of Pigen and Melpomene, Glackens—Gecko, Laub—Lydia Pinkham and Mrs. Jack Sprat, Dennis Kelly—The Mermaid and Hicks, Frank A. Taylor—Jack Sprat and Miss Lavina Hunks of Chicago, and James Preston—Miss Blaggs of Boston and The Royal Bengal Tiger. Preston and Taylor also played The Harper Brothers. Box 31, Series II, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum. For a thorough analysis of the PAFA performance of *Twillbe*, see Coyle, "Pranks, Processions, and Parodies."

²¹⁵ Scripts and photographs may be found in Box 31, Series II, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum; "Twillbe," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 30, 1894, 20.

²¹⁶ "Twillbe," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 30, 1894, 20.

Although *Twilbe* has received the most attention from scholars because of the popularity of the *Trilby* craze, the first known theatrical performed by Henri, Sloan, and their colleagues was *The Widow Cloonan's Curse*. (fig. 2.31-32) Authored by Williamson and performed sometime in early 1893, the play sheds light on several of the artists' concerns by way of parody. The play's protagonist (an artist-genius) must navigate an act of murder, the Parisian and Philadelphia art scenes, a dime museum, the judgment of a very critical Philadelphia society, and several cases of mistaken identity. A regionally conscious humor weaves through every moment of the narrative, beginning with the birth of an eight-pound baby named Raphael Rembrandt Peter Paul Valesquez Jones, the son of a bearded lady called Mademoiselle Clotilde.²¹⁷ The Philadelphia audience for this performance would have immediately recognized the not-so subtle reference to their city's first important artist-family—that of Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827). Peale founded the city's first art museum and academy in 1784, known as the Peale's Museum or Philadelphia Museum. He married three times, had eleven children who survived into adulthood, and named nearly all of them after famous artists or notables.²¹⁸ The fictional artist "Peter Paul," as the script nicknamed him, was born "with a paint brush in his

²¹⁷ Philadelphia had at least one Dime Museum, called Manager Bradenburgh's at Ninth and Arch. Oddities at this popular museum included Laloo, the astounding man and a half, Frank and Anne Howard, the tattooed couple, Madame Milo, the long-haired lady, and Mlle. Loretia with her intelligent trained birds, and Major Tot the midget. See "The Man and a Half," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 7, 1892, 7.

²¹⁸ Charles Willson Peale's children include Raphaele (1774-1825), Angelica Kauffmann (1775-1853), Rembrandt (1778-1860), Titian Ramsay (the first of that name, 1780-1798, the second was 1799-1885), Rubens (1784-1865), Sophonisba Angusciola (1786-1859), and Benjamin Franklin. Many of them demonstrated artistic capabilities, and two became notable artists in their own right. See Lillian B. Miller, ed., *The Peale Family: Creation of a Legacy, 1770-1870* (National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution: Abbeville Press, 1996).

mouth and a palette in his hand,” not unlike Peale’s children.²¹⁹ However, soon after Peter Paul’s birth (acted by artist Thomas J. Paynter) he was abducted by a Villain, played by Alexander Stirling Calder. The Villain gave a potion to the baby’s mother (Mlle. Clotilde, played by playwright Charles S. Williamson) and killed the baby’s nurse, the Widow Cloonan (Charles Grafly), who cursed the Villain with her last breath. The script contains eleven short acts—an intentionally disruptive organization. For as William Innes Homer has pointed out, the carousing during intermission (sometimes specified as a thirty-minute break) was just as important to the experience of the theatrical as acting out the script. This format supports my thesis that the entire activity of writing and performing the plays, from conception to execution, was an event for socializing, bonding, and codifying a group identity among the artists.

Regional references specific to the artists’ Philadelphia environment appear throughout the play. For example, when in the second act the Villain abandons baby Peter Paul, a character called Strawberry Tankhurray Esquire of 2894 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia finds him and adopts him.²²⁰ Mr. Tankhurray’s appellation may comically refer to either Philadelphia’s Strawberry Mansion, to the local Thackeray Gas Fixture Works, or to the English nineteenth-century novelist, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63). The largest of Philadelphia’s seven historic Fairmount Park Houses, Strawberry Mansion was built in 1789 (in the days when Philadelphia was still the nation’s capital) by Judge William Lewis, a well-known Quaker lawyer, abolitionist, and friend of George Washington. It was acquired by the city in 1867 and given in 1871 to

²¹⁹ Typed script for “The Widow Cloonan’s Curse,” 1. John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum.

the Fairmount Park Commission. During the late nineteenth century the area developed into a popular destination for Philadelphians to picnic, dance, dine at its restaurant, or travel by the popular steamboats that arrived at Strawberry Mansion Landing.²²¹ The artists' knowledge of Strawberry Mansion and the type of crowd it drew is exemplified by a drawing of the retreat made by Henri on June 16, 1894. (fig. 2.33) Moreover, a reference to Thackeray Gas Fixture Works would be especially pertinent if the group had by this time made their acquaintance with Everett Shinn, who worked as a designer of light fixtures for Thackeray between 1890-3.²²² However, a reference to William Makepeace Thackeray may be more plausible, especially because of the writer's specialty as a satirist and parodist.²²³ Thackeray's most successful novel, *Vanity Fair*, first published in *Punch* in serial form during 1847-48 satirized nineteenth-century British society and remained wildly popular in the 1890s. Sloan had grown up with easy access to periodicals like *Punch* in the collection of his uncle and at Porter & Coates.²²⁴ In 1893,

²²¹ Originally called "Summerville," it served as Lewis's summer home on the east bank of the Schuylkill River. Following Lewis' death, the property changed hands several times. Between 1846 and 1867 it was owned by farmers who specialized in strawberries and famously served strawberries and cream to the public, whereby it acquired the moniker Strawberry Mansion. Mabel Stewart Ludlum, "The Story of Strawberry Mansion," *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum*, Part 2: Strawberry, 26, no. 142 (May 1931): 2-14. And www.historicstrawberrymansion.org (Accessed 17 March 2015).

²²² Shinn enrolled at PAFA and began working at *The Philadelphia Press* in 1893, so it is unclear if he had come into contact with the group by the time Williamson wrote *The Widow Cloonan's Curse*. According to Perlman, Shinn became bored with drafting chandelier designs and took to the margins of his paper to draw Broad Street outside his window. When discovered, the foreman apparently told him, "Go to art school, young man, and after a year report to me how you get along. You have the gift to draw—do it because you can and I can't." Perlman, *The Immortal Eight*, 70.

²²³ Even the character Little Billie, in *Trilby*, was named after a lyric by Thackeray. Purcell, "Trilby and Trilby-Mania," 66.

²²⁴ Later, Sloan illustrated a 1940 edition of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. For more about Sloan and *Punch*, see his "Autobiographical Notes on Etching," in Peter Morse, *John Sloan's Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings, Lithographs, and Posters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 383.

A. Edward Newton commissioned Sloan to create an etching for a pamphlet sold at his store. Sloan's design, *Favorites of Thackeray*, further proves his knowledge of the author.²²⁵ These idiosyncratic references would have been recognized by a savvy audience and make clear the extent to which the theatricals were deeply rooted in the personal interests and experiences of the artist-actors and their locale.²²⁶

Other humorous examples further reveal the artists' regional consciousness, the importance of camaraderie, and their awareness of Philadelphia society's class prejudice in relation to urban geography. Act Three opens with Peter Paul's mother, Mlle. Clotilde, (the bearded lady) holding court in her Dime Museum.²²⁷ Mr. Tankhurray enters, proclaiming the baby has not provided enough "bon camaraderie" for him and he is in search of a wife:

Why should I search here, and yet, why not? Both my other wives have been more or less freaks, though not on exhibition, society would wonder at my taking a wife out of a dime museum and yet what care I for society. [*sic*] Let West Spring Garden Street sneer, I will marry to please myself.²²⁸

²²⁵ Morse, *John Sloan's Prints*, 57. Henri was also known to read Thackeray, as well as Dickens and Daudet. Homer, *Robert Henri*, 35.

²²⁶ Although the scripts are all attributed to Charles S. Williamson, one must wonder about the extent to which other members of the group contributed ideas to the plot. For example, Act Six leads with John Sloan playing the part of Tankhurray's first wife, Eileen, who has returned to Tankhurray asking for him to accept her back into their marriage. When he refuses she poisons herself. The soliloquy spoken or sung by Sloan during this act bears a very close relationship to other poetry Sloan penned during this time. There are many instances of poetry in Sloan's correspondence and fragments in his manuscript collection. He wrote poetry to accompany his advertisements for the Bradley Coal Company. See typed script for "The Widow Cloonan's Curse," 5. John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum.

²²⁷ Although there is not place for a full examination of what the inclusion of the Dime Museum in the narrative of this theatrical might mean here, for more see Andrea Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1997), 41-65. During the 1880s and 1890s, the peak of the dime museum's popularity coincided with the maturation of this group. Philadelphia had at least one dime museum at Ninth and Arch, established in 1869 and it remained open through the 20th century.

²²⁸ Typed script for "The Widow Cloonan's Curse," 4.

The script emphasizes Tankhurray's geographic identity within the city by listing his address multiple times in the script.²²⁹ This detail merits notice since in Philadelphia Spring Garden Street fell within the well-known neighborhood of the city's nouveau riche. As we've seen in the example of Charles Stokes Wayne's *The Lady and Her Tree: A Story of Society* (1895), one's address functioned as a marker of class and identity. In this way, the artists poke fun at the prejudices of society.

The Widow Cloonan's Curse also offers a not-so-veiled commentary on the contemporary role of the artist and the art world in the 1890s. In the fifth act the curtain opens on an adult Peter Paul ("Twenty-three years later") painting from a model named Eileen, Jr. (also called Mary Jane). The story devolves through a few confusing plot twists and several cases of mistaken identity. A string of miscommunications and misidentifications leads to the tragic (and humorous) death of several characters, but the farce's final denouement revolves around Peter Paul's painted "masterpiece." Mary Jane took it upon herself to submit Peter's masterpiece to the Academy, but sadly, they reject it, whereupon the dejected artist proclaims, "hence I will paint nothing but impressions." Mary Jane responds, "This is too horrible. O Peter Paul take back those dreadful words. Think of the intense suffering you will inflict on the innocent multitude. Take back your oath."²³⁰ His refusal causes her to die of a broken heart, initiating a domino effect: Peter Paul stabs himself and the Villain strangles himself. The ultimate cause of the characters' demise then, is not lost love, but the rejection of Peter Paul's masterpiece from the Academy and his subsequent relegation to paint "impressions." Clearly, Impressionism

²²⁹ 2894 Spring Garden Street is listed after his name in the list of characters, as well as spoken out loud by him when he introduces himself to Mlle. Clotilde.

²³⁰ Confusingly, the script once again reverts to calling Mary Jane by Eileen.

found no friend in this group of artist-performers! The forum of the amateur stage, presented in comic arrangement, served the serious function of declaring the group's abhorrence for the new Impressionist style in 1893.

Henri, a few years older and a more experienced painter, often served as the group's main exponent of art theory. While studying in Paris, Henri initially embraced Impressionism (at least in part), finding particular inspiration in the Impressionist method to paint *en plein air*, directly from nature. He and Edward Redfield, during a summer at the Mediterranean port of St. Nazaire near Toulon in 1890, spent significant time painting together out of doors. Notes in Henri's correspondence and diaries reveal his frustration with capturing a certain atmosphere while the weather conditions changed. He also felt torn between painting colorfully and spontaneously like the Impressionists, or adhering to the academic model he had learned in Philadelphia and at the Académie Julian.²³¹ At the Durand-Ruel gallery in the spring of 1891, Henri praised Monet's series of *Haystacks*, exclaiming, "What realism! . . . all will be affected by the new light he has cast on the art of painting and painting will be the better for it."²³² As William Innes Homer has written, the three years abroad in Paris fueled Henri's affinity for Realism and Impressionism over academic art. He returned to the United States favoring the work of the Barbizon School, Bastien-Lepage, Besnard, Puvis de Chavannes, and Monet.²³³

Back in Philadelphia in 1891, Henri enrolled in a class with Robert Vonnoh (a progressive advocate of Impressionism) at PAFA and formed a close friendship with

²³¹ Homer, *Robert Henri*, 51-55.

²³² Henri letter, May 11, 1891. Quoted in Homer, *Robert Henri*, 62. Although he also continued to visit academic exhibitions and praised the work of Dagnan-Bouveret and Carolus-Duran.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

Henry McCarter, who had recently returned from Paris where he painted and taught in an Impressionist vein. At PAFA's winter annual in 1892, Impressionism arrived with great fanfare. An advertisement for PAFA's Sixty-Second Annual Exhibition that year heralded the style with the heading: "The Dawn of a New American Art: Impressionism!"²³⁴ Henri was one of several young artists to exhibit Impressionist works—others included James P. Kelly, Frank W. Benson, Edmund C. Tarbell, and McCarter. But, the city's negative reaction to the style disheartened the artist. Henri's high-keyed color in his works, *Venetian Canal* and *Venetian Girl* were hung alongside Monet, but Philadelphia critics failed to see the merit in the style that had been heralded by the Parisian public. Conservative reviews called Henri's work "faulty exaggerations of an extreme mannerism in color."²³⁵ Henri wrote of Philadelphia's reaction,

This miserable place where art is the least interesting thing in the world Philadelphia people care and know so little about it that if it were not for the nudes to get shocked at they would never know an art exhibition was on There's no wonder Philadelphia artists are lifeless—lack of public interest makes them ask themselves if it is not an idle fancy that theirs is a great art—and perhaps some begin to wonder if their lives are not wasted. How different in Paris where the Artist is the *Great Man*.²³⁶

Henri felt discouraged by Philadelphia's unwillingness to support artists' exploration of Impressionism, especially since it was heralded abroad. Henri was far from alone in this feeling. Newspapers regularly commented on Philadelphia's conservative tastes and the lack of support for Philadelphia artists.

²³⁴ Advertisement for the 62nd Annual Exhibition, 1892. Cheryl Leibold, "A History of the Annual Exhibitions of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts: 1876-1913," in Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1988), 17.

²³⁵ *Philadelphia Times*, January 21, 1892. Quoted in Homer, *Robert Henri*, 69.

²³⁶ Henri letter, Jan. 31, 1892. Ibid.

Not long after the exhibition, and perhaps as a result of the harsh criticism, Henri changed his tone towards Impressionism. He noted in a letter to William Haefeker that Philadelphia was “in the early agony of impressionism.”²³⁷ Turning to the influence of Eakins, Henri’s style became darker and he began to vocally champion the work of Manet, Goya, Velázquez, Whistler, and Daumier, some of whose works he had seen in previous trips abroad, or were available to him in such Philadelphia collections as the Wiltach galleries in Memorial Hall and the Johnson and Widener collections. Sloan recollected,

In the nineties, we were opposed to Impressionism, with its blue shadows and orange lights because it seemed ‘unreal.’ We chose our colors from observation of facts and qualities of *the things* we painted, with little reference to phenomena of light effects. . . [we] were revolting against the corruption of eyesight painting, along different lines than the Frenchmen who followed Cézanne’s lead; we just went back to art in the direction of Manet and Goya.”²³⁸

Henri and others in the group probably quarreled most with Impressionism after it subsumed into the new academicism. Henri and Sloan’s shared belief in individual expression led them to oppose any kind of formula and to remain apart from conventionality and independent from conventionalized styles. By the time the Academy embraced Impressionism, Henri and Sloan were no longer interested.

Probing the origins of the characters and various jokes woven into the plot of *The Widow Cloonan’s Curse* reveals it to be a repository rich with meaning. The script by Williamson and his group of artist-actors points toward many of the contemporary challenges the artists faced and the specific debates they encountered in their art world.

²³⁷ Henri letter February 14, 1892 in Beinecke. PAFA’s 62nd exhibition included work by Monet and impressionist paintings by Vonnoh and Kelly.

²³⁸ Sloan notes, quoted in Homer, *Robert Henri*, 82-83.

The invocation of the Peale family through the main character served as a reminder of the distinct artistic legacy of their city. The reference to local sites, familiar monikers, and distinct Philadelphia neighborhoods would not have been lost on the artists or their audience, who continually sought to understand and find their place in the world. The various cases of mistaken identity, too, hint at the need not only to understand their own identities, but to feel accepted and at home in their environment. Performing identity was a means of achieving that. Through the social activity of acting out their regionally specific farce, the artists bonded and created a place for themselves—their own Bohemia—and codified their group identity as modern artists who would rather die than become Impressionists, and preferred instead to seek their own route.

Portrait Caricature

As this chapter has detailed so far, Sloan's studio environment served as a meeting place to sketch, view, share and discuss art, hold parties, and perform amateur theatricals. The men ascribed importance to these activities by carefully documenting them through photography. One of the most interesting photographs, already mentioned above, shows Sloan reclining with his feet in the air, reading a book. (fig. 2.17) The image warrants scrutiny not only for Sloan's posture, but also for the easy identification of the large work of art displayed directly above his head: a portrait caricature of William Glackens, drawn by Luks with accompanying poetry by Sloan. (fig. 2.34) As we've seen in Chapter 1, about twenty similarly formatted caricatures were preserved by Sloan and later donated to the DAM and the PMA. While Chapter 1 analyzed the examples caricaturing the artists as newspaper illustrators and those commemorating occasions of

departure, this section will examine additional caricatures of the artists in their studio. As described in the artists' writings and evidenced in surviving photographs, privately displayed caricatures were an important visual accessory to the environments of Sloan and his colleagues. Although caricatures are traditionally understood as acts of humorous play, this section reveals how these portrait sketches also evidence the serious and often complex psychology behind the artists' struggle to become professional artists during these formative years.

Around 1894, William Glackens made a caricature of George Luks titled "*Dink In His Studio*" (fig. 2.35).²³⁹ He draws Luks in a chair wearing a fashionable striped vest and bowtie, seated alongside a glass full of wine. His expression appears restful and his half-closed eyes may signal the amount of alcohol he's already imbibed. Behind the artist on the studio wall hangs another caricature of a boy or man with a bulldog. The adjacency of Luks's wide face to the sketch on the wall seems to indicate an association. And yet, his dapper demeanor in his studio—not caught in the act of making art, but rather, relaxing with a drink seems antithetical to the bulldog. Luks's reputation, however, was in fact perhaps better aligned with the attitude of a bulldog than with a refined artist in his studio, and herein lays the humor of Glackens's caricature of his friend.

²³⁹ "Dink" was a nickname for Luks. As, for example, in a letter from Sloan to Henri, December 8, 1895: "Poker game starts at once between Reddy Sloan and Dink distant mutterings of "Welsh Rarebit" "Come on Dink" Start her up "Drop that game" etc. Mutterings reach thunder pitch and as Dink is "in" 25 cents he quits and starts the Rarebit. . ." in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 19.

Luks was more often described as a “one-man circus” than the type of genteel artist imaged in this caricature.²⁴⁰ Sloan remembered in 1945,

Luks used to be wonderful as an entertainer. . . . He would often pick a fight in a saloon, say something nasty and get things going and then leave the place, with people who had nothing to do with the argument left to finish the fracas. . . . He would amuse a crowd and its bartenders for house, assuming that he was some fictitious character, senator, lawyer or big business man. On one occasion in Henri’s studio, mounted on a chair atop a table, with a frying pan over a gas jet, he made Welsh rarebit, carrying on a stream of farcical remarks while a dozen of us waited our turn to be served.²⁴¹

A memoir of Luks, written by Shinn later in life (c. 1920-1950) lends additional credence to Luks’s big personality, “He swung his fists and bellowed his defiance and was hurt when his bluff was called. It was only his quick transition from thundering bellicosity to his clowning antics that saved his face.”²⁴² A photograph (2.36) of Luks participating in a boxing match at the 806 Walnut Street studio provides further evidence of his penchant for physical frivolity. The men stand and crouch around the boxers as Luks (boxer at left) bobs and weaves just as his opponent (unidentified) throws a left hook. Standing are

²⁴⁰ Ira Glackens, *William Glackens and The Eight: The Artists Who Freed American Art* (New York: Horizon Press, 1957), 5.

²⁴¹ John Sloan, “Artists of the Philadelphia Press,” in Henry Clifford, John Sloan, and Everett Shinn, “Artists of the Philadelphia Press,” 8.

²⁴² “He was as frightening as a Chinese dragon war kite until the azure blue of a serene sky could be glimpsed through its thin, filamented wings. The tethering strings to his earthbound fears could not be hidden or the laughing blue of his eyes obscured by his make believe ferocity. . . .” Shinn even records Luks’s fashion sense which is ably captured by Glackens’s illustration: “In those days at the Philadelphia Press art department, Luks’s clothes were no more blatantly loud in their revolt against the mode than those of most of his associates. . . . His were shadow plaids of huge dimension, the latest word in suburban realty maps. Little attention was attempted on his coats. Vests, however, were features, cream-colored corduroy, like door mats laid out in strips of a hawser’s thickness or bark-stripped logs on a frontier fort stockade. A flowing black tie like a soot-dyed palm tree splayed out under his high and immaculately clean minstrel collar. A bowler, usually black, tilted in a cocky slant over his blond hair.” Everett Shinn, Typescript about George Luks, “Plush and Cut Glass,” Notes and Writings, Box 1, Folder 81, Everett Shinn Collection, Archives of American Art. Reproduced in Everett Shinn, “Everett Shinn on George Luks: An Unpublished Memoir,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (April 1966): 5.

(from left) James Preston, Sloan, Shinn, and F. G. Gruger, holding a cigarette. Were they actually boxing or only posing? A second photograph, (fig. 2.37) less likely staged, shows another boxing match where the photographer catches Luks from the back (in checkered pants) going after a much slimmer opponent.²⁴³ At first glance, Glackens's portrait of Luks feels estranged from the boisterous personality Luks was known to have, or is there more to it?

An illustrated letter Luks sent to Shinn (dated only "New York, Sept 20" but probably circa 1890s) offers an additional meaning for Glackens' inclusion of a dog on his friend's studio wall. (fig. 2.38) In the letter, Luks describes the vaudeville act his brother, Will, had written for them to perform: "in fact it's a side splitter—the play is copyrighted and the name. Keeping the wolf from the door. Will send you photo of us in costume later on."²⁴⁴ On the first page, he illustrates himself in blackface (Luks is the large figure in stripes) lying up against a door while his brother, who is also in blackface peeks out from behind the door. They stare, terrified, as a wolf eyes them hungrily. If Luks's vaudeville act included a real dog, Glackens's sketch might portray a photograph

²⁴³ This behavior continued into his later years, when students told of how Luks showed up drunk to teach his classes. For example, Alexander Calder recollected, "Luks came in quite high sometimes and we used to have a rather good time in his class. He was even reputed at one point to have painted out the picture brought in by a young lady who after painful labors was convinced she had achieved some acme of perfection. Luks was the son of a Pennsylvania miner; he sold quite a bit of his stuff and lived fairly well." See Alexander Calder, *Calder: An Autobiography with Pictures* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 66. Eventually, Luks's rowdy temperament got the best of him. On the early morning of October 29, 1933 his body was discovered in a Sixth Avenue alley beneath the elevated train tracks. It is thought that he was probably escorted outside after a drunken bar brawl and left to die. Robert Gambone, *Life on the Press: The Popular Art and Illustrations of George Benjamin Luks* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2009), 46.

²⁴⁴ Luks to Everett Shinn, September 20, [1890s], Box 1, Folder 51, Correspondence, Everett Shinn Collection, Archives of American Art. Luks teamed up with his brother Will in 1884 (Luks, age 17) to form the blackface vaudeville act Buzzy and Anstock. They toured around eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey until Luks entered PAFA for a short time and then left for Europe (c. 1885).

Luks had taken of himself in costume with the dog. In this way, *Dink in His Studio* follows a historical tradition of artists in their studios, where the surrounding décor expresses something about the nature of artistic identity—what an artist is, what he or she does, and where and in what he finds inspiration.

As Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. has written, beginning around the mid-nineteenth century, American artists began to depict the setting of an artist's studio with more urgency because it served as a visual discourse on the nature and status of the artistic profession.²⁴⁵ As a subject for artistic representation, the studio generated interest as a place, not only where art was produced, but also as an environment for inspiration where artists gathered to channel their genius into making art.²⁴⁶ The most well-known example, both within the history of art as well as in Sloan's own day, is Gustave Courbet's *The Artist's Studio* (1854-55) (fig. 2.39) which hung in the Louvre during the 1890s when Henri, Luks, Glackens, Shinn and countless others (except for Sloan) made pilgrimages there. In Courbet's masterpiece, he elevates the role of the artist and the painting itself to a heroic act.²⁴⁷

Earlier historic examples that might have been in Glackens's mind may include Rembrandt's *Artist in His Studio* (c. 1628) (fig. 2.40) or William Sidney Mount's *The Painter's Triumph* (1838, acquired by PAFA in 1879) (fig. 2.41). In both works, the artists stand before their easels in rather sparse studio accommodations. However, each

²⁴⁵ Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Introduction," in Richard N. Gregg, *The Artist's Studio in American Painting, 1840-1983* (Allentown, Pennsylvania: Allentown Art Museum, 1983), u.p. [1].

²⁴⁶ For an overview of the artist's studio see Michael Peppiatt and Alice Bellony-Rewald, *Imagination's Chamber: Artists and Their Studios* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982) especially Chapter Nine, "Studios of America."

²⁴⁷ Other well-known mid-nineteenth century examples include Henri Fantin-Latour's *Studio in the Batignolles* (Louvre), as well as works by Manet, Monet, and Renoir.

scene features a lone object displayed on an otherwise empty wall behind him. Behind Rembrandt hangs two extra palettes, clean and paint-free, ready for future use. The palette functions as one in a series of markers of artistic identity in Rembrandt's studio. In this case, the clean palettes add to the palpable anxiety of the environment—one in which the artist must call on his artistic genius to create something from nothing—he must fill the palette with colors in order to create his masterpiece. In Rembrandt's painting, the artist's distance from his enormous canvas, the blankness of the space, and the expression on his face has been commonly interpreted as symbolic of the daunting uncertainty of artistic creation. Rembrandt captures not a moment of action, but rather an interlude when the emphasis is on contemplation and decision. By contrast, the painter in Muntz's *Painter's Triumph* actively performs his role as an artist for his one-man audience, a captivated farmer. The painter energetically gestures toward his canvas while holding multiple paintbrushes and a palette covered with daubs of paint aloft for all to see. Muntz's flamboyant, showman-like representation may even poke fun at the artistic personality. Behind them, a solitary sketch of the Apollo Belvedere hangs pinned to the wall as an exemplar of antique fine art, probably alluding to the academic ideals artists in the mid-nineteenth century were meant to strive for. In each, the lone object pinned to the wall serves an interpretive purpose in relation to the artists in the foreground.²⁴⁸

Likewise, Glackens uses Muntz's format by replacing the Apollo Belvedere with Luks's vaudeville act, a modern and even lowly form of popular art beloved by Luks himself.

²⁴⁸ Another example, closer in time to when Glackens created this caricature, and perhaps known to him, is Thomas Eakins's *Negro Boy Dancing* (1878, watercolor, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Behind the banjo player, on the otherwise blank wall hangs a framed copy of the famous photograph of Abraham Lincoln and his son Tad, suggesting the figures' familial relationships and emphasizing their emancipation.

Perhaps Glackens draws Luks posing as the modern artist (similar to the way Sloan and Henri posed relaxed in photographs discussed above) in order to mock the dandyish attitude that was obviously very much at odds with Luks's present (and past) identities.

The particular examples of Rembrandt and Mount's studio representations also make useful comparisons to an 1890s self-portrait caricature by Sloan at work in his studio (fig. 2.42). Sloan sketches himself engaged in "painting" by spraying paint or ink with an atomizer. He takes an active, confrontational (and comical) stance—with legs spread apart and knees locked, as if bracing to be knocked back by the force of his paint applicator, a glass atomizer usually used to spray perfume. Sloan carefully drew his oversized head in pencil and never committed to finishing it by tracing the delicate profile of his face with black ink. The lightly-sketched mustache dates the drawing to around 1893 when several photographs show him sporting similar facial hair (fig. 2.43). His thickly-inked, dark black hair stands in stark contrast to the delicately sketched facial features, while his gentlemanly dress, pince-nez, and pipe lend authenticity to the artistic "look".²⁴⁹ The shelf behind him might be the same seen in watercolor sketches at Charcoal Club meetings, although this shelf seems to contain a more modern figure instead of an antique bust. The canvas he sprays contains a crude portrait, and sits not on an easel, but humbly on the wooden floor. Sloan's self-portrait seems to bear a closer resemblance to Mount's confident, active painter than Rembrandt's uneasy, reserved one—or is it a ruse?

²⁴⁹ As Sarah Burns details in her assessment on artistic dress in the later nineteenth century, William Merritt Chase used his appearance to enhance his credibility to a large audience. One reporter wrote of Chase, "The artist has an arresting personality....He did not wear a single eye-glass, rather pince-nez, through which he surveyed with calm deliberation the audience before him." Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 22.

In fact, Sloan painted very little in the early 1890s. His catalogue raisonné lists only four works painted before circa 1895—two self-portraits, a portrait of Glackens, and an Impressionist landscape.²⁵⁰ If Sloan’s self-portrait caricature shows him painting his own self-portrait, then the result is the very antithesis of his style. *Self-Portrait* (1890) (fig. 2.44) is exquisitely painted, although he cared less for it when he wrote,

My first serious oil painting was a self-portrait done in 1888 [*sic*] on a piece of window shade, which my father later mounted. It is a very earnest, plain piece of work; shows no facility or brilliance. The work of a plotter.²⁵¹

The young Sloan lacked confidence as a painter and rather, considered himself, “a newspaperman painting on the side.”²⁵² As we shall see (Chapter 3), it wasn’t until Sloan returned from a ten-week stint in New York in 1898 that he began painting in earnest and finally with some success. With this in mind, this caricature could be interpreted in two ways: First, Sloan’s use of the atomizer might represent his perceived inadequacy—that he may as well use an atomizer based on the results of his efforts. Or, in another way, the confident artist in the caricature may embody the able skills Sloan wished he possessed. Perhaps it is a little of both.²⁵³ Sloan may show himself as triumphant as Mount’s artist, but the juvenile-looking result of his sprayed portrait alludes to the deep psychological struggle over his painting talent, leading him to identify more with Rembrandt’s anxious self-portrayal.

²⁵⁰ Rowland Elzea, *John Sloan’s Oil Paintings: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), 41-42.

²⁵¹ Elzea, *John Sloan’s Oil Paintings*, 41. Elzea quotes from Sloan’s 1950 notes, 203.

²⁵² Van Wyck Brooks, *John Sloan: A Painter’s Life* (New York: Dutton, 1955), 9.

²⁵³ Sloan’s method of paint application could also reference the well-known 1877 episode when John Ruskin accused James McNeill Whistler of ‘flinging a pot of paint in the public’s face’ when referring to his modern painting style used in Whistler’s nocturnes.

But why make a caricature, and why preserve it? What does an object like this signify? Art historian Werner Hofmann explains that caricature's rebellion against the ideal form of beauty operates as a gesture of challenge, but simultaneously imparts a more meaningful interpretation of the person or thing. Through the joke of caricature, "folly becomes profound wisdom."²⁵⁴ Privately produced caricatures represent a telling contingent of an artist's oeuvre. In her study of nineteenth-century French caricature, Aimée Brown Price provides a useful perspective on caricatures produced for diversion, private jokes, and delectation. "Like published caricatures," she writes, "but more intensely, private caricatures provided a means of forging and reiterating social cohesiveness within a group, creating a would-be conspiratorial viewing by establishing "insiders" (the agents and cohorts) and "outsiders" (the objects) to the mockery."²⁵⁵ The very privacy of their caricatures, free from conservative scrutiny, allowed many artists an aesthetic ventilation as a more informal, open expression. Conceived and displayed at their studio parties and in the newspaper rooms of the Ashcan artists, caricature was artistic play. Johan Huizinga, in his book, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, explains that although play traditionally suggests the direct opposite of seriousness, it is neither conclusive nor fixed, and can be very serious indeed! The act of play embodies an interlude from daily life, when individuals unite in a common expression to satisfy a communal ideal.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Werner Hofmann, *Caricature: From Leonardo to Picasso* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1957), 21.

²⁵⁵ Aimée Brown Price, "Official Artists and Not-So-Official Art: Covert Caricaturists in Nineteenth-Century France," *Art Journal* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 365.

²⁵⁶ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955), 1-10.

A play community generally tends to become permanent even after the game is over. The feeling of being “apart together” in an exceptional situation, of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms, retains its magic beyond the duration of the individual game.²⁵⁷

In other words, playing together—dressing up, acting, performing as another being, or drawing humorous caricatures promotes the formation of social groupings.²⁵⁸

Returning to the photograph that this section opened with, we can see that Sloan once hung the caricature of Glackens prominently in his studio. (fig. 2.17) While neither the occasion for the photograph nor the photographer is known, the compositional arrangement is hardly haphazard. Sloan reclines comfortably in his quintessential artist’s studio. Mismatched furniture is strewn about, while variously framed and loosely tacked works of art scatter across the walls. Sloan’s head is carefully highlighted against the empty back of a framed canvas. And, centered directly above his head hangs the unmistakable caricature of Glackens. The photograph seems to underscore the solitary nature of Sloan’s position. Our eyes follow the bare expanse of the floor over to each of the empty seats to Sloan’s figure, and then up to Glackens’s portrait. Perhaps Sloan isn’t alone after all. The caricature (about one-quarter life size) appears to keep Sloan company—standing in for Glackens himself as a studio mate.

Conclusion

The group’s studio activities were a defining aspect of their years together in Philadelphia. Years later Henri wrote to Sloan from Paris, “Hello to Davis and the old

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 12.

stock—and heres [*sic*] hoping that someday there will be another eleven act tragedy with all the old favorites, the same author, the same premiere danseuse the same leading lady the same number of kegs of supper and all at 806.”²⁵⁹ The men succeeded in creating a Philadelphia version of an artist’s Bohemia by organizing a haven for growth and an outlet for experimentation at the Charcoal Club and then the 806 Walnut Street studio. Seeking to assert their identities as professional artists, the men experimented by creating caricatures and photographs of themselves in varied guises. Drawing on the old masters, European precedents, and more established American artists as models, the young artists surrounded themselves with the appropriate artistic accouterments that announced their intentions. The practice of fashioning these images served as a bonding activity—a kind of ritual act that codified their group identity. And the resulting objects—caricatures and photographs they could hang in the studio—not only captured their experience for posterity, but also offered the opportunity to think through and to meditate on what kind of artists they wanted to be. Although they tried on the costumes of aesthetic-minded artists like Wilde and Whistler in the 1890s, the art for art’s sake creed wouldn’t hold for them. Rather, the provocative nude model with the beer bottle torch would show them the way. Unapologetic realism would be their way forward.

Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité—everything this group came to stand for. They desired *Liberty* from conservatism and freedom for subjective, expressive representation; *Equal* treatment from the juries of the American annual exhibitions to showcase their work; and *Fraternity*—a brotherhood of artists stood more powerful together than each on his own. A closer look at the archives yields the significance of the social activity of

²⁵⁹ Henri to Sloan from Paris, November 5, 1899, in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 37.

photography, play-acting, and caricature at the turn of the century, and ultimately, it reveals the extent to which the brotherhood of the Ashcan school was first forged in the City of Brotherly Love.

CHAPTER 3 / THE STREET:

SLOAN'S PICTURES OF PHILADELPHIA & NEW YORK

When John Sloan returned to Philadelphia from New York in late 1898 he took to the streets to paint the urban scene for the first time. Robert Henri had been encouraging him to paint for quite a while, but Sloan had painted very little up until this point and mostly produced portraits.²⁶⁰ Henri called for an end to copying antique subjects constructed in the Academy's studios and told Sloan and his followers to instead go out onto the city streets in search of subjects that meant something to them. He advocated that artists aim to create dynamic, expressive artworks that demonstrated their direct contact with the local environment. Sloan remembered Henri proselytizing: "Paint what you feel. Paint what you see. Paint what is real to you. . . . [work] from the 'commonplace' and the familiar world of one's native land."²⁶¹

When Sloan left Philadelphia in July 1898 in an attempt to move to New York, Henri wrote to him, "I am mighty glad that you shook off the old dust of Phila [*sic*] for I believe you will get much advantage in being in a new surround. I always find a move productive of an awakening of some sort. It has always done me good to come over here and it has always done me good to go back again."²⁶² Ten weeks later when Sloan returned to his hometown he found that the trip had stimulated the "awakening" Henri

²⁶⁰ "It was Robert Henri who set me to painting seriously; without his inspiring friendship and guidance I probably might never have thought of it at all." John Sloan and Helen Farr Sloan, *Gist of Art* (New York: American Artists Group, Inc., 1939), 3.

²⁶¹ Sloan notes, quoted in William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 82.

²⁶² Henri to Sloan, October 14, 1898 in Bennard Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 32-33.

had predicted; he began painting two or three mornings a week and was finally having some success.²⁶³ He took to the streets for his subjects and made his first painting of the city, *Philadelphia Stock Exchange* (c. 1898) (fig. 3.1).²⁶⁴ He continued to investigate his new urban subject matter with *Night Washington Square, Philadelphia* (c. 1898) (fig. 3.2), and *Little Dark Street in Philadelphia* (c. 1898) (fig. 3.3). Over the next couple of years he also painted such local landmarks as *Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia* (1900) (fig. 3.4), *Independence Square, Philadelphia* (1900) (fig. 3.5), *Tugs, Delaware River* (1900) (fig. 3.6), *Schuylkill River* (1900-1902) (fig. 3.7), and *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia* (1901) (fig. 3.8). They served as Sloan's "debut in paint"²⁶⁵ when he submitted them to major exhibitions in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.²⁶⁶

But Sloan didn't explore street life to find these subjects alone; he took his camera with him. Although very little is documented about this activity, a group of eight photographs dated to 1898 in the John Sloan Manuscript Collection evidence Sloan as a photographer. (figs. 3.9-16) He most likely made the photographs following his return to Philadelphia from New York, when he felt newly motivated to paint the city and

²⁶³ Sloan to Henri, October 30, 1898 in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 34.

²⁶⁴ Although the catalogue raisonné of Sloan's work dates *Philadelphia Stock Exchange* c. 1897-98 there is no hard evidence dating the work before 1898. As Rowland Elzea writes in the catalogue raisonné, very few of Sloan's works were dated at the time they were painted. When Sloan began making records of his work in 1916, he dated a number of the Philadelphia-period paintings inaccurately from memory. (Rowland Elzea, *John Sloan's Oil Paintings: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), 33.) Taking into consideration that he painted very little before 1898, and that they are nearly all portraits, I contend that Sloan painted *Philadelphia Stock Exchange* following his return to Philadelphia in October 1898. As this dissertation makes clear, Sloan's brief stay in New York marked a shift in his thinking, practice, and subject matter.

²⁶⁵ Henri's diary entry February 9, 1901, "Sloan's debut in paint, Pittsburgh & Phila ex. His state house-tugs---& theater front" Archives of American Art, reel 885.

²⁶⁶ Elzea, *John Sloan's Oil Paintings*.

probably considered photography as a tool towards that end. The opening of a photography exhibition at PAFA, the first Philadelphia Photographic Salon, coincided exactly with his return home, and may also explain his sudden interest in taking pictures.²⁶⁷ Sloan stood on the street to photograph pedestrians and bicyclists making their way around town. He walked to City Hall, snapping views with carriages and trollies. And, from the roof of his studio at 806 Walnut Street, he aimed his camera downward to Walnut Street Theater. His decision to paint and to photograph the city demonstrates that the ten weeks spent in New York had given Sloan new motivation; he had gained a new perspective. As in the studio, the camera functioned as a tool on the street and provided a fresh lens through which to see the city.

Once back in his controlled environment, where he felt “more like an artist in Philadelphia,” Sloan was finally ready to construct his version of the city in paint. His Philadelphia paintings share a relationship in color handling and mood to contemporary paintings by his colleagues such as Glackens’s *Philadelphia Landscape* (1893) (fig. 3.17) and Henri’s *Sansom Street, Philadelphia* (1897) (fig. 3.18). However, Sloan’s decision to concentrate on painting local, historic landmarks indicates different interests. Sloan didn’t just paint any generic landscape element; he painted specific and recognizable emblems

²⁶⁷ The first Philadelphia Photographic Salon opened at PAFA on October 24, 1898, just six days before Sloan’s letter to Henri announcing his return to Philadelphia. Organized by Alfred Stieglitz with the purpose of recognizing pictorial photography as fine art, the exhibition included works by such newcomers as Clarence H. White and Gertrude Käsebier. It was attended by over 13,000 people and was so popular that officials pushed the closing date from November 12 to 18. Considering the press garnered by the exhibition and its status at Philadelphia’s most prominent exhibition venue, it would have been nearly impossible for Sloan to miss it. The works on display, including Stieglitz’s *Scurrying Home* (1894) and Käsebier’s *Adoration* (1897), appear conservative next to Sloan’s urban photographic experiments. William Innes Homer, *Pictorial Photography in Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy’s Salons, 1898-1902* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1984), 13.

within the city and titled them accordingly. As Joyce K. Schiller and Heather Campbell Coyle have noted, “Locations were particularly important to the artist, whose titles often reference specific places. More often than not, these places are near his home, in his neighborhood, on streets that he traveled every day.”²⁶⁸ While the subjects of the paintings listed above are indeed in Sloan’s geographic vicinity, this chapter digs into the deeper motivations for his specific choices. Henri advised Sloan to engage with modern life, yet the first subjects Sloan chose to paint in Philadelphia are, in many respects, anathema to modernism and are bound up with period concerns for the city’s past and present regional identity as a historic city. However, Sloan’s execution of *Walnut Street Theater*, *Independence Hall*, and *City Hall* is entirely modern through his construction of drastically different formal compositional structures than previously seen. They subvert the picturesque spaces of Impressionists like William Merritt Chase, Childe Hassam, and his colleagues Henri, Glackens, George Luks, and Everett Shinn by appearing at once near and far, intimate and removed, static and mobile.

This chapter focuses on the patterns formed by Sloan’s renderings of *Philadelphia Stock Exchange* (c. 1898), *Walnut Street Theater*, *Philadelphia* (c. 1899-1900), *Independence Square*, *Philadelphia* (1900) and *East Entrance*, *City Hall*, *Philadelphia* (1901) to consider what Sloan understood about the city and wanted to communicate. An analysis of the historical and contemporary concerns bound up in painting these particular buildings at this moment in time makes clear the regionally conscious lens through which Sloan viewed the city, as a Philadelphia artist recently

²⁶⁸ Heather Campbell Coyle and Joyce K. Schiller, *John Sloan’s New York* (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, in association with Yale University Press, 2007), 24.

returned from New York. Sloan's outsider position, as both a newspaper illustrator and as an artist unable to live in New York (the art world's center), made him especially attuned to regional issues. The first paintings evidence the components Sloan had gathered in the newspaper room, the studio, and the street. He learned conceptual and compositional devices in Philadelphia and later carried them with him to New York, where they served as building blocks for works that would create a sensation and become icons of American modernism.

The Development of Urban Imagery in America

Representations of local urban scenes in American paintings were still an anomaly when Sloan took to the streets for his subjects in 1898. The few depictions of the city in the early 1800s were most often linked to genre, as in the works by Francis Guy, William Birch, and John Lewis Krimmel.²⁶⁹ Until the turn of the twentieth century, artists were implored to transcend the local in favor of forging a national or universal ideal of art. As Michele Bogart has written, the paucity of urban scenes produced in America extended from the pedagogy of art institutions, which never encouraged painters to paint the local, but to focus instead on the "bigger picture."²⁷⁰ Prior to the Civil War, Americans looked to the natural landscape to embody the shared values of the diverse nation. Picturesque and sublime views of the American landscape on both coasts

²⁶⁹ Patricia Hills, *The Painter's America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 2.

²⁷⁰ Michelle H. Bogart, "Art Scenes and the Urban Scene in New York City," in Jan Seidler Ramirez, ed., *Painting the Town: Cityscapes of New York, Paintings from the Museum of the City of New York* (New Haven and London: Museum of the City of New York in association with Yale University Press, 2000), 38.

contributed to the construction of a national identity, seen especially through work by the Hudson River School.²⁷¹ At mid-century, the Civil War, industrialization, and urbanization produced a growing nostalgia for pastoral imagery. With the growing taste for rural pictures, urban scene paintings were considered marginal and were slighted by early surveys of American painting.²⁷² In the 1870s and 1880s American painters took on more metropolitan subjects, but focused on leisure activities and bucolic elements in and around the city such as waterways and urban parks. Thomas Eakins's many depictions of rowers on the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia and William Merritt Chase's views of New York's parks, including *A City Park* (c. 1887) exemplify this trend. (fig. 3.19)

Pictures of the city streets appeared more frequently in the 1880s and 1890s in American Impressionist paintings. American artists who studied abroad picked up city subjects from French Impressionists like Claude Monet and Camille Pissarro. While American Impressionists Theodore Robinson and Julian Alden Weir occasionally portrayed the city, the most frequent painter of the city was Childe Hassam. Hassam's first picturesque paintings of city life in mid-1880s Boston echo the sensibilities of an illustrator while incorporating knowledge of past and present trends in European painting.²⁷³ For example, in *A City Fairyland* (1886) (fig. 3.20), Hassam poetically foregrounds pedestrians and carriages on a snow-covered street while veiling the built environment in an ethereal haze. Following his return from Europe in 1889, Hassam

²⁷¹ See Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

²⁷² Bogart cites Hartmann's *History of American Art* (1901), Isham's *History of American Painting* (1905), and Follette's *Art in America* (1929). The exceptions were Larkin, *Art and Life in America* (1949) and Brown, *American Painting* (1955).

²⁷³ H. Barbara Weinberg, *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 5.

settled in New York City and took up painting the city in earnest, creating views in different weather and seasons both at street level and viewed from above.²⁷⁴ By 1889 the leading critic Sadakichi Hartman would call Hassam New York's "street painter par excellence."²⁷⁵ H. Barbara Weinberg has written, "Hassam's escapist celebrations of New York highlight the most pleasing elements of attractive neighborhoods and their refined residents and convey the optimistic tone of contemporary accounts of the city's growth and energy."²⁷⁶ Different from Sloan's interests and the other so-called Ashcan artists, Hassam's genre scenes survey the fashionable areas of Gilded Age Manhattan. Whereas "Hassam respected and preserved the boundaries of nineteenth-century upper-class decorum," Sloan would test them.²⁷⁷

As stated in the opening to this chapter, Henri's influence set Sloan to painting the city in the late 1890s. As we've seen in previous chapters, Henri's absorption of the realist theories of Thomas Eakins via Thomas Anshutz at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (PAFA), combined with his study of European old masters like Rembrandt, Hals, and Velázquez, as well as his exposure to contemporary trends in Impressionism, led to his formulation of a modern philosophy on art that he willingly espoused to his colleagues. Inspired especially by the French concept of Baudelaire's *flâneur*, Henri famously advocated that artists go out into the city as "sketch hunters," to seek out

²⁷⁴ William Gerdtz, *Impressionist New York* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1994), 25-26.

²⁷⁵ Sadakichi Hartmann, "Art Talk," *The Criterion* (January 8, 1898), 17. Quoted in Weinberg, *Childe Hassam*, 88. That same year, Hassam contributed to the growing interest in characterizing and ranking American cities by publishing a portfolio in 1899 called *Three Cities*, containing fifty images of New York, Paris, and London in different media.

²⁷⁶ Weinberg, *Childe Hassam*, 92.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

subjects of interest “in and out of the city, going anywhere, everywhere.”²⁷⁸ He called not only for artists to represent modern life, but to do so in their own personal language through works that expressively revealed their honest, individual points of view. Henri’s followers, later collectively known as the “Ashcan School,” rejected academic subjects and conservative technique in favor of vivid impressions and ordinary encounters with diverse subjects and populations.²⁷⁹ But as we’ve seen in Chapter 1, Sloan was not an adept “sketch hunter.” Rather, Sloan’s talent involved seeing, processing, and reformulating ideas and compositions constructed from memory and imagination.

While images of the city were rare in early American fine art, they were ubiquitous as emblems of the tourist trade, which had been steadily mounting since the 1820s.²⁸⁰ Sloan’s first attempt to paint urban subjects coincides with the maturation of American tourist culture, when urban buildings could be found on postcards, maps, newspapers, and guidebooks. Although American cities were not initially endorsed as pleasurable places to enjoy leisure and were often thought of as ugly or offensive in their consumerism, many nonfiction works published between the 1830s and 1870s introduced different perspectives on the city. Scholar Catherine Cocks has analyzed the ways in which urban sketches and urban handbooks introduced urban tourism to American

²⁷⁸ Robert Henri, *The Art Spirit*, Compiled by Margery Ryerson (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923).7.

²⁷⁹ For a thorough history of the inception and subsequent use of the term “Ashcan School” see Robert Hunter, “The Rewards and Disappointments of the Ashcan School: The Early Career of Stuart Davis,” in *Stuart Davis: American Painter* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 31–45.

²⁸⁰ John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).; Richard H. Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

audiences.²⁸¹ Urban sketches frequently appeared in newspapers, magazines, and books, and often portrayed the built environment and its uses as an allegory for the urban confluences of class, ethnicity, and gender. Spurred by the rise of international expositions, urban handbooks offered meticulous descriptions of the city's government, populations, religious statistics, and private enterprises, and directed them to tourist sites around the city. The appearance of Appleton's *Illustrated Hand-book of American Cities*, for example, coincided with the opening of the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and differed from previous guidebooks in that it addressed itself chiefly to tourists in search of pleasurable travels.²⁸²

Along with the literature promoting urban tourism came a body of images picturing the city that was meant to excite people's imaginations and induce them to travel. One such media, postcards, experienced a "golden age" of production and popularity between 1895 and 1915, coinciding exactly with the commencement of the Ashcan artists' quest to represent the urban scene in paint.²⁸³ In the 1890s, postcards were sold everywhere, including train stations, hotels, restaurants, retail stores, fairs and tourist sites, and street vendor displays. The widespread use of photography and improved printing technologies led to better quality images and contributed to postcards' distribution and popularity. A unique form of visual and popular culture, postcards primarily featured cities and urban environments. Postcards' miniature, and thus portable, format meant that they were inherently fragmented from their urban referent, often

²⁸¹ Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 12.

²⁸² Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 39.

²⁸³ Christraud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, eds., *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 9, 13.

received by someone who had never visited the place.²⁸⁴ In this way, postcards represented a part to a whole. They forged an iconography of the city that was produced, bought, sold, sent, and received by a large number of the American and European publics. As postcards most often represented tourist sites that were either historical (very old) or modern (brand new), like Philadelphia's Stock Exchange, Walnut Street Theater, and Independence Square (very old) or City Hall (newly finished circa 1900), their viewers attached a kind of nostalgia to the media and frequently saved and collected them, instead of discarding them. As Jordana Mendelson and David Prochaska have written,

The postcard democratized [the collecting] activity and made it possible for women and children, working and middle classes, to participate in a celebration of what was being lost and what was being added to the cityscape. The postcard emerges as a mediator of modernity, a means to identify and possess the totality of the city at a time when it was in fact fragmenting physically and socially.²⁸⁵

One could reason that the Ashcan artists had a similar motivation for painting the city. In light of the postcard's value as a collectable fragment of the city and a ubiquitous representation of the city and its identity, this chapter uses postcards from the George Brightbill Collection (Library Company of Philadelphia) as a comparative with Sloan's inaugural attempts to picture the urban scene.

²⁸⁴ During his travels in the 1890s Henri frequently sent postcards to Sloan. They most frequently feature works of art from museums Henri had visited, such as the Prado. Sloan famously chastised Henri for sending him too many postcards in lieu of thoughtful letters. "Nothing but postcards from you so far, they are interesting so keep on firing them—but write every once in a while. I might say the same to myself, yes that's so." Sloan to Henri July 24, 1908, Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 183. For commentary on this activity, see Alexis Boylan, "Best Friends Forever? John Sloan, Robert Henri, and the Problem of Memory," in Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan's New York*, 183.

²⁸⁵ David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson, eds., *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), xii.

Picturing Philadelphia: Sloan's Paintings of the Quaker City

Philadelphia Stock Exchange

Sloan's *Philadelphia Stock Exchange* (fig. 3.1) is a peculiar painting, appearing at once claustrophobic and empty. The Greek Revival-style structure fills the left half of the canvas, cutting off the top of the structure's lantern. The right half, by contrast, opens up to a large, empty expanse of pavement. The picture is nearly devoid of life save for a lone carriage which is barely discernable at the far right. Dark tonalities in the staid foreground of the work contrast with a surprisingly light and more active sky.²⁸⁶ Energetic and varied strokes of light gray paint are modeled with shades of yellow, green, and purple. Still, it feels eerily quiet for a part of town intended to be bustling with activity. A series of long, straight brush strokes, heavy with dark gray and brown pigment, construct the building, giving it a solid quality and a nearly anthropomorphic presence. The painting's format echoes the traditional format used in postcards (fig. 3.21), but Sloan zooms in closer, forcing us to confront the architecture, and portrays the city corner even less busy than trade images. The only figure with whom the viewer can connect is one of the building's stone lions. He seems to guard his territory at the extreme left of the canvas. His hollow, foreboding eye sockets dare us to penetrate the painting—they may even warn us away. Why such a solemn picture? A consideration of Sloan's personal circumstances as well as the larger histories of the two cities' development assists in understanding the artist's choices.

Designed by William Strickland and built between 1832 and 1834, the Merchant's Exchange, as it was also known, was the first stock exchange in the country.

²⁸⁶ I would like to thank Emily Shapiro for her generous feedback on this section.

When it opened, Philadelphia was the picture of the nation's growth and prosperity. The city in the 1830s was the "Athens of America: in its public institutions, in its benevolent and charitable societies, in its literary reputation We are superior, without a doubt to every other City in the Union."²⁸⁷ Histories of Philadelphia describe the Stock Exchange in its heyday as "the headquarters of life and action, the pulsating heart of excitement, enterprise and patriotism All Philadelphia ranged around this old building for a quarter of a century, and it was the scene of many excitements."²⁸⁸ It provided a meeting place for merchants to barter or sell their cargo and merchandise, and its location and various functions made it a hotbed for the city's networks of information and business services, from the post office on the ground floor to the mercantile reading room. Among its modern appliances during these early years was the functional lantern on the building's roof. Although the lantern was ordinarily only for decorative purposes, the Exchange's lantern contained a heliograph (a device that directed the sun's rays) to serve the communication needs of the brokers and traders and allowed views of the harbor that made it possible to identify arriving ships. It also likely operated as the signaling tower between Philadelphia and New York, relaying financial information between the country's two most important markets.²⁸⁹ Located on a triangular plot at Third and Dock Streets, Sloan could have easily passed the Exchange on a daily walk, just five blocks east of his studio at 806 Walnut Street. However, considering all of the other possibilities

²⁸⁷ Agnes Addison Gilchrist, "The Philadelphia Exchange: William Strickland, Architect," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 86, which quotes from *Philadelphia Album* (May 14, 1831), 156.

²⁸⁸ Westcott, "Historic Mansions of Philadelphia," quoted in Andrew Wallace Barnes, *History of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, Banks, and Interests* (Philadelphia: Cornelius Baker, 1911), 1.

²⁸⁹ Domenic Vitiello, *The Philadelphia Stock Exchange and the City It Made* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 91.

around town, why would he choose this as his first painting of Philadelphia, and so recently after he returned from New York?

When Sloan painted the *Stock Exchange* sometime in late 1898, most of his closest colleagues had either moved to New York or were working abroad. Luks left Philadelphia to illustrate for the *New York World* in 1896; Glackens followed soon after to join the same paper; Shinn joined them the next year. Henri left for Paris in June 1898 after eloping with Linda Craige, one of his students. The Henris' trip lasted fourteen months and upon their return the couple moved to New York. Sloan and Henri corresponded frequently when they weren't in the same city. The Stock Exchange contained a post office on its ground floor until 1900, making it possible that Sloan made frequent trips there to send letters to his friends. As someone who had lost his colleagues to New York and had found himself unable to adapt there, Sloan may have been inspired to paint the structure that served as the means of connection to his friends and as a vessel for communication.

Urban and social histories articulate a similarly sad story of Philadelphia's losses to New York. By the late 1890s New York had long usurped Philadelphia in financial dominance. Furthermore, Philadelphia's first "skyscrapers" were rising around the new City Hall (still under construction) downtown (just a mile west of Independence Hall at Fifth and Chestnut), which was emerging into the city's new financial district.²⁹⁰ The

²⁹⁰ I would like to thank Kathy Foster for encouraging me to think about this. The first Philadelphia skyscraper was the John F. Betz Building of 1891, located on the northwest corner of Broad and Chestnut (now replaced by the Philadelphia National Bank.) Others included the Land Title Building of 1898/1902 on the southwest corner; the Bellevue-Stratford (1904) and the Real Estate Trust building (1905) on the southeast corner. However, all "skyscrapers" were kept

Stock Exchange moved in and out of the old Merchant's Exchange in search of better success, first in October 1888 to the Drexel Building (southeast corner of Wall and Broad Streets in the financial hub) and shifting back again in 1900.²⁹¹ When the Stock Exchange company moved, it left its Dock Street building a relic of its former glory. Even postcards printed circa 1900 identified the structure as the "Merchants' Old Stock Exchange." (fig. 3.21) For someone considering the merits of Philadelphia versus New York in his own life, perhaps the subject of the Stock Exchange conjured the theme of competition between the capital markets of Philadelphia and New York. The Stock Exchange company moved locally to a different building, but the market also shifted nationally, in 1898 New York was the financial center in America.

Sloan's painting of an old building devoid of life also differed from the kind of works his colleagues were painting. Henri's *Sansom Street, Philadelphia* (fig. 3.18) and the Parisian *Dans la Rue* (1897) (fig. 3.22) depict plentiful activity on the street. Similarly, Glackens's *Figures in a Park* (1895) (fig. 3.23), and *Outside the Guttenberg Race Track (New Jersey)* (1897) (fig. 3.24), along with Shinn's *Cross Streets of New York* (1899) (fig. 3.25) capture forms of leisure, entertainment, and dynamic drama. The only discernable life present in Sloan's silent, static *Philadelphia Stock Exchange* is the carriage in the distance and the sculpture of the lion. But since the Stock Exchange company had left the building, the lion had no business to guard, even he seems to have fossilized into a remnant of the past. By painting an old building that had lost its sense of

just below Calder's statue of William Penn on City Hall's tower. Russell F. Weigley, *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 487.

²⁹¹ Vitiello, *Philadelphia Stock Exchange*, 115, 132. And this author's email correspondence with Vitiello, January 2016. I am grateful to Domenic Vitiello for his help in clarifying the chronology of this building's history.

purpose, Sloan probably considered the place and dominance of Philadelphia, and his own purpose in that city as well.

Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia

In his second painting of Philadelphia's built environment, Sloan painted the *Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia* (c. 1899-1900).²⁹² (fig. 3.4) In close vicinity to his studio, just a block away, Sloan could see the theater from his roof and captured it in a photograph (fig. 3.9) As I detailed in Chapter 2, Sloan and his colleagues had a keen affection for the theater. In this painting, however, Sloan's interest lies not with the activities inside the theater, but with its exterior. He chose a closely cropped view of the façade, perceived as if the painter stood in the street observing the crowds as they filtered out after an evening show. Although difficult to make out under the cloak of night and dark varnish, figures in long, grey, and black coats and hats appear huddled together at the theater's entrance. But instead of focusing on the theatergoers, as one might expect an artist charged with representing city life, Sloan faithfully depicts the details of the structure's façade and the newly installed electric streetlights that illuminate it. As the brightest points in the painting and a centralized focal point, these large, square lights, fashioned by dabs of brilliant white paint, shine our attention onto the skeletal fire escape instead of the crowd.²⁹³

²⁹² The catalogue raisonné says that Sloan's file card system (created by Sloan sometime before 1916) dates this painting to 1899 while his consignment book (created by Sloan in 1916) dates it to 1900. Although the catalogue raisonné accepts 1900 as the date, since there is no evidence either way, it would be more accurate to refer to the painting as circa 1899-1900.

²⁹³ Comparisons between photographs taken in the 1880s and 1890s reveal these to be electric instead of gaslights. See figs. 3.27 and 3.28.

A painting of a fire escape would have resonated with turn-of-the-century audiences. In the late nineteenth century, the risk of fire intensified and changed as cities grew taller, were more densely populated, and buildings contained new combustible materials.²⁹⁴ The threat of fire was a serious fear, especially in crowded theaters. Between 1799 and 1871, one in every three theaters in the United States was destroyed by fire.²⁹⁵ Sloan's awareness of this threat is made clear by one of his very first on-the-spot sketches for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which illustrates a disastrous 1892 fire that ravaged the Central Theatre, located just one block east of the Walnut. (fig. 3.26a, b) The front-page headlines announce,

The Central Theatre Destroyed by Fire for the Fourth Time/Complete Destruction of the Great Eight-Story Times Annex/A Row of Stores on Eighth Street Fall Beneath the Huge Walls/Panic Among the Audience Which Nearly Filled the Theatre/Scores of Men and Boys Injured While Endeavoring to Escape/Many Miraculous Escapes Among Employees [*sic*] and Troupe.²⁹⁶

The front page features three drawings illustrating the event. At the top of the page the largest drawing is signed by R. C. Swayze and titled, "In Front of the Central Theatre." A group of men with their backs to us watch the fire blaze from across the street. A second drawing below, smaller and unsigned, depicts the interior of the theater, crudely drawn, describing the frightful moment when the crowd rushed from their seats to the theater's exits: "Escaping From the Burning Building." The third image, lower and smaller still, is signed "Sloan." Titled, "At Eighth and Sansom," it probably portrays the eight-story *Philadelphia Times* Annex building. Coarsely executed, the drawing lacks any

²⁹⁴ Mark Tebeau, *Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800-1950* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 5.

²⁹⁵ Andrew Davis, *America's Longest Run: A History of the Walnut Street Theater* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010): 3, 177.

²⁹⁶ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 28, 1892, 1.

perspectival depth and displays little attempt to depict the terrifying activity of the event, which included dramatic flames, crumbling walls, and hundreds of bodies stampeding for safety. Sloan gives the bare minimum by drawing a telephone pole and downed wires in front of a skeletal, presumably still-burning structure. As we have seen in Chapter 1, this drawing typifies Sloan's inadequacy at on-the-spot sketching and capturing action on the scene, marking him as better suited for decorative design and scenes drawn from memory or imagination.

On the night of the Central Street Theatre fire, the Walnut's theater was also packed with patrons awaiting that evening's show. The manager made an announcement that the show was canceled due to an illness in the theater troupe. The patrons filed out in a safe and orderly manner only to discover the inferno next door.²⁹⁷ The event inspired the Walnut to revise its safety measures; they built new firewalls above the cornices, installed a new fire escape, and replaced the gas fixtures with electric ones.²⁹⁸ Archival photographs document the aesthetic change in the lights and the theater's façade. (figs. 3.27-28) In his painting, Sloan positions us in direct confrontation with the electric lights, which illuminate not the patrons of the theater, but the façade of the theater and the fire escape. That the nocturnal scene is punctuated by bright orange and red strikes of color, eerily reminiscent of flames, seems to hint at the danger of possible conflagration. Sloan's juxtaposition of the shadowy crowd outside the theater, beneath the bright electric lights and adjacent to the orange interior may reference, even subconsciously, his

²⁹⁷ Davis, *America's Longest Run*, 177.

²⁹⁸ The 1890s brought a new fervor to the fire insurance industry, which began to advocate that proactive measures be taken against fire hazards. Tebeau, *Eating Smoke*, 198.

first experience capturing a real experience of a theater eight years earlier, as a struggling newspaper artist outside the ravaged Central Theatre.

In his painting, Sloan's concentration on the electric streetlights and the fire escape also signals his attention to conditions of modernity.²⁹⁹ First, the Walnut's adaptation of the fire safety measures point to the changing conditions of urban life. Between 1890 and 1900, Philadelphia's population had grown from 1,046,964 to 1,293,647 residents.³⁰⁰ More people meant more crowds and, presumably, more visitors to local theaters. Moreover, the 1890s saw the introduction of film for mass audiences, forever altering the entertainment business.³⁰¹ Sloan, however, was not an easy convert to the new cinematic medium. As Michael Lobel has convincingly argued, Sloan "saw his art, particularly his painting, not as consonant with the cinematic experience but rather opposed or at least offering an alternative to it in varied and important ways."³⁰² Sloan often preferred more artisanal forms of art and art-making over more fashionable modes. The artist did not adjust well to change and initially resisted film, as exemplified in a scathing review of the Vitascope feature, *The Widow Jones*, published in *The Chap-Book* in 1896 (fig. 3.29):

Now I want to smash The Vitascope. The name of the thing is in itself a horror, but that may pass. Its manifestations are worse. The Vitascope, be it known, is a sort of magic lantern which reproduced movement. Whole scenes are enacted on its screen. La Loie dances, elevated trains come and go, and the thing is mechanically ingenious, and a pretty toy for that great child, the public. Its

²⁹⁹ I would like to thank Michael Lobel for his counsel regarding this interpretation.

³⁰⁰ Nathaniel Burt and Wallace E. Davis, "The Iron Age, 1876-1905," in Russell F. Weigley, *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, 488.

³⁰¹ For films in Philadelphia see Weigley, *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*, 518.; Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990).

³⁰² Lobel, *Drawing on Illustration*, 111.

managers were not satisfied with this, however, and they bravely set out to eclipse in vulgarity all previous theatrical attempts.

In a recent play called *The Widow Jones* you may remember a famous kiss which Miss May Irwin bestowed on a certain John C. Rice, and vice versa. Neither participant is physically attractive, and the spectacle of their prolonged pasturing on each other's lips was hard to bear. When only life-size it was pronounced beastly. But that was nothing to the present sight. Magnified to Gargantuan proportions and repeated three times over it is absolutely disgusting. All delicacy or remnant of charm seems gone from Miss Irwin, and the performance comes very near being indecent in its emphasized vulgarity.³⁰³

Sloan reacted to the technical mechanics of the form (“a pretty toy”) and the aesthetic indecency (the “vulgarity” of the subject matter). The strength of Sloan’s reaction indicates the degree of his concern for the changes occurring in visual culture.³⁰⁴ He ultimately evolved to enjoy film, and his diaries demonstrate the frequency with which he saw them in New York. At this moment, however, it seems he felt something of the traditional form of theater was threatened. In this way, Sloan’s choice to paint the oldest theater in Philadelphia evidences his adulation of the past through the guise of the built environment.

This attention to conditions of modernity and dichotomies of past and present may be bolstered further through the comparison with postcards. Like his composition for the Stock Exchange, but even more dramatically, Sloan pulls us in to present a more intimate encounter with the architecture. Yet, an evaluation of Sloan’s *Walnut Street Theater* composition against postcards (fig. 3.30) printed around the same time reveals additional concerns for history and authenticity. Zooming in closely serves not only to focus attention on the building, but also allows the artist to crop out the building’s modern addition: the corner cigar store. Relatedly, in the upper right corner of one postcard the

³⁰³ [John Sloan], “Notes,” *The Chap-Book*, (July 15, 1896), 239-40.

³⁰⁴ I am grateful to Beth Turner for pointing this out to me.

red ink reads: "Philadelphia Pa. Walnut St. Theatre (Oldest in America)." ³⁰⁵ Sloan's alternative title for the painting was *The Old Walnut Street Theater*. ³⁰⁶

Indeed, the Walnut Street Theater was, and still is, the oldest theater in the country. However, in the 1890s, its mature, senior status was nothing about which to boast. Not only were live theatrical performances threatened by the new technologies of film, but the Walnut Street Theater had lost its stature to newer and more fashionable theaters in town; The Broad Street Theater was considered the leader and the Chestnut Street Opera claimed the most fashionable patrons, while the Walnut found its niche as a family house, relying heavily on comedy. ³⁰⁷ Although Philadelphia began as the nation's leader in theater arts at the dawn of the nineteenth century, the theatrical center moved to New York in the 1830s following the financial collapse of several of Philadelphia's theaters. ³⁰⁸ By representing the Walnut Street Theater on canvas, Sloan immortalized another structure that, like the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, had lost its standing to the march of modern progress and to the metropolis of New York.

Independence Square, Philadelphia

In Sloan's third effort to paint the urban scene, he painted Philadelphia's famous State House, Independence Hall. (fig. 3.5) Although artists traditionally represented the building from the side to showcase its long horizontal façade, Sloan takes a vertical format and isolates the central element of the building, seen from the rear. The structure

³⁰⁵ Other postcards evidence a similar status for the Philadelphia Stock Exchange. Several examples bear the caption "Merchant's Old Stock Exchange." George Brightbill Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia.

³⁰⁶ Elzea, *John Sloan's Oil Paintings*, 52.

³⁰⁷ Davis, *America's Longest Run*, 3.

³⁰⁸ Jack Poggi, *Theater in America: The Impact of Economic Forces, 1870-1967* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), 3, 8.

sits high in the composition, leaving a broad swath of the empty pathway to dominate the foreground. Several groups of figures surround a flower garden. Seemingly bewitched by this pastoral element in the city, they huddle together and lean towards the garden's fence. Turned away from us, their emotions are a mystery. Hovering directly above them is the rear façade of the State House. The dark door is positioned slightly off-center, distorting the otherwise symmetrical uniformity of the Georgian-style structure. Sloan deviates from conventional representations of the building again by denying us the view of the building's iconic bell-tower and clock, as well as its arcaded wings. Rising tree branches obscure the face of the clock and prevent a clear view of the small amount of cloudy sky. The low perspective, severe cropping, aloof pedestrians, and limited palette evoke a rather somber spring day. The slight flowering of the branches and orange pops of colors from spring outfits add small touches of animation to an otherwise subdued scene.

Again, considering this painting and its subject against art historical precedents and contemporary events adds significance to the artist's choice. As an artist, Sloan would have associated Independence Hall not only as a site for politics, but also as the location of one of the country's first art academies and art museums. In 1786, Charles Willson Peale founded one of the nation's first art academies with his Peale's Museum.³⁰⁹ It inhabited the second floor of the state house from 1802 to 1827 in what was called the "long room," seen in Peale's painting, *The Artist in His Museum* (1822) (fig. 3.31). The long room showcased what Peale called such "Wonderful Works of

³⁰⁹ *In This Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976* (A Special Bicentennial Exhibition Organized by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976), 15.

Nature” as stuffed birds, insects, and fossils, as well Peale’s portraits of Revolutionary War Heroes that lined the ceiling. PAFA acquired *The Artist in His Museum* in 1878 and most likely had it on display in the galleries during the 1890s for Sloan, other artists, and the public to view. By picturing Independence Hall, Sloan placed himself within an artistic lineage that began with the Peale family and blossomed out to associations with other well-known depictions of the civic site.

Sloan’s early experiences working in bookstores and print shops and his general savvy as an artist would have ensured his awareness of the few historical attempts by artists to record city life, and the frequency with which they pictured Independence Hall. Sloan would have known William Russell Birch’s famous portfolio of prints illustrating *The City of Philadelphia...as it appeared in the Year 1800*. Among his thirty engraved views of Philadelphia, Birch dedicated three compositions to the State House, including a view from the back. (fig. 3.32) Sloan would have also been familiar with John Lewis Krimmel’s famed *Election Day* of 1815. (fig. 3.33) Seen in comparison to John McRae’s 1776 engraving (fig. 3.34), these views show the poor condition of the building’s preservation. The original steeple had rotted away, and the original arcades flanking the central structure were demolished and replaced by rows of offices. It was not until the Marquis de Lafayette, a hero of the American Revolution, was welcomed as a visitor to Philadelphia in 1824 that locals began referring to the building as Independence Hall, and began to take more pride in it as a historic structure.

Independence Hall’s preservation was a widespread contemporary topic in the 1890s, when Sloan traversed the city searching for subjects to paint. A newly restored Independence Hall opened to the public on the Fourth of July, 1898, just two weeks

before Sloan departed Philadelphia to attempt to live in New York. (figs. 3.35-36)

Thousands toured it to celebrate the nation's birthday. The city's newspapers praised the beauty of the renovated interiors and façade, noting its embodiment of the Colonial style.

Accounts radiated appreciation for the building's aesthetics as well as its historic associations.³¹⁰ *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* raved,

As it stood in the year of the nation's birth, Independence Hall will again be revealed on Monday. Diligent research, skillful workmanship and liberal expenditure of money have made the most precious edifice in all America appear as it did in 1776. Dignified Colonial beauty has displaced the incongruous mass for years known as State House row. Graceful arches curve over where former makeshift structures detracted from the appearance of the central building. Through the captivating arcades at either side of Independence Hall the green, richly be-treed gardens can be seen from Chestnut Street.³¹¹

In light of the close cropping of the building in Sloan's painting, it's interesting to surmise if, like *Walnut Street Theater*, Sloan deliberately chose to include only the original parts of the building, leaving out most of the newly renovated steeple and side arcades.

Postcards again provide a useful foil in assessing Sloan's compositional choices. Turning again to the George Brightbill Collection, one finds a number of horizontal examples depicting the front of the State House, but about twice as many take a vertical perspective from the rear of the site, as Sloan did. Of the group featuring views from behind, nearly all of them also include the tulip garden. (fig. 3.37a, b, c) In this way, both Sloan and the postcard designer participate in the typical nineteenth-century practice of privileging gardens and parks within the city in order to emphasize the city's picturesque

³¹⁰ See *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 2, 1898, 8; and *The Philadelphia Press*, July 3, 1898, 23. And earlier, see *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 16, 1894, 9.

³¹¹ *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, July 2, 1898, 8.

and genteel aspects.³¹² The postcards' compositions commonly center on Independence Hall with the tulips in the foreground and include few pedestrians, if any, clearly focusing the viewer on the built environment. While Sloan's compositions in these early paintings also privilege the architecture over the pedestrians, one can see his nascent interest in portraying the diverse urban populations celebrated in his New York pictures.

The figures in *Independence Square, Philadelphia*, however sparse, are the closest objects to the viewer's eye. The tallest figure, turned away from us, may signify a working-class person, or perhaps a caretaker of the children who surround a pram. The eye moves from the head of the tallest figure to the blackened portal of the building. In this work, and in Sloan's other Philadelphia urban scenes, the figures and the building compete for attention and focus in the picture. Sloan commented on the Philadelphia pictures later in life: "I won't say that some of my paintings like 'Independence Square' were not socially conscious. I had been watching the people who looked at the beds of tulips, amazed that flowers were growing in the city, But who would know now that I was thinking of that when I had the idea of painting that scene."³¹³

³¹² Anna O. Marley, ed., *The Artist's Garden: American Impressionism and the Garden Movement*, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

³¹³ Full quotation: In Notes, Helen Farr Sloan quotes Sloan as having said about *Independence Square*: "Sometimes [in the 1890s] on Sunday Glackens and a few others would go sketching. We would take a trolley into the country and then walk for miles 'looking for a subject.' In other words, we were looking for a piece of nature that looked like someone else's picture. Later, we began to paint things of the city because they were interesting as life, and art was secondary. I won't say that some of my paintings like 'Independence Square' were not socially conscious. I had been watching the people who looked at the beds of tulips, amazed that flowers were growing in the city, But who would know now that I was thinking of that when I had the idea of painting that scene." (202-3) Quotation from June 15, 1901 letter from Henri to Sloan given in Grant Holcomb, *Focus I: John Sloan, "The Wake of the Ferry II"* (San Diego: Timken Art Gallery, 1984), 110, is actually from a letter from Sloan to Henri of November 1900, Yale.

Another way of getting at Sloan's motivation for painting well-known Philadelphia landmarks is through other visual precedents for series representing the built environment. Could it have crossed Sloan's mind, one hundred years later, to create an updated version of Birch or Krimmel's depictions? As mentioned previously, Sloan would have known the hugely popular portfolio of prints, *The City of Philadelphia, 1800* created by the English artist William Russell Birch and his son, Thomas Birch. Consisting of twenty-eight engraved plates, the Birches set out to describe the capital city of the United States through multiple public and private buildings. When William Birch emigrated to Philadelphia in 1794, it was the largest city in North America, and the cultural, as well as political capital of the fledgling country. Birch captured Philadelphia at a pivotal moment at the end of the 1790s, before the removal of the federal government in 1800 to Washington, D.C. Originally titled, "Philadelphia dissected or the Metropolis of America," Birch's arrangement of Philadelphia sites demonstrated the mercantile strength and cultural richness of the city. Within a decade, however, Philadelphia would lose its place not only as the capital, but its status as the largest metropolis and most active port to New York City.

As Emily T. Cooperman has written, Birch's publications "marked the beginning of an era in which landscape representation became a significant aspect of the nation's sense of itself."³¹⁴ The rivalry between cities at the turn of the century, especially Philadelphia, New York City, and Washington, for commercial and political power was intense. Cooperman writes that Birch's message, through the narrative of urban views,

³¹⁴ Emily Cooperman and Lea Carson Sherk, *William Birch: Picturing the American Scene* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

was dual. It both promoted a positive view of Philadelphia as “a modern, developed, national, civilized place with a strong, infinitely expandable commercial foundation,” while simultaneously containing a memorial or mournful nuance for those viewers with a more intimate knowledge of Philadelphia’s history.³¹⁵ Without much description from Birch, virtually all of the plates can be interpreted as either celebrating the city’s history or mourning the glory of its past.³¹⁶ The same can be said for Sloan’s paintings of Philadelphia.

Other renderings of the State House in fine art occur in history paintings, however, artists relegated the building to a supporting role. Historian Charlene Mires writes that, with the exceptions of Birch and Krimmel, most artists focused on the historic actions taking place inside the State House, rather than outside. Artists were more concerned with producing accurate portraits than with faithfully replicating the rooms where the events occurred. To be sure, these artists were not in Philadelphia when the events occurred in 1776 and so their works were based on imagination rather than documentation. Mires argues, however, that despite their inaccuracy, pictures of the State House by Robert Edge Pine, Edward Savage, and John Trumbull contributed to an iconography of the Revolutionary era that importantly shaped public memory in the nineteenth century.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Ibid., 105.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 109.

³¹⁷ Charlene Mires, *Independence Hall in American Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 61-62.

East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia

When plans were accepted for a new City Hall to be constructed on Center Square in 1870, the image of Independence Hall was again revitalized, this time as both a symbolic and visual foil to City Hall. With the news that the city's government offices would be transferred from Independence Hall to the new City Hall, artists immediately began to picture the relocation of the city's seat from one building to the other. City Hall became a visual symbol for Philadelphia before completion of the building, most notably in literature to commemorate the Centennial Exhibition, held in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park in 1876 to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the nation's birthday. As the first world's fair in the United States, the celebration of the country's progress since 1776 galvanized an important moment for Independence Hall as well.

Such published materials covering the fair as periodicals and guidebooks, as well as souvenirs and ephemera issued countless images of Independence Hall, where it appeared as an artifact of the American Revolution. A page from *The Daily Graphic* commemorated the Centennial celebration by presenting illustrations of Philadelphia's public buildings within a triumphal architectural motif. (fig. 3.38) Titled, "A Free Nation's Progress," it was meant to illustrate,

by symbol and statement a memorial of our country's history. . . . The designer of this ornate work proposed to illustrate a century of American progress by contrasting an old historic building with a representative modern edifice—assuming architecture to be an exponent character and state of those who build.³¹⁸

³¹⁸ "A Free Nation's Progress: A Novel Representation of the Prosperity of a Century," *The Daily Graphic: An Illustrated Evening Newspaper*, December 2, 1875, 249.

Independence Hall appears diminutive in a register above John McArthur's yet-to-be-constructed City Hall. Similarly, the cover of a Philadelphia guidebook prepared in advance of the Centennial, *A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania including Fairmount, the Wissahickon, and other Romantic Localities, with the Cities and Landscapes of the State. A Pictorial Representation of Scenery, Architecture, Life, Manners and Character* (1875) (fig. 3.39), exemplifies the symbolic transfer of Independence Hall to City Hall in pictorial terms.³¹⁹ In a scene meant to picture the various spaces the titles enlist, a tree growing up from a landscape frames an imposed vignette of City Hall over that of Independence Hall, only visible by its tower, which reticently peeks out from behind. The Second-Empire-French-style City Hall's physical displacement and concealment of the Georgian red brick church-design of Independence Hall iconographically manifests a history of the city's urban progress, at once honoring the historic state house and anticipating great success and hope for the future in the sketch for the crowning achievement of Philadelphia's built environment. City Hall continued to dominate Philadelphia's pictorial identity for the next thirty years, as exemplified by a cover Sloan designed for *The Philadelphia Press's* 1897 almanac (fig. 3.40).

Spanning four acres, with seven floors, some seven hundred rooms, and four massive vaulted entrances, Philadelphia's colossal City Hall building was, and is still the

³¹⁹ Edward Strahan, ed., *A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Including Fairmount, the Wissahickon, and Other Romantic Localities, with the Cities and Landscapes of the State. A Pictorial Representation of Scenery, Architecture, Life, Manners and Character* (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane, & Scott and J.W. Lauderbach, 1875).

largest municipal building in the country, and perhaps the world.³²⁰ (fig. 3.41) The decadence of the building's scale and style confused a city in the midst of a depression. The elaborate architecture modeled after the Palais des Tuileries and the new Louvre seemed bizarre for a population founded on Quaker morals of simplicity and quietude. Contemporary critics did not hesitate to express their hatred for the building that took so long to build. As scholar Bertha Adams has written, reviews of the architectural aesthetics of City Hall during its construction in the 1880s ranged from praise to scorn and turned mostly negative by the time it was completed, when the Second Empire style was long out of fashion.³²¹ The majority of the press's criticism stemmed from widespread aversion to the extravagant cost of the project and the political misuse of public funds. The *Philadelphia Times* proclaimed it "A hideous waste. . . . so vile that it would only be a public service to blow it into fragments with dynamite." The building's sculpture was described as grotesque, like nothing on earth except for the "objects that we sometimes see bottled in a medical museum."³²² The construction progress was constantly in the newspapers, especially when the monumental, twenty-seven ton, thirty-seven-foot-tall, cast-iron sculpture of William Penn created by Alexander Milne Calder was lifted to the top of the structure's 548-foot tower in 1894. The noted essayist Agnes Repplier, in her 1898 book, *Philadelphia: The Place and the People* commented,

It must ever be a matter for regret that the City Hall, commonly called the Public Buildings, should represent the most hopeless period in the history of Philadelphia's architecture, and that its only claim to distinction should be the marvelous manner in which it combines bulk with sterling insignificance

³²⁰ John Andrew Gallery, ed., *Philadelphia Architecture: A Guide to the City*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: Foundation for Architecture, 1994), 67.

³²¹ Bertha Adams, "'To Tell the Story of Our Civilization ...': Interpreting the Cultural Stage Afforded by Philadelphia's City Hall" MA thesis (Temple University, 2000), 66.

³²² *Philadelphia Times*, June 16, 1876 quoted in Adams, "To Tell the Story," 75-76.

On every side the decorations are either mediocre or painfully grotesque; and in murky corridors, that look as if they ought to lead to prisons hidden from the light of day, ugly twisted forms writhe in unseemly attitudes, as though struggling to escape from such depressing and melancholy gloom.³²³

These quotations demonstrate that, although originally lauded for its embodiment of progress and modernity, City Hall was an anachronism by the time it was completed.

The construction of Philadelphia's City Hall paralleled the thirty-year life of John Sloan, beginning in 1871, the year of Sloan's birth, and reached completion in 1901, the year Sloan painted its image. Was Sloan's painting of City Hall (fig. 3.8) an homage to his personal association with the building as much as it was an acknowledgement of its pictorial surrogacy for Philadelphia? As described in the introduction to this manuscript, when Sloan first contemplated moving from Philadelphia to New York in 1898, he likened his departure to the iconic sculpture of William Penn in a letter to Henri, writing, "Surely tis as tho' the bronze creation of the Elder Calder should leave his perch on the City Hall."³²⁴ William Penn served as the personification of the city in diverse media, and was even illustrated by Sloan himself on *The Philadelphia Press*. (figs. 3.42-43) Sloan's self-comparison to the statue of the city's founder demonstrates his attachment to his home city, yet intriguingly, his painted version of City Hall neglects any notion of the monumental tower or sculpture above his carefully selected view. As the title indicates, Sloan chose to isolate City Hall's East Entrance as the backdrop for Philadelphia city life. Among the cacophony of projecting corner pavilions, mansard dormer roofs, and 250 relief sculptures, Sloan focused his attention on a single entrance portal, a passageway,

³²³ Agnes Repplier, *Philadelphia: The Place and the People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898), 374-375.

³²⁴ Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 27.

framed by its large-scale paired columns. Pedestrians and vehicles pepper the stage-like space in front of City Hall's east façade. We see a cart filled with straw, groups of pedestrians strolling, horse-drawn carriages, a Quaker woman with a child, and passengers on a red trolley. Sloan took photographs of the painting as it progressed and sent them to Henri.³²⁵ (fig. 3.44) Henri responded,

It pleases me mightily just as it is—fine value of height, and carrying up. Cuts off much to my taste and is sure to come out a rival of the “square” if you get the figures below to give as much of that eternal business of life—going in and coming out, as you got the eternal park loitering sense in the other It seems to me that you will surely get another good thing out of it.³²⁶

Perhaps as a result of this critique Sloan added more figures, the horse-drawn carriage, and the trolley. This variety of both modern and antiquated modes of transportation again speaks to Sloan's attention to conditions of modernity. In mid-1890s Philadelphia, electric trolleys became the typical mode for middle-class transport, and between 1892 and 1897 they largely replaced all horse-drawn vehicles.³²⁷ That these horse-drawn vehicles were a thing of the past by 1901 perhaps gestures to Sloan's nostalgia for a simpler time when urbanites depended on animals instead of machines.

It seems Sloan attempted to include a variety of types of people outside Philadelphia's City Hall, which foreshadows the social diversity of his New York pictures. (figs. 3.45a, b) Directly in front of the arch a man in a white suit and bowler hat appears as a street vendor. To the right of him, an upper-class woman wearing a

³²⁵ Sloan to Henri, May 28, 1901: “I have dropped attempt at portrait and am working now on the City Hall doorway which I spoke of having in mind. I will enclose a photograph which I made of it yesterday. Let me know if it looks well to you.” in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 51.

³²⁶ Henri to Sloan, June 15, 1901, in *Ibid.*, 53.

³²⁷ John Henry Hepp IV, *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876-1926* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 30.

fashionable pink-ish white dress walks toward the entrance while, to the right of her, a beggar woman sits up against the structure's pillar. At the center and to the left of the carriage, a pair of elderly women in dark dresses serves as the Victorian foil to the younger fashionable woman, perhaps she represents the "new woman." At the edge of the painting's foreground the woman in Quaker garb escorting a child reminds the viewer of Philadelphia's history and lingering identity as the Quaker City.

According to historian Emily Constance Cline, Quaker clothing had come to symbolize early Pennsylvania by the time of the nation's Centennial in 1876. "At the turn of the twentieth century," when Sloan painted this image, "Quakers were using historical Quaker dress in pageants and exhibits to help re-connect the generations and divisions in Quaker Meetings. Around the same time, the image of a Quaker man came to adorn oatmeal boxes, promoting a superior quality product, which remains familiar today."³²⁸ The year Sloan created this painting also marked a renewed interest in Quaker clothing with the publication of Amelia Mott Gummere's *The Quaker: A Study in Costume* (1901). As Cline explains, Gummere's history of the development of Quaker costume also had a political agenda to educate young Quakers about the past as she saw it: "Gummere's agenda and antiquarian writing style further emphasize the impact of the Colonial Revival on her scholarship."³²⁹ In the 1890s less than one percent of the population was Quaker, making their presence largely obsolete. By including and foregrounding the image of a Quaker woman in traditional dress, Sloan not only showed an interest in diverse social types but a concern for the specific population that made

³²⁸ Emily Constance Cline, "Fashioning Quaker Identity: Nineteenth-Century Women's Clothing in the Friends' Historical Association Collection." (MA thesis, University of Delaware, 2005), 4.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

Philadelphia unique—the population for which William Penn founded his “greene countrie towne.”

Although we can identify a spectrum of social types and a range of ages in Sloan’s City Hall painting, the racial diversity of the city appears to be missing. By 1880 Philadelphia’s foreign-born residents constituted twenty-four percent of the total population. Although this percentage ensures that the immigrant population was noticeable, it was a significantly lower number than New York and Chicago, which each had forty percent. The Irish dominated Philadelphia’s immigrant population in the first half of the nineteenth century, but in the closing decades the majority of immigrants came from Russia and eastern and southern Europe, with the Jewish and Italian numbers being particularly high.³³⁰ However, as Nathaniel Burt and Wallace E. Davis have written, “of all the city’s immigrant groups, the most consistent incoming flow was the result not of foreign but internal immigrations. Philadelphia’s foreign-born population was small compared with other cities, but its black population was the largest of any northern urban center.”³³¹

In 1890 the African American population in Philadelphia was close to 40,000, or four percent of the total population, which rose sixty percent by 1900 for a total of 60,000, or five percent of the population.³³² These astounding numbers motivated the

³³⁰ In 1881 there were 5,000 Jews in Philadelphia, including a small colony of eastern European Jews from Poland and Lithuania in the Port Richmond area. By 1894 the Jewish population had grown 30,000 in South Philadelphia alone, and by 1905 there were 100,000 Jews in the city. Nathaniel Burt and Wallace E. Davis, “The Iron Age, 1876-1905,” in Weigley, *Philadelphia*, 489. Between 1870 and 1900, Philadelphia’s Italian population grew from 300 to 18,000. *Ibid.*, 490.

³³¹ “Only the southward cities of Baltimore, Washington, and New Orleans had larger black populations.” Nathaniel Burt and Wallace E. Davis, “The Iron Age, 1876-1905,” in Weigley, *Philadelphia*, 491.

³³² *Ibid.*

University of Pennsylvania to invite W. E. B. DuBois to Philadelphia in 1896 to study the city's black residents. His resulting book, *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) was a pioneer in sociological and environmental research. DuBois identified that the majority of the African American population lived in center city, with the heaviest concentration in the Seventh Ward (Spruce Street to South Street; Seventh Street to the Schuylkill River), near the white families for whom they were domestic servants.³³³ (fig. 3.46) Thus, the largest black settlement was located just four blocks south of City Hall. Looking at the crudely painted figures in Sloan's *City Hall* painting, it's difficult to identify any immigrants but there certainly are not any faces of color. Although it is possible blacks did not traverse this part of the city, they certainly resided nearby. Any suggestions as to why Sloan excluded blacks from his survey of Philadelphia's population would be speculation, as no evidence of his racial politics during this time exists. However, given the numbers above, it is reasonable to conclude that members of the black community were visible to Sloan in Philadelphia and that he made a conscious choice to exclude them from his picture.

Of City Hall's four façades, Sloan chose to paint the East Entrance, which may have been meaningful for more than one reason. First, and perhaps most obviously, it allowed him to capture the morning light, with the sun rising on that side of the building. Reading into this choice could signal a positive hope for Philadelphia's future as opposed to a negative one. After all, Sloan indeed saw at least some merit in returning to Philadelphia, where he felt "more like an artist."³³⁴ Second, the keystone on the doorway

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Sloan to Henri, October 30, 1898 in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 34.

of the East façade, visible in Sloan's painting, features the face of Benjamin Franklin who, as George Gurney has written, brings to mind Philadelphia's history.³³⁵ Franklin (1706-1790) played a key role in the blossoming of colonial Philadelphia in the eighteenth century and instigated the founding of many of Philadelphia's first scholarly institutions, developing it into an intellectual hub.³³⁶ In this way, Franklin's representation points to Philadelphia's moniker as the "city of firsts," a regional characterization denoting Philadelphia's identity as the foremost American city associated with the nation's founding, the revolution, and with nation building.³³⁷ Additionally, the architectural decorations on the levels above Franklin's head may have also inspired Sloan to choose it because of their reference to the fine arts. Gurney explains, "On this façade, the seated figures of Industry and Peace emphasize those virtues of the citizens of the Quaker city which had produced its prosperity. Similarly, the spandrel reliefs that picture Art and Science denote the creative nature of Philadelphians."³³⁸ The relevant subject matter would not have escaped someone like Sloan, who was well read, exercised a keen eye, and made extremely thoughtful pictorial choices.

³³⁵ George Gurney, "The Sculpture of City Hall," in Fairmount Park Art Association, *Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone* (New York: Walker Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 101.

³³⁶ For example Benjamin Franklin founded the first library, hospital, and university in the form of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the American Philosophical Society, and the College of Philadelphia. See Edwin Wolf, *At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin: A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1731-1976* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1976. Revised and enlarged, 1995.)

³³⁷ Gary B. Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

³³⁸ Gurney, "The Sculpture of City Hall," 101.

The truncated composition Sloan chose for City Hall was extremely unusual. Illustrators and photographers usually attempted to include as much of the colossal building as possible. Indeed, its size and scale was what made it exceptional, and its presence dominated the Philadelphia skyline for nearly one hundred years. The composition's close cropping and singular isolation of the doorway prevents the inclusion of the elaborate decorations on City Hall's exterior. Sloan simplifies nearly to the point of abstraction, rejecting the distinctive qualities of the extraordinary building. He cuts away the hundreds of historical allusions to civilization, history, and allegory, leaving only classical columns, a single triumphal arch, and one carved head at its peak. Without the descriptive, localizing title and the Quaker woman, one might locate the arch in any number of faraway settings such as the Orient, which was a popular destination in the 1890s as well as an admired subject by artists like Louis Comfort Tiffany and John Singer Sargent.

In light of the few paintings that Sloan made of urban Philadelphia, it seems significant that he chose to photograph as well as paint City Hall and Walnut Street Theater (figs. 3.9; 3.11). Schiller and Coyle have suggested that perhaps Sloan intended to use the photographs as an aide-mémoire, to help recall the architectural details of the buildings; however, the compositional differences and focal points of each make that unlikely.³³⁹ Probably he was simply interested in capturing subjects that interested him and experimenting with different media. Photography revolutionized the manner in which people saw themselves and the larger world around them. Its apparent verisimilitude led

³³⁹ Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan's New York*, 29.

viewers to believe that a photograph was an unmediated representation of the subject and that it held a greater degree of truth than any other visual image of its day.³⁴⁰

In the photograph of City Hall, Sloan stands in the middle of the street about a block away from the West entrance, and captures three horse-drawn carriages and three bicyclists pedaling towards him. The angle of the horses passing him on the left makes it appear that he nearly risked his life to capture the image. It also recalls, as do a few of the other photographs, the now famous film produced by the Lumière Brothers just a few years earlier, *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat (The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station)* (1895) (figs. 3.47).³⁴¹ Behind the moving carriage, City Hall's distinctive architecture serves as an encroaching backdrop. In the photograph as well as the painting of City Hall, Sloan's desire to include the activity at street level meant that he was forced to lop off the tower and exclude William Penn from the scene. Perhaps Sloan also recalled the Lumière film, *La Sortie des Usines Lumière à Lyon (Workers Leaving The Lumière Factory in Lyon)* (1895) (fig. 3.48a, b), for its relationship to the crowd beneath the arch of Sloan's City Hall.

The innovation of Sloan's subject matter and composition becomes apparent through a comparison with Hassam's *Washington Arch, Spring* (c. 1893) (fig. 3.49-50). As H. Barbara Weinberg has written, Hassam's painting describes "a venerable New York locale with historical and patriotic significance."³⁴² While the conservative and fashionable Washington Square was quickly changing into a commercial and ethnically

³⁴⁰ Frank Henry Goodyear, "Constructing A National Landscape: Photography and Tourism in Nineteenth-Century America" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1998), 8.

³⁴¹ I would like to thank Beth Turner for suggesting this to me.

³⁴² Weinberg, *Childe Hassam*, 101.

diverse area, Hassam's picture "celebrated the Washington Arch, a symbol of American tradition holding fast in the face of change."³⁴³ He places the arch just off-center and monumentalizes it with the large swath of clean, white pavement in the foreground. Hassam also emphasizes the area's gentility by framing the vignette with a pristine-looking street cleaner on the left and a stoic upper-class woman in stylish (but conservative) dress on the right. Although Sloan's *City Hall* shares the monumental arch and interest in figures of different classes, his composition appears as the dark to Hassam's light. Sloan litters his foreground with people and transportation vehicles, and, in place of Hassam's perfectly manicured trees, which obscure the Washington Arch, Sloan paints a hulking dark void which cloaks his diminutive crowd in darkness.

The affective strength of Sloan's composition comes from his truncation of the architecture and emphasis on the darkened arch, which works dually as a stabilizer and a vortex. In one way, the dark entrance draws our eye up and away from the crowded street and holds our eye still, thanks to the solid frame of the massive structure. In another way, though, staring into the darkness of Sloan's massive empty arch can act as a vortex, pulling the viewer into and through the traffic. Hassam roots his audience as firm as his straight trees that block the entrance to his arch and lets the viewer breathe in the white space of the gleaming streets. Sloan's compositional arrangement, made stronger through its proportions and juxtaposition of light and dark, has a power not present in Hassam's work.

One might also read into Sloan's emphasis on the empty spaces, voids, and thresholds of Philadelphia's architecture as symptomatic of his own anxiety. A doorway

³⁴³ Ibid.

insinuates some kind of passage from one place to another. Given Sloan's regional consciousness, the vaulted doorway could be seen as symbolic of Sloan's journey from Philadelphia to New York and back again. As the language of Sloan's correspondence tells us, he didn't want Henri to think he couldn't hold up in the metropolis—he did not want his manhood to be questioned. But in reality, Sloan couldn't initially adapt to New York, and preferred, as he said, to be “the big frog in the little puddle” in Philadelphia. Knowing this, it is possible to read these works as an homage to what Sloan did know well in the face of his fear of the unknown.

A comparison of Sloan's Philadelphia scenes with works painted by his colleagues during the same years highlights the distinctiveness and idiosyncrasy of Sloan's style. His *Stock Exchange* and *Walnut Street Theater* relate to works by Henri (*East River Embankment, Winter* (1900) (fig. 3.51); *Street Scene with Snow* (1902) (fig. 3.52)) in mood and color palette but differ in their specific focus on the historic and civically significant built environment. Contemporary examples by Glackens (*Hammerstein's Roof Garden* (1901) (fig. 3.53)), Luks (*Butcher Cart* (1901) (fig. 3.54); *Hester Street*, 1905 (fig. 3.55)), and Shinn (*Tenements at Hester Street* (1900)(fig. 3.56); *The Hippodrome, London* (1902) (fig. 3.57)) do not hesitate to engage and become intimate with scenes of high and low spectacle. Although Sloan's *Independence Square* and *City Hall* feature figures that may comprise a range of social types and possibly immigrants, Sloan keeps his distance from them and their identification remains tenuous. While Sloan organizes his pictures on a grid of horizontals and verticals, examples by his contemporaries are more dynamic, utilizing deeper one-point perspective and, in Shinn's case, choosing moments of intensity. Sloan's colleagues' paintings engage with people

on the streets at arm's length and explicitly with immigrant populations on Hester Street. In this way, Glackens, Luks, and Shinn followed Henri to capture the current situation of the urban scene, engaging with both public entertainments and residents of the tenements, unafraid to paint warts and all.

Sloan avoids direct engagement by placing his figures against historic and civic backdrops, rooting them in sights of leisure and gentility, and obscuring their social identities. Sloan's figures are absent (*Stock Exchange*), inaccessible (*Independence Square*), obscured (*Walnut Street Theater*), or at a distance (*City Hall*). If he wanted to paint something comparable to the subjects his colleagues were capturing in New York, he could have painted the black population in the Seventh Ward, the German Jewish residents on North Broad Street, or the Eastern European Jews in Port Richmond.³⁴⁴ Sloan could have engaged with modern life in Philadelphia by painting the shoppers outside Wanamaker's department store (adjacent to City Hall), the urbanities taking in the new films at Keith's Bijou (beginning in 1895), or enjoying Woodside Park, an amusement center that opened on the western edge of Fairmount in 1897.³⁴⁵ Or, he could have included in his suite of Philadelphia's built environment any of the newly constructed "famous buildings" (fig. 3.58) often featured in the newspapers, like the Aldine Hotel or The Bourse.³⁴⁶ Instead, he chose quieter, historic subjects: landmarks representative of Philadelphia's regional identity. The paintings seek not only to embody urban life, but life that communicates something distinctly Philadelphian. Philadelphia

³⁴⁴ Weigley, *Philadelphia*, 489.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 518.

³⁴⁶ "Famous Buildings of Philadelphia," *The Philadelphia Press*, December 20, 1896, 28.

circa 1900 was the historic city of the nation's founding—an anachronism—in contrast to the modern metropolis of New York.

The Colonial Revival & the Built Environment in Visual Culture

The interest in the urban built environment in the 1890s, the ubiquity of its imaging, and the importance of Sloan's choice to paint Philadelphia's civic buildings coincides with the height of the Colonial Revival and dovetails with a national fascination with the American past. According to Richard Guy Wilson, the Colonial Revival had its inception with the first renovation of Independence Hall. Wilson explains that the sad state of the building's tower, which was rotted and replaced by a low cap in 1781, prompted Pennsylvania politicians to commission William Strickland to design a new steeple in 1828.³⁴⁷ Given this beginning, the Colonial Revival has its strongest roots in the built environment, with historic architecture serving as an important link to the past. The country's interest in Colonial-era history was stirred especially by the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, when organizers chose Philadelphia as the site of the fair based upon its principal role in the nation's founding. As Wilson describes, the Colonial Revival was supported by those who were concerned that knowledge of the early years of the young country was being lost. The rise of literacy and the increasing availability of printed matter fueled the revival's popular appeal.

Charlene Mires writes that historians have viewed the Colonial Revival not only as a resurgence of the past, but also as a reaction to the disconcerting conditions of the

³⁴⁷ Richard Guy Wilson, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta, eds., *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 4.

present.³⁴⁸ Colonial imagery carried an ideological baggage that resonated with those suffering from neurasthenia and sought to retain an American identification with the domestic and “genteel tradition” in the face of industrialization, immigration, and a rapidly changing built environment. In the late nineteenth century, the Colonial style was revived as the national style, originating from the time of the nation’s founding. People reacted against the frenzy for nineteenth-century ornamentation and eclecticism by promoting a picturesque, pre-industrial vision of the country.

As someone not able to live in New York and who found Philadelphia more conducive to his work, perhaps Sloan felt compelled to paint Philadelphia’s historic landmarks for similar reasons. Amidst the quickened pace of modernization and rising skyscrapers, he found solace in Philadelphia’s enduring legacy as the nation’s first capital. Sloan’s paintings of the built environment participate in the Colonial Revival through his insistence on foregrounding urban life against the backdrop of historic buildings. In line with Colonial Revival trends, a similar cataloguing of the built environment with special attention to historic buildings may be observed in alternative modes of visual and material culture, in examples as monumental as the state buildings constructed at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, and as intimate as a domestic card game.

Organizers of the World’s Columbian Exposition “attempted to reconcile the drive toward unity with the representation of distinct local traditions and pasts” through its built environment.³⁴⁹ Forty of the forty-four states that made up the United States were represented at the Chicago fair by a state building. In line with Colonial Revival

³⁴⁸ Mires, *Independence Hall*, 135.

³⁴⁹ Julia B. Rosenbaum, *Visions of Belonging: New England Art and the Making of American Identity* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006), 11.

principals, many of the states emphasized their unique identity by drawing on historically important sites for inspiration in the design of their buildings. For example, the state of Virginia modeled its building after George Washington's residence at Mount Vernon (fig. 3.59). For its part, Massachusetts reproduced John Hancock's residence. And most significant for this study, the architects of the Pennsylvania building replicated Independence Hall (fig. 3.60). Exhibits inside the Pennsylvania building included a hall of portraits of the state's distinguished citizens, a display memorializing William Penn, and a facsimile of the Liberty Bell.³⁵⁰ As Julia Rosenbaum has written, "Unlike previous or subsequent international fairs, organizers of and participants in the Chicago World's Fair fastened on state and regional identities."³⁵¹ A similar trend may be found on a much smaller scale.

A card game, *The Game of Philadelphia Buildings* (1899, Library Company of Philadelphia) (fig. 3.61-64) published by the Billstein Company in Philadelphia provides additional evidence of the Colonial Revival fervor for the built environment in visual culture. Mary S. Holmes, a teacher and active member of civic organizations, invented the game the same year Sloan pivoted between Philadelphia and New York.³⁵² It consists of fifty-three cards comprising halftone photomechanical prints of well-known Philadelphia sites and landmarks. Each card features a photographic print of a landmark,

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Holmes signed her name to the note of instructions included in the box, dating it "December 1898." Holmes taught at Philadelphia's Girls High School and the Commercial High School for Girls. She later served as the principal for the Germantown High School for Girls. John Trevor Custus, *Public Schools of Philadelphia: Historical, Biographical, Statistical* (1897). She also sat on the boards of the Philadelphia Geographical Society and Teachers' Photographic Association. *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia* 6, no. 1 (January-October 1908). Her name also appears in a list of correspondents in the minutes and correspondence of the Academy of Natural Sciences, 1812-1924. Microfilm publication, Academy of Natural Sciences, 1967.

along with a sequential number (one through fifty-two) in the lower left corner, and a letter and number in the lower right corner. The cover of the game's box (fig. 3.61) announces Philadelphia's architectural identity with its most renowned and symbolic structure, Independence Hall. The State House likewise introduces the game as the first card (fig. 3.62). The other sites Sloan painted occupy card numbers seventeen and fifty-two, containing the "Old Stock Exchange," (fig. 3.63) and City Hall (fig. 3.64) respectively. In the instruction note included in the game box, written by Holmes in December 1898, she recommends two ways to play the game. For a small number of players, she suggests a kind of "go fish" game, where players aim to have a hand of five cards containing the same letter to form a "book." Another method for a large number of players involves identifying the Philadelphia landmarks; the person who can identify the most wins the game.³⁵³

Parlor games such as this, along with board and table games, reached a kind of "golden age" in the late nineteenth century, and provide significant insight into Victorian culture. While most games were imported from England or even directly copied by American game manufactures through the mid-nineteenth century, by the 1880s

³⁵³ The numerical order of the cards does not follow the chronological order of the buildings' age, but the thirteen categories that form the alphabetical books ('A' thru 'N', with 'J' omitted) are meaningful. For example, Book A comprises buildings related to the city's founding: State House, Carpenter's Hall, Betsy Ross House, and William Penn's Cottage. Books B and C include houses of religion (churches, a synagogue, a meeting house) along with Benjamin Franklin's grave. Book D is made up of City Hall, the Mint, the Post Office, and the Custom House. Groups E and F contain institutes of higher learning (schools, libraries), and so it goes. Remembering Sloan's group of paintings, it is interesting that he paints one building from four of Ms. Holmes's different categories. Sloan's buildings are represented in Books, A (State House), D (City Hall), G ("Old Stock Exchange") and K. Although the Walnut Street Theater was not included, two of the more popular Philadelphia theaters at the turn of the century, the Chestnut Street Theater and Chestnut Street Opera House occupy cards thirty-six and thirty-seven in Book K. The final card, number fifty-three exhibits the National Export Exposition Building.

American game makers began to create products with a distinct American identity, using subject matter that reflected interests specific to the United States.³⁵⁴ For example, scholar Margaret K. Hofer aligns the prevalence of materialist themes in American games in the 1880s with the country's economic expansion and optimism, with "players achieving success through competitive, capitalist behavior."³⁵⁵ During the 1890s, games continued to mirror American culture through the introduction of urban themes. The growth of cities led to the popularity of games that focused on the city as well as on travel, reflecting America's growing tourist industry.³⁵⁶ As curators Marisa Kayyem and Paul Sternberger have written, American board games can function as transmitters of social concerns and ideologies.³⁵⁷

The Game of Philadelphia Buildings can be counted as the Philadelphia version of this fascination with America's growing urbanism, except tailored for a local audience. The game requires that players recognize the oldest buildings (William Penn's cottage) as well as the newest (City Hall and the National Export Exposition Building), completed around 1899/1900, when the game was published. The object of the game speaks to the role of the built environment in American life at the turn of the century; a good citizen could identify the landmarks of one's locale. However, the specificity of the card game

³⁵⁴ Margaret K. Hofer, *The Games We Played: The Golden Age of Board & Table Games* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003), 18.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

³⁵⁶ For example, *Peter Coddle's Trip to New York* (Milton Bradley, Springfield, Mass., c. 1890) provided Americans with a tour of New York City through the lens of Coddle, a country bumpkin exploring the streets of New York. The game was so popular that spinoffs for Boston and Chicago were produced. See Hofer, *The Games We Played*, 134-137. See also Marisa Kayyem and Paul Sternberger, *Victorian Pleasures: American Board and Table Games of the Nineteenth Century from the Liman Collection* (New York: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 1991); Bruce Whitehill, *Games: American Boxed Games and Their Makers, 1822-1992* (Radnor, Pennsylvania: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1992).

³⁵⁷ Kayyem and Sternberger, *Victorian Pleasures*, 6.

was not the same as so-called “armchair tourism,” but rather meant to challenge players by testing their knowledge of Philadelphia’s architecture. In this way the game participates in the late nineteenth century’s growing interest to characterize and categorize the country’s cities by understanding their different regional identities.

A Philadelphian Moves to New York

On April 24, 1904 the *Philadelphia Inquirer* ran a note informing its public that “John Sloan has removed from his studio, 806 Walnut Street, and taken a studio apartment in the Sherwood Building, New York.”³⁵⁸ Sloan recalled, “In December of 1903, like a bolt from the blue came the information that I was to lose my job on the *Press*. I made an exploratory trip to New York, and obtaining an illustration order from the *Century*, I returned to Philadelphia with my mind made up to move to New York.”³⁵⁹ The canvases Sloan painted over the next three years trace his gradual assimilation into the city as a New Yorker.

Upon his arrival, Sloan created two portrait studies and then painted *Ferry Slip, Winter* (1905-6) (fig. 3.65). Even after his move to New York, the artist made frequent

³⁵⁸ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 24, 1904, quoted in Elzea, *John Sloan’s Oil Paintings*, 65.

³⁵⁹ John Sloan Notes, 1. John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum. Quoted in Elzea, *John Sloan’s Oil Paintings*, 65.

The first painting Sloan made upon settling in New York was a study of the professional model Zenka, also known as Efenka or Eugenie Stein. In *Stein, Profile* (1904), Sloan positions Zenka facing away from him to capture the distinctive profile of her face and the decorative, Bohemian pattern on the back of her costume. Rowland Elzea notes that with this picture Sloan abandoned the use of the Art Nouveau-inspired monogram signature he had used in Philadelphia, and would from then on sign “John Sloan.” The second portrait was *Girl in White (Full-Length)* (1905). Although he exhibited it in 1906 and it received notice from the press, Sloan later destroyed it, probably because he felt it was too close to versions by Henri and Whistler. For more see Elzea, *John Sloan’s Oil Paintings*, 65-66.

trips back to Philadelphia and the ferry was “the first lap of the road home.”³⁶⁰ The ferry remained the vital link between Manhattan and the Pennsylvania Railroad until 1908, when the tunnel beneath the Hudson River was completed. In order to reach Philadelphia, Sloan caught the ferry at the West Twenty-third Street dock in Manhattan and rode it to Jersey City, New Jersey from where he could catch the train to Philadelphia.³⁶¹ Sloan often accompanied his wife, Dolly, who suffered from depression and alcoholism, back to Philadelphia to receive treatment from her doctor. He also continued to visit his friends in Philadelphia and his family in nearby Fort Washington, Pennsylvania. Sloan would have likewise associated the ferry with the frequent arrivals and departures of friends like Thomas Anshutz and Frank Stephens from Philadelphia.³⁶² As Lacey Baradel has written, “The ferry thus stood for Sloan as a reminder of his physical and emotional distance from his beloved hometown during these years.”³⁶³

The artist wrote of *Ferry Slip, Winter*, “A non-impressionistic impression of an antique friend of the commuter fighting its way to berth against the mass of packed ice on a blustery winter afternoon. Painted at a time when New York still awed an unacclimated Pennsylvanian. The tones somber, handling broad and nervous.”³⁶⁴ Here, as in previous examples, Sloan draws attention to his regional identity as a Pennsylvanian removed to

³⁶⁰ “The ferry of course is the first lap of the road home.” John Sloan and Helen Farr Sloan. *Gist of Art* (New York: American Artist’s Group, 1939), 209.

³⁶¹ Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan’s New York*, 35.

³⁶² For a visit from Anshutz and Stephens to Sloan in New York, see Sloan’s diary entries in January 1906. For one of Sloan’s visits to Philadelphia, when he stayed with Anshutz and visited a PAFA exhibition, see diary entries January 22-24, 1906 in Bruce St. John, ed., *John Sloan’s New York Scene: From the Diaries, Notes and Correspondence, 1906-1913* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 7-8.

³⁶³ Lacey Baradel, “Mobile Americans: Geographic Mobility and Modernity in U.S. Visual Culture, 1860-1915” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2014), 181.

³⁶⁴ Sloan, *Gist of Art*, 206. Quoted in Elzea, *John Sloan’s Oil Paintings*, 66.

New York, and he expresses this sentiment in close proximity with the “antique” and also to his anxiety by characterizing his handling as “nervous.”³⁶⁵ Indeed, certain elements of the work allude to struggle and uneasiness. As Baradel describes, the crowd of commuters appear “dwarfed by the technology that enables their passage, the commuters appear helpless as the ferry struggles against the elements on their behalf.”³⁶⁶ She interprets the work as indicative of Sloan’s “feelings of wonder and dislocation” in the new city.³⁶⁷ It is interesting that Sloan chose to capture the moment when the ferry ‘fights’ to break away from the ice in order to leave port. Reading into this, one could understand the picture as a metaphor for Sloan’s own difficulty breaking away from Philadelphia to make a life in New York. The hulking ferry seems rooted in place; its red structure is surrounded on three sides by the white and icy snow, sea, and sky. In this way, the ferry exudes a sense of immobility rather than mobility. *Ferry Slip, Winter’s* composition bears a strong relationship to the *Stock Exchange* and *Independence Square* in that the ferry feels like another example of an “antique” building. Sloan paints the ferry very much rooted in place, contrary to its function of providing transport between Philadelphia and New York.

Related to this point is a sketch (fig. 3.66) Sloan made accompanying a letter to Dolly Sloan in 1906, which he entitled “*Waiting*.” Sloan draws himself on the Twenty-third Street pier waiting for Dolly to arrive on the ferry, following one of her trips to Philadelphia. Sloan sits on the dock at the water’s edge, hugging his knees tight to his

³⁶⁵ In fact, the ferry was not anachronistic. Sloan may refer to it as “antique” since it was an age-old form of transport but it was, as I say above, very much still in use and depended upon for thousands of commuters every day.

³⁶⁶ Baradel, “Mobile Americans,” 181.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

chest in the manner of a frightened child. His pose and the scale of his body in relation to the New York skyline is deliberate. Sloan positions his body's size to match the buildings that make up the city skyline. Baradel interprets the ratio of the artist's body to the city as a means to "emphasize his separateness from his surroundings." She writes, "Although situated firmly in the city, the artist's thoughts are elsewhere, and his loneliness looms large."³⁶⁸ While he might have been lonely, I would argue that Sloan's figural self-portrait sits at one with the city; he draws his body as a component of New York's skyline and rather apart from Philadelphia from wherein he waits for his love to return. Either way, the letter's sketch, like Sloan's first paintings in Philadelphia, evidence Sloan's identification with the built environment as a marker of identity.

Sloan's compositional strategy continued to evolve in New York and, between 1905 and 1907, his focus shifted from architecture to people. One of his next canvases, *Sunset, West Twenty-Third Street* (1905-6) (fig. 3.67) operates as a transitional picture in the way Sloan concentrates our eye on the woman but puts her in conversation with the built environment in the distance. As in his Philadelphia pictures, the architecture dwarfs the figure. However, the sunset implies additional temporal symbolism. A figure encountering a sunset must contemplate both the past and the future; it is both an end to the day and the beginning of the night. Sloan's growing comfort with painting also signaled his growing comfort with his new city.

The next canvas Sloan took up, *Spring, Madison Square* (1905) (fig. 3.68) may be seen as a pendant to *The Dust Storm, Fifth Avenue* (1906) (fig. 3.69), which I argue marks Sloan's true coming of age. After the artist moved to New York he rarely

³⁶⁸ Baradel, "Mobile Americans," 181.

represented landmarks or tourist sites the way that he had in Philadelphia, but the Flatiron Building was an exception. Henri's diary records show that Sloan was working on *Spring, Madison Square* in January 1906, when Henri visited and "John painted on the tree of his 'flat iron' picture."³⁶⁹ The "Flatiron," a nickname of the Fuller Building, designed by Daniel Burnham, had been recently completed in 1902, and stood just a block and half from Sloan's apartment on West Twenty-third Street in Chelsea. Coyle and Schiller note that when Sloan wrote to Dolly in Philadelphia he used the Flatiron building to "identify his New York locale." In a sketch (fig. 3.70) from July 1905 Sloan placed his apartment at 165 West Twenty-third Street within the cityscape, using the Flatiron on Twenty-third Street at Madison Square as a landmark to situate his location.³⁷⁰

Looking at the two paintings in succession one can see Sloan's use of the building progress from one element in a picturesque scene into a dramatic actor in a modern narrative. In *Spring, Madison Square*, Sloan takes a cue from Hassam by painting an organized view of city traffic with the Flatiron in the background, partially obscured by trees. By contrast, *The Dust Storm, Fifth Avenue* depicts the intense windstorms that occurred as a result of the Flatiron's structural engineering. British artist Sir Philip Burne-Jones described the storms in 1904 as "One vast horror, facing Madison Square distinctly responsible for a new form of hurricane, which meets unsuspecting pedestrians as they reach the corner, causing extreme discomfort."³⁷¹ As this passage suggests, the

³⁶⁹ Elzea, *John Sloan's Oil Paintings*, 68.

³⁷⁰ Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan's New York*, 41.

³⁷¹ Sir Phillip Burne-Jones, *Dollars and Democracy* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1904) as quoted in Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan's New York*, 41.

placement of the triangular structure at that intersection caused winds to swirl around the building, kicking up dust and even women's skirts.³⁷² Sloan's compositional arrangement places the Flatiron as a character in the center of this drama.

However, unlike Sloan's Philadelphia paintings where the figures played a supporting role in relation to the landmark, here Sloan privileges the New Yorkers and gives their incidents equal weight through his compositional arrangement. Whereas in *Walnut Street Theater* the crowd is obscured, and in *Independence Square* the figures turn away, in *Dust Storm*, we are confronted with faces and individual vignettes illustrating vivid responses to the storm. It's almost as if Sloan has taken the composition for *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia* and inverted it. In place of the darkened arch of City Hall, Sloan paints the Flatiron building; and instead of Philadelphians traversing toward the passageway, in *Dust Storm* Sloan paints the silhouette of a horse-drawn carriage fleeing the gale, following a new motorized car filled with frightened passengers. In its use of the built environment as an anchor, *Dust Storm* stands as a transitional picture between Sloan's quiet Philadelphia paintings and his animated renderings of New York City life. While in Philadelphia, Sloan painted old buildings that gestured to the city's past, but in depicting the Flatiron Sloan painted the symbol of the "new New York." As Wanda Corn has stated, "The Flatiron Building had its front 'lifted to the future. On the past, its back is turned.'"³⁷³ Perhaps Sloan painted the futuristic building in celebration of his own future in the art capital. Just as he had chosen to paint the most characteristic landmarks synonymous with Philadelphia's historic identity, so in New

³⁷² Coyle and Schiller, *John Sloan's New York*, 41.

³⁷³ Wanda Corn, "The New New York," *Art in America* 61 (July-August 1973), 60.

York Sloan focused on the qualities that defined the metropolis: its modernity and its public.

In the months following, Sloan turned prolific and produced the most celebrated and enduring images of his career. Spurred by the impending exhibition at the Macbeth Gallery set for February 1908, Sloan created twenty-eight paintings in 1907 including (in chronological order) *The Picnic Grounds* (1906-7), *The Wake of the Ferry No. 1* (1907), *Easter Eve* (1907), *Wake of the Ferry No. 2* (1907), *Hairdresser's Window* (1907), *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* (1907), *Movies, Five Cents* (1907), *The Haymarket* (1907), *Gray and Brass* (1907), and *Election Night* (1907) (figs. 3.71-80). Painted when Sloan had lived in New York for three years, these works build on the lessons the artist had learned in Philadelphia and indicate his maturation. Indeed, by the end of 1906 Sloan was able to call New York his home. Following a trip to Philadelphia for Christmas, he wrote in his diary, "We feel at home. The usual contrast between Phila. and New York with the usual victory for the latter."³⁷⁴

The works Sloan painted in 1906-7 show a shift in his subject matter as well as a threading through of the compositional devices he had acquired in the Philadelphia newspaper room and with his first paintings of the urban scene. Painted around the same time as *Dust Storm*, Sloan's *Picnic Grounds* (fig. 3.71) serves as his first attempt to paint a complex group of figures without the crutch of an architectural backdrop. He abandons the built environment for a natural setting and bases his picture on an actual event. Sloan's diary entry (he began a diary in 1906) explains the painting's source of

³⁷⁴ Sloan's diary entry for December 27, 1906, in Bruce St. John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene*, 174.

inspiration as the ‘Decoration Day’ holiday in which he and Dolly celebrated with his *Philadelphia Press* colleague, Frank Crane, and his family in Bayonne, New Jersey. Together the group “watched picnic grounds, dancing pavilion, young girls of the healthy, lusty type with white caps jauntily perched on their heads.”³⁷⁵ Sloan has loosened the compositional grid of horizontal and verticals that dominated the Philadelphia pictures for the natural movement of women frolicking in the park.

In *Easter Eve* (1907) (fig. 3.73), one can see the influence of the compositional devices Sloan gained on the newspaper through designs such as “Down By the Sea” (1894) (fig. 3.81). In the painting, Sloan hangs the compositional frame on a flower shop window, showing shoppers admiring the floral arrangements on the street. The grid-like convention can be traced from the Philadelphia illustrations to the early paintings, like *Independence Square* and *City Hall*.

In place of landmarks in New York, Sloan zooms in close to concentrate on human incident and encounter, and uses pictorial devices to suggest narratives. He frames his subjects in parks, against shop windows, and inside theaters. Many of his interests carry over from the Philadelphia pictures whereupon the New York works often also concentrate on thresholds: windows, doors, and edges of docks or ferries. They focus on sites of engagement, curiosity, and intrigue.

While Sloan was still painting *Picnic Grounds* in June 1906 he came upon the idea for *Hairdresser’s Window* (fig. 3.75): “Walked up to Henri’s studio. On the way saw a humorous sight of interest. A window, low, second story, bleached blond hair dresser

³⁷⁵ Sloan’s diary, May 30, 1906, in St. John, ed., *John Sloan’s New York Scene*, 38. See also mentions of his progress working on it on June 2, 1906; October 19, 1906; February 25, 1907.

bleaching the hair of a client. A small interested crowd about.”³⁷⁶ Sloan walked back the next day to take another look and returned home to paint it, which was his process for all of his paintings, which he called his “memory pictures.” The resulting image evidences Sloan’s most intimate painted engagement with New York City life to date. While the subject might seem worlds away from Sloan’s Philadelphia, the composition recalls his *City Hall* (figs. 3.82-83), albeit with marked adjustments. Like the *City Hall*, the compositional components of the *Hairdresser’s Window* rest on a grid. Sloan takes the same format of the Roman arch but this time replaces the void of the tunnel with a quotidian scene: a window containing a woman receiving a hair treatment. He moves in close to capture the specificities of the site, including the attire of the onlookers, which identifies their working-class status. With this work Sloan raised the common subject and the common people to a place of exaltation.

As I introduced in Chapter 1, we can trace the formal development from the newspaper illustrations’ poster-style design (fig. 3.84-85) to the paintings of Philadelphia to the streets of New York. *Hairdresser’s Window* reveals how Sloan utilized the early skill he honed in the newspaper room for compositional arrangement, (fig. 3.86-87) like so many of the pages he organized containing halftone photographs. Just as Sloan considered the visual weight and the positive and negative spaces on the newspaper page, he arranged the components of *Hairdresser’s Window* to tell a story. Interspersing dark and light shapes with text, the viewer’s eye moves around the painting in a similar way as it peruses a newspaper page. We search the picture for information and follow the glances to discern the narrative.

³⁷⁶ Sloan’s diary, June 5, 1906, Ibid. 39.

Two days after finishing *Hairdresser's Window* Sloan began *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* (fig. 3.76) and completed it in only three days' time. In his continued fascination with place, Sloan names the specific intersection, but again, his focus in New York is not a landmark or tourist area but rather the people who frequent that place. Sloan wrote, "This canvas has surely caught the atmosphere of the Tenderloin; drab, shabby, happy, sad, and human."³⁷⁷ Like *Hairdresser's Window*, Sloan places human incident at the center and uses the built environment to frame his narrative. As we saw in Chapter 1, he expands the narrative quality of the picture by creating a network of glances, recalling techniques learned as an illustrator. A forlorn-looking woman in a white dress places one hand on her chest in confusion while the other grasps a beer pail. Two young, fashionably dressed women glance back at her, smiling. Multiple scholars link this woman to Sloan's wife Dolly because of Dolly's relationship to alcoholism and her probable history of prostitution.

Rebecca Zurier notes that "the entire composition reinforces this figure's isolation. . . . a dense crowd seems to push her from the sidewalk; she looks away toward the empty half of the canvas, a desolate space signaled by a white scrap of refuse in the street, as if afraid to proceed into unknown territory."³⁷⁸ This seems an apt metaphor for Sloan's own situation. As I have argued, Sloan's empty spaces in his Philadelphia paintings, especially in *Stock Exchange* and *Independence Square*, dually reflect the stereotypical quiet nature of the Quaker City as well as his own anxiety over being deserted by his colleagues for New York. If Sloan did relate the woman in *Sixth Avenue*

³⁷⁷ Sloan, *Gist of Art*, 214.

³⁷⁸ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 290.

to Dolly, then we can extend the interpretation of this painting as a kind of meditation on his shift between Philadelphia and New York. The canvas bifurcates down the middle, with an open, less congested area on the left, and a crowded area on the right. If we read the painting as a metaphor, perhaps Dolly's gaze looks to the open, left side of the street in a similar way that she and Sloan looked to Philadelphia. Dolly found relief by continuing to travel to their hometown to see her doctor for treatment for her alcoholism. Dolly and Sloan could hop on the elevated train (at left in the painting), transfer to the ferry (represented in multiple paintings), board the Pennsylvania Railroad, and be home shortly.

Another example of a figure within a crowd appears in Sloan's next canvas *Movies, Five Cents* (1907) (fig. 3.77). Sloan had overcome his original dislike for film by this time and concentrates his composition on an audience watching a movie. He draws us in by breaking the fourth wall through the gaze of a female face; she sits looking out at us from the center of the audience's crowd. This practice reminds us of Sloan's first use of the technique, when the Quaker woman looked out to meet the viewer's gaze in front of Philadelphia's City Hall. The dualistic quality of the activity of viewing a movie might have especially appealed to Sloan; as a solitary activity that takes place in a communal setting. For as we've seen, Sloan's experiences in the newspaper room and in the studio taught him to constantly evaluate his position in relation to others.

Painted in just one day, *Election Night* (1907) (fig. 3.80) contrasts with Sloan's slow, laborious Philadelphia paintings in just about every way. He positions the viewer at street level and just an arm's length from a raucous crowd celebrating that night's election results in Herald Square. The lit election screen and elevated train are the only

elements that provide structure or stillness in the rush of movement. Our eye is pulled every which way through a mass of jostling bodies, gestures, and faces. In contrast to his earlier work, *Election Night*, as Zurier has written, reveals little apprehension about joining the mass.³⁷⁹ No longer held aloft, we join the crowd in the unencumbered chaos of the modern metropolis.

Just as Sloan had painted the subjects that defined the city's regional identity in Philadelphia, so he also painted New York's defining aspect: its people. New York was the "American Metropolis," containing the country's largest population and led the country in industry, commerce, social and intellectual activity, and art.³⁸⁰ It was a hub characterized by activity, energy, vivacity, opportunity, and ambition. The new views it offered from skyscrapers and tenement buildings, combined with crowded living conditions, blurred public and private space. As exemplified by the Flatiron building's prow-like design, New York stood for modernity and for the future. When Sloan moved to New York in 1904 the city was in a constant state of flux, and in order to capture it he had to go out and look for his subjects.

After spending the afternoon painting *Election Night*, Sloan wrote in his diary, "Think it one of my best things. So that I felt happy in the evening, that good all over feeling that only comes from satisfaction in work—the real happiness, the joy of accomplishing, or thinking that one has accomplished, which amounts to the same thing."³⁸¹ Sloan was a New Yorker.

³⁷⁹ Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 260.

³⁸⁰ Herbert Croly, "New York as the American Metropolis," *The Architectural Record* 13, no. 3 (March 1903): 193.

³⁸¹ Sloan diary, November 12, 1907 in St. John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene*, 165.

Conclusion

Sloan had been instilled with knowledge of Philadelphia since the time his father had taken him to visit the Centennial Exhibition at the age of five. He drank up the city on a daily basis by living in it, walking through it, and working on its most vital form of communication: the daily newspaper. When Sloan sought to paint the urban scene in Philadelphia following his ten-month stay in New York in 1898, his regional consciousness galvanized him to paint uniquely Philadelphian subjects. The artist's deep understanding of the city's regional identity manifested in paintings of Philadelphia's landmarks: *Philadelphia Stock Exchange*; *Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia*; *Independence Square, Philadelphia*; and *City Hall, Philadelphia*. At a time when Sloan was contemplating his position as an artist between Philadelphia and New York, the subjects he chose to paint spoke broadly to Philadelphia's past history and present situation and held deeply personal meaning for the artist as well.

In the midst of rapid urban modernization, a flourishing tourist industry, and a fascination with the nation's past via the Colonial Revival movement, Sloan's paintings of Philadelphia represent an iconography of the city that match the city's regional identity. Though his subjects seem traditional as sources of civic pride and as some of Philadelphia's celebrated "firsts," his compositions reveal subtle commentary on conditions of modernity that would have been evident for period audiences. Each site also contained a darker side well known in Sloan's time: a history marked by financial failure (*Stock Exchange*), death by fire and loss of relevance (*Walnut Street Theater*), states of disrepair and abandonment (*Independence Square*), and disappointment and embarrassment for the city (*City Hall*). For Sloan, to paint the life of the city of

Philadelphia at the turn of the century was to represent its citizens against the built environment, which, for better or worse, was and would always be the historic Quaker City held in comparison to the modern metropolis of New York.

Just as the economic tide flowed from Philadelphia to New York, so did Sloan's colleagues, and eventually Sloan would follow. Though he originally wanted to be "the big frog in the little puddle" in Philadelphia, Sloan's paintings of that city reflect the sentiments of an artist very much excluded from the crowd, psychologically and physically, at a distance from his subject, his colleagues, and the opportunistic art world of New York. When he moved to New York in 1904, the city was completely new and unknown. The exhilaration of getting to know the city manifested itself in intimate pictures of animated crowds within arm's reach. By 1907 his anxiety about New York had melted away and he was in the midst of planning a groundbreaking exhibition that not only put him on the map, but included him in a burgeoning artistic community. The paintings reflect New York's identity as a modern, vivid, socially engaged metropolis. They trace his growing comfort and assimilation as a New Yorker and many of them remain his most celebrated works. With no newspaper text nor long history to guide him, and no prior experience, Sloan was forced to look for his subjects, finding people, their interactions, and urban encounters more compelling than architecture. Sloan's looking and his own subjective vision became the subjects of his paintings in New York.

EPILOGUE

The Wake of the Ferry, 1907

When visitors clamored into Macbeth's New York Gallery in February 1908 they were confronted with images unlike anything they had ever seen on American gallery walls. One critic commented, "Here was nothing idealistic, no golden-haired and white-skinned goddesses, no landscapes from fairyland, but the real objects, the real people and the real happenings of our every-day life."³⁸² Indeed, Sloan's *Easter Eve*, *Hairdresser's Window*, *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street*, *Movies*, *Five Cents*, and *Election Night* were a far cry from Sargent's lovely ladies and gentlemen, Chase's picturesque park scenes, or Hassam's ethereal urban vistas. Critics noticed something "real" in paintings by The Eight. They recognized Sloan's painted vignettes as something they themselves had encountered on the street but had not thought worthy of seeing on canvas. Sloan's paintings represented a place they knew and identified with: their own city, New York.

During the year leading up to the exhibition, Sloan painted in frenzy. He painted faster and faster than he ever had before, completing *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* in just three days' time, and finishing *Election Night* in an afternoon. Sloan had adjusted as a New Yorker and wanted to represent what he understood about that place in all of its diversity. The paintings exhibited at Macbeth's represented the artist's prolific production in 1907, the culmination of his acclimation to the city. But two of his most important pictures from 1907 did not hang at Macbeth's. It is a wonder they were not there, since

³⁸² "'The Eight' Exhibit New Art Realism," *New York American*, February 4, 1908, quoted in Elizabeth Milroy and Gwendolyn Owens, *Painters of a New Century: The Eight & American Art* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1991), 46.

they are every bit as celebrated in his oeuvre. Sloan kept *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 1* (fig. 4.1) and *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 2* (fig. 4.2) back from the highly anticipated exhibition, but why?

Remarking on *Ferry, No. 1* many years later in his treatise, *Gist of Art* (1939),

Sloan wrote:

Another theme perhaps evoked by some nostalgic yearning for Philadelphia. The ferry of course is the first lap of the road home. A melancholy day, when she, to whom the coming landing means nothing, seeks the sad outlook of the vessel's broadening wake. Such was the mood under which this picture was painted.³⁸³

Sloan started the painting on March 19, 1907 after escorting Mary Perkins, one of his Philadelphia friends, back home via the ferry.³⁸⁴ However, soon after he completed it, the painting suffered damage when, in a drunken rage, Sloan threw a rocking chair at the picture and tore its canvas.³⁸⁵ About a month after this incident, Sloan took up a second canvas to paint the theme again. Although *Ferry No. 1* was damaged at the time of the Macbeth show, Sloan could have shown the second version. He did not include it, however, because *The Wake of the Ferry* is a theme about Philadelphia and the journey between Philadelphia and New York.

Indeed, *The Wake of the Ferry* paintings encapsulate many of the lessons Sloan learned in Philadelphia. A woman stands alone at the back of the ferry, facing the broad wake. She looks not toward where she is going, but back from whence she comes. Sloan organizes the scene into a series of registers, framed through the ferryboat's rail and fence, the horizon where water meets sky, and the dark edge of the ferry's roof. Two

³⁸³ John Sloan and Helen Farr Sloan, *Gist of Art* (New York: New York: American Artists Group, Inc., 1939), 209.

³⁸⁴ See Sloan's diary, March 19, 1907 in Bruce St. John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene: From the Diaries, Notes and Correspondence, 1906-1913* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 113.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 118-19, diary entry for April 5, 1907 in St. John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene*, 119.

strong, vertical columns cross the registers to form a grid that functions dually by leading the viewer's eye around the picture, but also containing and framing the space. The ferry's black, industrial structure provides high contrast to the bright reflections of glistening water on the boat's wet deck and to the frothy, white-capped waves on the green ocean against the cloudy, gray sky. Of course these compositional strategies were lessons learned on the Philadelphia newspapers, when Sloan harnessed his talent in decorative design à la *japonisme* and honed his skill in compositional arrangement.

The woman stands solitary and pensive against the backdrop of the massive ocean and the uncontrollable forces of nature. Sloan often felt alone in Philadelphia as the "lonely philadelphia [*sic*] friend."³⁸⁶ The artist had forged bonds in the studio and meditated on his artistic identity by cultivating a Philadelphia artist's Bohemia in photographs, caricatures, and amateur theatricals. He knew the importance of community and relished it, thanks to his time as a newspaperman and a studio member, but ultimately Sloan preferred autonomy, where he could control his situation as "the big frog in the little puddle."³⁸⁷

Moreover, *The Wake of the Ferry* embodies Sloan's journey. The woman stands on the precipice between ferry and sea. En route, she hovers betwixt and between two places. Sloan remained in Philadelphia nearly a decade longer than his colleagues, honing his skills and taking advantage of the resources that arrived on his doorstep. His workplace, the newspaper room, specialized in codifying place and identity as the

³⁸⁶ John Sloan to Robert Henri, October 11, 1902, in Bennard B. Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 62.

³⁸⁷ Sloan to Henri, October 30, 1898 in Perlman, *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 34.

mouthpiece of regional consciousness. The artist's circulation between Philadelphia and New York gave him a renewed perspective. When he attempted to move to New York in 1898, but returned after ten weeks, Sloan painted the urban scene for the first time. The resulting paintings evidence a deeply regional conscious artist who considered his own circumstances in tandem with the city's past and present. When Sloan moved to New York in 1904 he joined his colleagues in the art capital and welcomed the crowds into his canvases. After remaining at a distance for so long, both formally and geographically, he finally felt like he had arrived where he belonged. Sloan could not include *The Wake of the Ferry* in the Macbeth show because it looked to the place of his past instead of to his present and future.

* * *

The reach of Sloan's art and aesthetic theory is incalculable. He was a force in the art world during his lifetime, and his legacy extends interminably by way of his art, his writings, and his students. In 1910, Sloan exhibited in and served as treasurer for the Exhibition of Independent Artists. That same year he joined the Socialist party and became politically active at rallies and as a contributor and art editor of *The Masses* from 1912 through 1916. In 1913 Sloan was represented by two paintings and five etchings in the infamous International Exhibition of Modern Art (otherwise known as the Armory Show). He taught at the Art Students League between 1914 and 1932 and espoused his teachings on art and life to students as renowned and diverse as Peggy Bacon, Alexander Calder, Reginald Marsh, and Barnett Newman. Along with Marcel Duchamp, Katherine

Dreier, and others, Sloan co-founded the Society of Independent Artists in 1916 and served as its president from 1918 until his death in 1951. He was active at art colonies in Gloucester, Massachusetts (1914 to 1919) and spent the last thirty summers of his life in Santa Fe, New Mexico beginning in 1919. Sloan organized exhibitions of contemporary American Indian painting (1920, 1931 to 1933), and he served on juries and won medals at international expositions.³⁸⁸ In 1939 he published a book of his teachings on art called *Gist of Art*, which is still in print and used in art schools today.

* * *

Sloan's iconic status was affirmed in 1971 when the United States Postal Service issued a postage stamp (fig. 4.3-4) commemorating the 100th anniversary of the artist's birth. It featured none other than *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 2*. Something about this image resonated so that it was chosen to stand for the whole of the artist's career. The judges would have also considered the reproducibility of the image as well as the appropriateness and relatability of the theme for a wide audience. The same skills that brought Sloan success on the Philadelphia newspapers—high contrast, organized structure, and communicative narrative devices—translated into *The Wake of the Ferry* and made it suitable for resizing and conversion into mass production.

Although it was a deeply personal painting for the artist, the theme of voyaging is timeless and universal. Everyone can relate to the idea of a journey in some way, be it

³⁸⁸ For example, Sloan served on the jury of the Carnegie International (1924) and won a gold medal at the Philadelphia Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition (1926).

physical or metaphysical. A journey may occur through movement from place to place or by staying in one place and growing and developing there. For Sloan, *The Wake of the Ferry* was about both. With this honor from the postal service, Sloan's art achieved the ultimate form of circulation. His journey between Philadelphia and New York came full circle when his art traveled into the homes of millions of Americans by way of the daily mail.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Selected Manuscripts and Archival Collections

Fort Lauderdale, FL: Nova Southeastern University Art Museum
Curatorial Object Files
William Glackens Papers

Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art
Curatorial Object Files

New Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin College Museum of Art
Curatorial Object Files

New Haven, CT: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University
Robert Henri Papers

Philadelphia, PA: Free Library of Philadelphia
Philadelphiana Collection, Prints and Picture Collection
Theatre Collection

Philadelphia, PA: Library Company of Philadelphia
George Brightbill Postcard Collection

Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts
Curatorial Object Files

Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art
Centennial Collection, Archives
Curatorial Object Files
Registrars' Files

Queens, NY: Museum of Modern Art Archives
John Sloan Collection

University Park, PA: Palmer Museum of Art
Curatorial Object Files

Washington, D.C.: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution
Everett Shinn Collection
Robert Henri Diary, 1870-1954

Washington, D.C.: Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
Curatorial Object Files

Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian American Art Museum
 Curatorial Research Files, *Metropolitan Lives* Exhibition
 John Sloan Vertical Files

Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American History
 Print and Poster Collection Files

Wilmington, DE: Delaware Art Museum
 Curatorial Object Files
 John Sloan Manuscript Collection
 John Sloan Diaries, 1906-1913, transcribed and annotated by Judith O'Toole in
 consultation with Helen Farr Sloan

Selected Newspaper Articles

“A Free Nation’s Progress: A Novel Representation of the Prosperity of a Century.” *The Daily Graphic: An Illustrated Evening Newspaper*, December 2, 1875.

“Another Artist Gone.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 11, 1895.

“Art Notes.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 1, 1894, 10.

“Art Notes.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 18, 1894, 13.

“Art Notes.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 15, 1893, 5.

“Japanese Art: Beisen Kubota’s Instructive and Entertaining Lecture at the Academy.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 14, 1893, 4.

“Japanese Art. Its Early Stages Described by Professor Fenollosa.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 10, 1894, 3.

“Japanese Art. Mr. Fenollosa Shows That it Will Not Look Queer after it is Understood.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 6, 1894, 5.

“Poster Craze in Philadelphia.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 1, 1896.

“Publisher’s Notes.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 19, 1894, 7.

“Summer Resorts.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 15, 1894, 10.

“The Best and Worst Sides of Philadelphia Life.” *The Philadelphia Press*, November 1, 1896, 35.

- “The Charcoal Club.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 20, 1893, 5.
- “The Inquirer In Its New Home.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 16, 1894, 1.
- “Twillbe.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 30, 1894, 20.
- “Views of Philadelphia: What Various Newspapers Find to Say About Us.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 6, 1892, 4.
- “White Roses.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 29, 1894, 17.
- Clark, H. E. “Sentence of Death.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 1894, 18.
- Henderson, Helen. “Where and What the Various Art Centres Are and What They Are Doing – Reminiscences of Days When Men Now Famous Were Beginning.” *[Philadelphia] Public Ledger*, October 4, 1903.

Other Primary and Secondary Sources

- “A Clever Town Built By Quakers.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 64, no. 381 (February 1882): 323–38.
- Adams, Bertha. “‘To Tell the Story of Our Civilization ...’: Interpreting the Cultural Stage Afforded by Philadelphia’s City Hall.” MA thesis, Temple University, 2000.
- Albrecht, Donald, and Thomas Mellins. *The American Style: Colonial Revival and the Modern Metropolis*. Museum of the City of New York: The Monacelli Press, 2011.
- Allen, Barbara, and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds. *Sense of Place: American Regional Cultures*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990.
- Americans in Paris, 1850-1910: The Academy, the Salon, the Studio, and the Artists’ Colony*. Oklahoma City Museum of Art. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Eleventh impression. London and New York: Verso, 2002.
- Armstrong, Regina. “The New Leaders in American Illustration IV The Typists: McCarter, Yohn, Glackens, Shinn and Luks.” *The Bookman* (May 1900), 244–51.

- Ayers, Edward L., Patricia Nelson Limerick, Stephen Nissenbaum, and Peter S. Onuf. *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Baigell, Matthew. *The American Scene: American Painting of the 1930's*. New York: Praeger, 1974.
- Baker, John. "Voyeurism in the Art of John Sloan: The Psychodynamics of a 'Naturalistic' Motif." *Art Quarterly* 1 (Autumn 1978): 379–95.
- Balshaw, Maria, and Liam Kennedy, eds. *Urban Space and Representation*. London: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Baltzell, E. Digby. *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.
- . *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*. New York: The Free Press, 1979.
- Banner, Lois W. *American Beauty*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983.
- Banta, Martha. *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Baradel, Lacey. "Mobile Americans: Geographic Mobility and Modernity in U.S. Visual Culture, 1860-1915." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2014.
- Barnes, Andrew Wallace. *History of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, Banks, and Interests*. Philadelphia: Cornelius Baker, 1911.
- Barth, Gunther. *City People: The Rise of the Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Becker, Howard S. *Art Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Bender, Thomas. *Community and Social Change in America*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1978.
- . *The Unfinished City: New York and the Metropolitan Idea*. New York: The New York Press, 2002.
- . *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.

- Bender, Thomas, and Carl E. Schorske, eds. *Budapest and New York, Studies in Metropolitan Transformation: 1870-1930*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994.
- Berman, Avis, ed. *William Glackens*. New York: Skira Rizzoli in association with the Barnes Foundation, 2014.
- Bingham, Katherine. *The Philadelphians, As Seen by a New York Woman*. Philadelphia: The Curtis Publishing Company, 1902.
- Blaugrund, Annette, ed. *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1989.
- . *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists*. Southampton, New York: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997.
- Bogart, Michele H. *Advertising, Artists, and the Borders of Art*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Bremer, Sidney H. *Urban Intersections: Meetings of Life and Literature in United States Cities*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Brooks, Van Wyck. *John Sloan: A Painter's Life*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, Inc., 1955.
- Brown, Joshua. *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Brown, Milton. "The Two John Sloans." *Art News* 50 (January 1952): 24-27, 56-57.
- Brownell, William C. "The Art Schools of Philadelphia." *Scribner's Monthly* 18, no. 5 (September 1879): 737-50.
- Brückner, Martin, and Hsuan L. Hsu. *American Literary Geographies: Spatial Practice and Cultural Production, 1500-1900*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.
- Bullard, E. John. "John Sloan and the Philadelphia Realists as Illustrators, 1890-1920." MA thesis, University of California, 1968.
- Bullard, E. John, and David W. Scott. *John Sloan 1871-195: His Life and Paintings, His Graphics*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1971.

- Burns, Sarah. *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in the Gilded Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- . *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004.
- Burt, Nathaniel. *The Perennial Philadelphians: The Anatomy of an American Aristocracy*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Caffin, Charles H. *The Story of American Painting*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company Publishers, 1907.
- Calhoun, Charles W. *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America*. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1996.
- City Life Illustrated, 1890-1940: Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Shinn – Their Friends and Followers*. Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1980.
- Clifford, Henry, John Sloan, and Everett Shinn. “Artists of the Philadelphia Press: William Glackens, George Luks, Everett Shinn, John Sloan.” *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* XLI, no. 207 (November 1945).
- Cline, Emily Constance. “Fashioning Quaker Identity: Nineteenth-Century Women’s Clothing in the Friends’ Historical Association Collection.” MA thesis, University of Delaware, 2005.
- Cocks, Catherine. *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Coco, Janice M. *John Sloan’s Women: A Psychoanalysis of Vision*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004.
- . “Re-Viewing John Sloan’s Images of Women.” *Oxford Art Journal* 21, no. 2 (1998): 79–97.
- Conn, Steven. *Metropolitan Philadelphia: Living with the Presence of the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Cooperman, Emily, and Lea Carson Sherk. *William Birch: Picturing the American Scene*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Corbett, David Peters. “Camden Town and Ashcan: Difference, Similarity and the ‘Anglo-American’ in the Work of Walter Sickert and John Sloan.” In *Anglo-American: Artistic Exchange between Britain and the USA*, 153–72. Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

- Corn, Wanda. *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- . “The New New York.” *Art in America* 61 (July-August 1973), 58–65.
- Coyle, Heather Campbell. “Laughing Matters: Art Caricature in America, 1878-1918.” PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2011.
- . “Pranks, Processions, and Parodies: Performing Bohemia at the Pennsylvania Academy.” MA thesis, University of Delaware, 2005.
- Coyle, Heather Campbell, and Joyce K. Schiller. *John Sloan’s New York*. Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2007.
- Croly, Herbert. “New York as the American Metropolis.” *The Architectural Record* 13, no. 3 (March 1903): 193–206.
- Cuba, Stanley L., Nina Kasanof, and Judith O’Toole. *George Luks: An American Artist*. Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania: Sordoni Art Gallery, 1987.
- Cutler, III, William W., and Howard Gillette, Jr., eds. *The Divided Metropolis: Social and Spatial Dimensions of Philadelphia, 1800-1975*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Danly, Susan. *Light, Air, and Color: American Impressionist Paintings from the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1990.
- Danly, Susan, and Cheryl Leibold. *Eakins and the Photograph: Works by Thomas Eakins and His Circle in the Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*. Washington and London: Published for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.
- Davis, Andrew. *America’s Longest Run: A History of the Walnut Street Theatre*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Davis, Charles Belmont. “The City of Homes.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 89, no. 529 (June 1894): 3–19.
- Davis, John, Jennifer A. Greenhill, and LaFountain, Jason D., eds. *A Companion to American Art*. Wiley Blackwell Companions to Art History. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.
- Davis, Rebecca Harding. *Waiting for the Verdict*. New York: Sheldon & Co., 1868.

- Dennett, Andrea Stulman. *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1997.
- Dennison, Mariea Caudill. "McSorley's: John Sloan's Visual Commentary on Male Bonding, Prohibition, and the Working Class." *American Studies* 47, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 23–38.
- DeShazo, Edith. *Everett Shinn, 1876-1953: A Figure in His Time*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1974.
- Dijkstra, Bram. *Naked: The Nude in America*. New York: Rizzoli, 2010.
- Doezema, Marianne. *American Realism and the Industrial Age*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1980.
- Douglas, George H. *The Golden Age of the Newspaper*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Elzea, Betty. *The Wards and the Sloans*. Occasional Paper 3. Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1990.
- Elzea, Rowland. *John Sloan's Oil Paintings: A Catalogue Raisonné*. 2 vols. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Emery, Edwin. *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of Journalism*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.
- Exhibition of paintings by Arthur B. Davies, William J. Glackens, Robert Henri, Ernest Lawson, George Luks, Maurice B. Prendergast, Everett Shinn, [and] John Sloan, 1908*. Miscellaneous art exhibition catalog collection, 1813-1953. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
- Fagg, John. "Chamber Pots and Gibson Girls: Clutter and Matter in John Sloan's Graphic Art." *American Art* 29 no. 3 (Fall 2015): 28-57.
- Fairman, Deborah. "The Landscape of Display: The Ashcan School, Spectacle, and the Staging of Everyday Life." *Prospects* 18 (1993): 205–35.
- Fairmount Park Art Association. *Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone*. New York: Walker Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- Falk, Peter Hastings, ed. *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*. Vol. 2. Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1988.

- Fischer, Felice, ed. *Phila-Nipponica: An Historic Guide to Philadelphia & Japan*. Philadelphia: Japan America Society of Greater Philadelphia, 2015.
- Foote, Kenneth E., ed. *Re-Reading Cultural Geography*. Austin: The University of Texas, 1994.
- Foote, Stephanie. *Regional Fictions: Culture and Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001.
- Forwood, William. "John Sloan, Japonisme, and the Art Nouveau." MA thesis, University of Delaware, 1970.
- Franklin, Wayne, and Michael Steiner, eds. *Mapping American Culture*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992.
- Gaehtgens, Thomas W., and Heinz Ickstadt, eds. *American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art*. Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Gallagher, Winifred. *The Power of Place: How Our Surroundings Shape Our Thoughts, Emotions, and Actions*. New York: Poseidon Press, 1993.
- Gallery, John Andrew, ed. *Philadelphia Architecture: A Guide to the City*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Foundation for Architecture, 1994.
- Gambone, Robert. *Life on the Press: The Popular Art and Illustrations of George Benjamin Luks*. Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2009.
- Gassan, Richard H. *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.
- Geary, Christraud M., and Virginia-Lee Webb, eds. *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
- Gelfant, Blanche Housman. *The American City Novel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.
- Gerds, William. *Impressionist New York*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1994.
- . *The Great American Nude: A History in Art*. New York and Washington: Praeger, 1974.
- . *William Glackens*. New York: Abbeville Press, 2009.

- Giberti, Bruno. *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002.
- Gilchrist, Agnes Addison. "The Philadelphia Exchange: William Strickland, Architect." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 86–95.
- Gillette, Jr., Howard. "Philadelphia's City Hall: Monument to a New Political Machine." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97, no. 2 (April 1973): 233–49.
- Glackens, Ira. *William Glackens and The Eight: The Artists Who Freed American Art*. New York: Horizon Press, 1957.
- Glisson, James. "Anxiety and Occlusion: New York City in the Imagination of American Impressionist and Ashcan School Artists, 1885-1914." PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2012.
- Goddu, Joseph. *American Art Posters of the 1890s*. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1989.
- Golab, Caroline. "The Immigrant and the City: Poles, Italians, and Jews in Philadelphia, 1870-1920." In *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940*, 203–30. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973.
- Goodrich, Lloyd. *John Sloan*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art by the Macmillan Co, 1952.
- Goodyear, Frank Henry. "Constructing A National Landscape: Photography and Tourism in Nineteenth-Century America." PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1998.
- Gregg, Richard N. *The Artist's Studio in American Painting, 1840-1983*. Allentown, Pennsylvania: Allentown Art Museum, 1983.
- Groseclose, Barbara. *Nineteenth-Century American Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Hales, Peter B. *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.
- Harris, Neil. *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

- Haskell, Thomas L. *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.
- Hawkes, Elizabeth. *John Sloan's Illustrations in Magazines and Books*. Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1993.
- . "John Sloan's Newspaper Career: An Alternative to Art School." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 105, no. 1 (April 1995): 193–209.
- Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1995.
- Henderson, Helen. *The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Other Collections of Philadelphia*. Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1911.
- Henri, Robert. *The Art Spirit*. Compiled by Margery Ryerson. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923.
- Hepp IV, John Henry. "Redefining the City: People, Transportation and Space in Philadelphia, 1876-1901." In *Suburbanizing the Masses: Public Transport and Urban Development in Historical Perspective*, 233–50. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
- . *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876-1926*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Hershberg, Theodore, ed. *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the 19th Century*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Hills, Patricia. "John Sloan's Images of Working-Class Women: A Case Study of the Roles and Interrelationships of Politics, Personality, and Patrons in the Development of Sloan's Art, 1905-16," in *Reading American Art*. Edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy, 311–49. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.
- . "John Sloan's Working-Class Women: A Case Study of the Roles and Interrelationships of Politics, Personality, and Patrons in the Development of Sloan's Art, 1905-16." *Prospects* 5 (1980): 157–96.
- . *The Painter's America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- . *Turn-of-the-Century America: Paintings, Graphics, Photographs, 1890-1910*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1977.

- Hofer, Margaret K. *The Games We Played: The Golden Age of Board & Table Games*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2003.
- Hofmann, Werner. *Caricature: From Leonardo to Picasso*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1957.
- Holcomb, Grant. *Focus I: John Sloan, "The Wake of the Ferry II."* San Diego: Timken Art Gallery, 1984.
- Homer, William Innes. *Pictorial Photography in Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy's Salons, 1898-1902*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1984.
- . *Robert Henri and His Circle*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.
- . "The Exhibition of 'The Eight': Its History and Significance." *American Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1969): 53–64.
- Hopper, Edward. "John Sloan and the Philadelphians." *Arts* 11, no. 4 (April 1927): 169–78.
- Howells, William Dean. *A Hazard of New Fortunes*. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1889.
- Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955.
- Hunt, William Morris. *Talks on Art*. First Series. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1875.
- Hunter, Robert. "The Rewards and Disappointments of the Ashcan School: The Early Career of Stuart Davis." In *Stuart Davis: American Painter*. Edited by Lowery Stokes Sims, 31–45. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991.
- In This Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976*. A Special Bicentennial Exhibition Organized by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976.
- Ives, Halsey C. *The Government Collection of Original Views of the World's Columbian Exposition*. Chicago: Preston Publishing Co., 1895.
- James, Henry. *The American Scene*. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1907.
- Jenkins, Will. "Illustration of the Daily Press in America." *International Studio* 16, no. June (1902): 254–62.

- Jenson, Merrill. *Regionalism in America*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1951.
- John Sloan/Robert Henri, Their Philadelphia Years, 1886-1904*. Philadelphia: Moore College of Art Gallery, 1976.
- Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1993.
- Kayyem, Marisa, and Paul Sternberger. *Victorian Pleasures: American Board and Table Games of the Nineteenth Century from the Liman Collection*. New York: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 1991.
- Kennedy, Elizabeth. *The Eight and American Modernisms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Kimmel, Michael. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: The Free Press, 1996.
- King, Moses. *King's Handbook of New York City: An Outline History and Description of the American Metropolis*. Boston, Mass.: Moses King, 1892.
- Kinser, Suzanne L. "Prostitutes in the Art of John Sloan." *Prospects* 9 (1984): 231–54.
- Kirwin, Liza, and Joan Lord. *Artists in Their Studios: Images from the Smithsonian's Archives of American Art*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007.
- Kitch, Carolyn. *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Kuspit, Donald B. "Individual and Mass Identity in Urban Art: The New York Case." *Art in America* 65 (October 1977): 67–77.
- Kwait, Joseph J. "Robert Henri and the Emerson-Whitman Tradition." *PMLA* 71, no. 4 (September 1956): 617–36.
- Lancaster, Clay. *The Japanese Influence in America*. New York: Walton H. Rawls, 1963.
- Lanier, Gabrielle M. *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

- Lears, T.J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Lees, Andrew. *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Lindsay, Suzanne G. *Mary Cassatt and Philadelphia*. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1985.
- Lobel, Michael. *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014.
- . “John Sloan: Figuring the Painter in the Crowd.” *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 3 (September 2011): 345–68.
- Lomas, Sidney. *Seventy-Five Years of the Philadelphia Sketch Club*. Philadelphia: Sketch Club, 1935.
- Loughery, John. *John Sloan: Painter and Rebel*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995.
- Low, Will H. “National Art in a National Metropolis.” *International Quarterly* 6 (September-October 1902): 107–16.
- Ludlum, Mabel Stewart. “The Story of Strawberry Mansion.” *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum*, Part 2: Strawberry, 26, no. 142 (May 1931): 2–14.
- Manthorne, Katherine. “John Sloan’s Moving-Picture Eye.” *American Art* 18, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 80–95.
- Manzo, Lynne C., and Patrick Devine-Wright, eds. *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications*. London and New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Marzio, Peter C. *The Men and Machines of American Journalism: A Pictorial Essay from The Henry R. Luce Halls of News Reporting*. Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of History and Technology, 1971.
- McCarthy, Michael P. “The Unprogressive City: Philadelphia and Urban Stereotypes at the Turn of the Century.” *Pennsylvania History* 54, no. 4 (October 1987): 263–81.
- . “Traditions in Conflict: The Philadelphia City Hall Site Controversy.” *Pennsylvania History* 57, no. 4 (October 1990): 301–17.
- McDonnell, Patricia, ed. *On the Edge of Your Seat: Popular Theater and Film in Early Twentieth-Century American Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

- Miller, Angela. *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Miller, Angela L., Janet C. Berlo, Bryan J. Wolf, and Jennifer L. Roberts. *American Encounters: Art, History, and Cultural Identity*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, Prentice Hall, 2008.
- Miller, Lillian B., ed. *The Peale Family: Creation of a Legacy, 1770-1870*. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution: Abbeville Press, 1996.
- Milroy, Elizabeth, and Gwendolyn Owens. *Painters of a New Century: The Eight & American Art*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1991.
- Mires, Charlene. *Independence Hall in American Memory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Mohl, Raymond. *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920*. Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1985.
- Montgomery, Maureen E. *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Moore, George. *Modern Painting*. London: Walter Scott, Limited, 1893.
- Morgan, H. Wayne. *New Muses, Art in American Culture 1865-1920*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.
- Morse, Peter. *John Sloan's Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings, Lithographs, and Posters*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960*. 3rd ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962.
- Mumford, Lewis. *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931.
- Musser, Charles. *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907*. Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990.
- Nash, Gary B. *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- "Newspaper Art on Exhibition." *American Journal of Photography* 15, no. 172 (April 1894): 158-59.

- Noguchi, Yone. "Modern Japanese Illustrators," *The Critic* XLV 6 (December 1904), 513.
- Odum, Howard W., and Harry Estill Moore. *American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938.
- Ohmann, Richard. *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Verso, 1996.
- Parry, Albert. *Garrets and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America*. Revised edition. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1960.
- Patterson, Martha H. *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- Pennell, Elizabeth. *Our Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1914.
- Penn, F. "Newspaper Artists—John Sloan." *The Inland Printer* (October 1894), 50–52.
- Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts: 200 Years of Excellence*. Published on the Occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005.
- Peppiatt, Michael, and Alice Bellony-Rewald. *Imagination's Chamber: Artists and Their Studios*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982.
- Perlman, Bennard B. *Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- . *Robert Henri: His Life and Art*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991.
- . *The Golden Age of Illustration: F.R. Gruger and His Circle*. Westport, Connecticut: North Light Publishers, 1978.
- . *The Immortal Eight: American Painting from Eakins to the Armory Show, 1870-1913*. New York: Exposition Press, 1962.
- Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art*. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976.
- Poggi, Jack. *Theater in America: The Impact of Economic Forces, 1870-1967*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.

- Price, Aimée Brown. "Official Artists and Not-So-Official Art: Covert Caricaturists in Nineteenth-Century France." *Art Journal* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 365–70.
- Prochaska, David, and Jordana Mendelson, eds. *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Purcell, L. Edward. "Trilby and Trilby-Mania, The Beginning of the Bestseller System." *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (Summer 1977): 62–76.
- Ramirez, Jan Seidler, ed. *Painting the Town: Cityscapes of New York, Paintings from the Museum of the City of New York*. New Haven and London: Museum of the City of New York in association with Yale University Press, 2000.
- . *Within Bohemia's Borders: Greenwich Village, 1830-1930*. New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1994.
- Rearick, Charles. *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment & Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Reaves, Wendy Wick. *Celebrity Caricature in America*. New Haven and London: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution in association with Yale University Press, 1998.
- Repplier, Agnes. *Philadelphia: The Place and the People*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.
- Rosenbaum, Julia B. *Visions of Belonging: New England Art and the Making of American Identity*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Schlereth, Wendy Clauson. *The Chap-Book: A Journal of American Intellectual Life in the 1890s*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982.
- Schulten, Susan. *The Geographical Imagination in America, 1880-1950*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Scott, David W. *John Sloan*. New York: Watson-Guption, 1975.
- Scott, Wilford Wildes. "The Artistic Vanguard in Philadelphia, 1905-1920." PhD diss. University of Delaware, 1983.
- Sears, John F. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

- Sellin, David. *Thomas Eakins and His Fellow Artists at the Philadelphia Sketch Club*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Sketch Club, 2001.
- Shinn, Everett. "Everett Shinn on George Luks: An Unpublished Memoir." *Archives of American Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (April 1966): 1–12.
- Skalet, Linda Henefield. "The Market for American Painting in New York, 1870-1915." PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1980.
- Sloan, Helen Farr. *American Art Nouveau: The Poster Period of John Sloan*. Lock Haven, Pennsylvania: Hammermill Paper Company, 1967.
- Sloan, John, and Helen Farr Sloan. *Gist of Art*. New York: New York: American Artists Group, Inc., 1939.
- Smith, et. al., F. Hopkinson. *Discussions on American Art and Artists*. Boston: American Art League, 1893.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Snyder, Martin P. *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia Before 1800*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.
- . "William Birch: His Philadelphia Views." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 73, no. 3 (July 1949): 271–315.
- Snyder, Robert W. "The Ashcan Artists: Journalism, Art and Metropolitan Life." In *The Urban Lifeworld: Formation, Perception, Representation*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Steiner, Michael, and Clarence Mondale. *Region and Regionalism in the United States: A Source Book for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988.
- Stern, Kimberly J. "Rule Bohemia: The Cosmopolitics of Subculture in George Du Maurier's *Trilby*." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38 (2010): 547–70.
- Stevick, Philip. *Imagining Philadelphia: Traveler' Views of the City from 1800 to the Present*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- St. John, Bruce. "John Sloan in Philadelphia, 1888-1904." *American Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1971): 80–87.

- . , ed. *John Sloan's New York Scene: From the Diaries, Notes and Correspondence, 1906-1913*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
- Strahan, Edward, ed. *A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Including Fairmount, the Wissahickon, and Other Romantic Localities, with the Cities and Landscapes of the State. A Pictorial Representation of Scenery, Architecture, Life, Manners and Character*. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane, & Scott and J.W. Lauderbach, 1875.
- Strauss, Anselm L. *Images of the American City*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1976.
- Tebeau, Mark. *Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800-1950*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- The City of Philadelphia as It Appears in the Year 1894*. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Harris & Sons, 1894.
- The World of William Glackens: The C. Richard Hilker Art Lectures*. New York: Sansom Foundation, 2001.
- Todd, Ellen Wiley. *The "New Woman" Revised: Painting and Gender Politics on Fourteenth Street*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Tottis, James W. *Life's Pleasures: The Ashcan Artists' Brush with Leisure, 1895-1925*. London: Merrell, 2007.
- Troyen, Carol. "Red-Hot American Painters': The Ashcan School." In *Return to the Ashcan*, 11–28. Fort Lauderdale, Florida: Nova Southeastern University Art Museum, 2012.
- Van Hook, Bailey. *Angels of Art: Women and Art in American Society, 1876-1914*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.
- . "Decorative Images of American Women: The Aristocratic Aesthetic of the Late Nineteenth Century." *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 44–69.
- Vitiello, Domenic. *The Philadelphia Stock Exchange and the City It Made*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Walsh, Henry C. "The New Philadelphia." *Cosmopolitan* 11 (October 1891): 37–47.

- Warner, Jr., Sam Bass. "If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774-1930." *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 1 (October 1968): 26-43.
- Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1968.
- Wayne, Charles Stokes. *The Lady and Her Tree: A Story of Society*. Philadelphia: The Vortex Company, 1895.
- Weber, Bruce. *Drawn from Tradition: American Drawings and Watercolors from the Susan and Herbert Adler Collection*. New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Norton Gallery of Art, 1989.
- Weibe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Weigley, Russell F. *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982.
- Weinberg, H. Barbara. *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- . *The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1991.
- Weinberg, H. Barbara, Doreen Bolger, and David Park Curry. *American Impressionism and Realism: The Painting of Modern Life, 1885-1915*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
- Weintraub, Lural. "Women as Urban Spectators in John Sloan's Early Work." *American Art* 15, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 72-83.
- White, Charles Henry. "Philadelphia." *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 113 (June 1, 1906): 42-52.
- Whitehill, Bruce. *Games: American Boxed Games and Their Makers, 1822-1992*. Radnor, Pennsylvania: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1992.
- Wickberg, Daniel. *The Senses of Humor: Self and Laughter in Modern America*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Williams, Katherine, Zachary Ross, Kathleen Spies, Amanda Glesmann, and Claire Perry. *Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America*. Stanford, California: The Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004.

- Wilson, Harold F. *The Jersey Shore: A Social and Economic History of the Counties of Atlantic, Cape May, Monmouth and Ocean*. 3 vols. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1953.
- Wilson, Richard Guy, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta, eds. *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006.
- Wilson, William H. *The City Beautiful Movement*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Wong, Janay. *Everett Shinn: The Spectacle of Life*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, Inc., 2000.
- Wright, Grant. *The Art of Caricature*. New York: The Baker Taylor Co. Publishers, 1904.
- Yaeger, Patricia, ed. *The Geography of Identity*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Yount, Sylvia. "Rocking the Cradle of Liberty: Philadelphia's Adventures in Modernism." In *To Be Modern: American Encounters with Cézanne and Company*, 9–25. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- . "Whistler and Philadelphia: A Question of Character." In *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting*, 51–63. Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2003.
- Ziff, Larzer. *The American 1890s: Life and Times of a Lost Generation*. New York: The Viking Press, 1966.
- Zilczer, Judith. "Anti-Realism and the Ashcan School." *Artforum* 17 (March 1979): 44–49.
- . "The Eight on Tour, 1908-1909." *The American Art Journal* 16, no. 3 (Summer 1984): 20–48.
- Zurier, Rebecca. *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Zurier, Rebecca, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg. *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art in association with W. W. Norton & Company, 1995.

INTRODUCTION / ILLUSTRATIONS

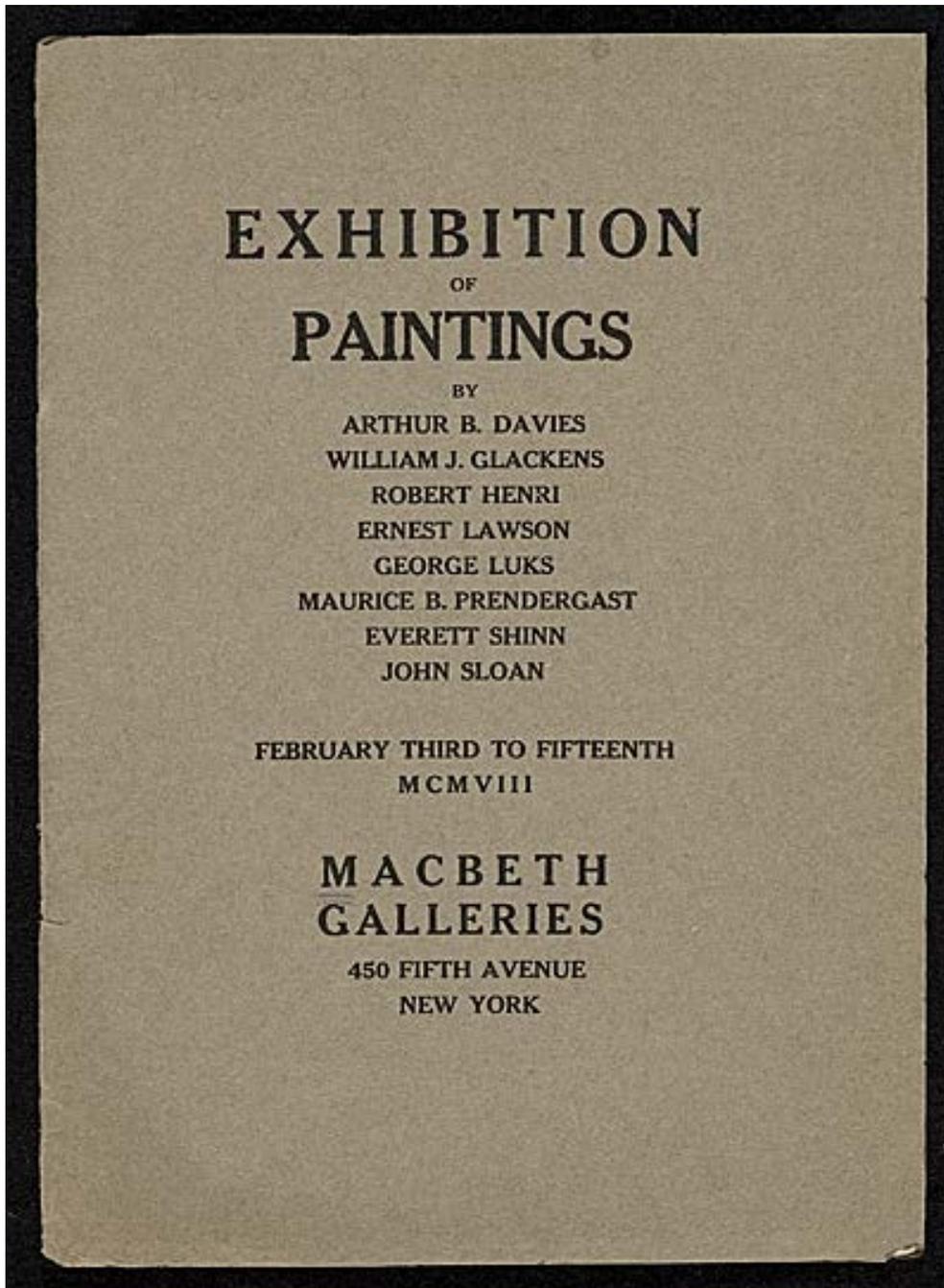


Fig. 0.1 - *Exhibition of paintings by Arthur B. Davies, William J. Glackens, Robert Henri, Ernest Lawson, George Luks, Maurice B. Prendergast, Everett Shinn, [and] John Sloan, 1908.* Miscellaneous art exhibition catalog collection, 1813-1953. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 0.2 - Robert Henri, *Laughing Child*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., Whitney Museum of American Art



Fig 0.3 - George Luks, *Woman with Macaws*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 41 x 33 in., Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 0.4 - William Glackens, *At Mouquin's*, 1905, Oil on canvas, 48 1/8 x 36 1/4 in., Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 0.5 - Arthur B. Davies, *Many Waters*, c. 1905, Oil on paper adhered to canvas, 17 x 22 in., The Phillips Collection



Fig. 0.6 - Everett Shinn, *The Hippodrome, London*, 1902, Oil on canvas, 26 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 35 $\frac{3}{16}$ in., Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 0.7 - Ernest Lawson, *An Abandoned Farm*, c. 1908, Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 35 $\frac{7}{8}$ in., Smithsonian American Art Museum



Fig. 0.8 - Maurice Prendergast, *Beach, St. Malo*, c. 1907, Private Collection



Fig. 0.9 - John Sloan, *Easter Eve*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 ½ in., Lenkin Collection, Maryland



Fig. 0.10 - John Sloan, *Hairdresser's Window*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 28 in., Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art



Fig. 0.11 - John Sloan, *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 32 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art



Fig. 0.12 - John Sloan, *Movies, Five Cents*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 23 ½ x 31 ½ in., Private Collection



Fig. 0.13 - John Sloan, *Election Night*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 25 ¾ x 31 ¾ in., Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester

A MERRY BAND OF SKATERS ON JUNIPER LAKE, NEAR BALA.



Society on Skates

With the Gay Skaters on Ice-Bound Waters—A Glimpse Backward Through the Pages of Sporting History—Past and Present Glories of Skating in This Vicinity

When you think of the ice skating season, you think of the gay skaters on ice-bound waters—a glimpse backward through the pages of sporting history—past and present glories of skating in this vicinity. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years.

Miss Schenberg and Miss Lorch, of the city, will start at the party of Twenty Four were some of the best. The party was held at the city of the day.

OLDEN DAYS ON THE RIVER. From the time on skating grew to popularity, it has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years.

THEY WERE IN THE CITY. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years.

FAVORITE LOCAL PLACES. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years. The skating season is a very old one, and has been a favorite pastime of the people of this vicinity for many years.

AS THE CENTURY DRAWS TO AN END

Speculations of Rev. Dr. Seligson Concerning What Will Happen

The century is an arbitrary division of time, but it is a very real one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

property in Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Seligson, of the city, will start at the party of Twenty Four were some of the best. The party was held at the city of the day.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

that of the century. There was never so much uncertainty with the ending of the century. The century is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD. The future of the world is a very uncertain one. It is a time of great change and of great progress. It is a time when the world is being remade, and when the future is being shaped.

Through Integrity of Construction
...
Remington
STANDARD
Typewriter.
Simple in Design
Durable in Service.
Easy to Learn.
Quick in Action.
Send for Illustrated Catalogue.
WICKOFF, SEAMANS & BENSIECK
101 South Third St., Philadelphia.

Fig. 0.14 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, January 12, 1896, 25

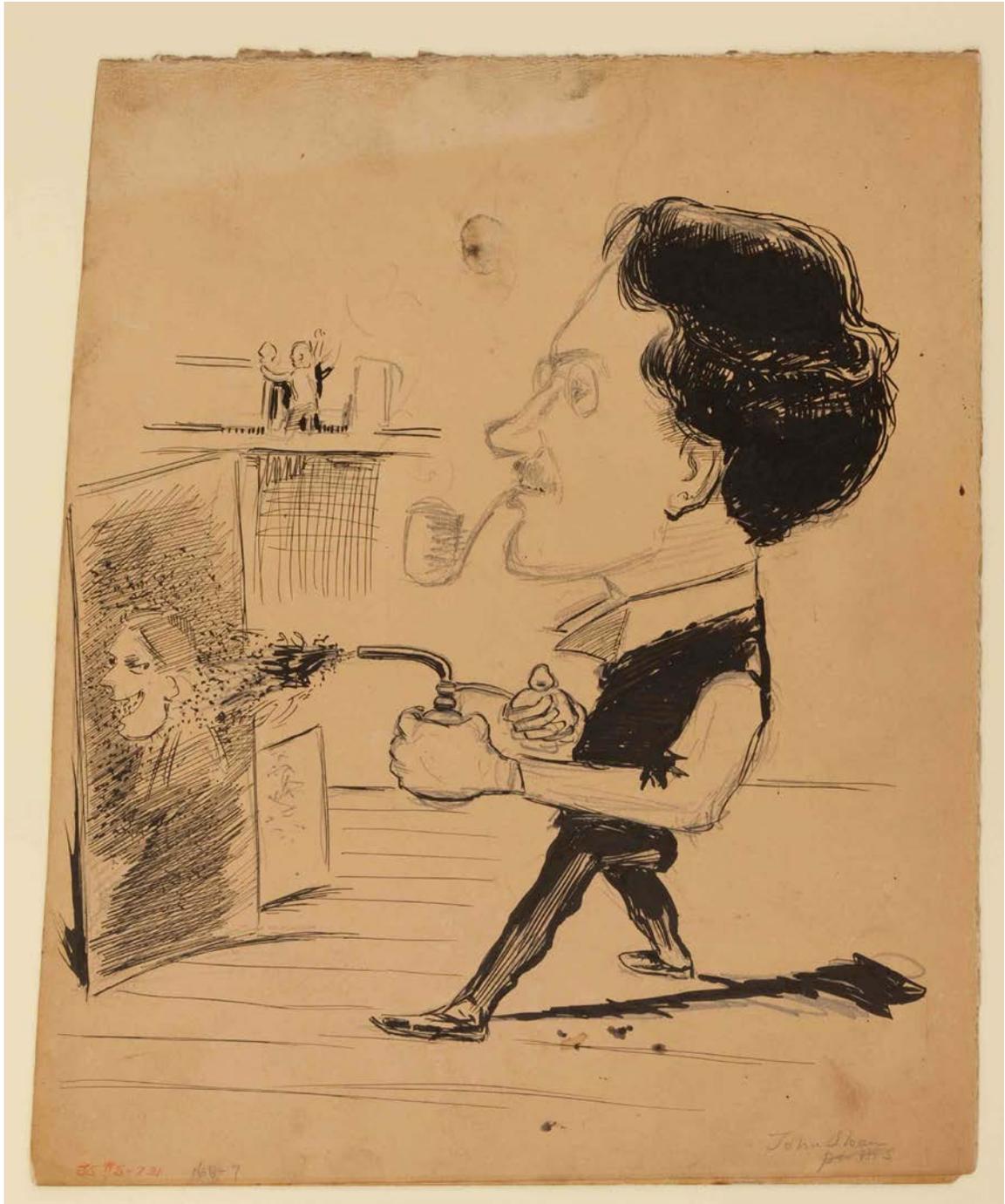


Fig. 0.15 - John Sloan, *Painter [Self-Portrait]*, c. 1895, Ink on board, 11 ³/₈ x 9 ⁹/₁₆ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

PROGRAM.

First Production on any Stage
of
CHAS. S. WILLIAMSON'S
Grand Spectacular Operatic
Tragedy,
In Eleven Acts and Two Tab-
leaux, entitled

THE WIDOW CLOONAN'S CURSE.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

The Third Mrs. Tankhurrh,
Charles S. Williamson
Mortimer Midwaid, M. D. } E. R. Coleman
The Curse..... }
A Villain (non de plumeless)
Alex. S. Calder
Strawberry Tankhurrh, Esq.,
Robert Henri
Eileen, nee Tankhurrh.... John F. Sloan
Raphael Reinhardt Peter Paul Velaquer
Jones..... Thos. J. Paynter
Lecturer..... }
King of Dahomey..... } E. W. Davis
Malpomena..... }
Eileen Ed } Samuel Hall
Populi }
Hangman..... J. E. Laub
Widow Cloonan,
a monthly nurse, } Chas. Grafty
Detective Snipe, }
Amazons, Pirates, Citizens.
Orchestra under direction of Prof. J.
C. Fireman.
Costumes by Our Ladfriends.
Furniture Raised on the Spot.
Business Manager..... J. F. Sloan
Stage Manager..... Charles Gilly
Master of Properties..... J. E. Laub
Master Mechanic..... Chas. S. Williamson
Scenic Artist..... R. E. Henri
The audience will please remain
seated until the curtain falls on the last
act

IF POSSIBLE.

Fig. 0.16 - Playbill for "The Widow Cloonan's Curse," 1893, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 0.17 - John Sloan, *Philadelphia Stock Exchange*, c. 1898, Oil on canvas, 16 x 13 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 0.18 - John Sloan, *Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia*, 1900, Oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 32 in., Delaware Art Museum



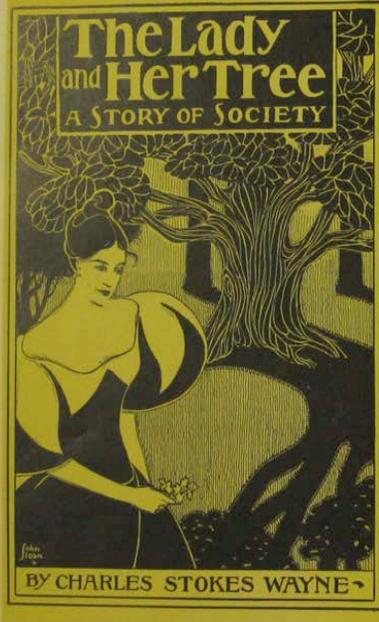
Fig. 0.19 - John Sloan, *Independence Square, Philadelphia*, 1900, Oil on canvas, 27 x 22 in., Michael Altman Fine Art, New York



Fig. 0.20 - John Sloan, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 27 ¼ x 36 in., Columbus Museum of Art

THE AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY

PRICE, FIFTY CENTS.



Graphically Depicted

and

ITS HOLLOWNESS EXPOSED

in the latest and

Most Interesting Novel

OF THE SEASON.

~~~~~  
FOR SALE HERE.

Fig. 0.21 - John Sloan, Poster for *The Lady and Her Tree*, 1895, Relief linecut, photomechanical, 7 ¼ x 5 in., Delaware Art Museum

**The Philadelphia Press.** PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1896. FOURTEEN PAGES. TWO CENTS.

**WELCOME LI!**

**ENGLAND MAY ACT ALONE.**  
Marked Change in Great Britain's Policy Toward the Sultan.

**WANT PROLEGISLATIVE POWER.**  
Salisbury Instructs Him to Demand Writings to the Support of His Policy.

**SEVERAL FLEET ALSO WANTED.**  
The British and the Sultan's Fleet to be Off for the Mediterranean. That is the Message to the Sultan.

**THE SULTAN QUAKING.**  
The Sultan is Trembling at the Power of Great Britain.

**BARDSLEY'S PARDON.**  
The State Board Will Recommend Executive Clemency to the Governor.

**CARNEGIE PLANT SHUT DOWN.**  
Five Thousand Men Are Without Work.

**BIG BLAZE IN NORFOLK.**  
Fifteen Thousand Men at Night.

**VERMONT GIVES OVER 39,000.**  
Unprecedented Republican Victory in the Little State.

**CROWNWELL IS AT LIBERTY.**  
The Report of the Colored Suspect's Capture an Airy Invention.

**SEVEN MEN GUILTY THIS TIME.**  
The Authorities Strongly Criticized and Fears of the Faculty's Escape Prevail.

**WANTED DEAD OR ALIVE.**  
The Bohemian Aboard Mailed Train to Capture the Colored Man by Any Means Should They Apply for Admission.

**SEVEN MANAGERS IN DUMKAY.**  
The Bohemian May Be Added to the List of the Enemy's Treasury Receivers. All the Effort is to be Concentrated on the Five.

**SCENE IN TOWNSHIP HALL, WHERE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN FLOWER CALLED THE CONVENTION TO ORDER.**

Fig. 0.22 - Frank Crane, "Welcome, Li," *The Philadelphia Press*, September 3, 1896, 1

**The Philadelphia Press.** PHILADELPHIA, WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 28, 1896. SIXTEEN PAGES. TWO CENTS.

**TO PEACE BNEZUELA.**  
Secretary of War Arbitration or compromise.

**FOR ENGLAND'S CLAIMS.**  
Predicts That It Will be Met of the Points.

**SETTLEMENT NEAR.**  
Clark Depressed, Child, He Refused, Only to Return to the Submergence Line.

**EGGS THROWN AT BRYAN.**  
Currently Reported That the Scheme Was Devised by the Populists.

**SEEK JUSTICE FOR LYNCHERS.**  
South Carolina Court Trying the Men Charged with Murdering Kearse.

**ALL ARE SOUTHERN GENTLEMEN.**  
One Witness Tells the Story of the Taking of Kearse and His Wife.

**WITNESSES WERE INTIMIDATED.**  
Have Feared in Previous Trials to Tell All That They Know - Doctors Tell of the Horrible Death of Victim - Defense Blames Others.

**PHILADELPHIA WON'T HAVE IT.**

**INJUNCTION IS DISSOLVED.**  
Action of the Dam Court Regarding Kinley-Citizens' Saved by a Trial.

**CROW ORGANIZED.**  
Judge Stanton and the Bench Beholds the Other Crow Organized for Inconvenient Expenses Regarding the Trial.

**CONFESSES MURDER.**  
A Boy of 17 Acknowledges That He Helped to Kill Mrs. Betsy R. Hobbs.

**PRAISE OF RUSSIA.**  
French Politician Opened with Warmly Eulogistic Addresses.

**BEDFORD PARK BURGLAR OUT.**  
Actor in Sensational Murder and Robbery Escapes from Jail.

Fig. 0.23 - Frank Crane, "Philadelphia Won't Have It," *The Philadelphia Press*, October 28, 1896, 1

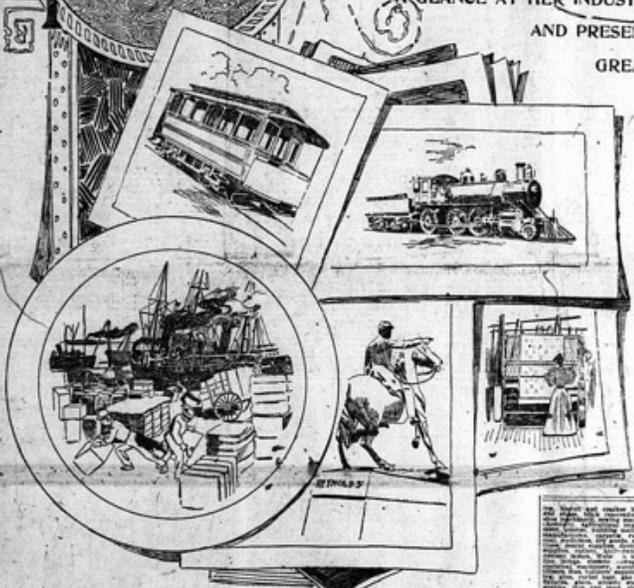


Fig. 0.24 - "Peace Jubilee Number," *The Philadelphia Press*, October 23, 1898

PEERLESS PHILADELPHIA

The Manufacturing Metropolis of The World

GLANCE AT HER INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GROWTH AND PRESENT SUBSTANTIAL GREATNESS



Peerless Philadelphia.

Philadelphia may be proud of the fact that their beloved city is the manufacturing metropolis of the world. It stands preeminent in the world, and the fact is a single testimony to the progressiveness of our people, the amount and energy of our capital, and the inventive genius of our country.

Philadelphia's Manufactures.

Greater in extent than those of any city in Europe or America. Greater in extent than those of any city in Europe or America. Greater in extent than those of any city in Europe or America.

As a manufacturing center Philadelphia is second to none in the world. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS. As a manufacturing center Philadelphia is second to none in the world. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

ROADS OF TRADE. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

THE MARTIN'S ENDORSEMENT. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

Philadelphia's Future. The future of Philadelphia is bright and promising. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

Philadelphia's Future. The future of Philadelphia is bright and promising. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

Philadelphia's Future. The future of Philadelphia is bright and promising. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

Philadelphia's Future. The future of Philadelphia is bright and promising. The quantity of goods manufactured here is second to none in the world.

Fig. 0.25 - "Peerless Philadelphia: The Manufacturing Metropolis of the World," The Philadelphia Press, July 30, 1896, 13





KNEADING.

# BREADMAKING IN PHILADELPHIA

Though the former have been almost to the point of extinction, and the latter of the latter, the art of breadmaking in Philadelphia is still a most interesting and profitable one. There are no less than 100,000 loaves of bread made in this city every day, and the industry is still a most interesting and profitable one.

It is claimed that no machinery can knead dough so well as a woman's hands. The dough is kneaded in a large wooden tub, and the woman kneades it with her hands. The dough is kneaded in a large wooden tub, and the woman kneades it with her hands.

The old-fashioned, simple, and the new, the latter is a most interesting and profitable one. There are no less than 100,000 loaves of bread made in this city every day, and the industry is still a most interesting and profitable one.

# PUT A PREMIUM ON CRIME

### Curious Results of the Former Tariff on Diamonds Explained by George F. Kurtz, the Government Expert.

Washington, June 12.—The effect of the tariff on diamonds is explained by George F. Kurtz, the Government expert. He says that the tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one. The tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one.

The tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one. The tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one. The tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one.

Smuggling diamonds in artificial grapes. The tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one. The tariff on diamonds is a most interesting and profitable one.



SMUGGLING DIAMONDS IN ARTIFICIAL GRAPES.

The old-fashioned, simple, and the new, the latter is a most interesting and profitable one. There are no less than 100,000 loaves of bread made in this city every day, and the industry is still a most interesting and profitable one.



HOW IT IS DONE BY MACHINERY.



MOLDING THE DOUGH.



THE BAKING PROCESS.

# Photographs in a Fish's Belly.

### A Curious Fact and How the Fish Boys Account for It.

There is a large fish found in the waters of the Atlantic coast. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one. The fish is a most interesting and profitable one.

Fig. 0.27 - "Breadmaking in Philadelphia," The Philadelphia Press, June 13, 1897, 34



No. 14—The Wharton Family.

Philadelphia in the persons of that and before the late... The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family...

The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family...



THE WHARTON HOUSE—WALNUT GROVE.

Thomas Wharton was the son of... The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family...

Thomas Wharton... The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family... The Wharton family...



CHARLES WHARTON.



THOMAS WHARTON.



ROBERT WHARTON.



DEBORAH FISHER WHARTON.

THE PORTRAITS OF FOUR WELL-KNOWN MEMBERS OF A FAMOUS FAMILY.



W. LAWRENCE ALLEN. A Promising Boy Author.

W. Lawrence Allen, the winner of the Santa Claus Christmas story... The Santa Claus Christmas story... The Santa Claus Christmas story...

Dear Santa Claus Editor, I have received the prize... I have received the prize... I have received the prize...

The Santa Claus Christmas story... The Santa Claus Christmas story... The Santa Claus Christmas story... The Santa Claus Christmas story...

Fig. 0.28 - "Philadelphia's 500, No. 14—The Wharton Family," The Philadelphia Press, December 27, 1896, 28

CHAPTER 1 / ILLUSTRATIONS

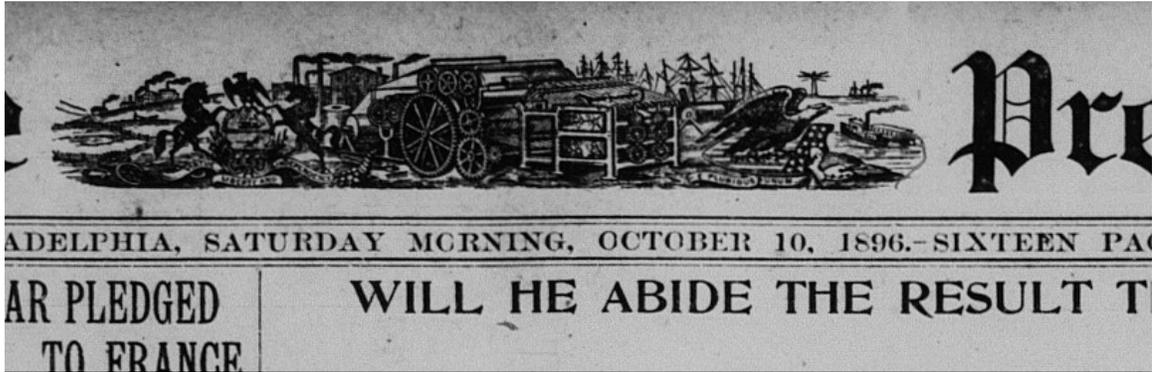


Fig. 1.1 - Masthead, *The Philadelphia Press*, October 10, 1896, 1

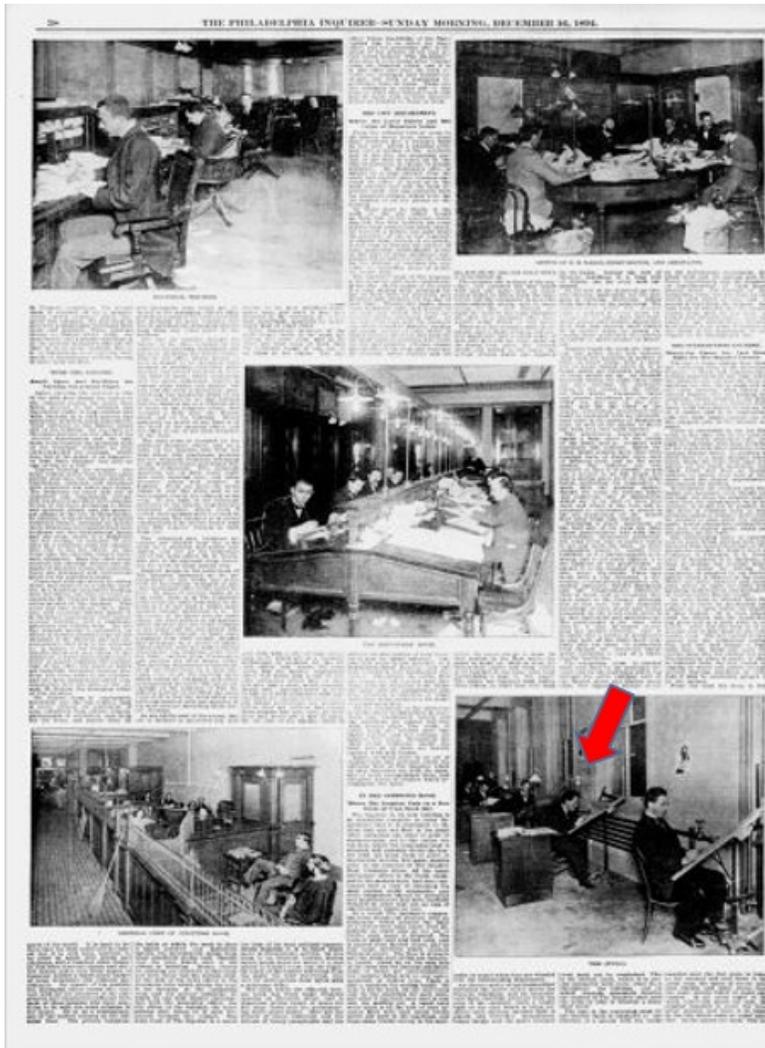


Fig. 1.2 - John Sloan pictured in the newspaper room at the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, lower right. "The Inquirer In Its New Home," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 16, 1894, 38



EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS DEPARTMENTS OF THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

|                                                                                                   |                                                                                             |                                                                                             |                                                                                             |                                                                                             |                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT<br>Editor, J. W. ...<br>Managing Editor, ...<br>Business Manager, ...<br>... | EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT<br>Editor, ...<br>Managing Editor, ...<br>Business Manager, ...<br>... |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Fig. 1.3 - Editorial and Business Departments of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Highlighted within circle are six newspaper artists: First row under managers (left to right): Joseph Laub, John Sloan, Edward W. Davis; Second row: R. C. Swayze, W. F. Worden, Harry Pontitz. "The Inquirer In Its New Home," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 16, 1894, 40



Fig. 1.4 - John Sloan and his colleagues from the Philadelphia Inquirer art department [Swayze, Ponitz, Davis, Sloan, Laub], circa 1894, Photograph, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.5 - John Sloan, Philadelphia Inquirer, February 16, 1892, 5

THE VICTORS AND THE VANQUISHED. They and their led the heroic Philadelphia Regiment.

THE VOTE FOR MAGISTRATES. How the Wards Spoke on the Election of the Members of the Mayor's Judiciary.

THE ANTIL WORK OF AN EXPLOSION. TWO MEN KILLED AND A BUILDING DESTROYED.

PRIMA DONNA MILBA'S VOICES. An Order Granted to Retain the Title of Her Captain's Acquaintance.

JERSEY ARGUES AS NEVER BEFORE. A Member of Legislature Asks to Be Excluded From Public Schools.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The Work of the New Assembly Chamber Being With Words of Thanks.

Close Calls to Many of the Candidates. Each Side Claims Victory to the Last.

Table with columns for Name, Party, and Vote counts for various wards.

One Blown Through a Pipe as if Shot From a Cannon. The Shock the Hoop and Ring's Shake in the Hoop of an Iron Tree.

THE PHILADELPHIA THEATRE. The Theatre is the scene of a most interesting and successful performance.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

Table with columns for Name, Party, and Vote counts for various wards.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

Table with columns for Name, Party, and Vote counts for various wards.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

Table with columns for Name, Party, and Vote counts for various wards.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

Table with columns for Name, Party, and Vote counts for various wards.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

Table with columns for Name, Party, and Vote counts for various wards.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

THE STATE CAPITOL THROUGH WORK. The work of the new assembly chamber being with words of thanks.

Fig. 1.6 - John Sloan, Philadelphia Inquirer, February 17, 1892, 1







Fig. 1.9 - James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White, No. 2; The White Girl*, 1864, Oil on canvas, 765 x 511 mm, Tate Gallery, Britain



Fig. 1.10 - William Merritt Chase, *A Friendly Call*, 1895, Oil on canvas, 30 1/8 x 48 1/4 in., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

# AT THE SPRINGS IN THE MOUNTAINS IN THE COUNTRY

**Wile Sulphur Springs**

**KATER'S**

**WATER GAP**

**WESSON**

**WARE TOWN**

**NEWVILLE**

**WILLIAMSPORT**

**RICHFIELD SPRINGS**

**SARATOGA**

The illustration shows a woman in a long dress and hat sitting on a rocky shore. She is looking out towards the sea. In the background, there are buildings and a large sun or moon in the sky. The scene is framed by a circular border.

Fig. 1.11 - John Sloan, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 6, 1893, 11

# DOWN BY THE SEA SHORE

**ATLANTIC CITY**

**Gay**

**ATLANTIC CITY**

**ATLANTIC CITY**

The illustration shows two women on a beach. One woman is sitting on the sand, looking out at the sea. The other woman is standing, wearing a long dress and hat, and looking out at the sea. The scene is framed by a circular border.

Fig. 1.12 - John Sloan, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 13, 1893, 9



Fig. 1.13a, b - Beisen Kubota, *Robert Henri*, 1893; (Verso, right) The plum, pine, and bamboo are Japanese symbols of longevity, as is the tortoise. The characters read, literally: ten thousand / good luck / pray for / or as Sloan has written: "wishing plenty good luck." John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.14a, b - John Sloan, *Man Reading Newspaper*, 1893; *Man and Woman at Theatre*, 1893. John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum







Fig. 1.18 - R. C. Swayze, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 12, 1894, 1



Fig. 1.19 - Charles Foles, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 12, 1894, 3





Fig. 1.21 - Joseph Laub, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 12, 1894, 19

NEWSPAPER ARTISTS—JOHN SLOAN.

THE work of Mr. John Sloan on the Philadelphia Register of several months has shown a character and strength...



JOHN SLOAN.

copying of some of the large publishing houses of the city. The honest handling, in connection with his own publications, a large quantity of art works imported from England and France...

That was the beginning of his greatest career. Immediately afterwards, he found shortly the need of economic training...

THE PAPERS OF NORTH DAKOTA.

IN the bounding days of 1890, there was small fortune to be made by the publisher in North Dakota, if he knew how to make them. He found himself one of a building community...

here, and the absolute number by correct law would never have been. In the date I have mentioned, Fargo was the typical North Dakota town...



WILSON'S ROSES.

position of the market price. They were there in mass, and the newspapers were not nearly so good as they should have been for the money expended.

Outside of the principal cities of the new territory, weekly papers started up like mushrooms. Every little community town was going to be the center of an old or a new county.

Many of these newspapers succeeded in due course to the inevitable, and their proprietors shifted further west with their plants.

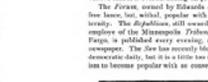
But how few of these papers bear the name in their titles. It is a little more than ten or fifteen years ago!

The additions in the newspaper field have been woeful, not and new ones have taken their place.

Fargo and Grand Forks, the principal cities of the new state of North Dakota, are supplied with very good newspapers, but the patronage is not up to a little more than...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

It is wanted again for it, of which amount at most fifteen would have to be covered as good will, as the plant was not worth more than \$20,000.



inland Fargo. The Commonwealth and the Independent, two democratic papers, complete the list of Fargo papers.

George F. Whittell, of the Grand Forks Herald, is the owner of a newspaper, but somehow he has made something out of it.

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

population, a little more than the population here to see. Major Kellogg has owned this paper for several years, and is reported to have made money out of it...



The bonded wealth that exist in different parts of the state do their full share in advertising and hence their respective incidences.

The time has come when a newspaper publisher could secure patronage, either in the shape of advertising or subscription, because he needed it, or because he was looking to build up the country.

THE suggestion of a voyage to Alaska during the past few summer months is sufficient to arouse the envy of every one of the sea-farers who are detained in the busy cities...

Mr. and Mrs. Ash and their son, Lee Ash, joined a party of thirty persons and spent two weeks in a trip through Yellowstone Park to Alaska...

"No," said Mr. Ash, "there is nothing stirring about a voyage to Alaska. It is not even an open sea voyage. All the way from Victoria north to Chitina, with the exception of two hours steaming through Charlotte Sound, the route lies among islands. In a sense it is a river ride, for this route was once the pathway of a gigantic glacier, which followed out what is now a large river bed. Sea sickness is impossible, and you enjoy the scene of the ocean as if you were out on the open Pacific. Both a life is about the most delightful sailing imaginable."

The Steamship Queen, Captain Correll, commencing carried us straight to Chitina. Edwards was one both sides of us, and the islands are mountains, snow-capped, as you get north of Charlotte Sound, where snow-covered in the hills...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...



on the steamer's deck and gave at Mount Gillison. It is the highest of the Fairweather range, and its 15,000 feet rise sheer from the ocean, a mass of glittering snow from base to summit.

As the steamer's prow plowed its way for hours, Correll was visible no matter how many peaks interested, and 100 miles distant still stood out white and solitary in the light of the no-noon setting sun.

"Then Mist Glacier, too dangerous to have ever been thoroughly explored, was just as wonderful. Imagine a frozen Niagara; double its height, and extends its width to three miles and you have the Mist. As you fire it you see a shimmer of ice of every hue of blue, from the faintest turquoise to the deepest sapphire. The one thing to see in Alaska is the scenery. The one thing of material value there is its mineral wealth. Few people would suppose that the big-



mine produces \$25,000 of gold a month. The mining is all on the surface, and fifteen or twenty years of surface mining is in sight, and the deeper the ore is quarried the richer it is.

"Game is plentiful. We often saw deer swimming across from island to island to escape wolves. But we did not go hunting. We did fish, though. I suppose nobody will believe it, but at Killisnoe the captain stopped for two hours at the fishing banks. The only other point in the state where deer were seen enough to go round. In that time we caught 2,500 pounds of halibut. Yes, Captain Correll weighed the catch. But what is claimed to be the finest fishing on God's footstool is at the



gent stamping mill in America is at Douglas Island, opposite Juneau. It has stamps, and is located at the famous Treadwell gold mine.

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...

Edwards with money; and there was in the country a falling out between the editor and the owner...



Fig. 1.22a—c - F. Penn, "Newspaper Artists—John Sloan," The Inland Printer (October 1894): 50-52





Fig. 1.24 - Thomas Wilmer Dewing, *In the Garden*, 1893-94, Oil on canvas, 20  $\frac{5}{8}$  x 35 in., Smithsonian American Art Museum



Fig. 1.25 - John White Alexander, *Repose*, 1895, Oil on canvas, 52  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 63  $\frac{5}{8}$  in., Metropolitan Museum of Art







the  
 to  
 too  
 low  
 and  
 wa  
 ".  
 A  
 ma  
 wit  
 day  
 ser,  
 hac  
 int  
 ero  
 he  
 I  
 The  
 bur  
 ton  
 sco  
 ere  
 "  
 ask  
 cus  
 not  
 I  
 fini  
 his  
 ing  
 to :  
 "  
 glo  
 No  
 tion  
 and  
 Tal  
 to :  
 it's  
 goo  
 S  
 and  
 are  
 was  
 city  
 " :  
 eas  
 "It  
 put  
 The  
 an

"HEART DISEASE," HE MUTTERED.

appeared, pale and tearful, with one an

Fig. 1.29 - Detail, John Sloan, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 22, 1894, 18



Fig. 1.30 - John Sloan, *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 24 1/4 x 32 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art



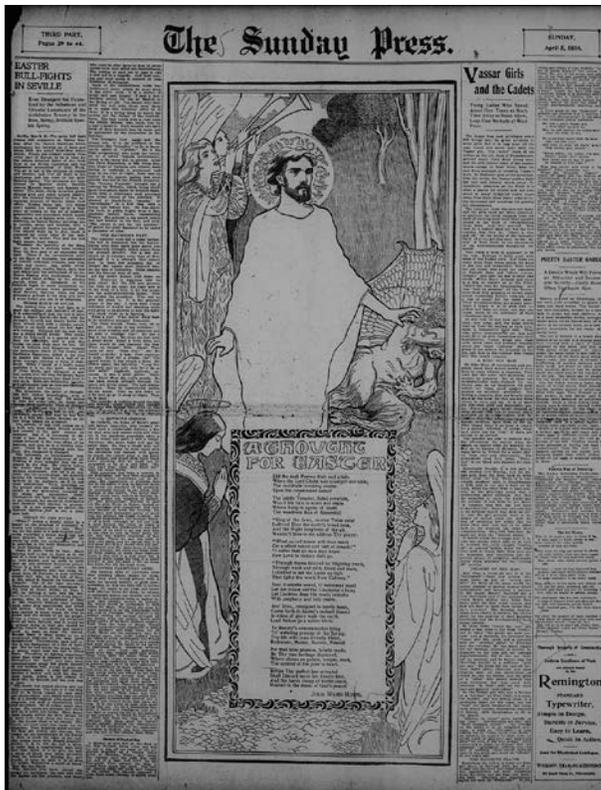


Fig. 1.33 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, April 5, 1896, 24



Fig. 1.34 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, November 29, 1896, 29

## A MERRY BAND OF SKATERS ON JUNIPER LAKE, NEAR BALA.



### Society on Skates

With the Gay Skaters on Ice-Bound Waters—A Glimpse Backward Through the Pages of Sporting History—Past and Present Glories of Skating in This Vicinity

When you think of the ice skating season, you think of the gay skaters on the frozen waters of the lakes and ponds of the city. It is a scene of beauty and interest, and one that has attracted the attention of the world for many years. The history of skating is a long and interesting one, and it is a pleasure to look back upon the glories of the past and see how they have been repeated in the present.

### OLD NEWS OF THE RIVER.

From the time the skating grew to popularity, it has been a favorite pastime of the people of the city. It is a scene of beauty and interest, and one that has attracted the attention of the world for many years. The history of skating is a long and interesting one, and it is a pleasure to look back upon the glories of the past and see how they have been repeated in the present.

### AS THE CENTURY DRAWS TO AN END.

Speculations of Rev. Dr. Seligson Concerning What Will Happen.

The century is an arbitrary division of time, but it is a useful one. It is a time when we look back upon the glories of the past and see how they have been repeated in the present. It is a time when we look forward to the future and see what is in store for us.

### THEY WITNESS A REVIVAL.

Rev. Dr. Seligson, who has been preaching in the city for many years, has witnessed a revival of religion. He has seen many people who were once lost in sin, but who have now turned to God and have found the path of life. He has seen many people who were once cold and indifferent, but who have now become warm and loving. He has seen many people who were once in despair, but who have now found hope and joy.

### FAVORITE LOCAL PLACES.

Central Park on the verge of the Park at Bala, near the city, is a favorite local place. It is a place of beauty and interest, and one that has attracted the attention of the world for many years. It is a place where people can go to enjoy the fresh air and the beautiful scenery. It is a place where people can go to relax and unwind after a busy day of work.

Through Integrity of Construction  
—and—  
Uniform Excellence of Work  
—we always keep—  
**Remington**  
STANDARD  
Typewriter.  
Simple in Design,  
Durable in Service,  
Easy to Learn,  
Quick in Action.  
Send for Illustrated Catalogue.  
WICKOFF, SEAMANS & BENDER  
101 South Sixth St., Philadelphia.

Fig. 1.35 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, January 12, 1896, 25





Fig. 1.37 - Everett Shinn, "Scene on Chestnut Street at the Height of the Great Conflagration," *The Philadelphia Press*, February 3, 1896, 1



Fig. 1.38 - Louis Ruyl, "The Best & Worst Sides of Philadelphia Life," *The Philadelphia Press*, November 1, 1896, 35

## Thanksgiving Number 1896

### The Coming Partition of the Turkey.

Where can be found a subject of more momentous interest to the people of this country than the partition of the turkey? It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country.

THE TURKEY has been a subject of much interest to the people of this country for many years. It is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country.

A GLANCE BACKWARD.  
Looking toward the morning, we see the sun rising over the horizon, and the birds singing in the trees. The day is bright and cheerful, and we are all happy and contented. We are all happy and contented, and we are all happy and contented. We are all happy and contented, and we are all happy and contented. We are all happy and contented, and we are all happy and contented.

and profound truth are in the words of the prophet, "The Lord is with us, and we will be with him." The Lord is with us, and we will be with him. The Lord is with us, and we will be with him. The Lord is with us, and we will be with him. The Lord is with us, and we will be with him. The Lord is with us, and we will be with him.



THE TURKEY is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country.

COOKING THE BIRD.  
The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country.

THE TURKEY is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country.

THE TURKEY is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country. It is a subject which has been discussed for years, and which has of late years become a matter of national importance. The turkey is a valuable article of commerce, and its partition would have a great effect upon the economy of the country.

**You** cannot tell how good a writing machine is, until you have considered the length of time it will serve you, as well as the quality of the work it will perform.

**Durability**  
is one of the many strong points of the

**Remington**  
Standard Typewriter  
Especially in this line of the  
**New Model No. 6**

See illustrated catalogue sent on application.  
WYCKOFF, SEAMANS & BENDISCH,  
225 N. 3RD ST., PHILADELPHIA.

Fig. 1.39 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, November 22, 1896, 29



Fig. 1.40 - George Luks, *Frank Crane*, n.d., Pen and black ink with graphite and scratching on tan board, 11 1/8 x 8 11/16 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art

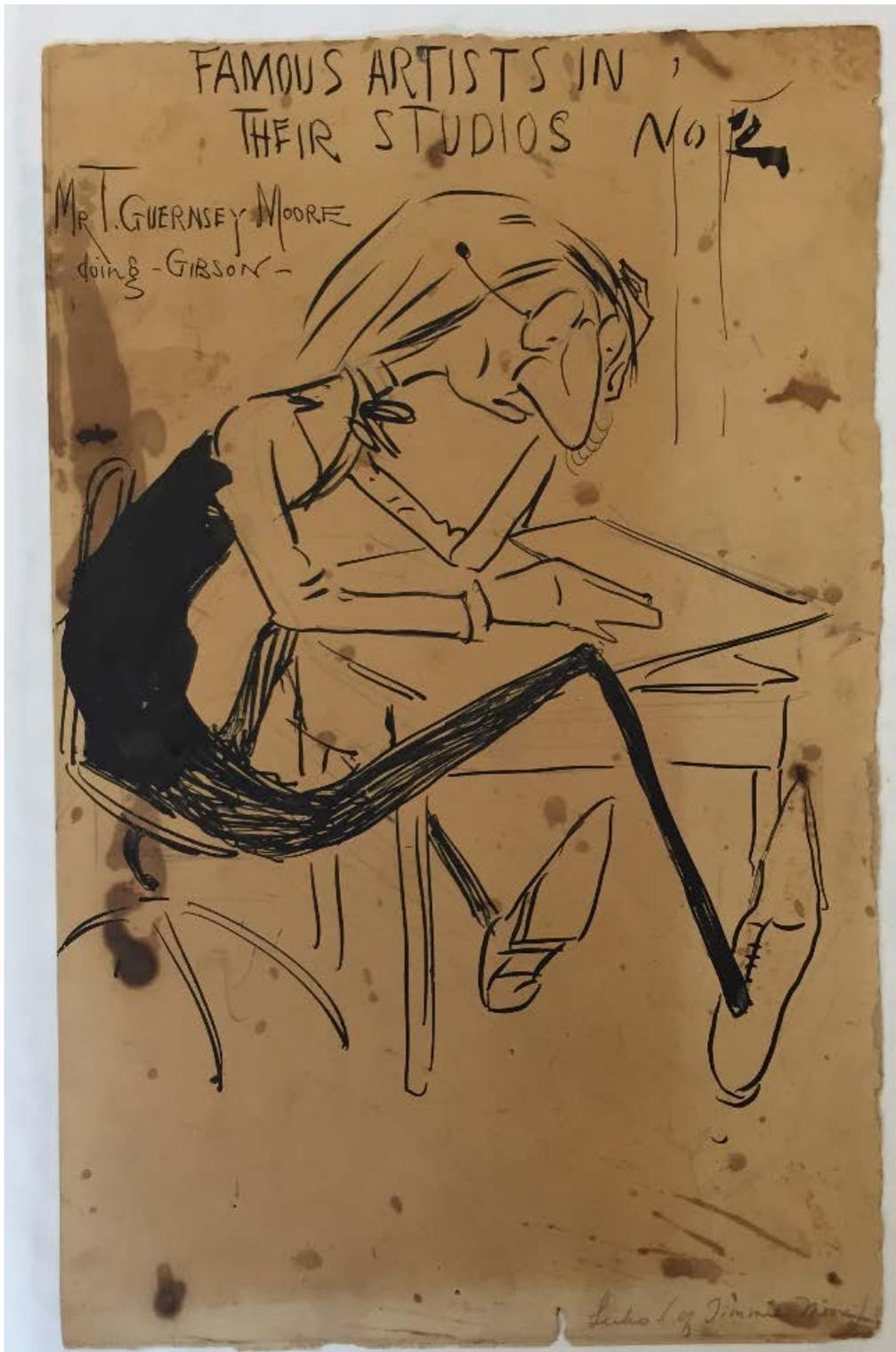


Fig. 1.41 - George Luks, *Famous Artists in Their Studios No. 2 / Mr. T. Guernsey Moore doing Gibson*, n.d., Pen and black ink with traces of graphite on tan board, 11 ¼ x 7 ⅛ in., Philadelphia Museum of Art



## Luxurious Living

There is a certain kind of luxury which is not confined to the rich, but which is enjoyed by the masses. It is the luxury of a comfortable home, of a well-furnished room, of a good dinner, of a pleasant society. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment.

It takes more to make a man a gentleman than it does to make him a man. It takes more to make a woman a lady than it does to make her a woman. It takes more to make a child a gentleman than it does to make him a child. It takes more to make a man a gentleman than it does to make him a man. It takes more to make a woman a lady than it does to make her a woman. It takes more to make a child a gentleman than it does to make him a child.

There is a certain kind of luxury which is not confined to the rich, but which is enjoyed by the masses. It is the luxury of a comfortable home, of a well-furnished room, of a good dinner, of a pleasant society. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment.

There is a certain kind of luxury which is not confined to the rich, but which is enjoyed by the masses. It is the luxury of a comfortable home, of a well-furnished room, of a good dinner, of a pleasant society. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment. It is the luxury of a life that is not a mere struggle for existence, but a life that is full of interest and enjoyment.

**THE MINORCANS.**  
The First Fleet brought to this country were white. They were the first white people to be seen in this country. They were the first white people to be seen in this country. They were the first white people to be seen in this country.

**Clamped Who Say**  
A man who says that he is a gentleman, but who does not act like one, is a hypocrite. A man who says that he is a gentleman, but who does not act like one, is a hypocrite. A man who says that he is a gentleman, but who does not act like one, is a hypocrite.

**Answers for Paris**  
A man who says that he is a gentleman, but who does not act like one, is a hypocrite. A man who says that he is a gentleman, but who does not act like one, is a hypocrite. A man who says that he is a gentleman, but who does not act like one, is a hypocrite.

**WOMEN MANAGE IT.**  
A Township of Maine Is Entirely in Women's Hands.  
The women of the township of Maine, in the State of Maine, have taken the management of the township into their own hands. They have elected a woman to be the township clerk, and they have elected a woman to be the township treasurer. They have also elected a woman to be the township assessor, and they have elected a woman to be the township justice of the peace.

**AUSTRALIAN DESERT.**  
A British soldier of New South Wales has been killed in the desert. He was killed by a native Australian. He was killed by a native Australian. He was killed by a native Australian.

**New Fashion Show**  
Fashion is now in the hands of the women. They are the ones who are deciding what is fashionable. They are the ones who are deciding what is fashionable. They are the ones who are deciding what is fashionable.



Fig. 1.42 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, May 9, 1897, 31





Fig. 1.45 - Charles Dana Gibson, "Picturesque America, anywhere in the mountains," c. 1900, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

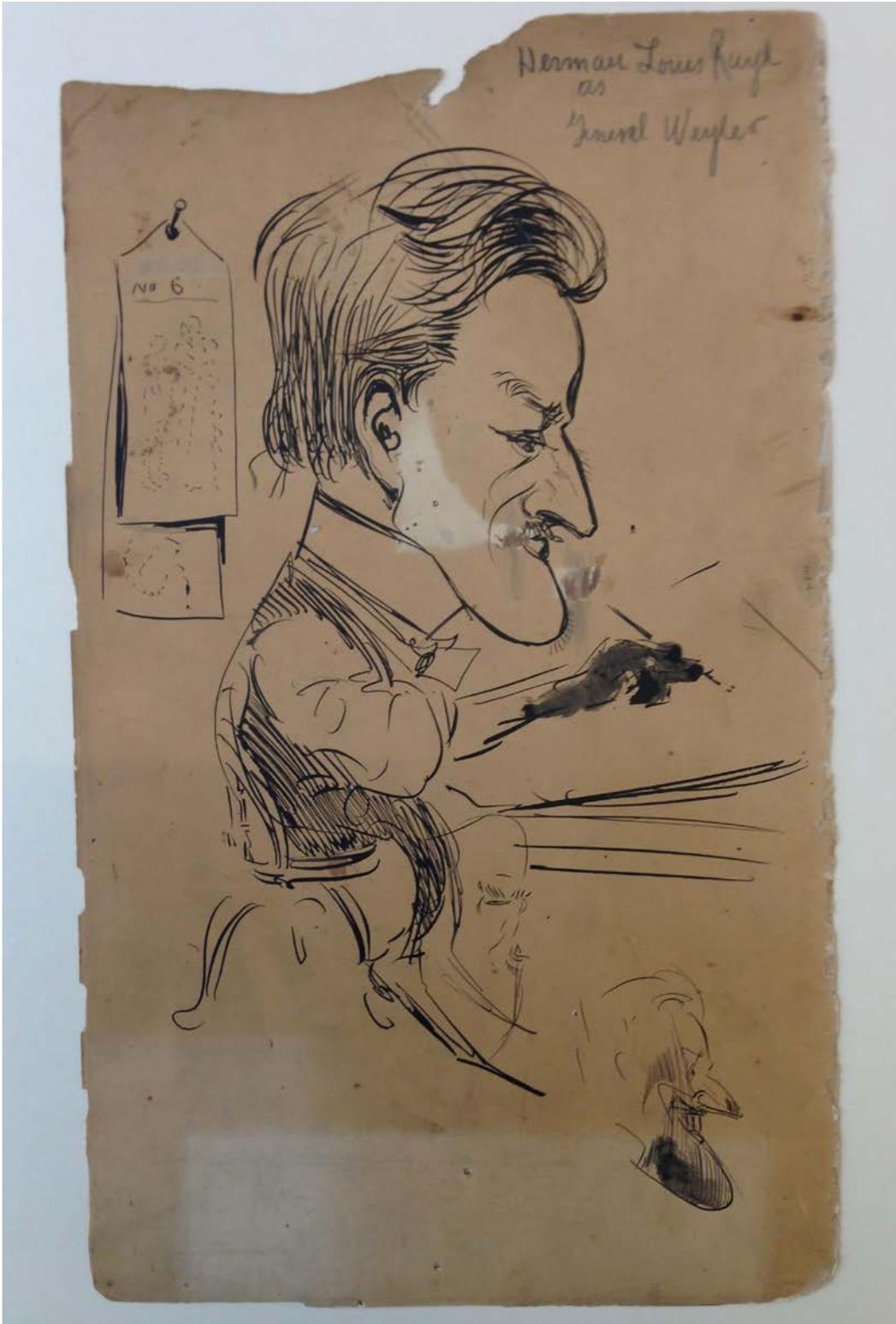


Fig. 1.46 - George Luks, *Herman Louis Ruyll as General Weyler*, n.d., Pen and black ink on tan board, 15 13/16 x 9 1/4 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art





The Weather... PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 12, 1898.—FOURTEEN PAGES.—Copyright, 1898, by The Press Co. TWO CENTS.

SPANISH CABINET RESIGNS IN A BODY.

Premier Sagasta Advises the Queen to Appoint the New Ministry Largely From the Military Element.

THOUGHT A SIGN OF APPROACHING PEACE

People Rapidly Learning the Hopelessness of the War. Madrid Press Urge an Early Consummation of Peace to Secure Better Terms—Apparently Ready to Negotiate Without Any Power's Intervention.

Madrid, July 12.—The Spanish Cabinet has fallen under the weight of the burden of war. Premier Sagasta went to the palace today and tendered his resignation to that of the Cabinet.

KENNEY FACES HIS ACCUSERS.

United States Senator Charged With Complicity in a Delaware Bank Case.

TRIAL OPENS IN WILMINGTON. President Richardson Tells What He Knows of How Biggs Sank \$107,000.

AN EXPERT IMPLICATES KENNEY. E. E. Ross, of Philadelphia, Says He Found That the Senator Had Done a Deal With Biggs.

Special Council to the President. Wilmington, Del., July 12.—The trial of the United States Senator charged with complicity in a Delaware bank case opened today in Wilmington.

WARSHIPS AND TROOPS WILL ATTACK TO-DAY

Sunday's Bombardment Was Only a Preliminary Skirmish, Cables General. Shafter.

FLEET TO TRY TO BREAK INTO HARBOR

Rumor Reaches Washington That Volunteers Will Go in and Remove the Decided Mines—Our Army in Splendid Spirit and Eager to Carry the City by Assault—Miles Arrives Off Santiago.

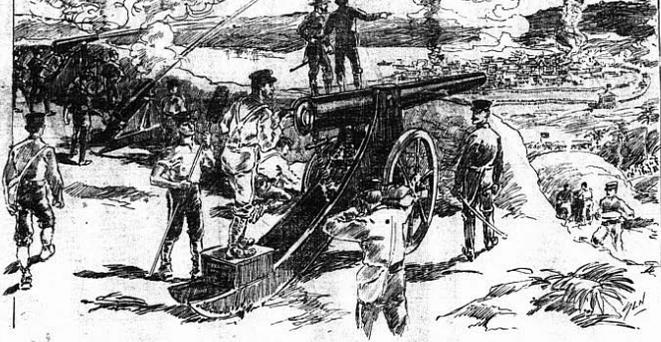
Special Dispatch to 'The Press'. Washington, July 11.—The War Department received information this evening that Major General Miles had arrived at Santiago on Sunday and had had a consultation with Admiral Sampson personally and with Major General Shafter by telephone.

LATEST NEWS IN BRIEF FOR LIST OF BRANCH OFFICES SEE PAGE 12

INDEX OF PAGES... GENERAL—Page 1... NATIONAL—Page 1... FOREIGN—Page 1... STATE—Page 1... NEW JERSEY—Page 1

THE SIEGE GUNS IN GENERAL SHAFTER'S BOMBARDING LINES.

Artillery Authorities Are Watching with Intense Interest the Work of the Modern Guns and Mortars with the American Forces. Some of Them Have Declared It Impossible for Spanish or Any Other City to Withstand for More Than a Very Short Period of Time the Withering Storm They Are Capable of Making.



It may be termed a painful reconstruction of the Cabinet. The ministers are now in session. In spite of the fact that public opinion is divided, it is believed rapidly to

CAN SAVE TWO SHIPS

A DECISION IN

Fig. 1.50 - John Sloan, The Philadelphia Press, July 12, 1898, 1



Fig. 1.51 - John Sloan, The Philadelphia Press, July 3, 1898, 22







Fig. 1.55 - George Luks, *Caricature of William Glackens* [poem by John Sloan], 1895, Ink on bristol board, 26 1/8 x 20 3/4 in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

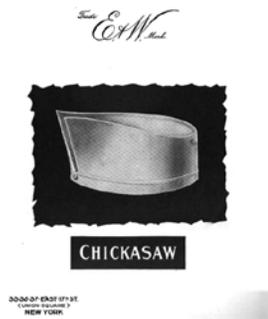


Fig. 1.56 - Advertisement for Chickasaw collar, *American Hatter*, January 1895



Fig. 1.57 - John Sloan, *Everett Shinn*, 1897, Ink and watercolor on board, 13 ¼ x 11 ⅝ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

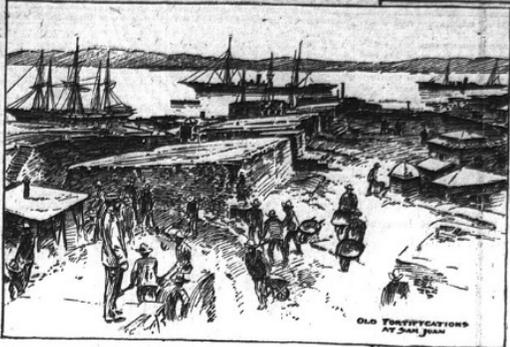


Fig. 1.58 - Photograph of Everett Shinn in Philadelphia Newspaper Office 1895-96, Everett Shinn Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 1.59 - John Sloan, *Parting*—Louis Ruyl and John Sloan, c. 1898, Ink on board, 12 11/16 x 9 5/8 in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

VIEW OF SAN JUAN'S OLD FORTIFICATIONS AND ONE OF ITS PRINCIPAL STREETS.



OLD FORTIFICATIONS AT SAN JUAN



SPANISH TROOPS, MARCHING THROUGH SAN JUAN STREET, SAN JUAN.

ALL WASHINGTON EXPECTS PEACE.

Spain's Reply Not Looked For Before Wednesday, but Every Member of the Administration Believes It Will Be Acceptance of Terms

MANY REASONS AGAINST CONTINUING WAR.

Soldiers in Havana and the Philippines Lack Supplies and May Be Needed in Spain to Save the Monarchy from Ruin.

CONGRESS TO BE ASKED TO EXTEND VOLUNTEERS' TIME

HERALD BUREAU, WASHINGTON, D. C., Monday. There is not a member of the administration who does not confidently believe peace near at hand. Spain's reply to the President's note is not looked for before Wednesday, but when it comes the authorities are anxious that it will be a virtual, if not a complete, acceptance of the terms which the President has imposed. The President told several callers to-day that he considered it probable that there would be an early termination of hostilities. A Cabinet member told me that he had reason to believe that the war would be an established fact within a few days. He said he based this judgment upon the logic of the situation.

It was not until to-day that the President considered it necessary to call both houses together in the event of a treaty of peace being agreed upon. The act is probably the organization of the volunteer army did not anticipate the necessity of utilizing the volunteer force for the occupation of Cuba and Porto Rico after the conclusion of hostilities. Still less did it anticipate that the treaty of peace would leave American and Spanish troops confronting each other in the Philippines.

To Extend Volunteers' Time. The law distinctly declares that the volunteer army shall be "maintained only during the existence of war or while war is imminent." It will therefore be seen that

MANILA READY TO SURRENDER WHENEVER THE DEMAND IS MADE.

Fig. 1.60 - John Sloan, New York Herald, August 2, 1898, 3

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS TENSE.

Officials Deprecate Alarmist Reports, but Admit That a Grave Diplomatic Situation Exists in Both Capitals.

SALISBURY'S STAND MAY STOP RUSSIA.

Already Creates Some Misgiving in St. Petersburg, and It Is Hoped Will Avert the Aggressive Attitude.

ENGLAND IS MAKING READY.

Soon Prepared to Mobilize the Entire Fleet, Each Officer on Furlough Being Already Assigned to a Ship.

MORALES' DEFEAT IS ANNOUNCED.

Government of Guatemala Tells Foreign Ministers the Rebel General Has Been Forced to Retreat Toward the Mexican Frontier.

BARRILLAS IS IN COMMAND.

After Hard Fighting He Forced Morales to Retreat, and in Another Battle Complicates the Defeat.

STRAINS MEXICAN RELATIONS.

Police Pursued a Man Who Took Refuge in the Legation and Aro Froso to Make an Apology.

LOS ANGELES, Saturday.—That extreme diplomatic tension exists between St. Petersburg and London is generally admitted to-day, though the officials deprecate the alarmist reports which were current yesterday. It is hoped that the former stand adopted by the Marquis of Salisbury during the last few days, which seems to have already created some misgiving at St. Petersburg, will have the desired effect of averting Russian aggressiveness.



POPE LEO XIII. This new relief portrait portrait of the aged Pope in the latest work of a German sculptor, Professor Joseph V. Kopf, now in Rome. Professor Kopf, for whom Kaiser Wilhelm I, respectively, set in Dresden-Baden, says that the Pope is not a good subject, as he is greatly lacking in fit for his portrait.

LONDON PLAYGOERS HARD TO PLEASE.

Legitimate Pieces Imported This Season from America Not Deemed to Achieve High Rank in

VAN DERBILTS CUT DESPATCH LINES.

Eight Fast Freight Concerns Operating Over Central and West There To Be Combined Into Two GREAT ECONOMY THE RESULT. It Will Dispense with Hundreds of Men and Operations of Cars Will Be Cheaper. CLEARING HOUSE AT BUFFALO. Indications That the Example of the Central Will Be Generally Followed by Competitors.

It fits with the numerous considerations which have been brought about by the Vanderbilt during the last year for the purpose of securing greater economy and efficiency, another combination was announced yesterday, which will have a far-reaching effect, and will probably lead to similar action being taken by many other railroad corporations throughout the country.

Fig. 1.61 - John Sloan, New York Herald, August 7, 1898, 10



LONG SEASON AT BAR HARBOR.

The Promise of Playing Golf, Entertaining and Being Entertained Through a Gay September.

GAY WHIRL AT LARCHMONT.

It is a Round of Dancing, Dining, Coaching, Lunching, Golfing, Tea Drinking and Yachting.

COOL BREEZES AT NEW LONDON.

They Are Greeted by Heated Mortals and Yachts' Sails Welcome Them—Work for the Red Cross.

THE HARBOR. Mr. Saturday would never be so delighted. The Harbor season will be unusually long and the month of September will be as gay as August. A large number of officers will come North on the discharge of the army, to recover from the effects of the summer climate to which they have lately been subjected.

LARCHMONT. N. Y. Saturday. VIKES has continued to bring its quota of summer visitors and Larchmont now presents its active life in the height of the season. The last week has been a continual round of dancing, dining, coaching parties, and luncheon parties.

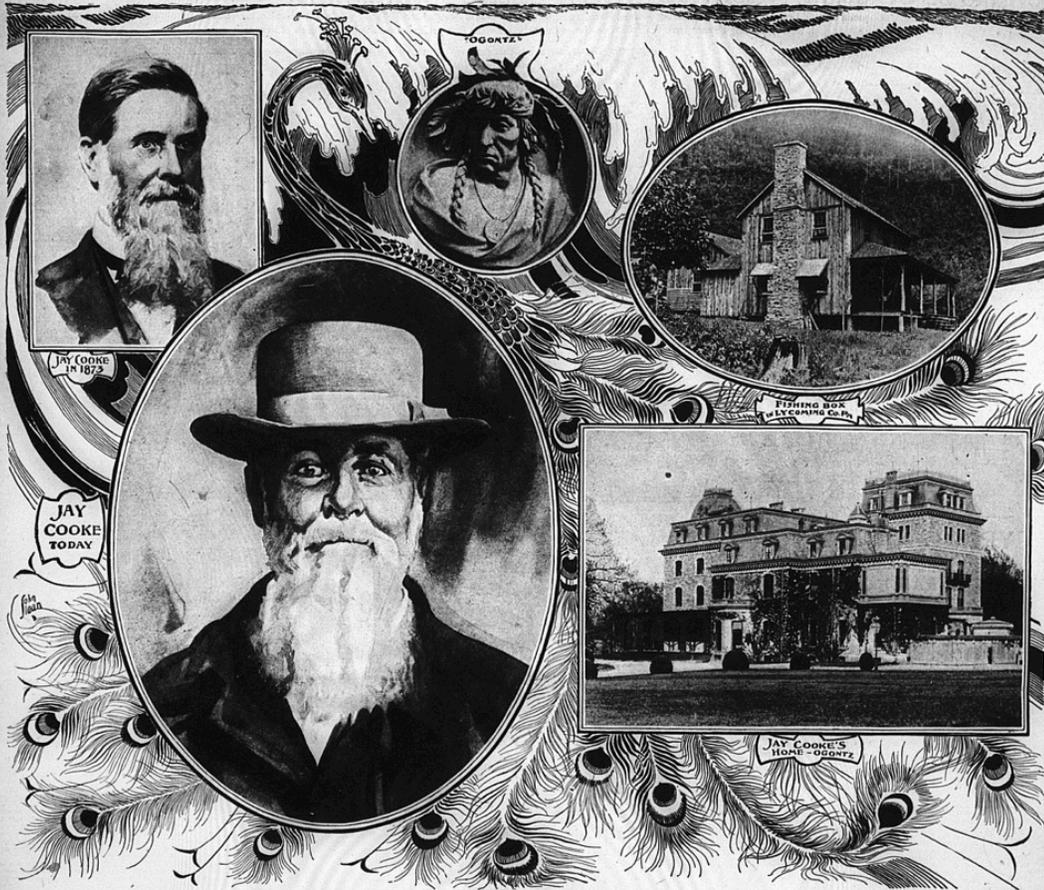
NEW LONDON. George Douglas Heriot is at present the leader, being closely followed by Arthur B. Alexander, W. H. Watt, Martin Meyer and Frank Shaw. The final game of the tournament will be played on Monday evening.

Fig. 1.62 - John Sloan, New York Herald, August 14, 1898, 11



# JAY COOKE---RISE, FALL AND REHABILITATION OF THE GREAT FINANCIER OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Twenty-five years ago today the famous firm of Jay Cooke & Co. suspended business. The panic of 1873 followed, when hundreds of other firms went to the wall. It was Mr. Cooke who floated millions of government bonds in the dark days of the civil war. His career is a remarkable one. He has recouped his losses, and at seventy-seven years of age is again a multi-millionaire.



## JUST A QUARTER CENTURY AGO JAY COOKE WENT INTO BANKRUPTCY.

—ONCE MORE A RICH MAN.—

He Was the Great Financier of the Civil War, and His Failure Brought on the Panic of 1873.

Living quietly in Philadelphia, still hale and hearty at seventy-seven, is Jay Cooke. Just twenty-five years ago today the banking house of Jay Cooke & Co. closed its doors, and the great panic of 1873 resulted. The man who had saved his nation from financial ruin was himself a bankrupt. The firm had 3,200 creditors. Every penny of the indebtedness has been paid, and in the twilight of his life...

Pacific enterprise, Mr. Cooke said—"When with a view to the railroad enterprise, I first looked over that great Northwestern section, the equities seemed at will and the Indians sought their game without molestation from any white man. Here and there were patches of white settlements, like spots of sunshine through the deep foliage of the forest; that Pacific coast there were patches of white settlements, so far apart that it required three months for communication one with the other. Now in that great region there are comfortably and ever increasingly located seven million persons. It was not very long before that when Mr. Baker, the founder of the city of Mekeo, on Puget Sound, went out as a boy to blaze the way for a settlement, under the survey of General Stevens, who was really the pioneer of the great Northwestern route. When I last saw Mr. Mekeo (who was still...

As it was the failure of Mr. Cooke's bank long house to meet the interest on the bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company twenty-five years ago that led to the panic of 1873, the real story of the Northern Pacific, told for the first time by Mr. Cooke himself, cannot fail to be interesting. **A Strange Scheme.** Said Mr. Cooke: "Joshua Furman, of Maine, obtained in 1854 a charter from Congress to build a railroad from Lake Superior down to Puget Sound. Mr. Furman had a single idea. He proposed to build a railroad without bonds, and to obtain the capital by selling the stock to small lots throughout the country—to make a sort of national 'penny' subscription to build a great transcontinental railroad. Of course, Mr. Furman's Utopian scheme fell through. Years after that, and after our house had completed its contract for raising war revenue for the government, I was asked to consider the development of...

to consider the question of capital. The original charter provided for no bonds, and it became necessary to have a special act of Congress passed authorizing the lending of a bonded indebtedness. To accomplish this, it was necessary to meet the tremendous opposition of the Union Pacific Railroad syndicate, accomplished, however, it finally was. This done, there was a meeting held at Chicago, Mr. Cooke's Philadelphia home, at which one of the chief features was James Crockett, the Oregon Minister to the United States, and accompanying him were a number of the greatest bankers of Germany. To be brief, the Northern Pacific scheme was talked over, and upon that evening Mr. Cooke was given an occasion on Amsterdam for \$200,000 in gold as more guarantee for an agreement that the bankers would contribute \$50,000,000 to build the Northern Pacific.

But the house of Jay Cooke & Co. will be better remembered from its connection with the work accomplished in raising the "money of war," the money necessary to carry on the operations of the government in the great rebellion. Colossal as the figures may appear, it is a fact that in one year, during which it was the sole financial agent of the government, the house of Jay Cooke & Co. transacted a business of three thousand million dollars. This was in the year in which the great 7-30 government loans were floated. Within less than five months of that year, Jay Cooke & Co. sold to the United States government \$200,000,000 in gold. Indeed, the reputation of Mr. Cooke and his place in history will be fixed by these enormous negotiations of the government during our great civil war. It may be compared with Robert Morris, for what Morris did for Washington Jay Cooke & Co. did for Lincoln.

Fig. 1.64 - John Sloan, *New York Herald*, September 18, 1898, fifth section, 2

In all this big, round world  
 There is not a paper  
 "The Press" doesn't  
 cover.

**The Philadelphia Press**

VOL. XLII. PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 28, 1898.—FOURTEEN PAGES.—Copyright, 1898, by The Press Co. TWO CENTS.

**MARCH OF THE NATION'S HEROES THROUGH THE COURT OF HONOR.**

**TRIUMPHANT IN WAR; IN PEACE UNDEDD**

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S ADDRESS. CLOVER CLUB'S GREAT DINNER

He Pays Tribute to the Men Who Were Left Behind.

**READY FOR THE CIVIC DABADE**

Fig. 1.65 - John Sloan and William Magaw, *The Philadelphia Press*, October 28, 1898, 1

colors to a contemporary.

SUNDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 13, 1898.—FORTY-EIGHT PAGES.—Copyright, 1898, by The Press Co. FIVE CENTS.

will it be safe to go in the direction  
 two columns.  
 Sound money is making converts  
 every day in the West. And what  
 is done as much as anything to  
 at the battle for it in that territory  
 is the increased prosperity of  
 people there.  
 We shall hear less and less of Popu-  
 lar and less and less of the free coinage  
 silver as the agricultural classes in  
 the West increase in prosperity. Good  
 and fair prices for the same are  
 foes of all "isms" and makeshifts.  
 Even the demagogue loses his voca-  
 bulary under such auspices, and inspired  
 the "boom" goes to work and shares  
 the general prosperity of his fel-  
 lows.  
 For my part, I think this country  
 under the administration of President  
 McKinley has embarked on a new era  
 of prosperity, which promises to con-  
 tinue for a long time to come if we are  
 wise and conservative. The people  
 are to have confidence in the wisdom  
 of the President, and confidence is a  
 thing to inspire business men and  
 more in their several enterprises.  
 As to the question of expansion which  
 now occupies the attention of good  
 men in both parties, that is a subject  
 I am not prepared at the time to  
 discuss for publication.  
 It is a great subject on which there  
 is a honest difference of opinion. When  
 time comes, if it ever shall, when I,  
 a public man, am compelled to de-  
 cide myself, I shall do so unequivocally  
 at present I prefer to remain si-  
 lent upon the subject."

**Views of Secretary Gage.**  
 Secretary of the Treasury Gage said—  
 "The people have again by their votes  
 decided the financial policy of the  
 public party which has been one  
 honest money. Wherever the issue  
 even free coinage on the one hand  
 sound money on the other has been  
 decided during the recent campaign sound  
 money has proved the victor.  
 "As a national issue, I think free  
 money is a closed incident. Good  
 money will kill any financial heresy,  
 a heresy after the other has gone  
 on before general prosperity."

**PRINCETON, 6;  
YALE, 0.**

**Tigers Defeat the Blue in One  
of the Most Exciting Con-  
tests on Record.**

**ARTHUR POE'S GLORIOUS RUN.**

**A Scion of Nassau's Great Foot  
Ball Family Makes the Only  
Touchdown of the Game.**

**SECURES THE BALL ON A FUMBLE**

**Like a Flash He Darts Away from the  
Mass of Struggling Players and  
Sprints 100 Yards to the Coveted  
Goal—Twenty Thousand Per-  
sons See the Game.**

*By Telegram from a Staff Correspondent.*  
 By one of the most remarkable runs  
 in the annals of foot ball, a delirium  
 inducing spectacular spirit of a hundred  
 yards, Princeton scored the only touch-  
 down and count in the annual gridiron  
 contest between the mandarins of Old  
 Nassau and the myriads of Yale, in  
 a game that was startling and heart-  
 breaking in its every minute.  
 By 6-0 the gallant Orange and Black  
 banner flaunted in proud victory over  
 the no less brilliant dark blue standard  
 of Old Yale in yesterday's championship  
 foot ball game under the spreading  
 branches of the ancient Princeton elms.  
 How big are all those Poe paps.  
 "That people call them great?"  
 Are they like Bantow or John L.  
 "Their fist a hundred weight?"  
 Oh, no my child, "it's not their size."  
 No bigger than a silk.  
 "The net itself makes them great."  
 "But greatness of their skill."

**UNCLE SAM MEANS TO WIN.**

**REED SURE TO BE SPEAKER**

**QUAY'S TRIAL**

**QUAY, MARTIN AND MAAGE.**

*General Grosvener Says He Will*

*Philadelphian Said to Have Naming*

**WANAMAKER  
ON QUAY**

**Declares the Sen-  
nouncement of  
Addition**

**WAS REBUKED BY P**

**Beaver Man Will  
155 Votes  
Him.**

**REWARD TO PREV**

**Ex-Postmaster General  
000 for Information  
Lead to the Convict  
one for Bribery  
terial Fig**

*Ex-Postmaster General  
has issued a vigorous sta-  
tement in the announcement  
for Quay of his candida-  
ture to the United States 9  
statement is as follows:  
"Matthew Stanley Qua-  
tion published yesterday  
the result of the recent  
personal triumph and  
announces himself a ca-  
didate to the United  
in response to what he  
invitation of the Repu-  
lican Club, recorded at 1  
The solicitude of this a-  
with Senator Quay's 9  
fulfilled the utterance  
Quay speaker recently  
Pennsylvania, Colonel  
become Governor by a  
popular vote, constant  
Senator Quay's re-lect  
issue in the campaign  
"Loyal Republicans we  
"Loyal Republicans we*

Fig. 1.66 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, November 18, 1898, 1

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS—SUNDAY, JULY 8, 1900.

# ATLANTIC CITY'S






## ATLANTICS DEAR GIRLS AND THEIR CHATTERING

Bring a Voice, Cut Loose and True Chronicle of What the Fair Maidens of the Gay Place Are Saying About Their Town and Their Behavior, in Order and a Dip in the Gaily "Thing" They "Do."

### THE PASSING THROUG.

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS

REGISTERED AT HOTELS

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS—SUNDAY, JULY 8, 1900.

# SUNNY STRANDS






## GREAT THROGS FLOCK TO GAY ASBURY.

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS

### DELIGHTFUL DAYS AT MT. POCONO

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS

### DEAFNESS CURED BLINDNESS PREVENTED

THE PHILADELPHIA PRESS

Fig. 1.67a, b - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, July 8, 1900, 4



# The Battle of Trenton to be Fought Again - 1911

The Saturday Press  
December 22, 1911

## A Sham Fight Over the Same Ground to Celebrate the 125th Anniversary of the Conflict That Turned the Tide of the Revolution.

By Col. George Nox McCain.

The 125th anniversary of the battle of Trenton, which was fought on Thursday, December 19, 1911, will be commemorated by a sham battle on the same ground as that of the original conflict. The sham battle will be fought on the same ground as that of the original conflict, and will be fought on the same ground as that of the original conflict.

The sham battle will be fought on the same ground as that of the original conflict, and will be fought on the same ground as that of the original conflict.

York Green had dreamed in a vision of the future. In the year 1911, the American army had had 400,000 men, and was to be the greatest army in the world. The British had been driven out of Long Island and New York City, and the American army had been victorious in the Battle of Trenton.

The British under Howe and Cornwallis had been driven out of the city, and the American army had been victorious in the Battle of Trenton.

Fig. 1.69 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, December 22, 1911, 11



Fig. 1.70 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, July 5, 1903



Fig. 1.71 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, January 5, 1902, 9



Fig. 1.72 - *Dolly at the piano at 806 Walnut Street*, 1902, Photograph, 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 6 in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.73 - John Sloan, *Dock Street Market*, 1903, Oil on canvas, 23  $\frac{5}{8}$  x 35  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, Alabama



Fig. 1.74 - John Sloan, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 27 ¼ x 36 in., Columbus Museum of Art



Fig. 1.75 - John Sloan, *The Philadelphia Press*, January 1, 1896, 4





Fig. 1.77 - John Sloan, *Fifth Avenue Critic*, 1905, Etching, 5 x 7 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.78 - John Sloan, *The Show Case*, 1905, Etching, 5 x 7 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.79 - John Sloan, *Fun, One Cent*, 1905, Etching, 5 x 7 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.80 - John Sloan, *Roofs, Summer Night*, 1906, Etching, 5 ¼ x 7 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.81 - John Sloan, *The Women's Page*, 1905, Etching, 5 x 7 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 1.82 - John Sloan, *Turning Out the Light*, 1905, Etching, 5 x 7 in., Delaware Art Museum

CHAPTER 2 / ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 2.1 - Unknown photographer, *Group of men standing around female nude model*, 1893, Photograph, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.2 - John Sloan, *Untitled*, 1893, [verso in pencil: 1893 Charcoal Club], Watercolor on paper, 10  $\frac{5}{8}$  x 8  $\frac{5}{8}$  in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.3 - John Sloan, *Professional Nurse*, 1893, [verso in pencil: 1893 Charcoal Club], Watercolor on paper, 10  $\frac{7}{8}$  x 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.4 - John Sloan, *Bust and Full Length Study of a Man*, May 24, 1893, [verso in pencil: 1893 Charcoal Club], Ink and Chinese white on bristol board, 9 1.2 x 11 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.5 - Harmelin, *Sculpture Class of Denys Puech at the Académie Julian*, c. 1892, Albumen print, Château-Musée, Nemours



Fig. 2.6 - F. Bianchi, *Académie Julian art students posing with artists' model*, c. 1912, John Henry Bradley Storrs papers, 1790-2007, bulk 1900-1956, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2.7 a, b - Attributed to Edward Boulton, *Students posing at the Philadelphia Art Students' League*, c. 1890, modern print from dry-plate negative, Philadelphia Museum of Art



Fig. 2.8 - Eugene Delacroix, *July 28: Liberty Leading the People*, 1830, Oil on canvas, 102.4 × 128 in., Musée du Louvre



Fig. 2.9 - *Liberty Enlightening the World*, c. 1884, Chromolithograph, 40 x 24 in., New York: Published by Root & Tinker, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.



Fig. 2.10 - "Colossal hand and torch. Bartholdi's statue of "Liberty,"" 1876, Stereoscope, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library



Fig. 2.11 - John Sloan, *The Charcoal Club is on the Wain*, 1893, Pencil on paper, 9 ½ x 14 ⅞ in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.12 - John Constable, *The Hay Wain*, 1821, Oil on canvas, 51.2 x 80 in., National Gallery of Art, London



Fig. 2.13 - William Merritt Chase, *Studio Interior*, c. 1882, Oil on canvas, 28 1/16 x 40 1/8 in., The Brooklyn Museum



Fig. 2.14 - *Photographic portrait of a group of 13 men looking at books in Robert Henri's Philadelphia studio, 1895, Photograph, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum*



Fig. 2.15 - *Photograph of John Sloan reclining*, 1895, Photograph, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.16 - Napoleon Sarony, *Oscar Wilde*, 1882, Albumen silver print, 12 x 7 ¼ in., Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 2.17 - *John Sloan reclining on sofa with feet propped on table, reading*, 1895, Photograph, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.18 - *Glackens in the studio he shared with Henri at 1717 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, c. 1894/5*, Photograph, Glackens Archives, Nova Southeastern University Art Museum, Fort Lauderdale



Fig. 2.19 - George Collins Cox, *William Merritt Chase's studio, West 10th St. N.Y.*, c. 1880, Photograph, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2.20 - Photograph of Everett Shinn with Robert Henri, and John Sloan, 1897, Photograph, Everett Shinn Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2.21 - M. Dornac, *James McNeill Whistler in his Paris studio at 86 rue Notre Dame des Champs*, 1890s, Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2.22 - *Photographic portrait of a group of 13 men looking at books in Robert Henri's Philadelphia studio, 1895, Photograph, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum*



Fig. 2.23 - *John Singer Sargent in his studio*, c. 1884, Photographs of artists in their Paris studios, 1880-1890, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2.24 - *Artists in costume in the Sherwood Studio Building*, 1889, Macbeth Gallery records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

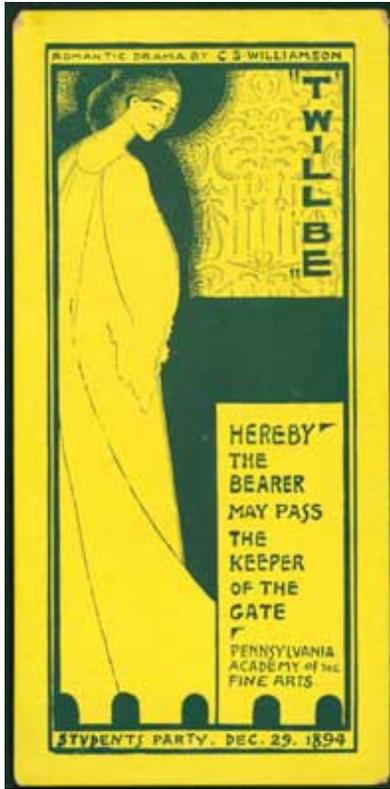


Fig. 2.25 - Ticket to Philadelphia Theatricals production of "Twillbe," December 29, 1894, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.26 - John Sloan and Frank Walter Taylor in the parody "Twillbe," 1894, Photograph, Everett Shinn collection, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

THIRD GRAND CHRISTMAS EFFUSION  
OF THE P. A. F. A. STUDENTS.

December 29, 1894.

Sensational Production of Chas. S. Williamson's

"TWILLBE"

In Four Acts and One Spectacle

Translated and Adapted from the French of George Domarryher.

THE CAST.

|                                                                |                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Twillbe—with Poetic Feet                                       | John Sloan           |
| Svengali—Musical, magnetic and merciless, in love with Twillbe | } Robert Henri       |
| Miss Sylvia Amanda Wontville—of East Manayunk                  |                      |
| Little Billee—An innocent kid in love with Twillbe             | } C. S. Williamson   |
| George Domarryher—the innocent cause of it all                 |                      |
| Taffy—A Welsh Apollo, in love with Twillbe                     | } Everitt Shinn      |
| James McNails Whiskers—with a chip on his shoulder             |                      |
| Laird of Phippen—A canny Scot with a scant kilt and a clear    | } E. Wyatt Davis     |
| conscience, in love with Twillbe                               |                      |
| Melpomene—Festive, light and airy                              | } W. J. Glackens     |
| Gecko—A Fiddling Genius, in love with Twillbe                  |                      |
| Lydia Pinkham—Billee's fond mamma, not in love with Twillbe    | } J. E. Laub         |
| Mrs. Jack Sprat—An Epicure                                     |                      |
| Professor Darkhurst—A Tiger Tamer                              | } Dennis Kelly       |
| The Mermaid—A Nautical Nightingale                             |                      |
| Hicks—A Waiter                                                 | } Frank A. Taylor    |
| Jack Sprat—A Chronic Kicker                                    |                      |
| Miss Lavina Hunks of Chicago                                   | } J. M. Preston      |
| Miss Blaggs of Boston                                          |                      |
| The Royal Bengal Tiger                                         | } Preston and Taylor |
| The Harper Brothers—who were very sorry                        |                      |

SYNOPSIS.

ACT I. Scene 1. Noon—Studio of the three Englishers—Svengali and Gecko—"Milk Below"—Ben Bolt—"We all love her."

Scene 2. Christmas—same studio—"Her left foot haunts me still"—The magnetic cure—Blood between Whiskers and Domarryher—The Twentieth Proposal—in spite of the vigorous efforts of the management to restrain them, it is feared that during this scene the following specialties will be perpetrated)

Death of Mr. Hyde,

A Bowl of Soup,

The Calipian Quartette Twillbe, Laird, Darkhurst, Little Billee.

Scene 3. Same studio you were in before, only two weeks later—Lydia Pinkham's visit—the elopement—despair and death—the pursuit.

ACT II. Scene 1. North Ninth Street—The Greatest Show on earth—Twillbe's Foot.

Scene 2. Interior of museum—the tiger—the waxworks "tis she"—the flight—the balloon—the tigers meal. The curtain will rise at the end of this act disclosing Memorial Tableaux.

ACT III. Scene 1. The North Pole—Found—The Ice Breaks—Lost.

Scene 2. An Island in the Tropics—more Hypnotism—Lydia again—the escape.

Scene 3. Near Atlantic City—Death of Svengali—Sweet Liberty.

ACT IV. Interior of Ducal Castle of Battlements—Five o'clock tea—Everybody arrives—The three heiresses—The fate of Twillbe. The Tragic music. Grand Transformation—Mount Helicon the abode of the muses—Georgous, Startling, Magnificent—March of the muses.

The Orchestra under the direction of Prof. J. C. Fireman will render the following selections. Washington Post March. "America." Germany. Selection from Princess Bonnie. Il Trovatore and a jingle of popular airs.

EXECUTIVE STAFF.

E. Wyatt Davis,  
Chas. S. Williamson,  
John Sloan,

Business Manager,  
Stage Manager and Carpenter,  
Scenic Artist.

Fig. 2.27 - Program for the Philadelphia Theatricals production of "Twillbe", December 29, 1894, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.28 - Photograph of Everett Shinn in Costume, 1894, Photograph, Everett Shinn Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

**TWILLBE**  
ROMANTIC DRAMA IN 4 ACTS  
TRANSLATED & ADAPTED  
FROM THE FRENCH BY G. DOMMAYRER  
BY  
**CHAS. S. WILLIAMSON**  
DEC. 29<sup>TH</sup> '94.  
8. P. M.

time, and she all provided a first thought taking a train the agencies of which she was to try quick the however, has deserted to its helplessness, and having a caused by the also impertuous job, which it ceases. This transformed a and they start

All the eyes are in our eyes here

Then comes the, and play about Helton

**Twillbe**.....  
Monsieur.....  
Miss Manville.....  
Little Nipper.....  
George Lecomte.....  
James Hebble.....  
Lord of Hesper.....  
Monsieur.....  
Lola Fuchsel.....  
Mrs. Ann Smith.....  
The Countess.....  
Jan. Harcourt.....  
Miss Harlow.....  
The Duke.....  
The Duke's

**MASTERS**

THE OPENING MEMORIAL AMERICAN

A unique entertainment was given last night at the Academy of the Fine Arts, where a very cleverly constructed burlesque of De Maitre's French and most successful novel was presented.

the three disreputable Englishmen whose, who at once agree that "nothing is left now but to do" In the next scene Tuffy and Little Miller are discovered in mid-ocean on

Two hundred the number of tickets are now sold. Five fifty-seventy a row, with few to the extent of

Fig. 2.29 - Edward Wyatt Davis, Notice for Twillbe, Philadelphia Inquirer, December 30, 1894, 20

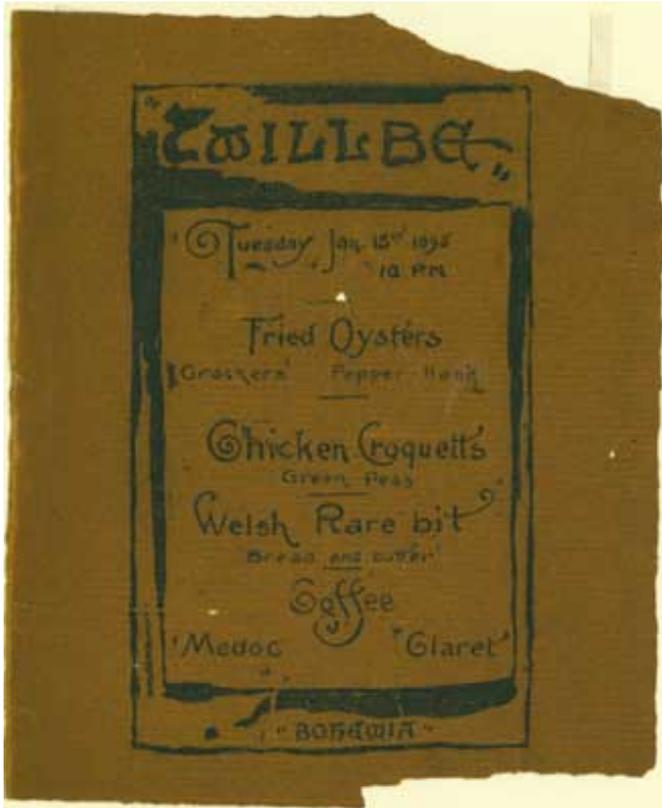


Fig. 2.30 - Menu for the Philadelphia Theatricals production of "Twillbe," December 29, 1894, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.31—32 - Photographs from "The Widow Cloonan's Curse," 1893, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

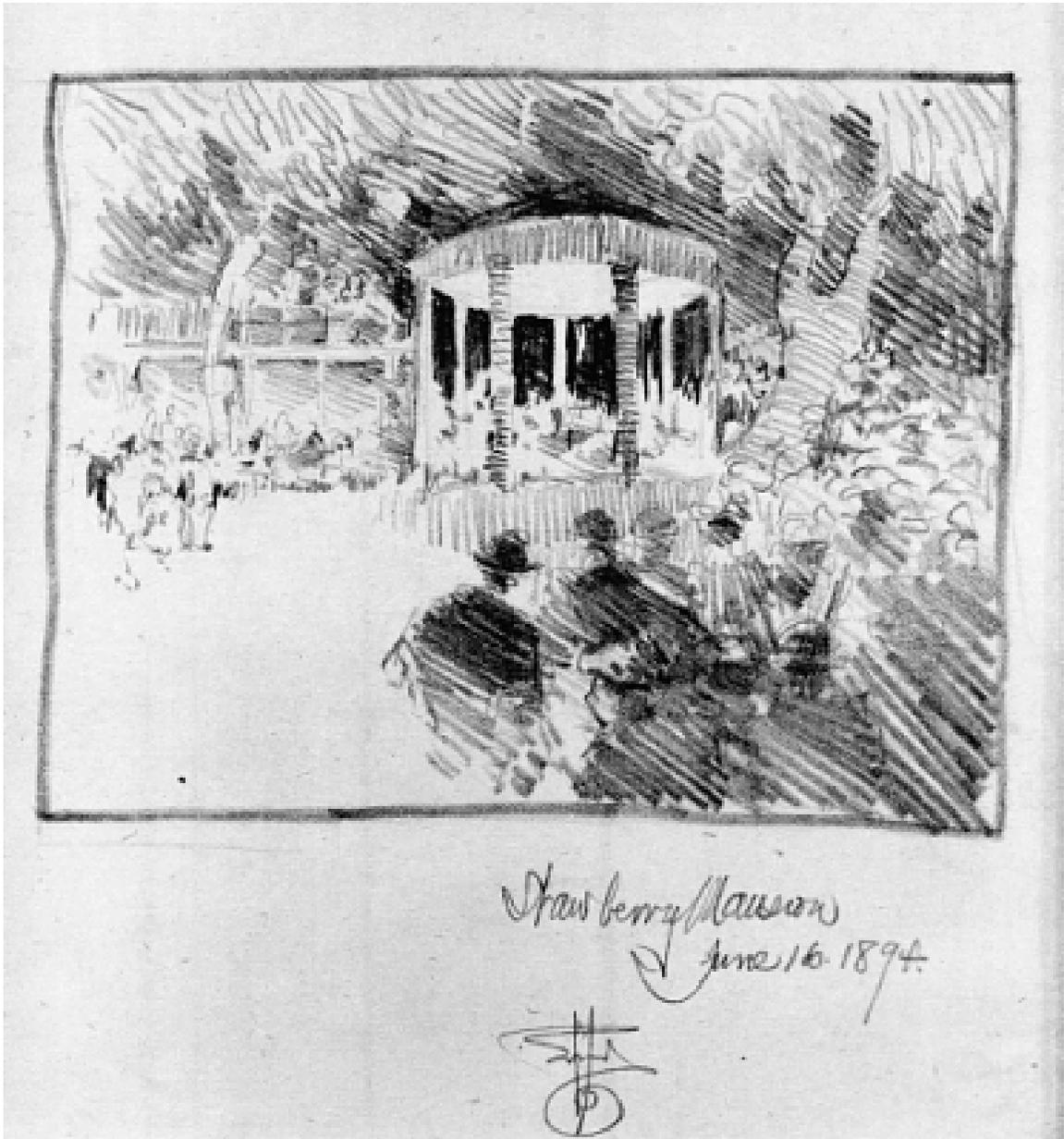


Fig. 2.33 - Robert Henri, *Strawberry Mansion*, June 16, 1894, Pencil on paper, 11 5/16 x 7 7/8 in., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution

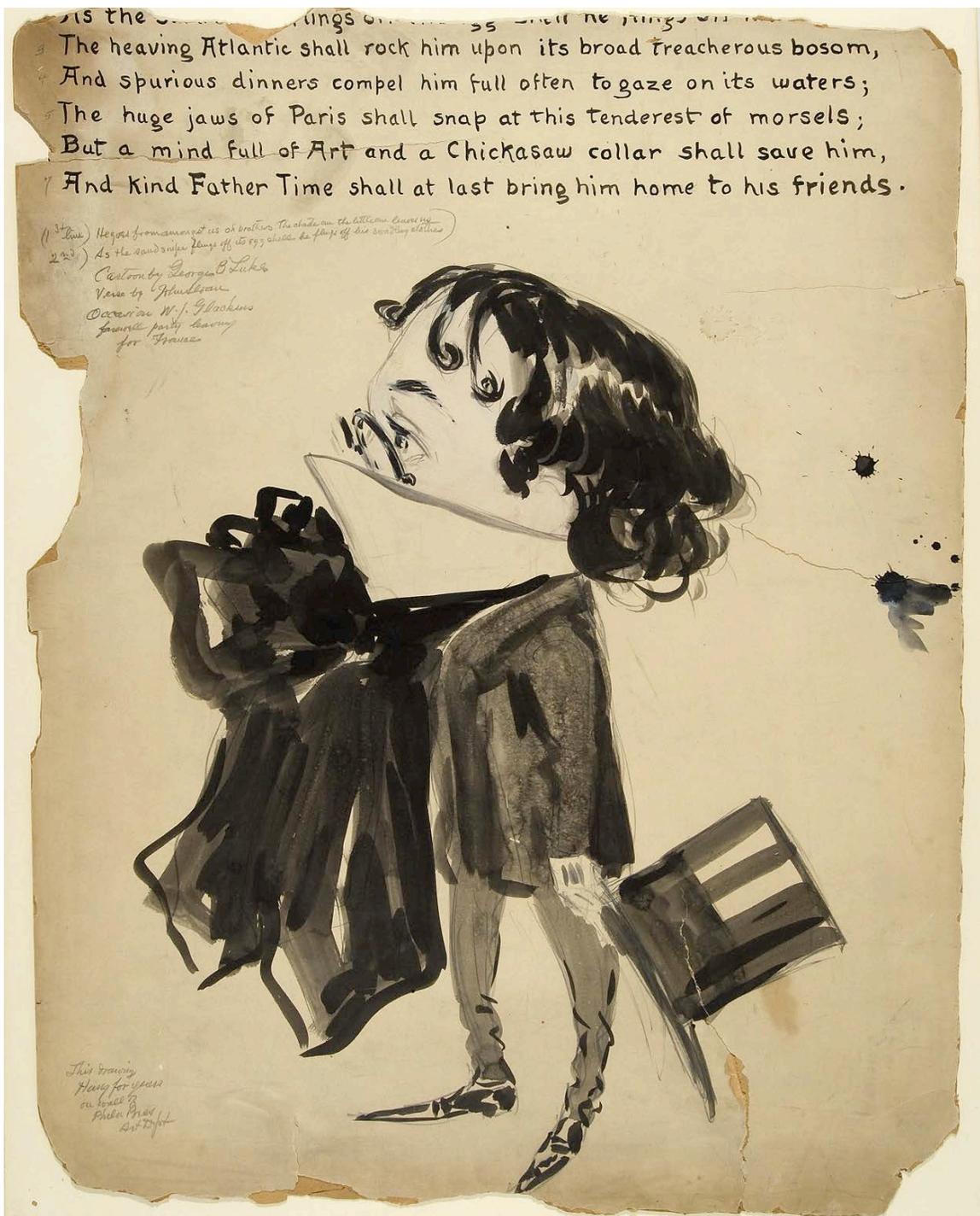


Fig. 2.34 - George Luks, *Caricature of William Glackens* [poem by John Sloan], 1895, Ink on bristol board, 26  $\frac{1}{8}$  x 20  $\frac{3}{4}$  in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

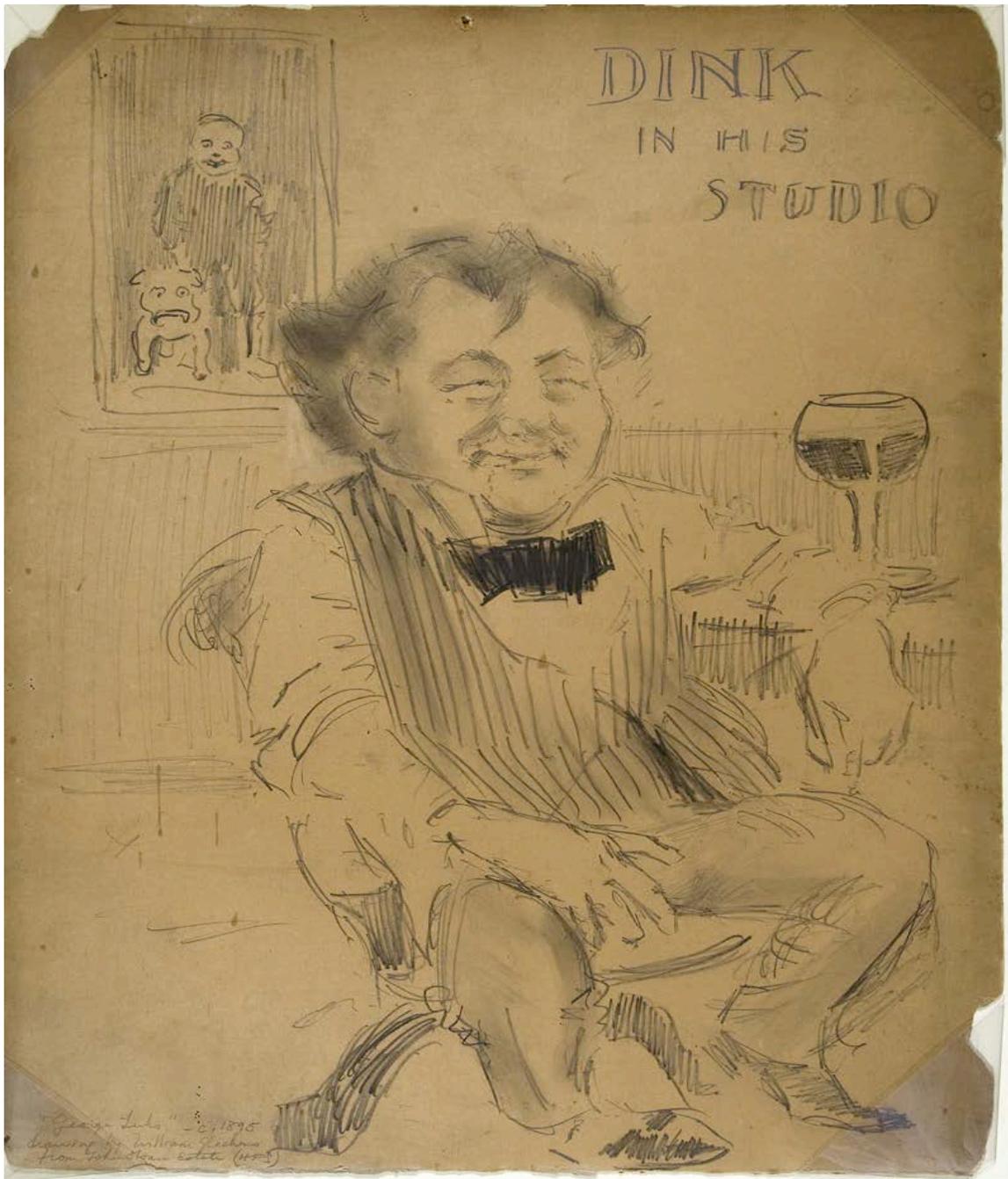


Fig. 2.35 - William Glackens, *Caricature of George Luks, Dink in His Studio*, c. 1895, Graphite and charcoal on bristol board, 14  $\frac{3}{8}$  x 11  $\frac{3}{8}$  in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.36 - *Photograph of George Luks participating in a mock boxing match, taken at 806 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, 1895, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum*



Fig. 2.37 - *Photograph of George Luks participating in a mock boxing match, December 1895, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum*



Fig. 2.38 - George Luks letter to Everett Shinn, Sept 20, c. 1890s, Everett Shinn Collection, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2.39 - Gustave Courbet, *The Artist's Studio*, a real allegory summing up seven years of my artistic and moral life, 1854-1855, Oil on canvas, 142 x 235.4 in., Musée d'Orsay



Fig. 2.40 - Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn, *Artist in his Studio*, c. 1628, Oil on panel, 9  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 12  $\frac{1}{2}$  in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Fig. 2.41 - William Sidney Mount, *The Painter's Triumph*, 1838, Oil on wood, 23 9/16 x 19 1/2 in., Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

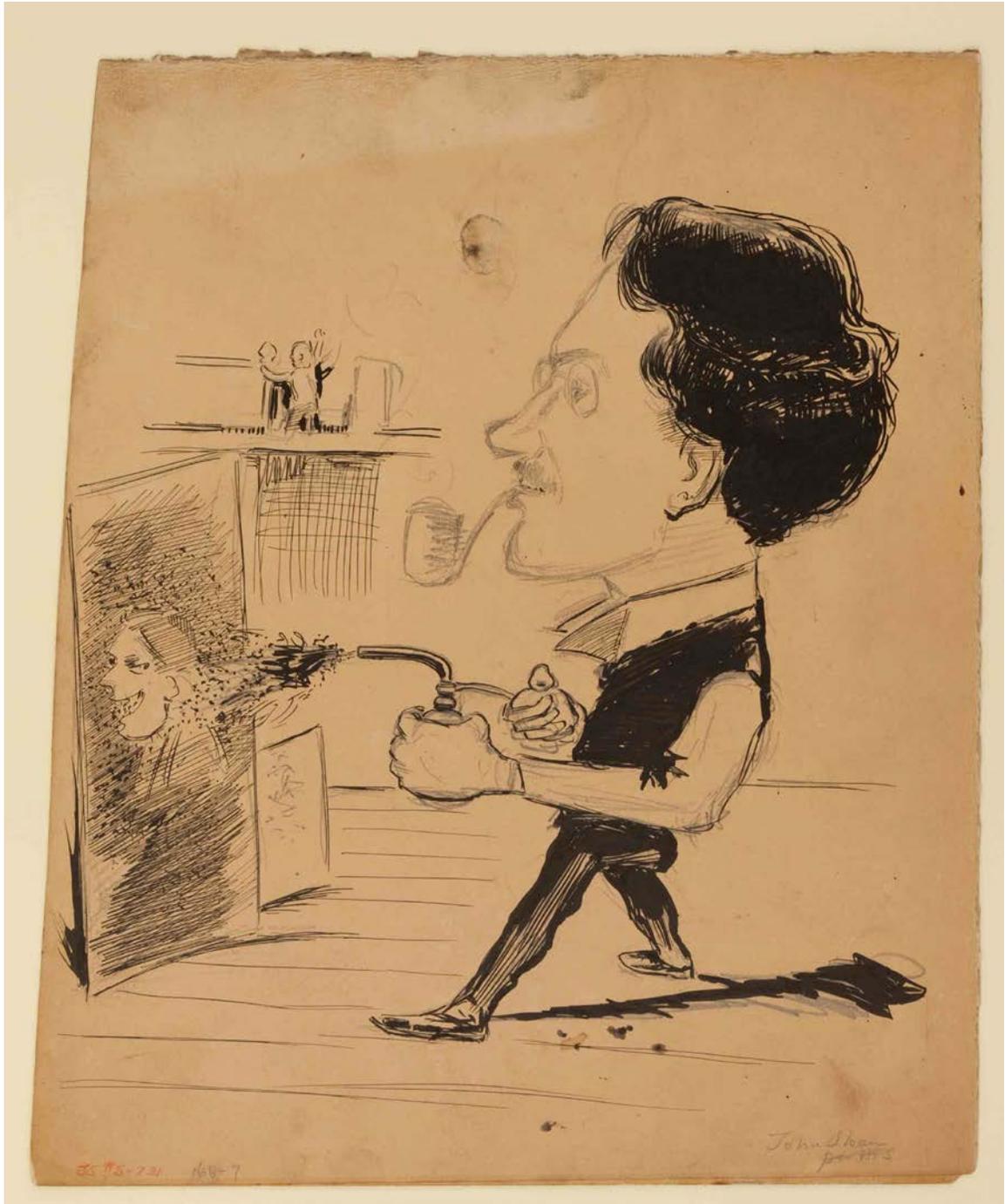


Fig. 2.42 - John Sloan, *Painter [Self-Portrait]*, c. 1895, Ink on board, 11  $\frac{3}{8}$   $\times$  9  $\frac{9}{16}$  in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 2.43 - *Photograph of Sloan sitting at his easel in his 705 Walnut Street studio, February 1893, John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum*



Fig. 2.44 - John Sloan, *Self-Portrait*, 1890, Oil on window shade, 14 x 11  $\frac{7}{8}$  in., Delaware Art Museum

CHAPTER 3 / ILLUSTRATIONS

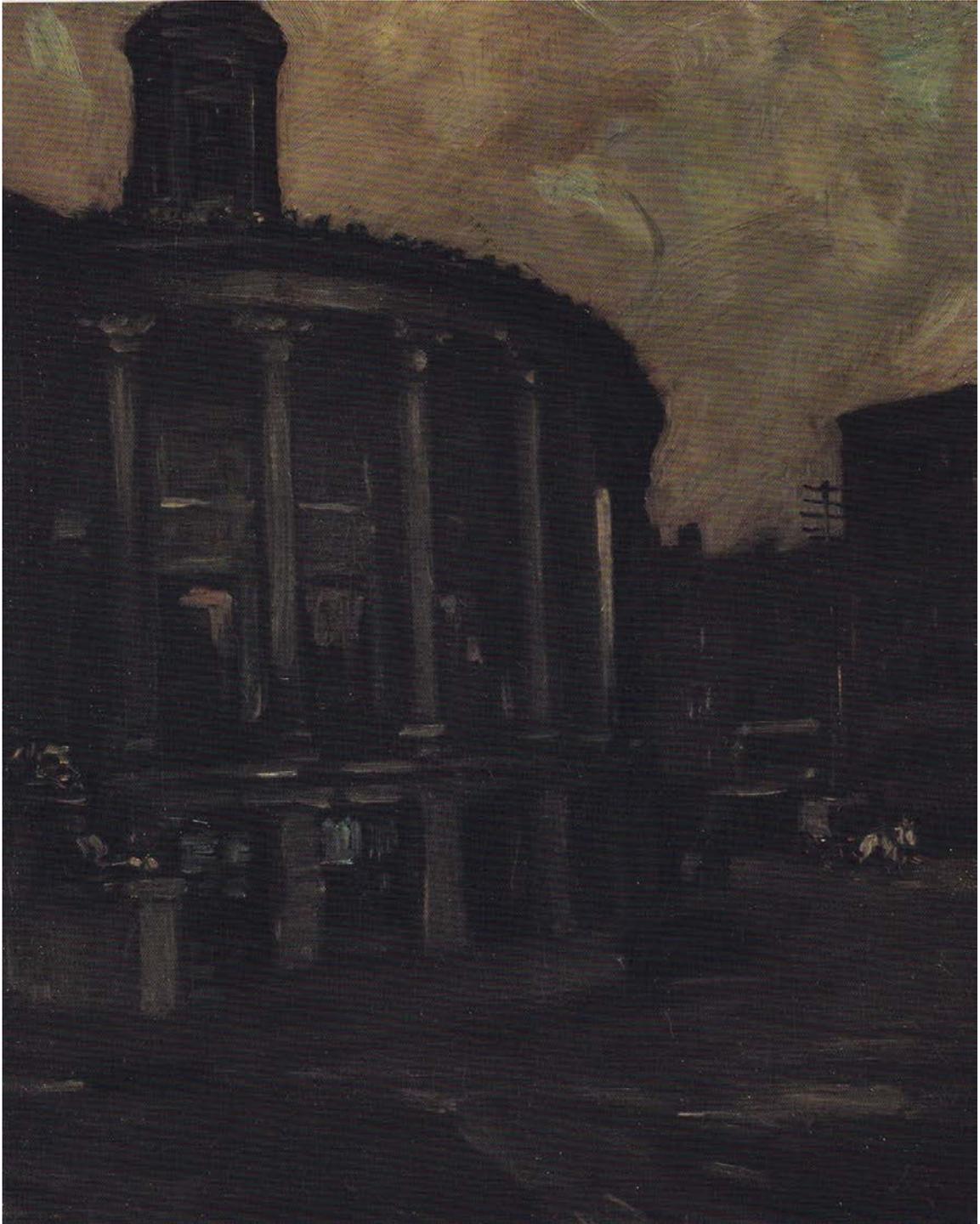


Fig. 3.1 - John Sloan, *Philadelphia Stock Exchange*, c. 1898, Oil on canvas, 16 x 13 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.2 - John Sloan, *Night, Washington Square, Philadelphia*, c. 1898, Oil on canvas, 21 15/16 x 25 7/8 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.3 - John Sloan, *Little Dark Street in Philadelphia*, c. 1898, Oil on canvas, c. 16 x 14 in., Unlocated



Fig. 3.4 - John Sloan, *Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia*, 1900, Oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 32 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.5 - John Sloan, *Independence Square, Philadelphia*, 1900, Oil on canvas, 27 x 22 in., Michael Altman Fine Art, New York



Fig. 3.6 - John Sloan, *Tugs, Delaware River*, 1900, Oil on canvas, 24 x 32 in., Des Moines Art Center



Fig. 3.7 - John Sloan, *Schuylkill River*, 1900-1902, Oil on canvas, 24 x 32 in., Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.8 - John Sloan, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 27 ¼ x 36 in., Columbus Museum of Art



Fig. 3.9 - John Sloan, *View from roof of 806 Walnut Street (showing Walnut Street Theater)*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.10 - John Sloan, *View from roof of 806 Walnut Street*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum

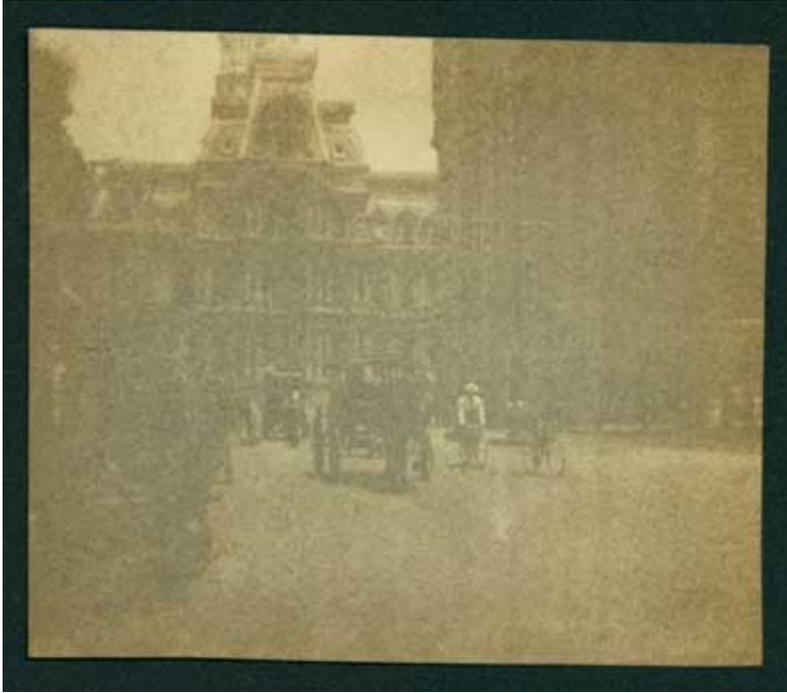


Fig. 3.11 - John Sloan, *View of City Hall*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.12 - John Sloan, *Untitled*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.13 - John Sloan, *Untitled*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.14 - John Sloan, *Untitled*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.15 - John Sloan, *Untitled*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.16 - John Sloan, *Untitled*, c. 1898, Photograph, 7 ½ x 8 ¼ in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.17 - William Glackens, *Philadelphia Landscape*, Oil on canvas, 17 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 24 in., Nova Southeastern University Art Museum, Fort Lauderdale



Fig. 3.18 - Robert Henri, *Sansom Street, Philadelphia*, 1897, Oil on canvas, 32 x 23 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in., Palmer Museum of Art, The Pennsylvania State University



Fig. 3.19 - William Merritt Chase, *A City Park*, c. 1887, Oil on canvas, 13 5/8 x 19 5/8 in., Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 3.20 - Childe Hassam, *A City Fairyland*, 1886, Oil on canvas, 20 x 33 in., Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Peabody



Fig. 3.21 – Postcard with view of “Merchant’s Old Stock Exchange,” c. 1900, George Brightbill Postcard Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia



Fig. 3.22 - Robert Henri, *Dans la Rue (In the Street)*, 1897, Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in., Location unknown. Reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, *Robert Henri: His Life and Art* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991), 34



Fig. 3.23 - William Glackens, *Figures in a Park*, 1895, Oil on canvas, 25 x 32 in., Private Collection



Fig. 3.24 - William Glackens, *Outside the Guttenberg Race Track (New Jersey)*, 1897, Oil on canvas, 25 ½ x 32 in., Nova Southeastern University Art Museum, Fort Lauderdale



Fig. 3.25 - Everett Shinn, *Cross Streets of New York*, 1899, Charcoal, watercolor, pastel, white chalk, and Chinese white on blue-gray paper, 21  $\frac{5}{8}$  x 29  $\frac{1}{4}$  in., Corcoran Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



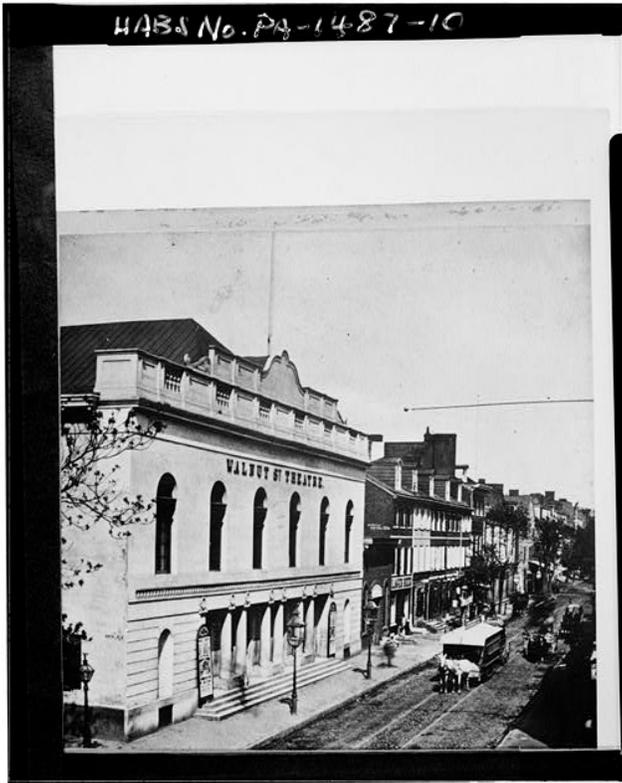


Fig. 3.27 - *Walnut Street Theater*, late 1880s, Photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.



Fig. 3.28 - *Walnut Street Theater*, circa 1900, Photograph, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.



Fig. 3.29 - "May Irwin's Kiss," from *The Widow Jones* vitascope, 1896, The Edison Manufacturing Company



Fig. 3.30 - Postcard with view of Walnut Street Theater, c. 1900, George Brightbill Postcard Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia



Fig. 3.31 - Charles Willson Peale, *The Artist in His Museum*, 1822, Oil on canvas, 103.5 in × 80 in., Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts



Fig. 3.32 - William Birch, *The City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania North America; as it appeared in the Year 1800*, 1800, Engraving, Historical Society of Pennsylvania



Fig. 3.33 - John Lewis Krimmel, *Election Day in Philadelphia*, 1815, Oil on canvas, 16.3 x 25.45 in., Winterthur Museum



Fig. 3.34 - John C. McRae, *Pennsylvania State House*, 1776, Print and Picture Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia

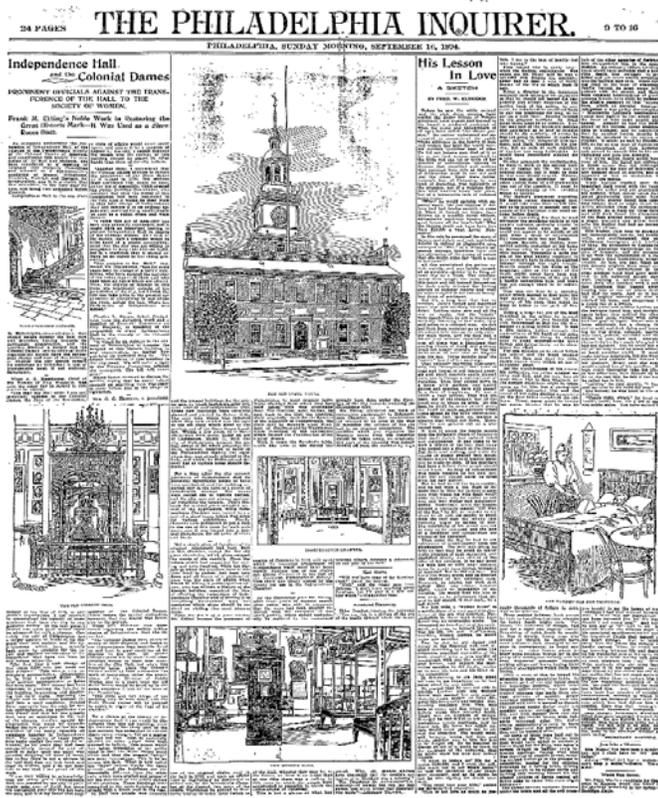


Fig. 3.35 - Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 16, 1894, 9



Fig. 3.36 - The Philadelphia Press, July 3, 1898, 23

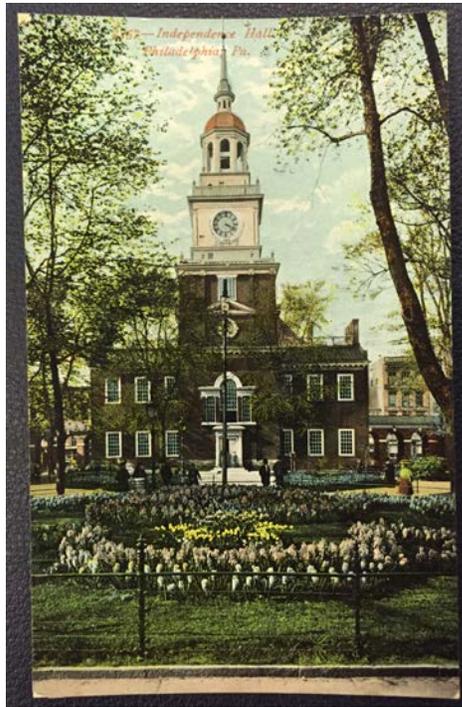
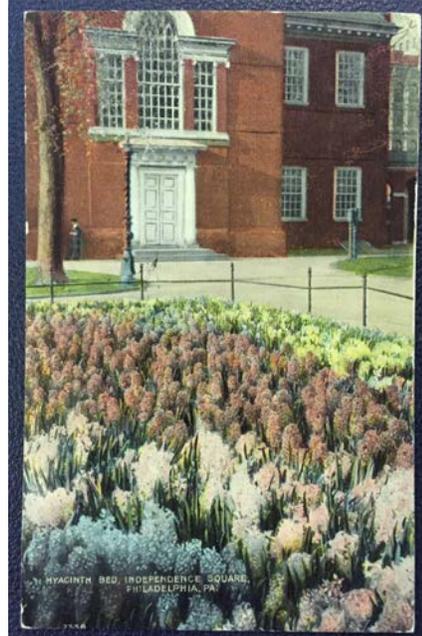
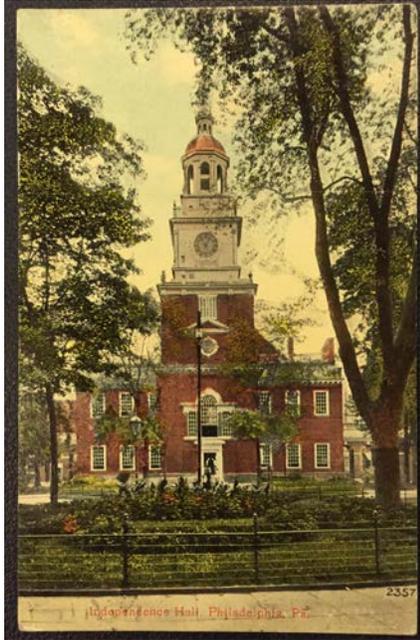


Fig. 3.37a, b, c - Postcards with views of Independence Hall, c. 1900, George Brightbill Postcard Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia

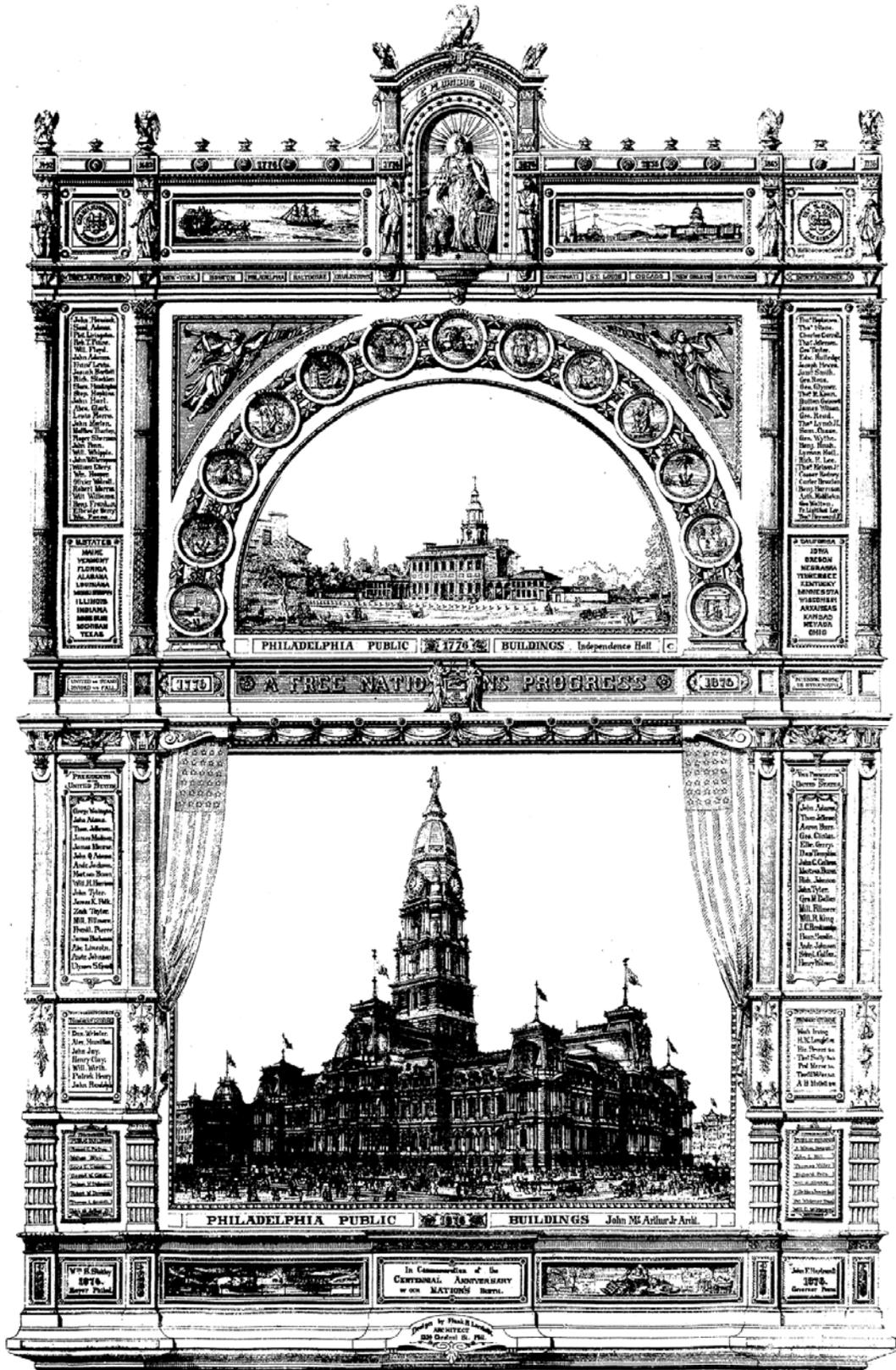


Fig. 3.38 - *The Daily Graphic*, New York, December 2, 1875, Centennial Exhibition, Special Format Records, Scrapbooks, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Archives

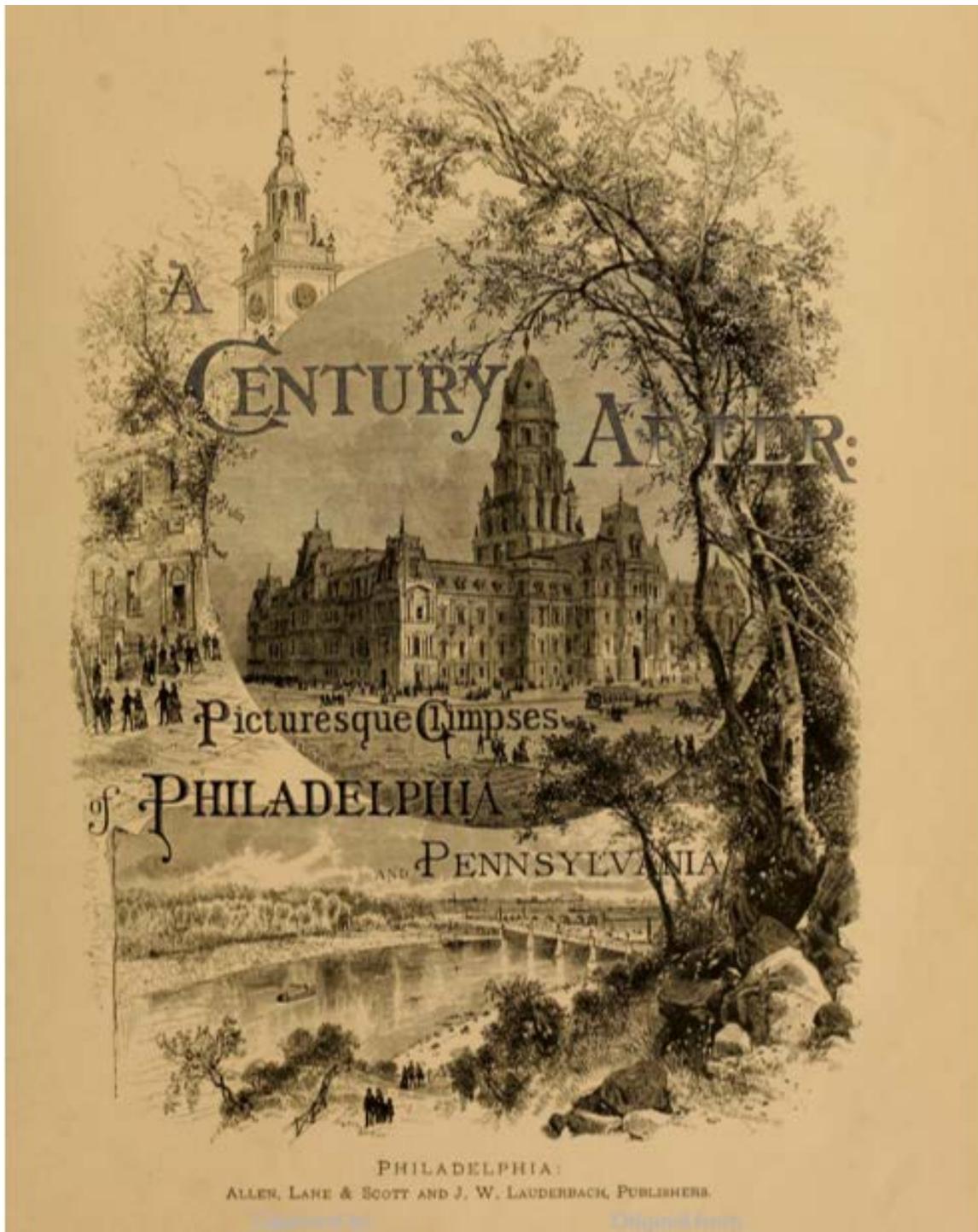


Fig. 3.39 - Edward Strahan, ed. *A Century After: Picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania including Fairmount, the Wissahickon, and other Romantic Localities, with the Cities and Landscapes of the State. A Pictorial Representation of Scenery, Architecture, Life, Manners and Character.* Philadelphia: Allen, Lane, Scott & J. W. Lauderbach, 1875

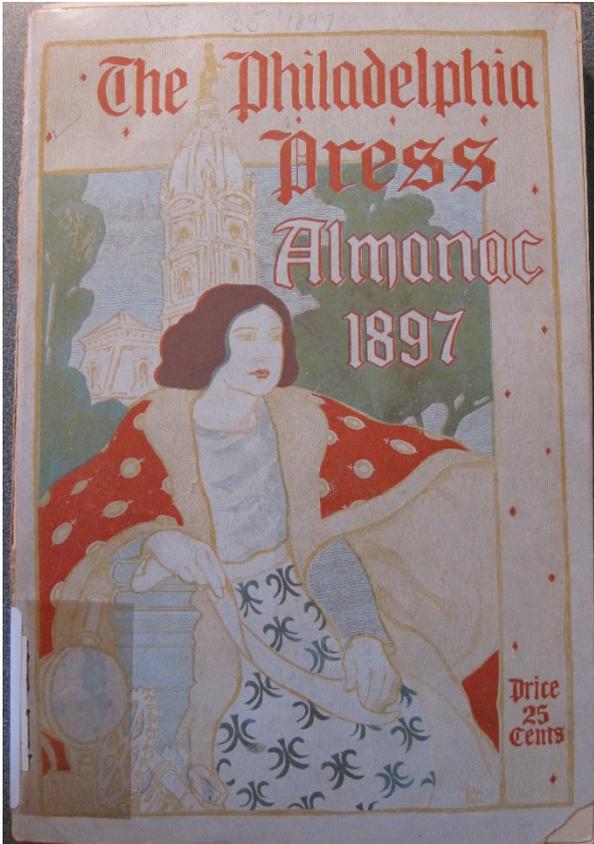


Fig. 3.40 - John Sloan, Cover, *The Philadelphia Press Almanac*, 1897, Historical Society of Pennsylvania



CITY HALL

Fig. 3.41 - Photo of City Hall from Agnes Repplier, *Philadelphia: The Place and Its People*, 1898





Fig. 3.44 - John Sloan, Photographs of *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, n.d., Reprints of photographs, 8 x 10 in. each, Rowland Elzea Catalogue Raisonné Files on John Sloan, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.45 a, b - Details of John Sloan, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, Photographs by author

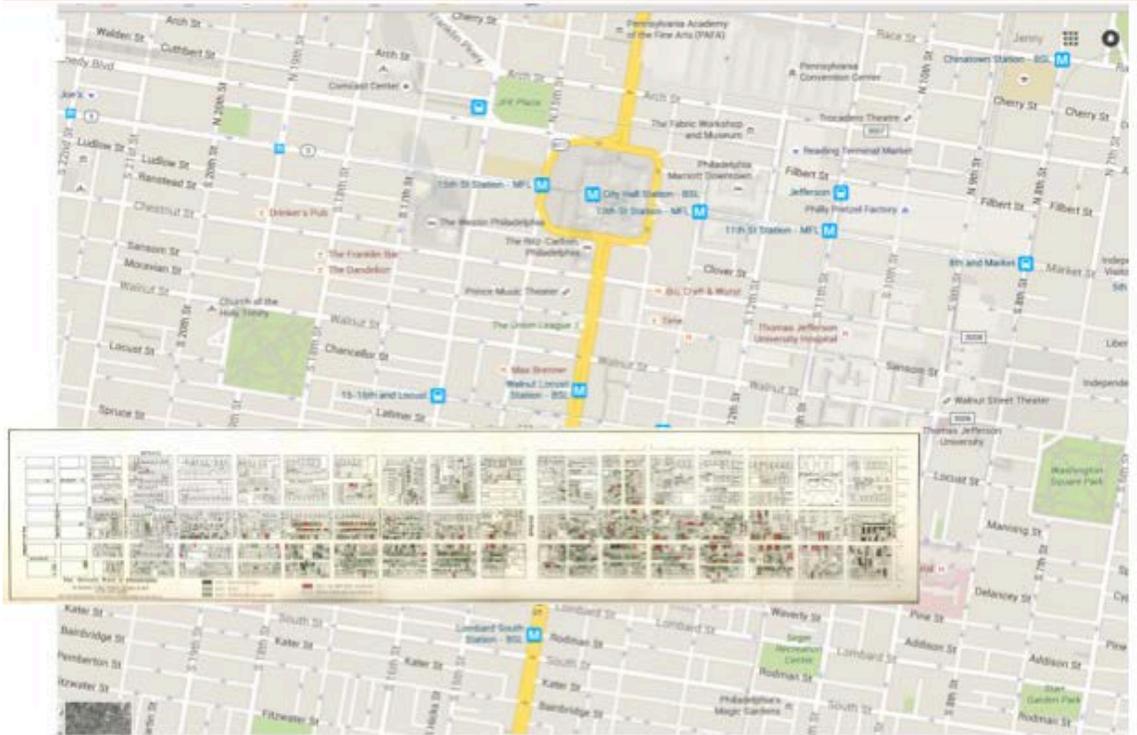


Fig. 3.46 - W. E. B. DuBois's map of the black population in the Seventh Ward (1899) superimposed on a map of downtown Philadelphia (approximation) to show its relation to City Hall. Map from W. E. B. Du Bois, *Series in political economy and public law. The Philadelphia Negro; a social study by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Together with a special report on domestic service by Isabel Eaton*. Vol. 14. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899. Taken from <http://stillfamily.library.temple.edu/maps/du-bois-seventh-ward-map> (Accessed February 2016)



Fig. 3.47 - Still from Lumière Brothers, *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* (*The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station*), 1895, Film



Fig. 3.48a, b - Still from Lumière Brothers, *La Sortie des Usines Lumière à Lyon* (*Workers Leaving The Lumière Factory in Lyon*), 1895, Film



Fig. 3.49 - Childe Hassam, *Washington Arch, Spring*, c. 1893 (inscribed 1890), 27 1/8 x 22 1/2 in., The Phillips Collection

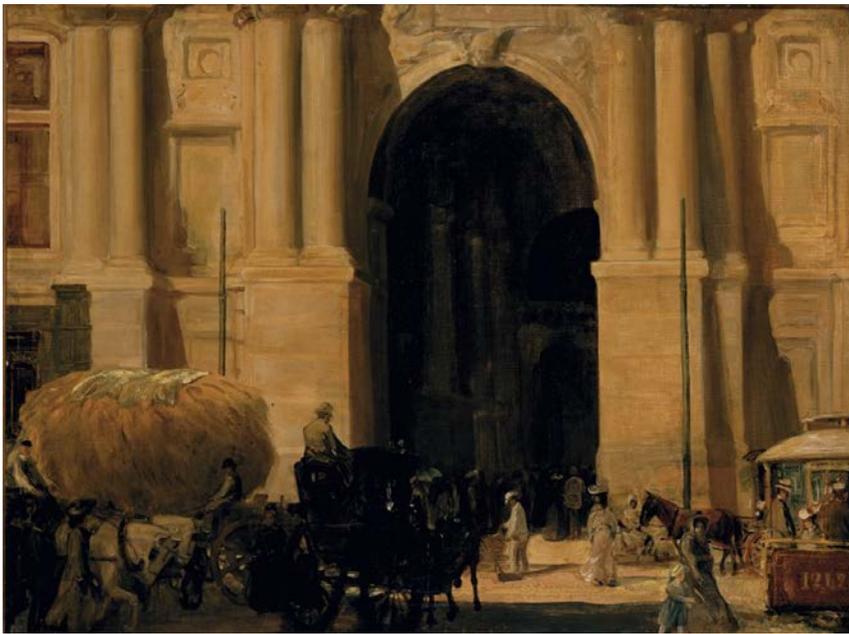


Fig. 3.50 - John Sloan, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 27 1/4 x 36 in., Columbus Museum of Art



Fig. 3.51 - Robert Henri, *East River Embankment, Winter*, 1900, Oil on canvas, 24 3/4 x 32 1/8 in., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 3.52 - Robert Henri, *Street Scene with Snow (57<sup>th</sup> Street, NYC)*, 1902, Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in., Yale University Art Gallery



Fig. 3.53 - William Glackens, *Hammerstein's Roof Garden*, c. 1901, Oil on linen, 29  $\frac{7}{8}$  x 24  $\frac{13}{16}$  in., Whitney Museum of American Art



Fig. 3.54 - George Luks, *The Butcher Cart*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 22 x 27 in., Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 3.55 - George Luks, *Hester Street*, 1905, Oil on canvas, 25  $\frac{13}{16}$  x 35  $\frac{7}{8}$  in., Brooklyn Museum



Fig. 3.56 - Everett Shinn, *Tenements at Hester Street*, 1900, India ink and pastel on gray paper, 8  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 12  $\frac{7}{8}$  in., The Phillips Collection



Fig. 3.57 - Everett Shinn, *The Hippodrome, London*, 1902, Oil on canvas, 26 5/16 x 35 3/16 in., Art Institute of Chicago





Fig. 3.59 - Pennsylvania State Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893



Fig. 3.60 - Virginia State Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893

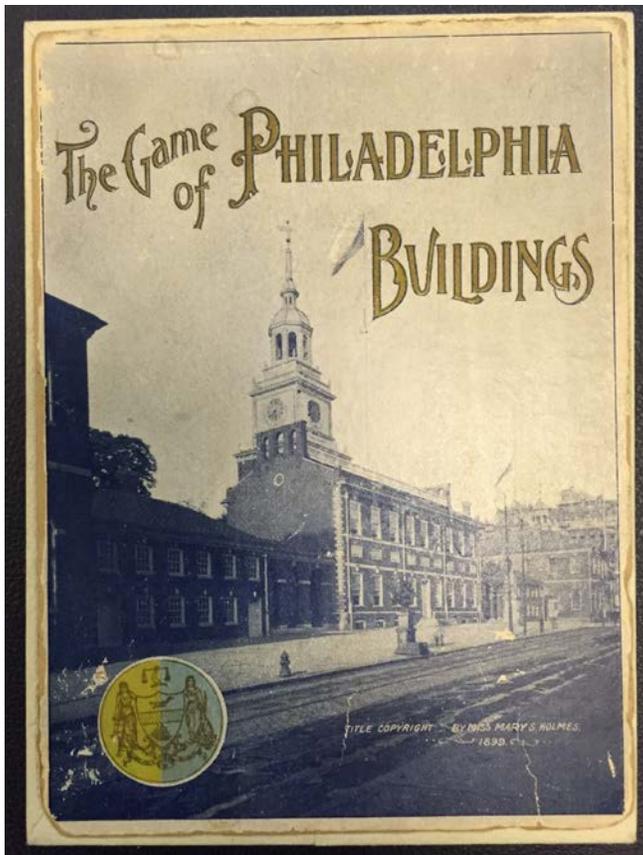


Fig. 3.61 - *The Game of Philadelphia Buildings*, 1899, 1 box (53 prints): Halftone photomechanical prints; box (6 x 4.5 in.), Library Company of Philadelphia



Fig. 3.62 - Card No. 1 picturing Independence Hall, *The Game of Philadelphia Buildings*, 1899, 1 box (53 prints): Halftone photomechanical prints; box (6 x 4.5 in.), Library Company of Philadelphia

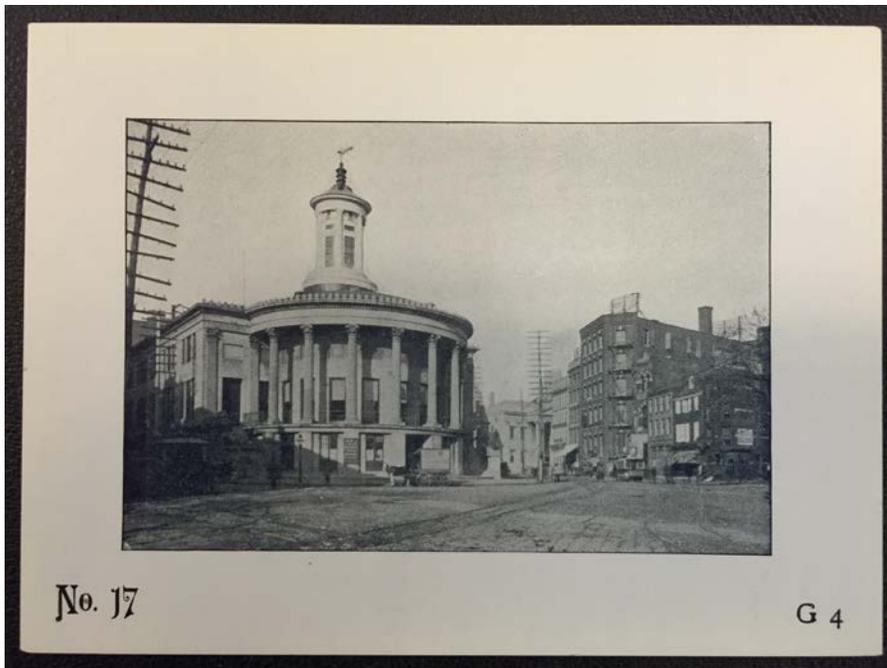


Fig. 3.63 - Card No. 17 picturing the Stock Exchange, *The Game of Philadelphia Buildings*, 1899, 1 box (53 prints): Half-tone photomechanical prints; box (6 x 4.5 in.), Library Company of Philadelphia



Fig. 3.64 - Card No. 52 picturing City Hall, *The Game of Philadelphia Buildings*, 1899, 1 box (53 prints): Half-tone photomechanical prints; box (6 x 4.5 in.), Library Company of Philadelphia



Fig. 3.65 - John Sloan, *Ferry Slip, Winter*, 1905-6, Oil on canvas, 21 ½ x 31 ½ in., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution

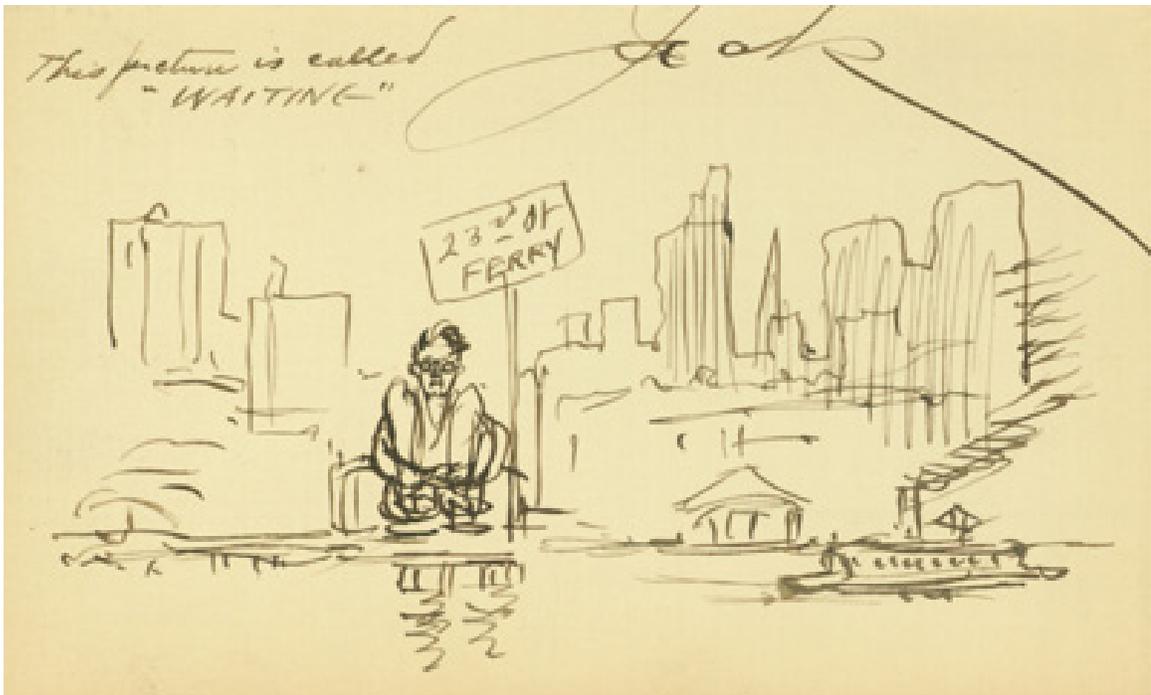


Fig. 3.66 - Detail of a letter, John Sloan to Dolly Sloan ("Waiting"), February 21, 1906, Ink on paper, 6 ¾ x 10 in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.67 - John Sloan, *Sunset, West Twenty-Third Street*, 1905-6, Oil on canvas, 24  $\frac{3}{8}$  x 36  $\frac{1}{4}$  in., Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska



Fig. 3.68 - John Sloan, *Spring, Madison Square*, 1905-6, Oil on canvas, 30 x 36 in., Chazen Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison



Fig. 3.69 - John Sloan, *The Dust Storm, Fifth Avenue*, 1906, Oil on canvas, 22 x 27 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art

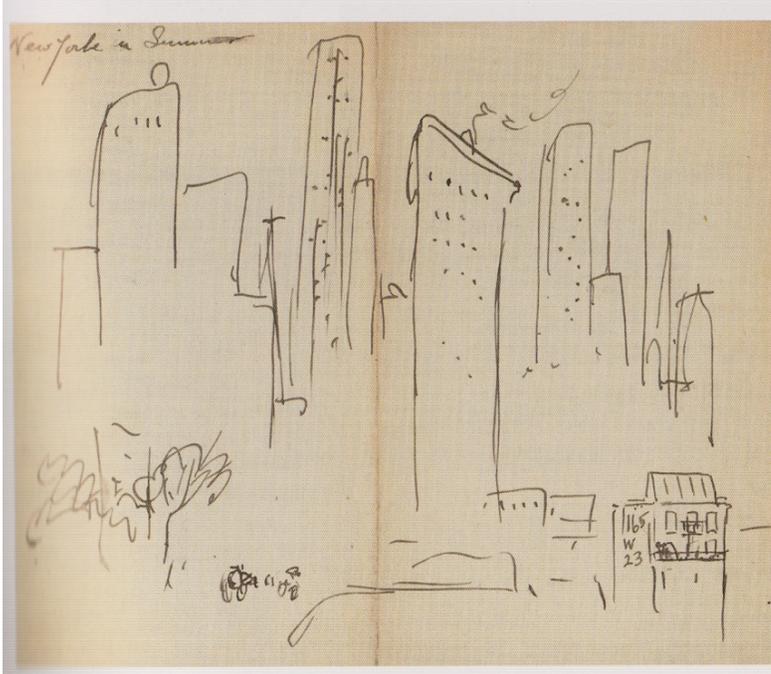


Fig. 3.70 - Detail of letter, John Sloan to Dolly Sloan (“New York in Summer”), July 25, 1905, Ink on paper, 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  in., John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 3.71 - John Sloan, *The Picnic Grounds*, 1906-7, Oil on canvas, 24 x 36 in., Whitney Museum of American Art



Fig. 3.72 - John Sloan, *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 1*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in., Detroit Institute of Art



Fig. 3.73 - John Sloan, *Easter Eve*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 1/8 in., Lenkin Collection, Maryland



Fig. 3.74 - John Sloan, *Wake of the Ferry No. 2*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in., The Phillips Collection



Fig. 3.75 - John Sloan, *Hairdresser's Window*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 31  $\frac{7}{8}$  x 28 in., Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art



Fig. 3.76 - John Sloan, *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 24 ¼ x 32 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art



Fig. 3.77 - John Sloan, *Movies, Five Cents*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 23 ½ x 31½ in., Private Collection



Fig. 3.78 - John Sloan, *The Haymarket*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 26 ¼ x 32 1/16 in., Brooklyn Museum



Fig. 3.79 - John Sloan, *Gray and Brass*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 22 x 27 in., The Karen A. and Kevin W. Kennedy Collection



Fig. 3.80 - John Sloan, *Election Night*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 25 3/8 x 31 3/4 in., Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester



Fig. 3.81 - John Sloan, "Down by the Sea," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 29, 1894, 9



Fig. 3.82 - John Sloan, *Hairdresser's Window*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 31  $\frac{7}{8}$  x 28 in., Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art



Fig. 3.83 - John Sloan, *East Entrance, City Hall, Philadelphia*, 1901, Oil on canvas, 27  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 36 in., Columbus Museum of Art





Fig. 3.86 - John Sloan, "Daughters of the Cabinet," *The Philadelphia Press*, December 2, 1900



Fig. 3.87 - John Sloan, *Hairdresser's Window*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 31  $\frac{7}{8}$  x 28 in., Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art

EPILOGUE / ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 4.1 - John Sloan, *Wake of the Ferry, No. 1*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in., Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 4.2 - John Sloan, *Wake of the Ferry No. 2*, 1907, Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in., The Phillips Collection



Fig. 4.3 - United States Postal Stamp issued in 1971 in honor of John Sloan's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday. Reproduces Sloan's *The Wake of the Ferry, No. 2* (1907)



Fig. 4.4 - First day of issue postcard for United States Postal Stamp honoring John Sloan, dated August 2, 1971, Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, [www.lockhaven.com](http://www.lockhaven.com)