

THE CIVIL WAR

A Centennial Exhibition of
Eyewitness Drawings



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Washington, D. C.

1961

FOREWORD

The National Gallery of Art is holding this exhibition of eyewitness drawings and water colors as part of the program of the Civil War Centennial Commission to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the War. These pictures by combat artists, or "Specials" as they were called, have never been exhibited except in small numbers, and the National Gallery is privileged to show them now in this first major exhibition.

The Civil War is the first war to have had an adequate pictorial record, partly in photographs and partly in sketches. A hundred years ago, however, photography was rudimentary and handicapped. The photographer was limited to whatever would stand still. And in war the objects that are apt to stand still are soldiers and sailors having their photographs taken; the matériel of battle—cannon, warships, and fortresses; and the effects of fighting—ruins, debris, and the dead. The Civil War photographer had to concentrate on these inanimate aspects of conflict. The livelier scenes he left to his confrere, who with pencil and sketching pad could catch the immediacy of a passing event.

Though civilians received their most striking visual impressions of the Civil War from artists, they did not, unfortunately, see the sketches made on the spot. They had, instead, to be content with wood engravings after the drawings. We turn from these wood-engraved magazine illustrations of a century ago bored and unmoved, for the vitality of the drawing has vanished. But when we look at the artist's original study, its vivid actuality entraps us, makes us a part of the world depicted.

This exhibition does not attempt to document pictorially the entire Civil War, though most of the significant events are shown, and there are representative scenes from all theaters. The emphasis is on the lives of the soldiers—on how they fought and played and

marched and waited—and to a less extent on the devastation of war and its impact on citizens who lived in overrun areas.

Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to represent the North and South equally. Only the Northern illustrated papers had artists in the field, thus the mass of surviving pictures depict the Union armies. *The London Illustrated News* was the principal source of illustrations dealing with the Confederate forces. I wrote to Sir Bruce Ingram, the Editor, and asked whether we might borrow Civil War sketches from the archives of his paper, only to learn with sorrow that all the drawings made for *The London Illustrated News* had been destroyed during the bombing of London, except those at Harvard University, many of which are included in the exhibition. But even if more Confederate material had survived, the picture of the war would probably have been little changed, though the names of the participants and the artists would have been different.

As the exhibition is concentrated on the visual testimony of eyewitnesses, the more developed pictures, often worked up later by the same artists, have been omitted. Also, many fine drawings whose subject matter could not be explained have been left out; and portraits, views of battlefields, and the "still-lives," which the camera men of the Civil War so admirably photographed in spite of their primitive equipment, have been excluded.

William P. Campbell, Curator of Painting at the National Gallery of Art, has been responsible for selecting the exhibition and preparing the catalogue. It has been a heavy task, which I feel he has performed with distinction, and I would like to congratulate and to thank him.

On behalf of the National Gallery of Art and Mr. Campbell I should also like to thank the many individuals and institutions that have made the exhibition possible. Especially are we indebted to The Library of Congress, which has lent more than half the drawings in the exhibition from its unequalled collection of Civil War documents. Dr. Edgar Breitenbach, Chief of the Prints and Photographs

Division of The Library of Congress, and Miss Virginia Daiker and Mr. Karl Stange of his staff have been of the greatest assistance. And Mr. Milton Kaplan, Curator of Historical Prints, who has given unsparingly of his time and counsel, should be mentioned in particular.

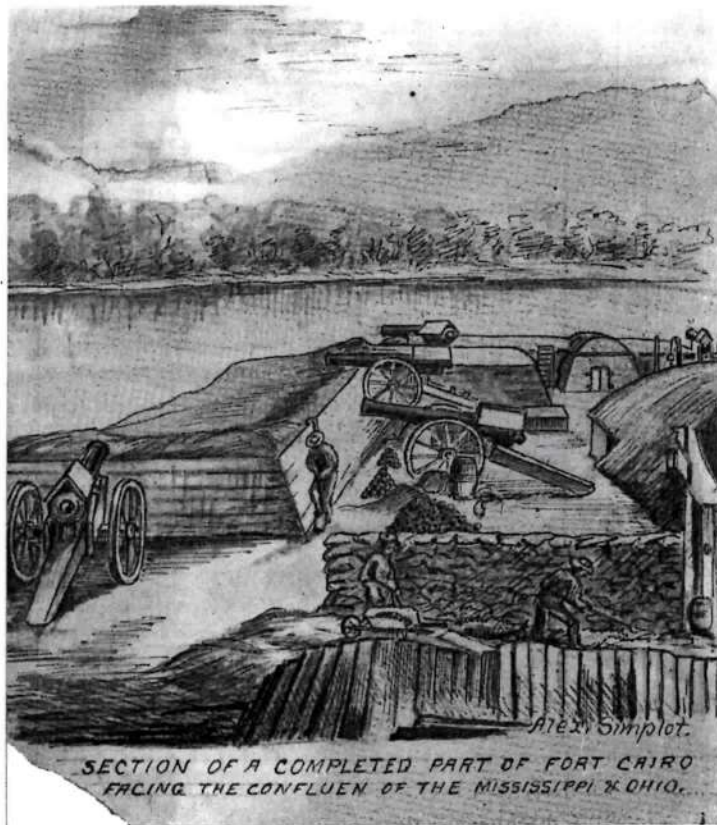
Many others in the Government have been most helpful, and we wish to thank them all. Among them, the following should be mentioned by name: Miss Josephine Cobb, Specialist in Civil War Iconography, National Archives and Records Service; Mr. Francis Heppner, Civil War Branch, War Records Division, National Archives and Records Service; Mr. Edgar D. Howell, Curator, Division of Military History, United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution; Mrs. Sarah Jackson, Civil War Branch, War Records Division, National Archives and Records Service; Mr. Richard S. Ladd, Map Division, The Library of Congress; and the staff of the Naval Historical Division, Department of the Navy.

Thanks should also be expressed to Mr. Karl Kup, Curator of the Prints Division, The New York Public Library, and to Miss Elizabeth E. Roth and Mr. Wilson Duprey of his staff, who gave every assistance during the selection of the drawings and who investigated many problems for us during the preparation of the catalogue. We are also greatly indebted to Mr. Oliver Jensen, Managing Editor, *American Heritage*; Mr. and Mrs. Cyril Nast; Mr. Philip Van Doren Stern; and Mr. Paul Vanderbilt, Curator, Iconographic Collections, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Finally, I should like to express my appreciation to those members of the staff of the National Gallery whose efforts have made a major contribution to the exhibition.

After the termination of the showing at the National Gallery, most of the drawings in this exhibition will be divided into two smaller exhibitions which will be circulated by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

JOHN WALKER
Director

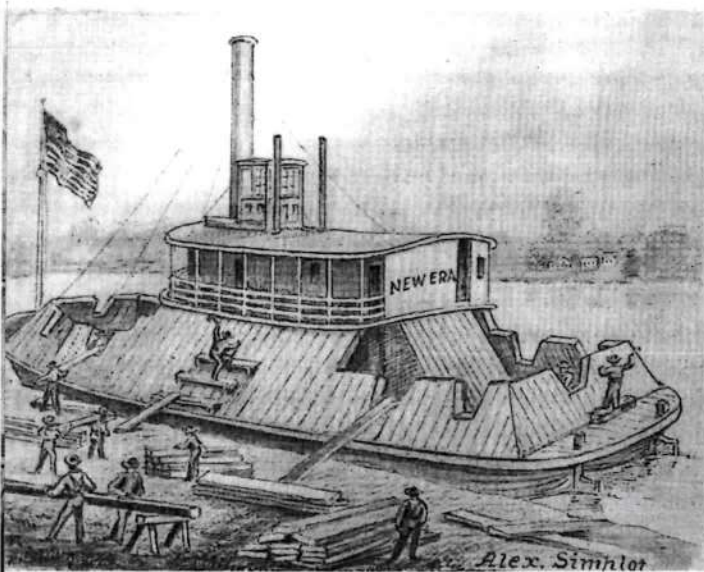


138. Fort at Cairo,
Illinois *Prob. May-June 1861*
BY ALEXANDER SIMPLOT 6 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

been offered, time after time, a staff appointment in the Federal service; and, indeed, as an aide-de-camp, or an assistant-quartermaster, his minute knowledge of the theatre of war would have been invaluable. Often he had ventured beyond the picket-lines, and been chased by the guerillas; but the speed and mettle of his big brown steed had always enabled him to show these gentry a clean pair of heels. He was continually vaulting on

this huge brown horse, and galloping off full split, like a Wild Horseman of the Prairie. The honours of the staff appointment he had civilly declined. The risk of being killed he did not seem to mind; but he had no relish for a possible captivity in the Libby or Castle Thunder. He was, indeed, an Englishman—English to the backbone; and kept his Foreign Office passport in a secure side-pocket, in case of urgent need.”¹⁰

The Special Artist was a new species of journalist, who entered history with the illustrated weekly newspaper.¹¹ Comparing him with his counterpart, the field reporter or “Special Correspondent,” a journalist wrote: “When you consider his [the Special Artist’s] work and his peculiar difficulties, you must admit that he is at least as remarkable a person as the Special Correspondent. I, for one, go so far as to say that he is by far the more astonishing character of the two. . . . I can say, in fact, as one who has done both, that under the pressure of time it is much less difficult to write a column or so of fairly accurate and picturesque description, than to make a comprehensible sketch of a scene which may have existed only for a few minutes. It may be laid down as a journalistic axiom that it is easier to describe with the pen than to delineate with the pencil.



140. Ferry *New Era* Being Converted
to a Gunboat Sept. 1861
BY ALEXANDER SIMPLOT 5½ x 5½ in.



80. Kitchen of Fremont's
Dragoons Prob. Oct. 1861
BY HENRI LOVIE 7½ x 9½ in.

“ . . . A Special Artist need not be a great colorist, nor a first-rate draughtsman. If he is both, all the better, of course; but they are not essential attributes. What is absolutely necessary is that he should sketch both rapidly and accurately. They who can do this are few; so that a first-rate Special Artist is a joy to his employer for as long as he can keep him. . . .

“ . . . The ideal Special Artist is by no means easily described. It has been long thought—is thought still, I believe, in some high quarters—that if a man can sketch in outline with decent accuracy, and is energetic enough to get his notes despatched from the scene of action to his art-editor with the least delay possible, he is capable of doing all that can be reasonably required of him. To a certain degree this is no doubt true. . . . In cases of emergency a mere rough outline is no doubt acceptable. But the Special Artist is a very different person. If he cannot paint great pictures, he must at least be able to see them; to see, that is, the picturesque essentials of the scenes or incidents he is employed to sketch. In short, he must be able to do more than merely draw outlines swiftly and accurately; he must be at least an artist in the best sense of the word,—a man whose mind is not only open to

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various and broad impressions, but also stored with knowledge and strengthened by experience. He must be gifted in some measure with that rare quality, imagination,—by which I do not mean the power of picturing the impossible, but the power of investing bare facts with charm, and vivifying them with spirit. . . . Now, there is an idea of some sort in every incident, in every pageant, in

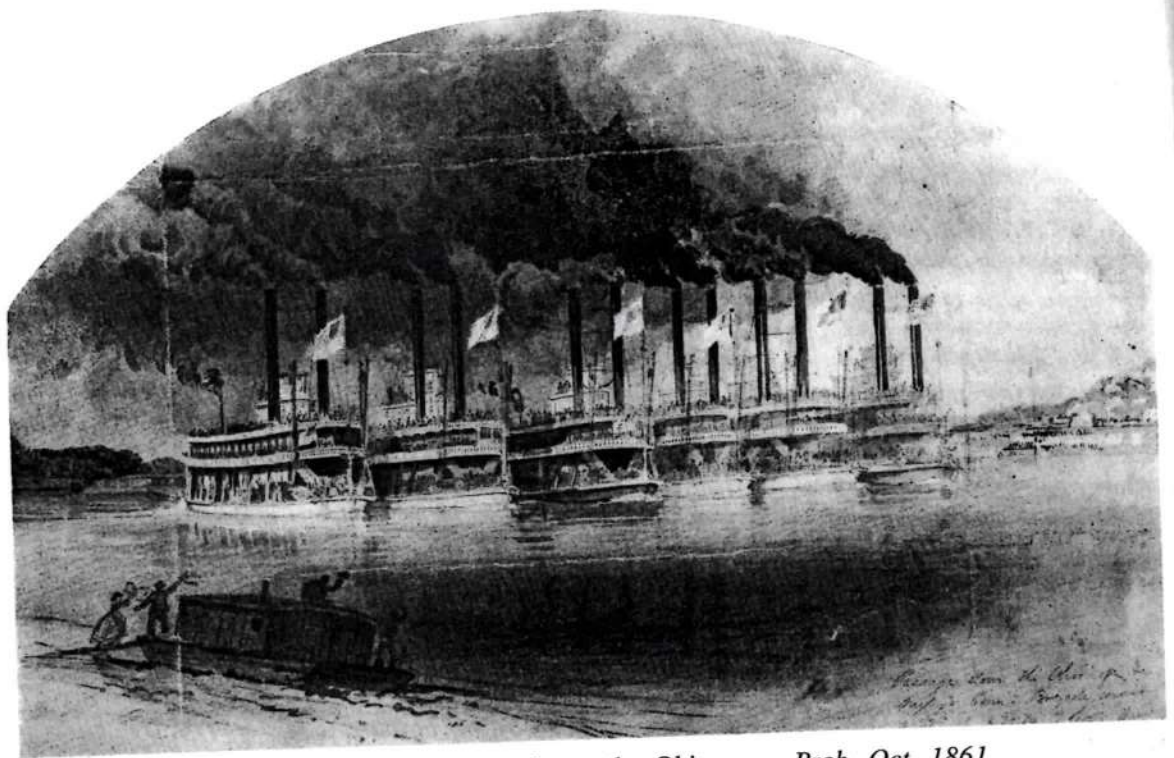
everything worth pictorial record; this idea it is the business of the Special Artist to seize, and transfer as much of it as he can to his sketch. In itself, of course, the sketch would not, could not, be what is usually understood by the phrase, a 'good picture;' but it should possess the makings of one." ¹²

To this it might be added that the Special Artist should be able to infuse



93. Building an Observatory on Upton's Hill
BY ARTHUR LUMLEY

Oct. 1861
8½ x 14½ in.



126. General Negley's Pennsylvania Brigade on the Ohio
BY FRANK H. SCHELL

Prob. Oct. 1861
9¼ x 13¼ in.

his drawings with the ring of authenticity. They should not seem contrived, but should persuade the viewer that he too is witnessing real history.

It was useless for an artist to be capable of rapidly sketching accurate and persuasive pictures if he did not have the gift of being on hand for the newsworthy event. As expressed by one veteran journalist, who had no doubt learned the hard way, "The business of a war correspondent is to be, not where he is ordered, but where he is wanted."¹³ Or, a good Special must intuitively know

when to be where, and be able somehow to get there in time.

Finally, the Special Artist must be daring and enterprising. "The artists and newspaper correspondents who follow, or rather precede, the various armies, are not unfrequently exposed to dangers as imminent as the boldest of the soldiers themselves incur, and in more than one instance in this war, deeds of the greatest coolness and bravery have been achieved by the knights of the pen and pencil.

"Their duty calls them into all sorts

of dangerous places, and professional rivalry, and the eagerness to obtain news 'exclusive' and in advance of the correspondents of other journals, keeps them constantly in the advance, and on that dangerous and disputed ground that has not yet been made safe by the onward march of our soldiers." So wrote the *New York Illustrated News* in a tribute to its artists in the field.¹⁴

The term "artist-correspondent," which has been used in connection with the Special Artists of the Civil War, even

by the illustrated weeklies, is not entirely appropriate. Occasionally a Special reported a battle, or penned a column or two on camp life, a scouting party, or the difficulty of travel. And by request of the home office, he regularly wrote short explanatory descriptions of his sketches. Sometimes these notes were published, and, indeed, for a time *Harper's Weekly* made a practice of it. But such a small amount of reportorial comment was hardly sufficient to classify the artist as an artist-correspondent. Of



109. *Burning of the Cataline*
BY WILLIAM McILVAINE, JR.

July 2, 1861
6 x 9¾ in.

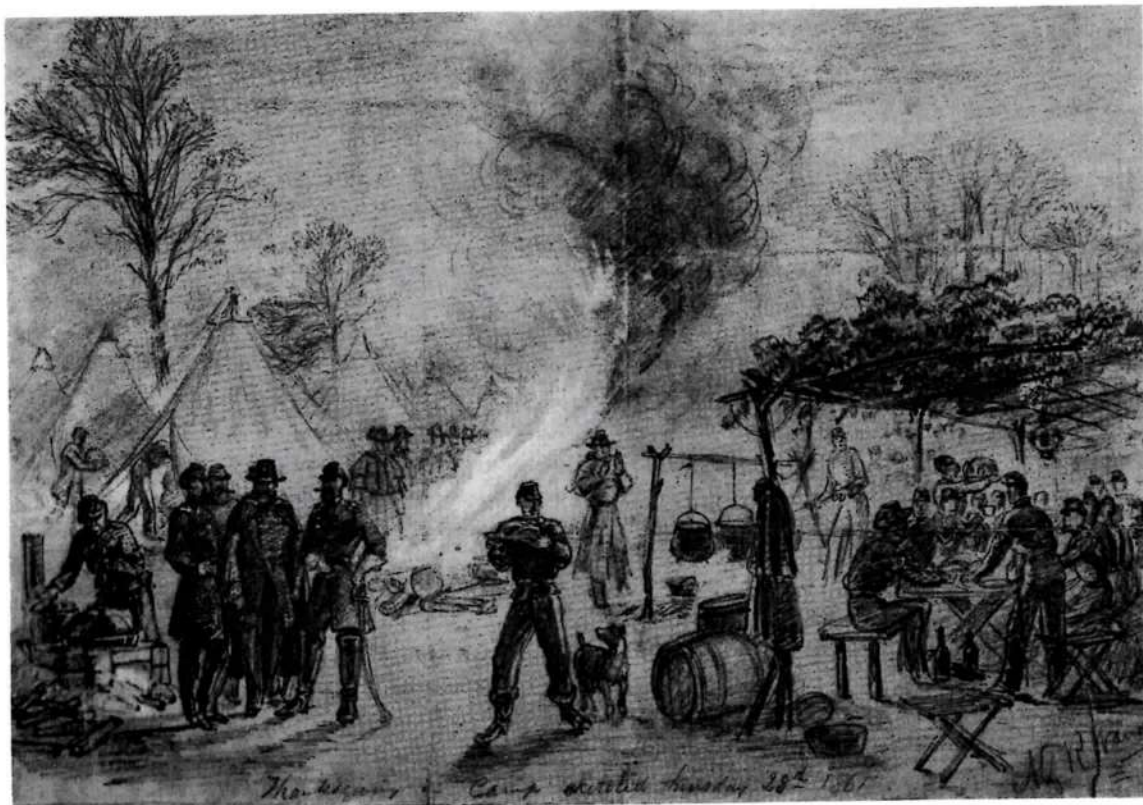
TWENTY-ONE

the Civil War Specials only Frank Vize-
telly may be said to have served in this
double capacity.

Though active everywhere during
the War, the Special Artists were most
numerous in Virginia, always the most
vital theater, with the largest concentra-
tion of troops. Moreover, the majority
of the readers of the weeklies, who lived
in the Northeast, were principally con-
cerned with this area, geographically
the closest to them, where their sons and

friends were most likely to be fighting.
It was, therefore, both good business and
good journalism for the press to focus
its attention on this theater. Further-
more, illustrations of events in the East
could be brought to the public relatively
sooner than those of activities elsewhere,
which made the weeklies seem more
vital purveyors of current news.

In the spring of 1861 the Govern-
ment in Washington was unprepared to
cope with the problems raised by artists

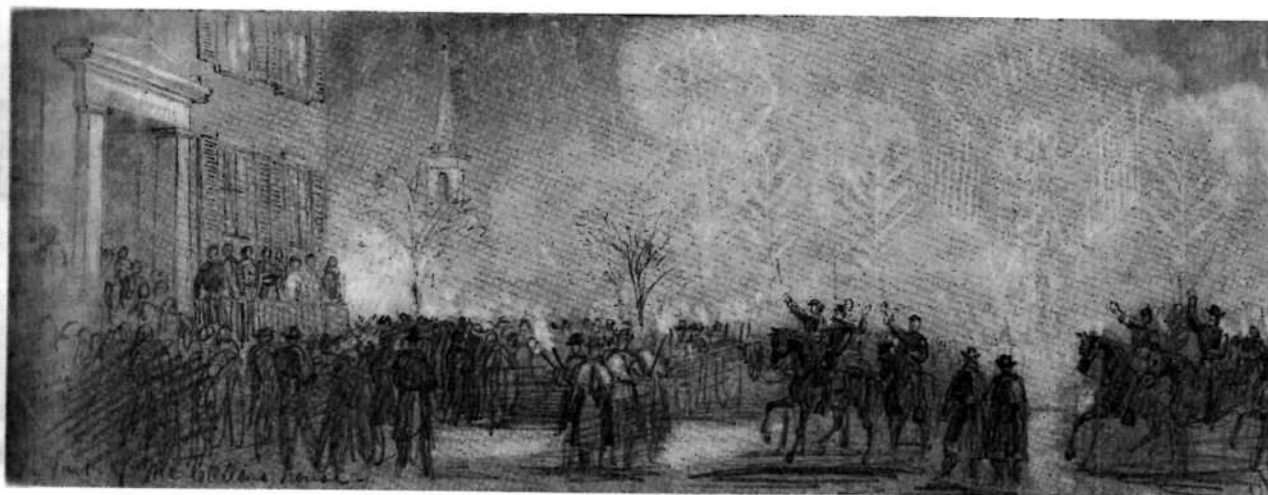


188. Thanksgiving in Camp
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

Nov. 28, 1861
10 x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

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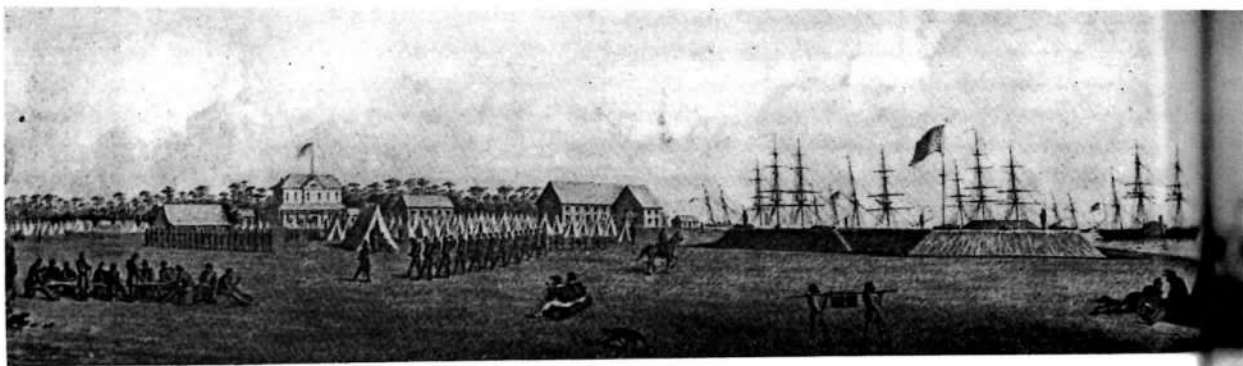
187. Torchlight Parade of Blenker's Division in Honor of McClellan's
Promotion to Commander In Chief of the Army
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

c. Nov. 3, 1861
7½ x 21½ in.

and correspondents seeking to accom-
pany the various armies, and what regu-
lations were instituted were neither clear-
ly defined nor consistently enforced. It
seems never to have been established
that the press had a right to practice
its profession in the field, this determina-
tion being left to the idiosyncrasy of the
commander of each military or naval
jurisdiction. Most commanders were
sympathetic toward the press; others un-
cooperative. On this subject *Frank Les-
lie's Illustrated Newspaper* editorialized:

"As a general rule, their [the Special
Artists'] labors and efforts are under-
stood and appreciated by both officers
and soldiers, who well know that History
is to be written from the materials which

these laborious men are gathering toge-
ther so assiduously. Occasionally, how-
ever, as we have intimated, they encount-
er some pompous fool or martinet, who
thinks himself the centre of the military
system of creation, who affects great
contempt for the 'Specials,' and who
either entirely obstructs their labors, or
nullifies them with absurd restrictions.
The two military geniuses most renowned
for their rigor in this line, it is rather
remarkable, have shown least ability and
vigor in the field—we refer to General
Stone, the responsible author of the mur-
derous blunder at Ball's Bluff, and Gen-
eral Sherman, whom the Government
has judiciously relieved from command
in Kentucky." ¹⁵

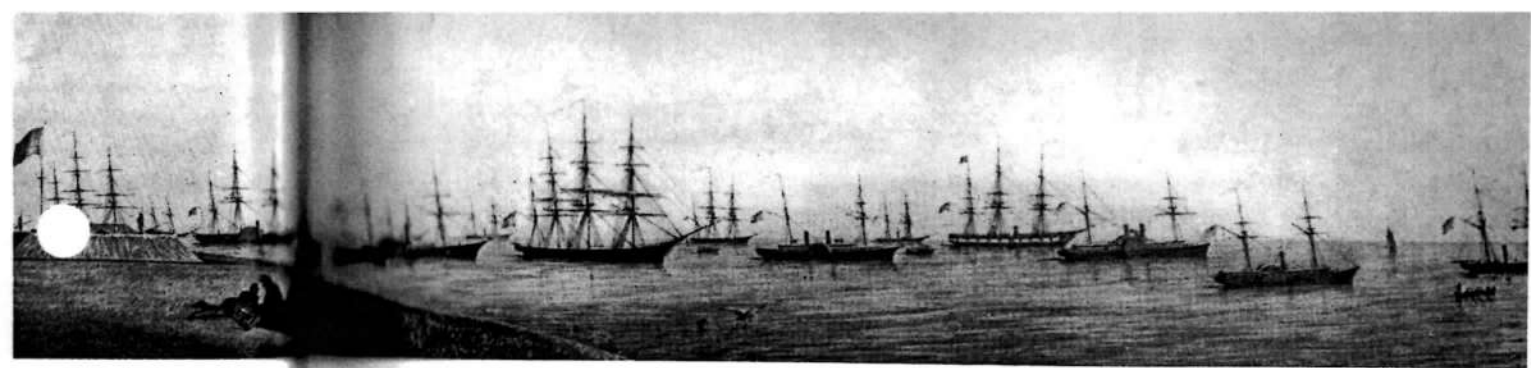


121. Farragut's Fleet Before New Orleans
BY WILLIAM B. McMURTRIE

Once a journalist was permitted within a given jurisdiction, he had to fend for himself since there was no established provision for his maintenance. A sympathetic general would arrange for shelter, otherwise the Special had to trust to his instincts. Usually he was permitted to buy his own meals at an officers' mess and to purchase fodder for his horse from quartermaster supplies. But nothing could be relied on. Concerning this uncertainty William Waud, artist for *Leslie's*, comments about himself and a correspondent friend who were accompanying Farragut's expedition to New Orleans: "We were only able to buy the fag-ends of the sutler's stores on board ship—no flour, or sugar, or meal, only preserved meats and 'stuff' that needs no cooking. Our diet therefore is simple, if not cheap, consisting of hard ship biscuit—which we beg of the marines opposite—harder salt tongue, and coffee without milk or sugar. Add to this . . .

that our sleeping arrangements imply no blankets, which I neglected to bring and which I cannot buy; imagine all this and more, and you will form some notion of the delights of a 'Special Artist' off the mouth of the Mississippi."¹⁶

Though a civilian, or at least not a soldier, the status of the Special Artist, vis à vis the enemy, was that of a combatant. If captured, he was imprisoned. *Whatever the legality of such treatment*, there was a good deal of justification for it, since, though the Special was not in the armed forces, his behavior was sometimes inconsistent with civilian status. From the meager records that exist concerning the lives of the Specials, it is known that Vizetelly, for example, was made an "honorary captain" by General Longstreet for serving as his messenger during the battle of Chickamauga; Alfred Waud attempted to rally the fleeing Union troops at First Bull Run; and Bradley S. Osbon, correspon-



re New Orleans
URTRIE

Prob. Feb.-Mar. 1862
4 x 28 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (sight)

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dent of the New York *Herald* and occa-
sional artist for *Harper's Weekly*, an
experienced sailor of fortune, relates how
he took part in Admiral Du Pont's gen-
eral council of war before the battle of
Port Royal; Osbon also served bravely as
Farragut's fleet signal officer during the
fateful battle of New Orleans.¹⁷

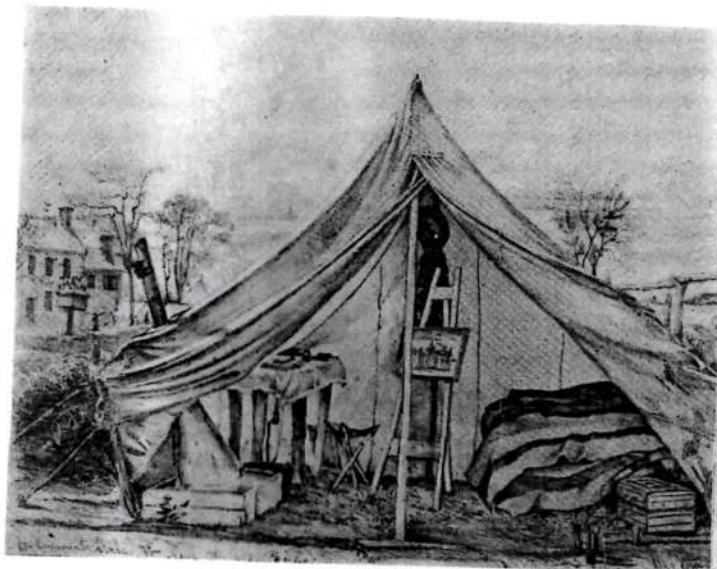
Not only was the Special Artist at
times a combatant, but on occasion he
employed his professional talents in the
service of the military. On one of Alfred
Waud's drawings it is noted that "This
sketch was made at the request of Gen-
eral Meade, for his use—from a tree
used by the Signal officers. It took over
an hour and a half—rebel sharpshooters
kept up a fire at me the whole time;"
and General Gillmore "found it neces-
sary" to employ *Leslie's* artist, William
T. Crane, to make sketches of the pro-
gressive demolition of Fort Sumter by
the Union artillery.¹⁸

TO MAKE the most efficient use of
its staff the home office watched
the ebb and flow of the War on its
continental map and with mastermind
precision shunted its Specials back and
forth to meet each foreseen crisis, or to
fill a gap in its coverage caused by death,
illness, capture, or furlough. Sometimes
an artist was lucky, or unlucky from his
point of view, in being assigned to rela-
tively few points. One of the most
productive Specials, the just-mentioned
Crane, who was active during the entire
War, spent most of his time working out
of Port Royal, north to Charleston and
south to Savannah. *Leslie's* Frank H.
Schell and *Harper's* Theodore R. Davis,
on the other hand, were shuttled back and
forth with astonishing rapidity between
the East Coast and the Mississippi River.
An in-between case is that of Alfred
Waud, whose entire Civil War career
was passed between Fortress Monroe,
Va., and the Shenandoah Valley.¹⁹

In the fall of 1861 Henri Lovie summed up three months of an active Special Artist's life in this way: "As you know, I have travelled in all directions—from Western Maryland to the Indian Territories; made the acquaintance of a great many different divisions of the army, and so informed myself of their movements, so as to be at the *right* place at the *right* time. All this has kept me moving incessantly . . . I have spent more than three months in the open air, sleeping in tents or bivouacs, and have ridden nearly 1,000 miles on horseback. A 'Special Artist's' life is certainly not one of elegant leisure; but I like action, and have no objection to a spice of danger. I have several horses at various points, which have 'come to me,' and am prepared for whatever may turn up."²⁰

The Special Artists and the Correspondents, not being in competition with one another, generally worked cooperatively. But the competition within the same branch of the press was always keen, sometimes bitter, and for obvious reasons the individual journalists ordinarily chose to work separately in all theaters of the War. There were, however, exceptional instances. At the beginning of the War, when the main activity was in the Western theater, Special Artists and Correspondents traveled

and lived together. Dubbing themselves the "Bohemian Brigade," they cherished the title and endeavored to live up to it. The group included Henri Lovie and Alexander Simplot, artists respectively for *Leslie's* and *Harper's*. Simplot made several drawings of the "Brigade," the

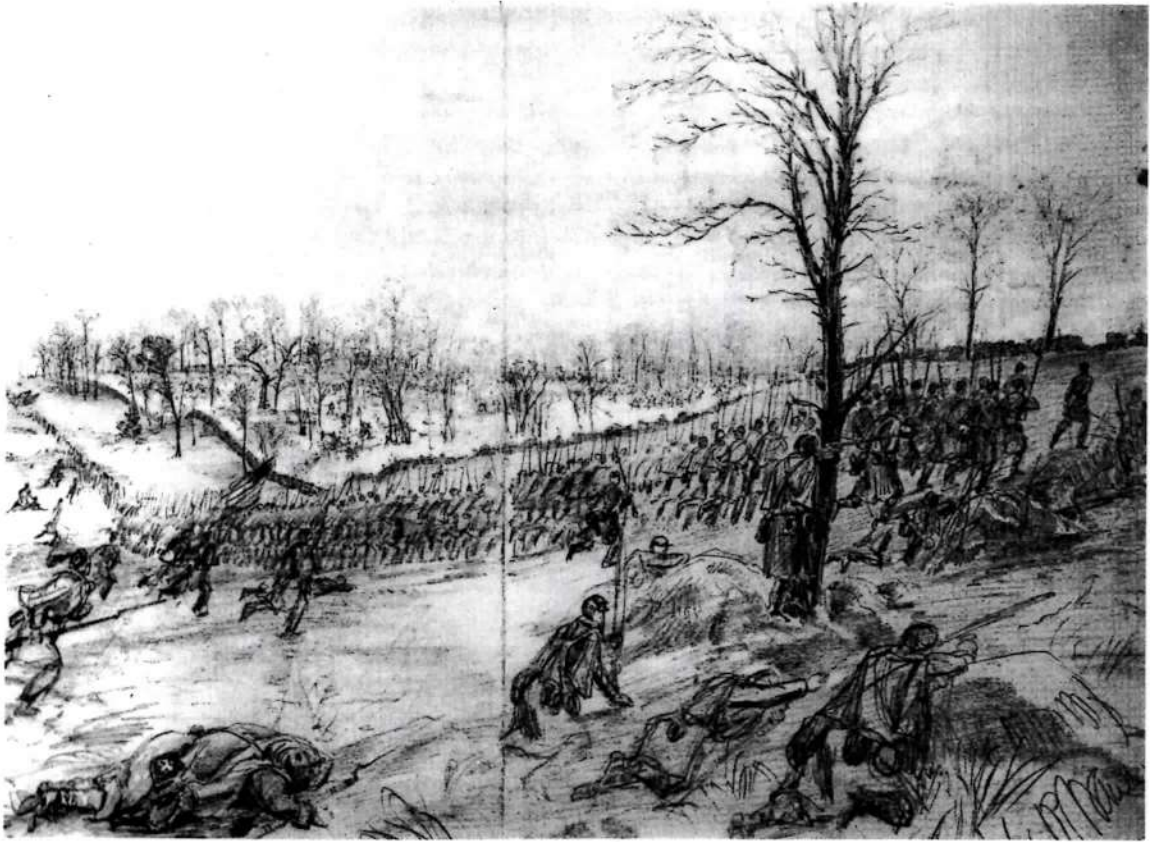


49. "My Studio"
BY EDWIN FORBES

Mar. 17, 1864
9½ x 13 in.

whereabouts of which, unfortunately, are not known. Among them are "The Correspondents in a log school house at Warsaw" and "Carnival of free and easy Newspaper Men."²¹

In winter quarters, or when the army was not on the move, the Special Artist had a tent, or even a hut (Ill. above).



192. First Battle of Kernstown
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

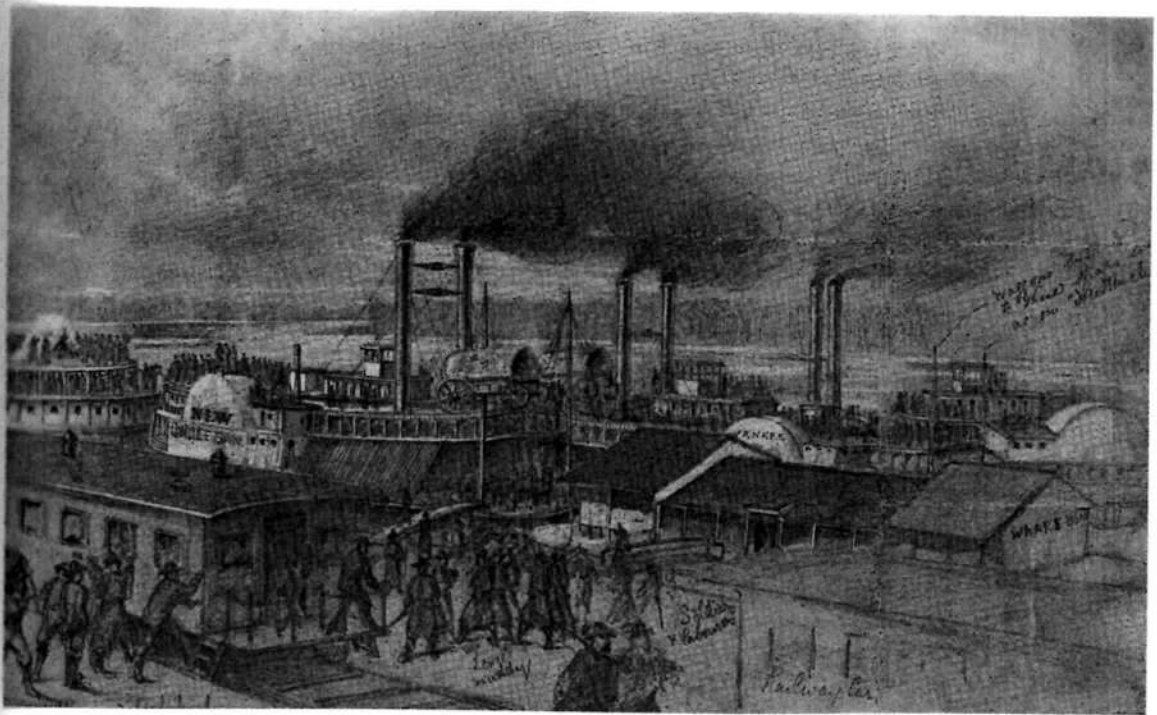
Mar. 23, 1862
14¼ x 20½ in.

The artist writes: *Our troops had to advance across a field of wheat for 400 yards, exposed to a galling fire, but with invincible courage they carried it, the rebels retreating in a panic as soon as the wall was reached.*"

But for days at a time, when the battle swirled across the countryside, he slept where night or exhaustion overtook him—in the friendly shelter of a fence; or during a rain in the driest spot under a wagon, if space between other bodies could be found; or on a porch with his boots for a pillow.

His immediate possessions were meager—a minimum of clothing and equipment—and were continually being lost. In a letter to his brother, William Waud requested a loan of drawing paper, "my sketch book Blankety clothes etc having been gobbled at the Reams Station fight."²² And an unhappy editor of

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158. General Pope's Division at the Levee, Cairo
BY FRANK VIZETELLY

c. Apr. 20, 1862
8 7/8 x 14 3/4 in.

The artist's note: "General Pope's division at the levee, Cairo, junction of the Mississippi & Ohio rivers on its way from New Madrid to reinforce General Halleck near Corinth.—The decks crowded with soldiers who have here & there pitched a tent to shelter themselves. Horses on lower deck."

Leslie's laments: "One of our artists lost everything on the rapid movements of the corps to which he was attached, including a portfolio full of sketches—the second serious loss of the kind to which we have been subjected within a month."²³

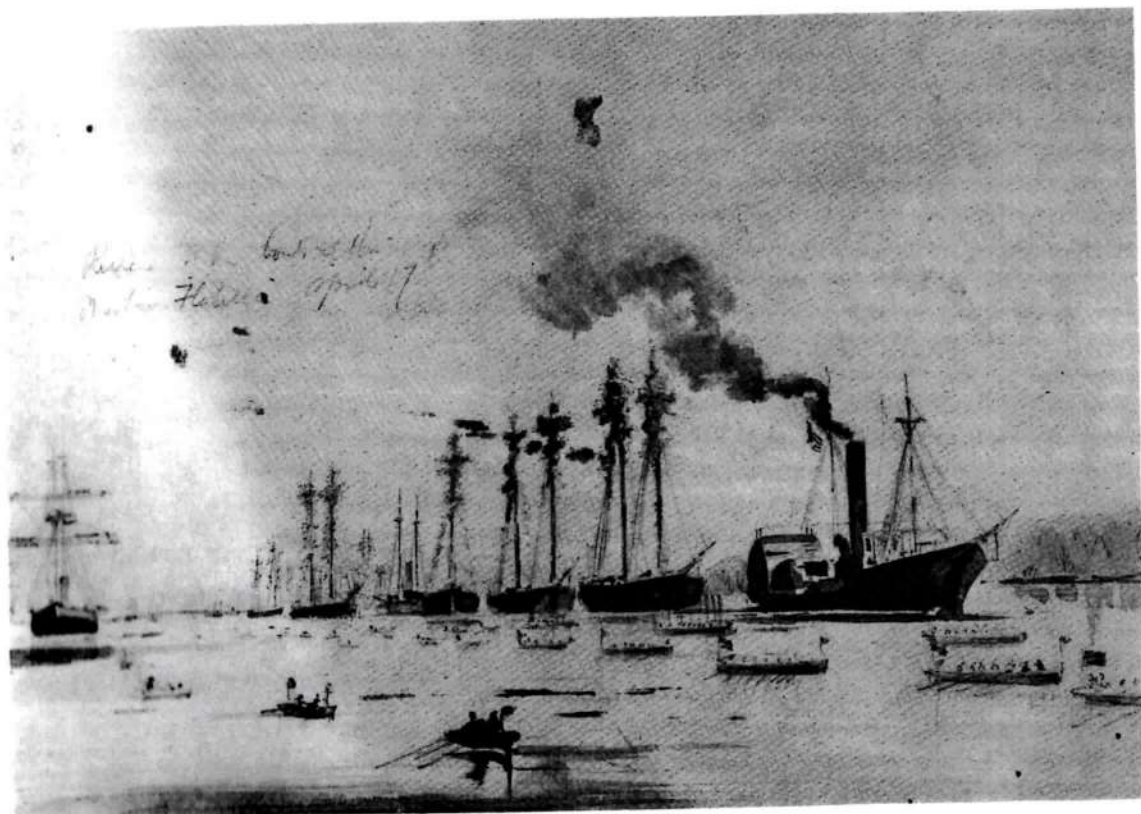
As a result of the rigorous conditions

under which the Special Artist had to live, he was frequently sick. "I have been quite ill since the night of the battle," wrote Leslie's artist, Edwin Forbes, "caused by my sleeping on the wet ground without covering."²⁴ And in a letter to a friend at home Alfred Waud relates, "I was down with an attack of

the billious remittent fever. Brought on by exposure to the damned climate in the cussed swamps etc. For a month I could scarcely crawl dosed with mercury quinine iron whiskey etc, till I have learned to hate that fluid and cannot smoke without nausea. . . . To return to Will [Waud]—three weeks ago he had a sunstroke and fell insensible to the ground, while visiting Sickles Brigade since that time he has been sick, a low fever having

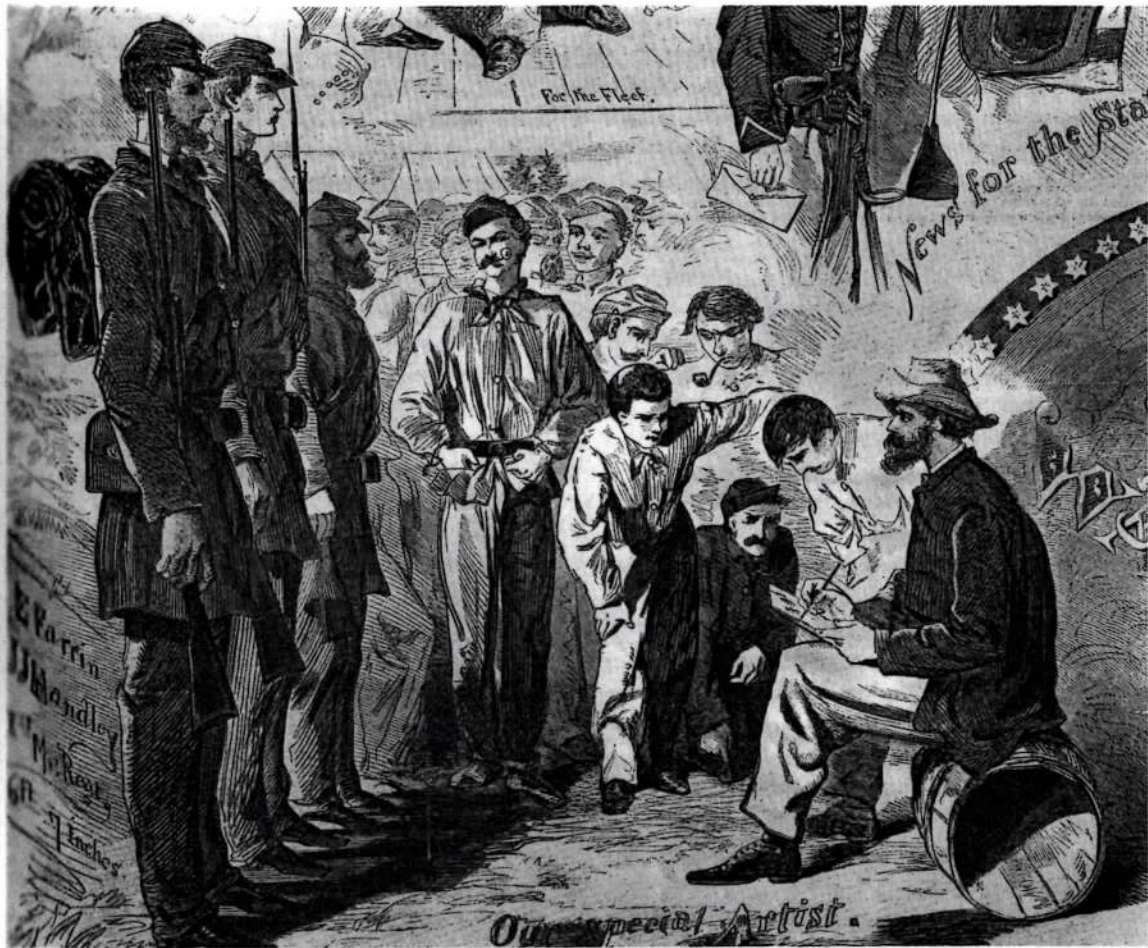
used him up. . . . Will talks of coming home soon, to save his health although he is better than he has been. . . . I envy you your quiet jog plenty to eat and drink and no risk from damned shells and bullets.”²⁵

This was no old man's game. Almost all who endured for long as Special Artists were in their 20's or early 30's at the outbreak of hostilities, but, notwithstanding the resiliency of youth,



261. Review of Farragut's Mortar Flotilla
BY WILLIAM WAUD

Apr. 17, 1862
9% x 14¼ in.



The newspaper artist is shown in camp sketching a couple of giants of the 1st Maine Regiment, while the usual group of curious onlookers gather round. Winslow Homer did the drawing for this engraving, which was published in *Harper's Weekly*, May 17, 1862, p. 376.

from time to time they needed a vacation. "I shall not annoy you with a detail of my *petites misères*," wrote Henri Lovie to his editor, "but believe me, I have never encountered so many and great difficulties since I joined McClellan's army in Western Virginia, now

nearly a year ago. Riding from 10 to 15 miles daily, through mud and underbrush, and then working until midnight by the dim light of an attenuated tallow 'dip,' are among the least of my *désagrémens* and sorrows. To use an indigenous but expressive phrase, I am



101. An Incident of the War Sept.-Nov. 1862
BY ARTHUR LUMLEY 7 x 8¾ in.

The artist writes: "One of the rebel Pickets (11th Ala) crossed over on the rocks to the union pickets to exchange—Tobacco and a Richmond paper—for the N. Y. Herald. There is a mutual understanding among the pickets of both sides that the[y] will not be captured, for the[y] trust the honor of the enemy, this would have been so in this case had not the officer of the day—Major Throop 57th N.Y.V. Commanding pickets (Zooks brigade, Hancock's Division)—been going his rounds, concluded to put a stop to this traffic in the spy line, as the benefit was always on the side of the Rebels—The young rebel picket was brought to General Hancock's H.Q. much to the disgust of our pickets who think he should have been let free—The Southern Ill. New, was found on the prisoner, and given to me by Major Throop—please acknowledge its . . . from him in your paper."

nearly 'played out,' and as soon as Pittsburg is worked up, and Corinth settled, I must beg a furlough for rest and repairs. I am deranged about the stomach, ragged, unkempt and unshorn, and need the conjoined skill and services of the apothecary, the tailor and the barber, and above all the attentions of home and the cheerful prattle of children."²⁶

Though a non-combatant, the artist was often in real danger. Alfred Waud relates how he was shot at one miserably wet day at Raccoon Ford "where I unconsciously left the cover and became a target for about twenty of the sharpshooters. Luckily I was not touched; but I did some tall riding to get out of the way."²⁷ Edwin Forbes tells of being shot at when visiting the forward pickets; and, of the second Battle of Bull Run, he said, "I was in the hottest of the fire for quite awhile. When I attempted to get away I found myself cornered. I started with a party of skirmishers through a dense wood, leading my horse, and after passing under a severe fire of shell, got a safe position."²⁸ During the naval attack on Port Royal, B. S. Osbon was ordered to a safer position by the Admiral, but the only physical harm that actually befell him occurred when he was, as he humorously relates, "severely wounded in the whiskers," his

beard being half burned off when it caught fire from the wadding of a ship's cannon to which he had got too near during the firing; and at the battle for the forts below New Orleans a shell passed so close to him that its wind blew off his cap.²⁹

Frank Vizetelly had many exciting adventures and narrow escapes. One of these is told by Jeb Stuart's Chief of

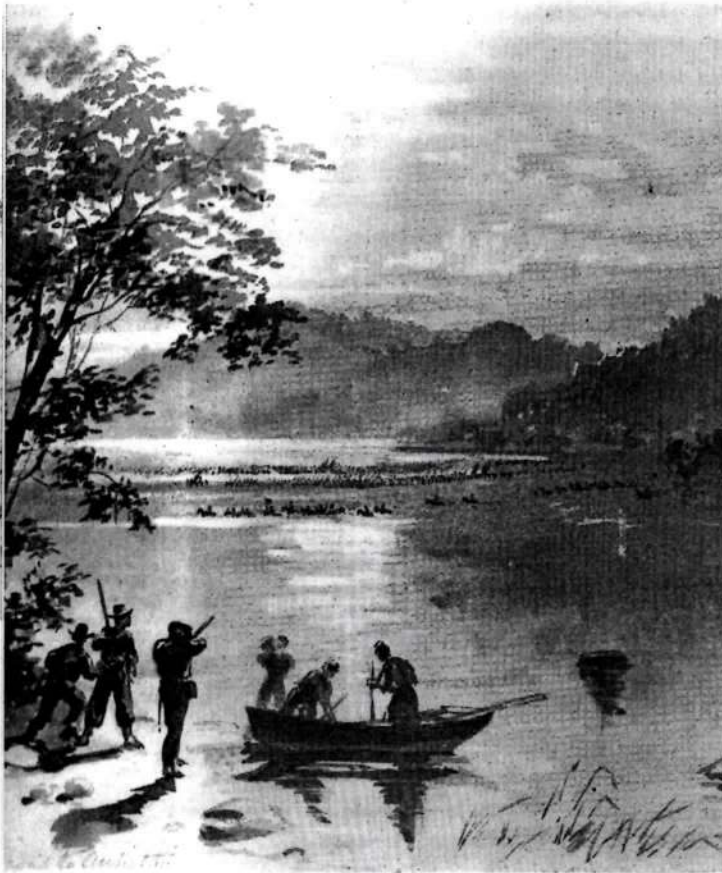
Staff:

"In the town of Fredericksburg a great many Yankees had been found straggling and lurking in the houses, either with a view to desertion, or too overpowered by the liquor they had stolen to leave with their army; and a body of those captives marching along the turnpike road escorted by a detachment of our soldiers, attracted the cur-



84. A Summer Residence
BY HENRI LOVIE

Prob. Aug. 1862
7¼ x 9½ in.



203. The Confederate Army Crossing the Potomac by Moonlight c. Sept. 15, 1862
BY ALFRED R. WAUD 9¾ x 12¼ in.

iosity of Mr Vizetelly, who immediately rode down to meet them. Having reached the column, he had just entered into conversation with a corporal from a South Carolina regiment who commanded the detachment, when the hostile batteries, mistaking their own men for enemies, opened fire, and one of their very first shells, passing quite close

to our friend, tore the head of the poor fellow with whom he was talking completely off his shoulders, scattering pieces of skull and brains in every direction. Horror-stricken at this sad incident, and having no call of duty to remain, the artist at once put spurs into his charger's flanks, and galloped off as fast as the noble steed could carry him. But the hostile gunners seemed to take particular pleasure in aiming at the flying horseman, and ever closer and closer flew the unpleasant missiles about his ears, while we who from Lee's Hill were spectators of the unenviable position in which our guest was placed, were for some time seriously alarmed that we should never again hear his merry laugh and joyous songs; but at last he reached us in safety, though much exhausted." ³⁰

An even more hazardous incident in Vizetelly's experience occurred during the second bombardment of Fort Fisher, where the artist was under one of the heaviest concentrations of fire of the War. On the back of his drawing of this action he wrote: "I was present in the fort during the entire engagement, three days in all, and never could I have credited such formidable means of attack were possessed by the federals. Never has the world seen

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aught so fearful as the terrific concentra-
 tion of fire brought to bear on the luck-
 less sand work by the largest fleet armed
 with the most powerful ordinance yet
 employed for the reduction of a fortress.
 Etna or Vesuvius could not have belched
 forth their flames of destruction with
 more fury than did the iron cased mon-
 sters assisted by a flotilla of wooden
 vessels and eight heavy forty gun frig-
 ates, numbering in all fifty-two men of
 war mounting over 600 pieces of the
 largest calibre. . . . Your correspondent
 had one or two very narrow 'shaves'
 and he considers himself remarkably
 lucky in not being taken with the garri-
 son, only fifty or so of which succeeded
 in getting away. As yet I am unaware
 of the extent [of] the loss in the fort



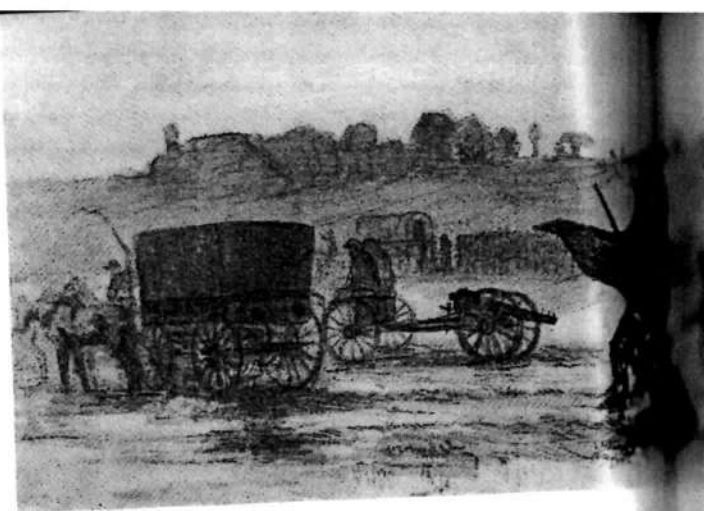
99.



160. Night Amusements in the
 Confederate Camp Oct.-Nov. 1862
 BY FRANK VIZETELLY 6 7/8 x 9 in.

but I should estimate it over 400 killed
 and wounded out of 2000." ³¹

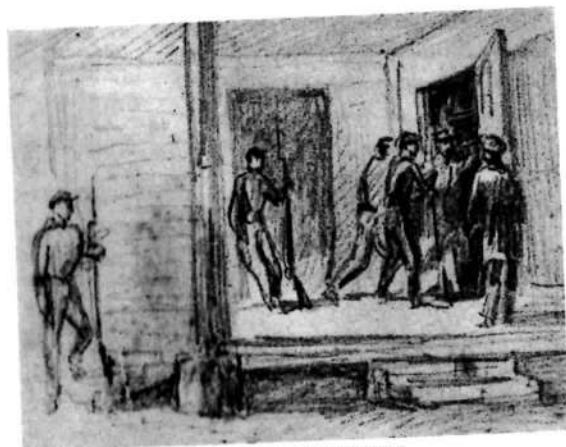
These were not the only Special
 Artists whose lives were endangered.
 From the foretop of the *Mississippi*,
 amidst flying grape-shot, William Waud
 made drawings of the winning of the
 forts below New Orleans and was offi-
 cially commended for his behavior.³²
Leslie's artist, John F. E. Hillen, was
 captured at the Battle of Chickamauga
 but managed to escape; a year later he
 was severely wounded while accompany-
 ing Sherman's advance before Atlanta.³³
 In a letter to the editor of *Leslie's* a
 Major in the 9th New York Regiment
 wrote, "I noticed, and so did the whole



23. Retreat of the Army of the Rappahannock
By EDWIN FORBES

of the Ninth regiment, Mr. [Frank H.] Schell, your Artist, setting on a log sketching under the hottest fire from Fort Defiance. His nonchalance and coolness did as much toward inspiring our troops as the enthusiasm and bravery of any of the officers."³⁴

In discussing the perils of the Special's life, Theodore R. Davis said: "There have been occasions when some industrious sharp-shooter troubled me by a too personal direction of his bullets. No

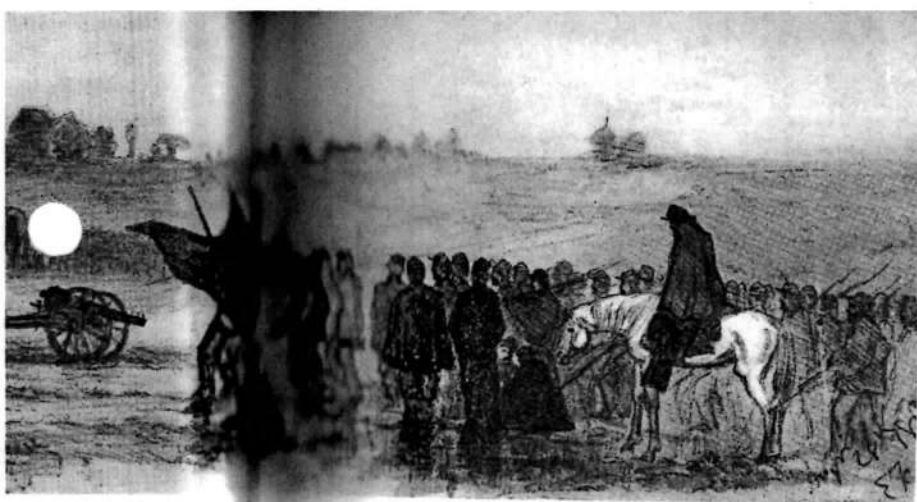


99. SEARCHING FOR WHISKEY

FORTY

doubt the man regarded me as somebody on the other side, and considered he was there to shoot at anything or anybody on the other side. My most peculiar experience of this sort was having a sketch-book shot out of my hand and sent whirling over my shoulder. At another time, one chilly night after the day of a hard battle, as I lay shivering on the ground with a single blanket over me, a forlorn soldier begged and received a share of the blanket. I awoke at daybreak to find the soldier dead, and from the wound it was plain that but for the intervention of *his* head, the bullet would have gone through my own." On another occasion Davis was shot in the knee at the same time that his horse was killed under him.³⁵

Danger did not come only from the enemy. One day Henri Lovie was a running target for Union sentries who



Rappahannock

Aug. 28, 1862
5 7/8 x 14 7/8 in.

as somebody considered he thing or any-ly most pecu- was having a ny hand and ilder. At an- after the day shivering on b et over l and received woke at day- ad, and from at but for the e bullet would n." On an- shot in the at his horse

only from the Lovie was a sentries who

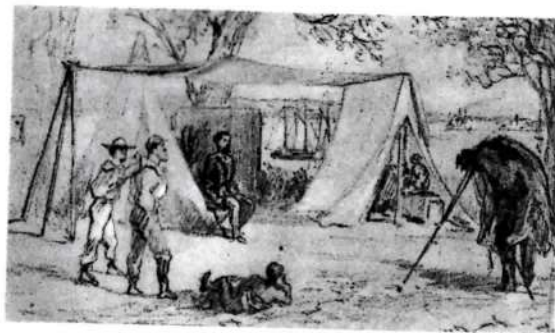
mistook him for an enemy scout. Fortunately, their aim was not too good. Of this incident the artist later observed drily that he had "no objections to running reasonable risks from the enemy, but to be killed by mistake would be damnably unpleasant!"³⁶

The Special Artist was not always agilely dodging bullets or languishing on a sick bed; when times were slow he relaxed and had fun. In quiet enough areas there were refreshments at the sutler's, shows at the camp theater, and dances. Almost any time and anywhere in every camp, there were informal skits, music, or that favorite of all soldier sports, the "bull session." A delightful entertainer was Frank Vizetelly, who charmed audiences, North and South, with his amateur theatricals and impromptu recitations of his adventures. Some of the horseplay that went on in

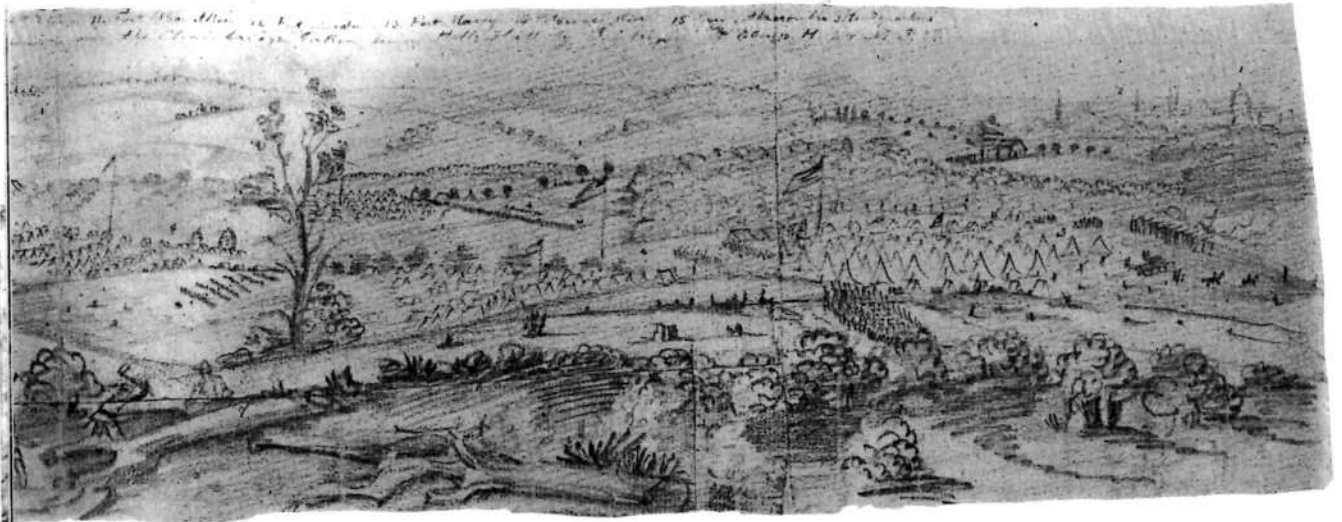
less active times is told in the memoirs of Alexander Simplot:

"The Bohemians took their ease in their inn, and held high carnival, to the astonishment of all its *attachés*, from the aged proprietor down to the half-fledged negro cherubs. Each seemed to regard as his personal property the half-dozen rooms which all occupied. The one who dressed earliest in the morning would appropriate the first hat, coat, and boots he found, remarking that the owner was probably dead.

"One huge, good-natured brother



99. TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS



76. Forts and Encampments over the Chain Bridge
 BY JOHN G. KEYSER

Prob. Nov., 1862

5¼ x 23½ in. (right half illustrated)

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Capitol in Washington | 5) 27 Connecticut V |
| 2) Georgetown | 6) Camp Dauphin/127 Pa. V. |
| 3) Camp Cumberland/24 N.J.V. | 7) Soldiers Felling Timber |
| 4) 28 N.J.V. | 14) Potomac River |

they called 'the Elephant.' He was greatly addicted to sleeping in the daytime; and when other resources failed, some reckless quill-driver would say:

"'Now, let's all go and sleep with the Elephant.'

"Eight or ten would pile themselves upon his bed, beside him and upon him, until his good-nature became exhausted, when the giant would toss them out of the room like so many pebbles, and lock his door.

"There was little work to be done; so they discussed politics, art, society, and metaphysics; and would soon kin-

dle into singing, reciting, 'sky-larking,' wrestling, flinging saddles, valises and pillows."³⁷

When the "sky-larking" was over, the Special Artist worked hard seeking out newsworthy scenes and putting them down on paper. Generally his sketches were in pencil with shading, or in wash heightened with white, on buff, tan, brown, gray, or gray-green paper, as well as white. Such monochromatic drawings were more easily and accurately copied by the Home Artists than pictures in color whose tonal values had to be imagined. Vizetelly alone seems to have



161. Jeb Stuart's Headquarters in Northern Virginia
BY FRANK VIZETELLY

Oct.-Nov. 1862
8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

The artist writes: "*Genl Stuart's Head Quarters, Advanced Post of the Confederate Army in Northern Virginia—Genl Stuart who commanded the cavalry division of the Confederate army, has his head quarters at the extreme advance, the whole of the picket line being kept by troopers. I have been staying with the general & his Staff for some time & my tent is the further one on the right under the shadow of a tree decked in all the glorious colours of bright autumnal plumage. Round the campfire in the foreground are grouped the general & various members of his staff, the former standing with his hands behind him watching the approach of some prisoners with their escort. To his right is seated his adjutant General, Norman Fitzhugh, a good name, who is looking through some New York papers that have been sent in from the outposts. The open fly beneath the oak is the bed chamber, sitting room, & dining room of General Stuart.*"

worked sometimes in color. The Special Artist carried his paper in sketchbooks that varied in size according to his individual manner of working and the situation of the moment. A well-known photograph of Alfred Waud caught him during the Battle of Gettysburg, sketching in a large drawing book propped against his knee. But some of Waud's drawings in the Library of Congress indicate that he also used pocket-size sketchbooks.

Since the artist had to be able to move quickly to new vantage points when the battle shifted or became too hot for comfort, as well as cover the broad area occupied by an army when it was settled down, a horse was a necessity, and one of the trials of the artist was to keep track of his steed, which was always being lost or stolen, or shot from under him.

Besides his pencil, sketchbook and horse, the artist was equipped with a field glass, for he was usually not as close to the fighting as his pictures would suggest. When possible, he kept to high ground, as the commanding officers did. From there he could survey the field, and with the aid of his glass select the area which appeared to present the most interesting subject for a picture. Sometimes he sketched what he



211. Signal Telegraph Machine
and Operator c. Dec. 13, 1862
BY ALFRED R. WAUD 5½ x 4¾ in.

The artist writes: "The machine is a simple one, worked by a handle, which is passed around a dial-plate marked with numerals and the alphabet. By stopping at the necessary letters a message is easily spelled out upon the instrument at the other end of the line, which repeats by a pointer every move on the dial-plate. The whole thing is so simple that any man able to read and write can work it with facility."



Fred. B. Schell shows himself in the trenches before Vicksburg sketching the mining operation of Fort Hill. According to the text accompanying this engraving, "the sketch was made in the sap within 15 feet of the rebel Fort Hill, behind which lay the rebel sharpshooters, held at bay by Coonskin and other riflemen, eagerly on the look-out for a rebel head" (*Leslie's*, July 25, 1863, pp. 273, 290).

saw through his glass; at others he got as close as he deemed safe and recorded what was visible to the naked eye.

Finally, the Special Artist needed a blanket, a rubber poncho, and in winter an overcoat. Some of the newspaper reporters carried pistols, and it is fair to assume that their artistic counterparts may have done likewise.

THE PICTURES sent back from the field represented an innovation in the traditional rendering of war subjects. Heretofore depictions of battle had been the commissions of kings, states, or the wealthy. Generally they may be considered as works of art. They were executed some time after the event and were usually imaginative and symbolic



rather than strictly literal. A whole war might be symbolized by one or more scenes of critical victories.

In contrast, the battle illustrations of the Civil War were commissioned by private businesses catering to the people. Only rarely were the drawings of outstanding artistic merit. Usually they were neither imaginative nor symbolic, but as true to the visual facts as they could be made. They appeared in the papers so regularly and were so varied

in subject matter as almost to comprise a moving picture of the War in its every phase: they recorded not just the victory, but life in camp, the march, the attack, the disgraceful episode, and even the defeat.

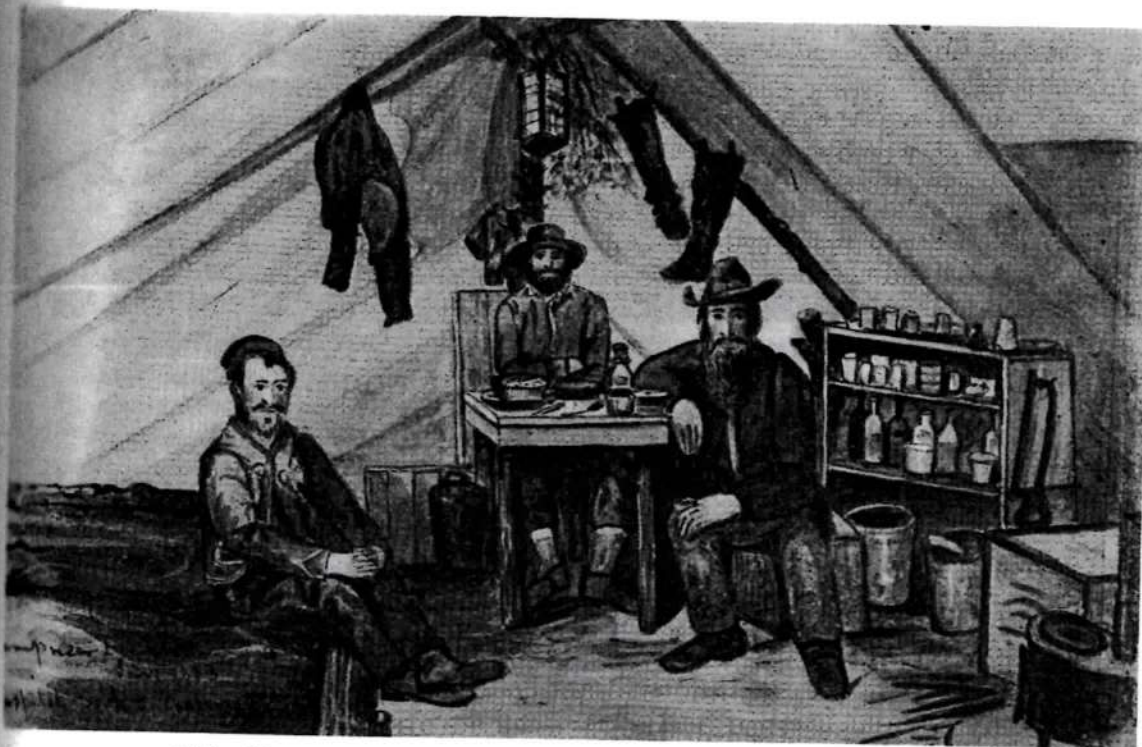
To obtain these pictures the Special Artists accompanied officers on staff reconnaissances and scouts on expeditions deep into enemy territory. Alone, they visited the pickets, those sensitive feelers of the army whose duty in lonely out-

from the innovation of war of battle ngs, states, ey may be They were event and l symbolic



117. Night Bivouac
BY WILLIAM McILVAINE, JR.

Jan. 20, 1863
6¼ x 9¾ in.



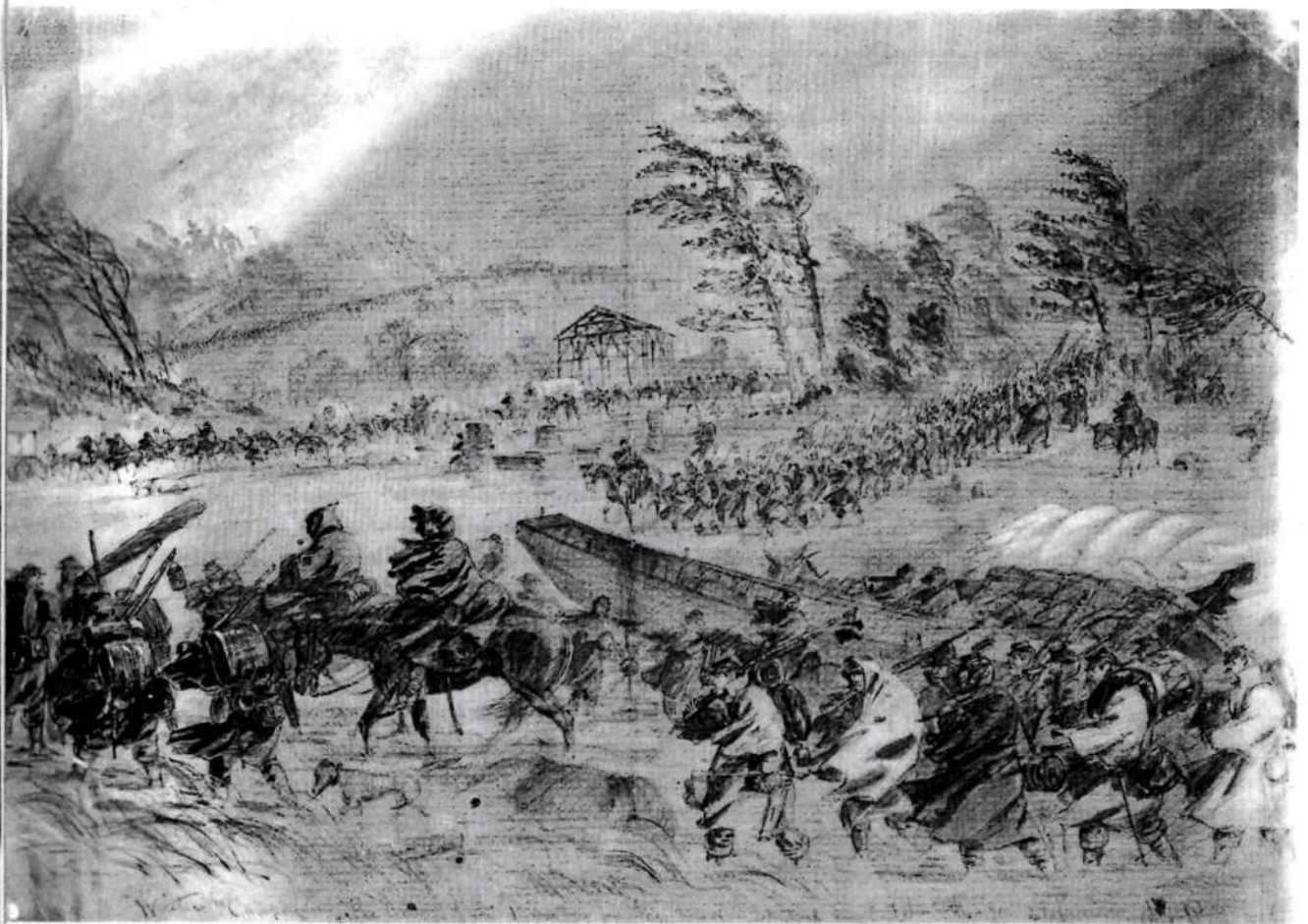
116. Hospital Tent
BY WILLIAM McILVAINE, JR.

Jan. 1863
6½ x 10¾ in.

posts sometimes placed them within calling distance of the enemy. They were with the artillery in the heat of battle, or with the engineers demolishing a bridge to safeguard a retreat or building one for an advance. Likewise, they saw naval action from gunboats on the rivers and from all types of ships in the great expeditions to Hatteras Inlet, Port Royal and New Orleans. In quieter times they recorded camp life, the training of troops, overrun civilians coming in to get food from the commissary, and other

scenes of a non-fighting nature. Winter camp was the bane of the artist, for life was *monotonous and there was little new worth recording*. It was even more challenging than to find interesting subject matter than during the siege of Petersburg, about which William Waud complained: "it is mighty difficult to make pictures that don't look like old blocks [i.e., illustrations]." ³⁸

If time permitted, the artist's sketches might be completed on the spot, but more often the rough sketch was elab-



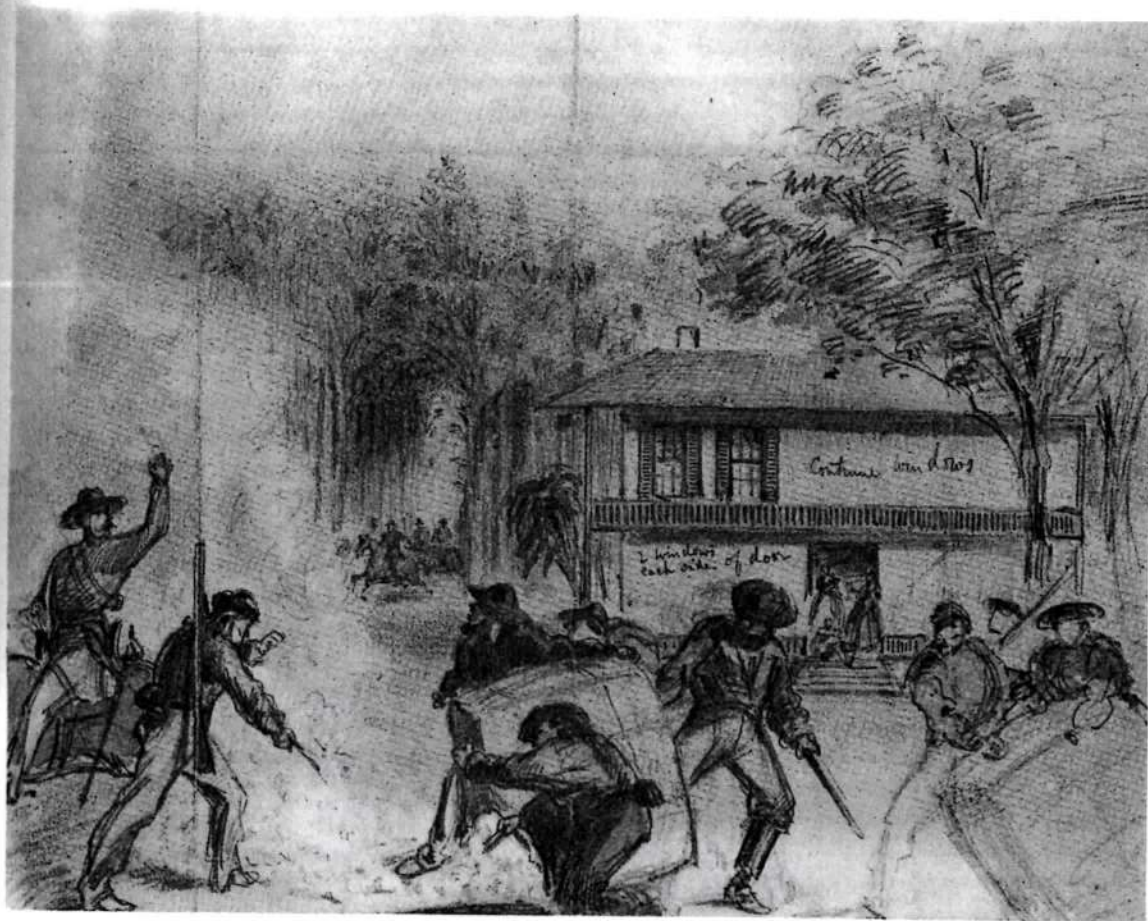
213. The Mud March
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

Jan. 21, 1863
14½ x 20½ in.

orated in a quieter area (See illustrations on title page and p. 63). With luck this could be accomplished during the day, but often pressed for time after a day in the saddle, the artist had to work long into the night composing his rough "notes" into coherent pictures.³⁹

Occasionally time did not permit the

elaborating of an important sketch so that it was sent off in an unfinished state, covered with written notations to assist the Home Artist: "2 windows each side of door" (See Ill. p. 51); "Make the figures rather smaller;" "Sky dull, even gray in long streaks;" "Put as much fallen timber and dead limbs between the fig-



159. Confederates Burning Cotton near Memphis
BY FRANK VIZETELLY

May-June 1862
9 x 11 in.

The artist writes: "*Cotton Burners on the borders of SW Tennessee & Mississippi Surprised by Federal Scouts—The only excitement now in the immediate neighbourhood of Memphis & in South western Tennessee generally, is an occasional collision between scouting parties of Indiana cavalry & the guerilla bands of cotton burners. I send you this illustration of the result of one of my scouts with a troop of horse in which we came upon a party of southerners on a plantation destroying every bale they could lay their hands on. In the foreground an officer is 'hurrying up' the business, one man applies the torch to a pile of loose cotton, others are ripping open & rolling up the bales, while a group of frightened whites & negroes are assembled under the porch of the house. We took two or three of the guerilla band the rest scattered & made for the surrounding timber.*

ures as you can;" etc. But even when time was not a factor, the artist frequently did not bother to fill in repetitive detail. One fully delineated window in a house was all the artist at the home office required in order to complete the rest.

Uniforms and other standard equipment the artist needed to indicate only in the roughest manner, for the Home Artist could easily draw in what was necessary from the material in the arch-

ives of his paper. Some of these were photographs, others were drawings from the field. In the Library of Congress there is a sketch of a ship on which the artist noted that it should be kept on file for possible future reference.

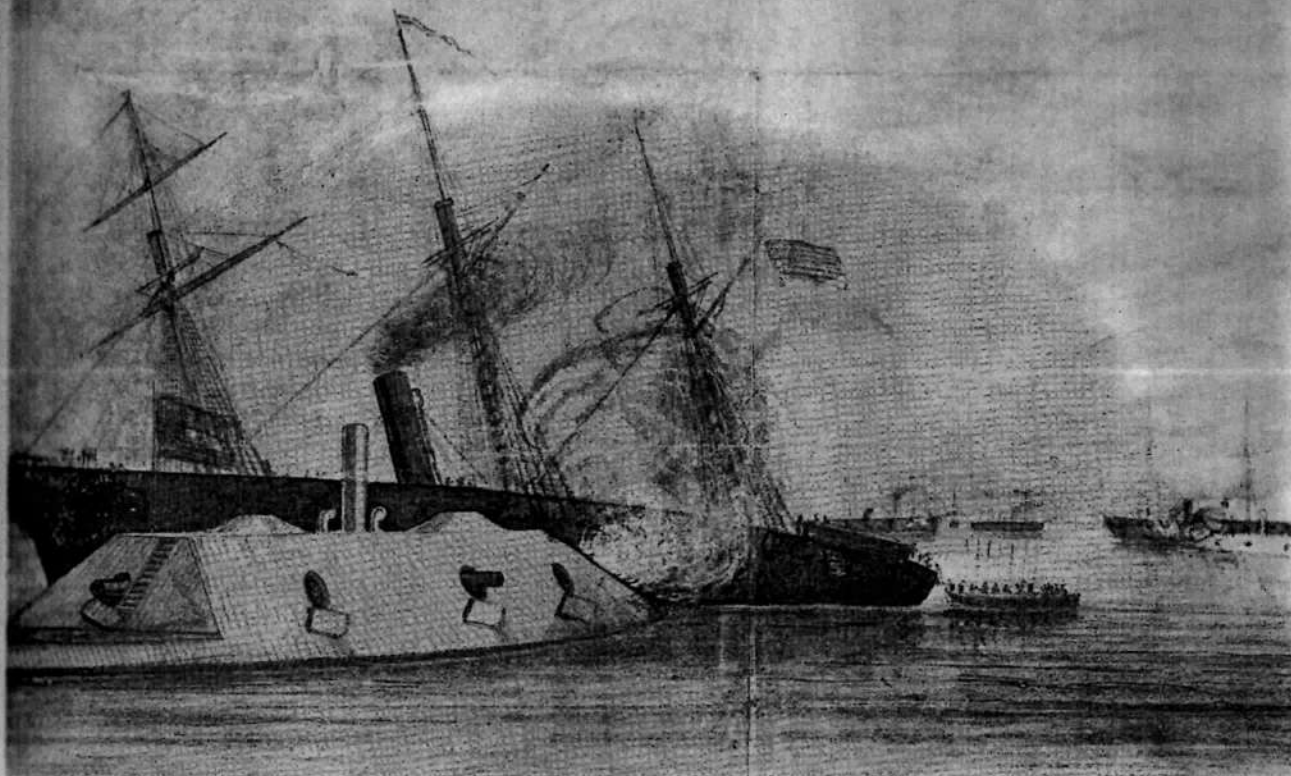
Not all drawings were used as soon as they were completed. Some, of timeless or incidental subjects, the Special Artist saved until he had time to work them up⁴⁰ or enough on a given theme to constitute a page of vignettes. More-



152. An Incident of the Blockade
ARTIST UNKNOWN

1861-1865
9¼ x 14½ in.

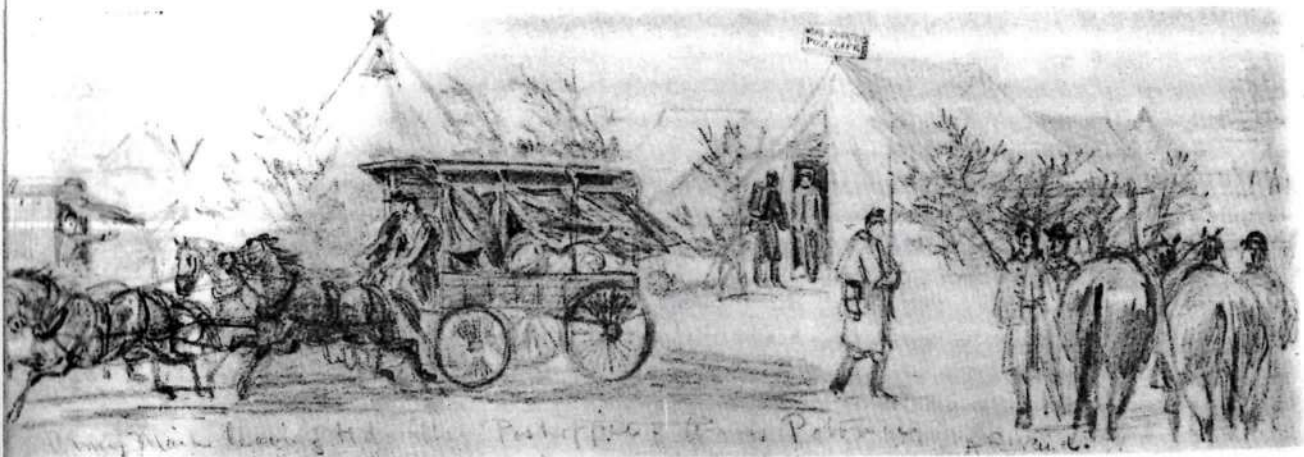
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164. Confederate Ironclads Destroying the Blockade
off Charleston Bar
BY FRANK VIZETELLY

Jan. 31, 1863
12¼ x 19½ in.

The artist writes: "In thirty minutes from the time of crossing the bar the Palmetto State came upon the first of the blockaders, the Mercedita, of 11 guns, looming large and undefined upon the unruffled sea . . . In another minute the prow of the Palmetto State was buried deep in the Mercedita's timbers, and at the same moment the heavy, rifled gun mounted forward on the former was fired right into the shattered ship, and ere the smoke had blown away she careened over and commenced settling. A Lieutenant and boat's crew put off in confusion from the sinking vessel, and begged of Commodore Ingraham to cease firing, telling him that the water was already up to the berth-deck, and that they surrendered . . . In the meantime, the Chicora stood well out and encountered three of the blockaders together. She engaged the one nearest to her and set her on fire. She also disappeared suddenly in the gloom, and, it is believed, went down. Another then attracted her attention, and after a half-dozen shots from a heavy rifled gun at close quarters, a large escapement of steam was perceived, the fire-bell rung on board of her, and she hauled down her colours, though, in the most cowardly manner, she afterwards escaped in the confusion with one wheel alone turning, and almost on her beam-ends. All the blockaders had by this time got a full head of steam on them, and they made off at speed to the south-east, leaving the two little ironclads masters of the fields, the latter sending shot and shell after them as long as they were within range."



216. Army Mail Leaving Headquarters Post Office
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

Prob. Mar. 1863
3¼ x 9¼ in.

over, the home office would sometimes wait months before publishing a drawing received from the field. And it need hardly be said that a great number of drawings received were never engraved.

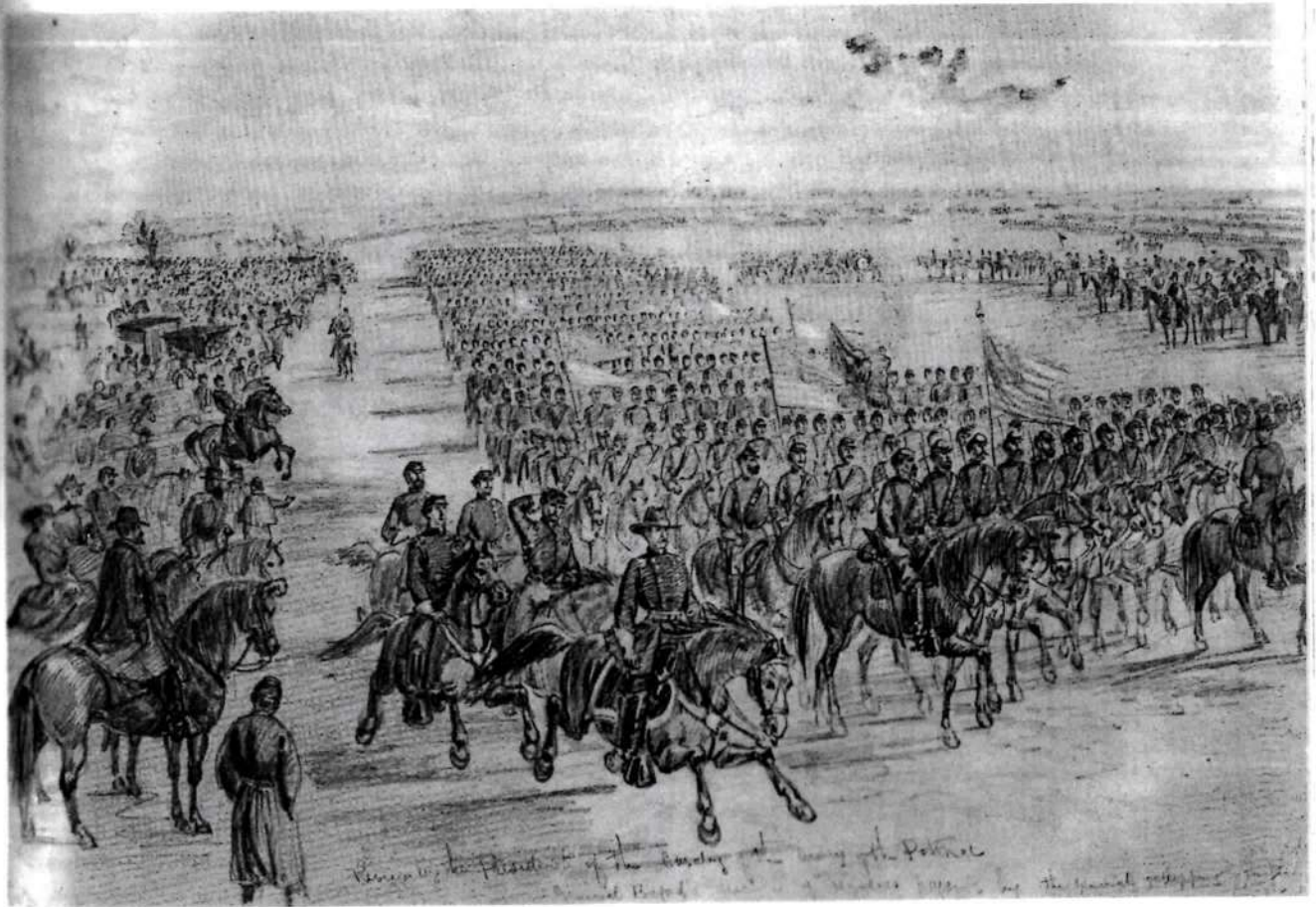
Mail was the usual way of getting the drawings from the field back to the newspaper office, but there were other methods, from commercial and private express-messenger services, to friends going in the right direction, especially the reporters of daily papers who might be rushing their articles to a center where telegraph and messenger services originated, or perhaps, when such services were not available, themselves continuing all the way to New York to deliver their copy.⁴¹ Creases are still apparent in many drawings that were folded to the size of an envelope.

ONCE THE ARTIST'S drawing had reached his newspaper, it was copied in reverse by one of the Home Artists onto a block of boxwood with a polished and whitened surface. This block was made up of a number of sub-blocks—thirty-six for a double-page spread—held together by bolts. If time permitted, one engraver would cut the entire composite block. But if speed



99. THE WATER CART

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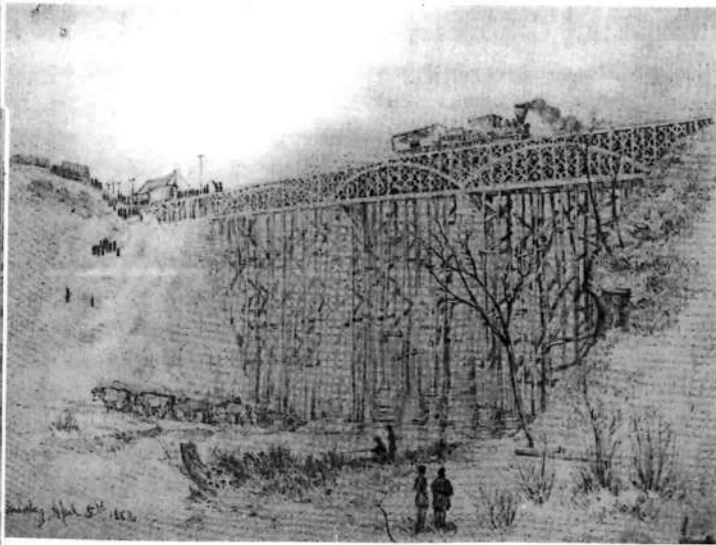
217. Lincoln Reviewing the Cavalry of the Army of the Potomac *Apr. 9, 1863*
BY ALFRED R. WAUD *13¾ x 20¼ in.*

were essential, the block would be disassembled and the component parts passed out to a number of engravers. Before it was taken apart, however, a master engraver would cut all lines that passed from one sub-block to another. This was done to ensure the exact coincidence of lines when the sub-blocks were reassembled, and to establish a tonal guide for each engraver so that his block would be harmonious with the others and the finished engraving be consistent throughout. After the sub-blocks were bolted together, an electrotype was made of the engraved surface, from which the actual printing was done.⁴²

The engraving process could not duplicate the sketch's vitality and sense of immediacy. Furthermore, it obliterated the individuality of the original drawing and made the pictures in the weeklies monotonously similar in style. Such a result was, of course, inevitable, for no matter what individual accents may have been in the original work, or what its medium, it was always translated into engraving by one or more of a relatively few artists. Winslow Homer's largeness of composition might survive the process, but the hand of the average Special Artist would be unidentifiable in the engraving. This is not to praise



70. A Zouave 1864
BY WINSLOW HOMER 16 7/8 x 7 1/2 in.



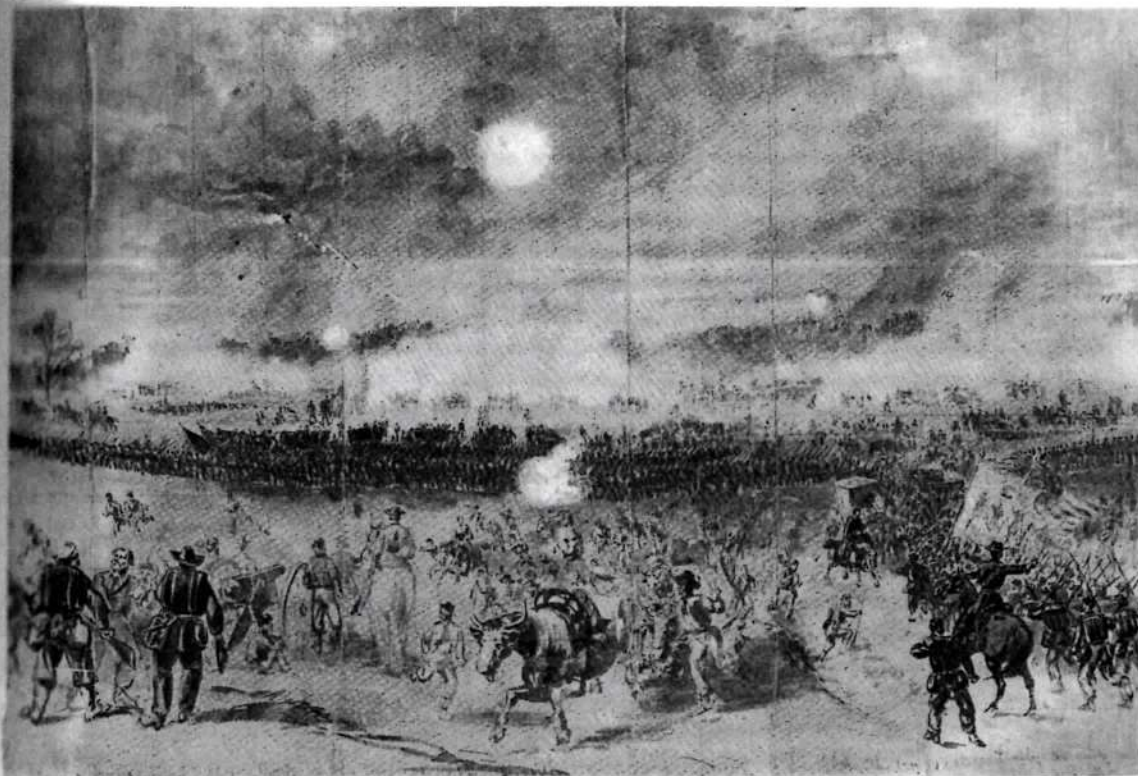
30. President Lincoln Crossing
Potomac Creek *Apr. 5, 1863*
BY EDWIN FORBES *9 5/8 x 13 1/4 in.*

the one, or damn the other. Homer is at once the more artistically creative, but less literal recorder of the War, because to him artistic considerations were paramount. On the other hand, the aim of the typical war artist was to transcribe as exactly as possible the essential elements of the scene before his eyes.⁴³

Two weeks was a short time to get a picture of an event to the reader; three to four weeks was average; and, depending on the subject, five to eight weeks was close enough to be considered still newsworthy. The lapse of time depended, of course, on where the

event occurred, on the transportation situation of the moment, and on the relationship of arrival of the drawing at the home office to the deadline for the next issue. A picture executed in Virginia would be rushed to Washington, whence it was only eight hours by train to New York. On the other hand, news of the fall of New Orleans came by special naval vessel around Florida to Hampton Roads, thence by mail boat to Baltimore, and finally by train to New York.⁴⁴ The article reporting the victory appeared in the daily paper eleven days after Farragut's special news boat raced from New Orleans, but it was not for another fourteen days later still that the illustrations of the naval battle appeared in the pictorial papers. Article and sketches were by the same journalist and were delivered by him in New York at the same time. From this and other evidence it is apparent that it took some two weeks from the time a sketch reached the home office to get it engraved and into the hands of the reader.⁴⁵

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220. Couch's Corps Covering the Retreat of the Eleventh Corps May 2, 1863
BY ALFRED R. WAUD 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The artist's note: *Couchs corps. forming line of battle in the fields at Chancellorsville to cover the retreat of the Eleventh Corps. disgracefully running away.*

HOW RELIABLE were the illustrations in the pictorial papers? They were reliable enough, thought the United States Government, to convey helpful intelligence to the enemy if not controlled, and accordingly each command was required to censor all pictures sent out from its jurisdiction.

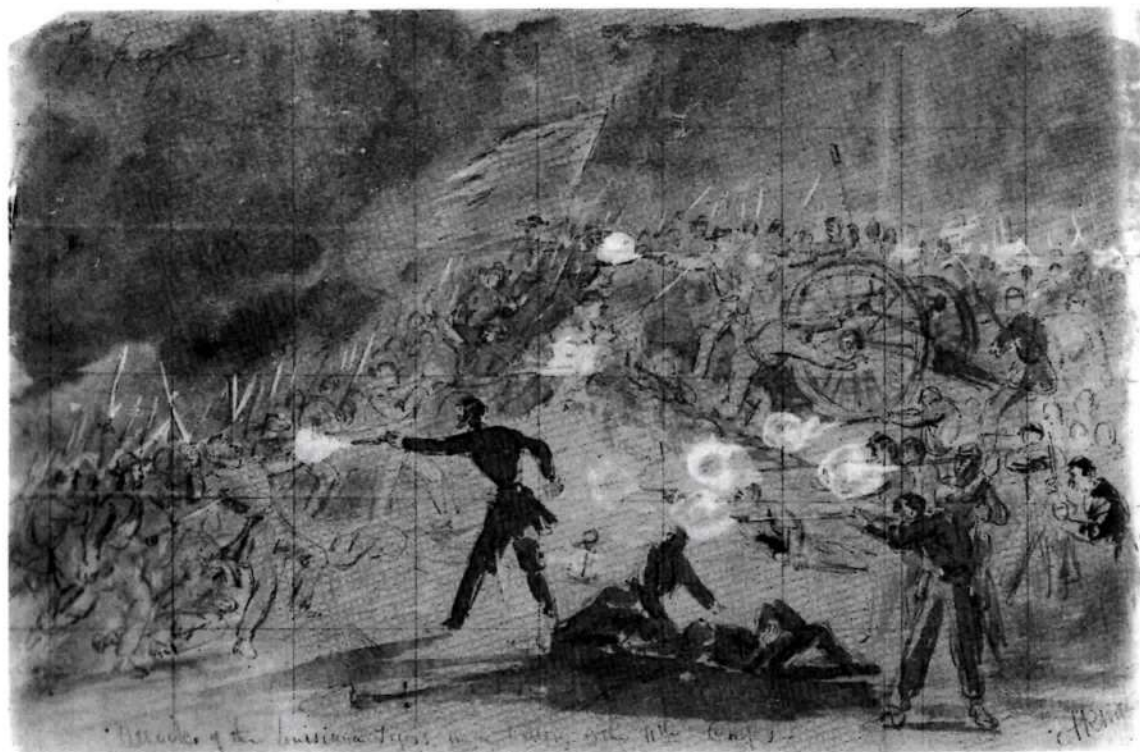
Not only was the Government concerned with the intelligence that might

be derived from an artist's pictures; so were the commanders of the forces. When Henri Lovie requested a pass to work with Sherman's army, he was turned down by the General with the comment: "You fellows make the best spies that can be bought. Jeff. Davis owes more to you newspaper men than to his army."⁴⁶ And many other Union generals shared with Sherman his concern

regarding the press's liability to violate security. That they felt the Special Artist to be an important factor in this control is implied in the following opinion of General M. R. Patrick, quoted in a letter of October 3, 1864, to Alfred Waud: "By the Bye Old Patrick complimented you very highly for never having conveyed information injurious to the cause during the whole time you were with the Army."⁴⁷

Finally, tribute to the accuracy of Northern news reporting is paid by the

enemy himself, for the writings of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and other Confederates indicate that they eagerly sought Northern news periodicals for the military intelligence they provided. The conclusion of a student of this problem is that, "acting under no effective Governmental restraint, the newspapers of the North, though in many ways deserving of admiration, undoubtedly did the national cause serious injury by continually revealing military information, undermining confidence in the



221. Attack of Louisiana Tigers at Gettysburg
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

July 1, 1863
8¾ x 13½ in.



34. Signal Officers Watching Lee's Army
BY EDWIN FORBES

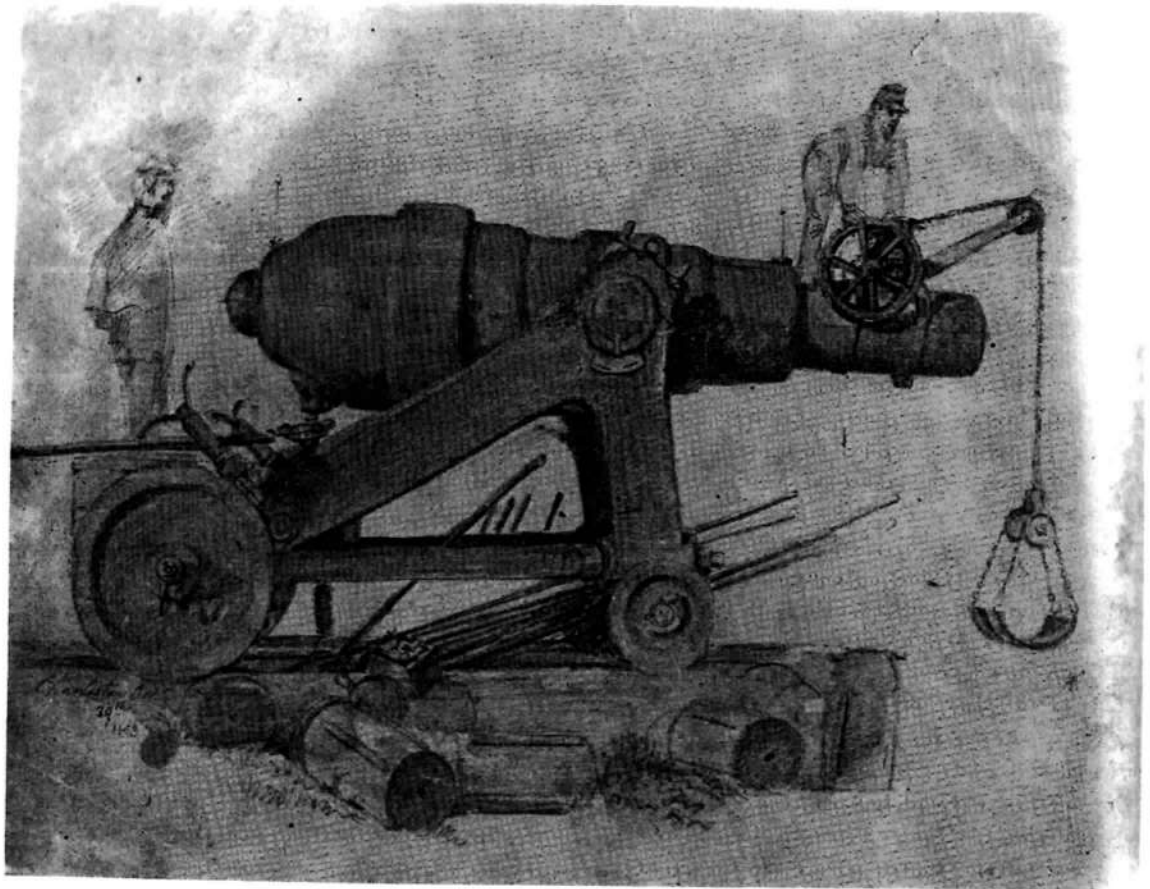
July 12, 1863
4½ x 7¼ in.

management of public affairs, and giving undue publicity to the virtues of ambitious generals and the sensational features of the War."⁴⁸ This indictment applies primarily to the correspondent, but the Special Artist was not always innocent. Probably he was less guilty only because his sketches did not ordinarily appear until at least two weeks later than the report of the same event in the daily press, by which time the military significance of an illustration would usually be negligible.

Many soldiers who witnessed events depicted in the illustrated papers vouch for the accuracy of the engravings, and some of the comments were proudly



THE SPECIAL ARTIST MAKING HIMSELF A
SMALL TARGET.

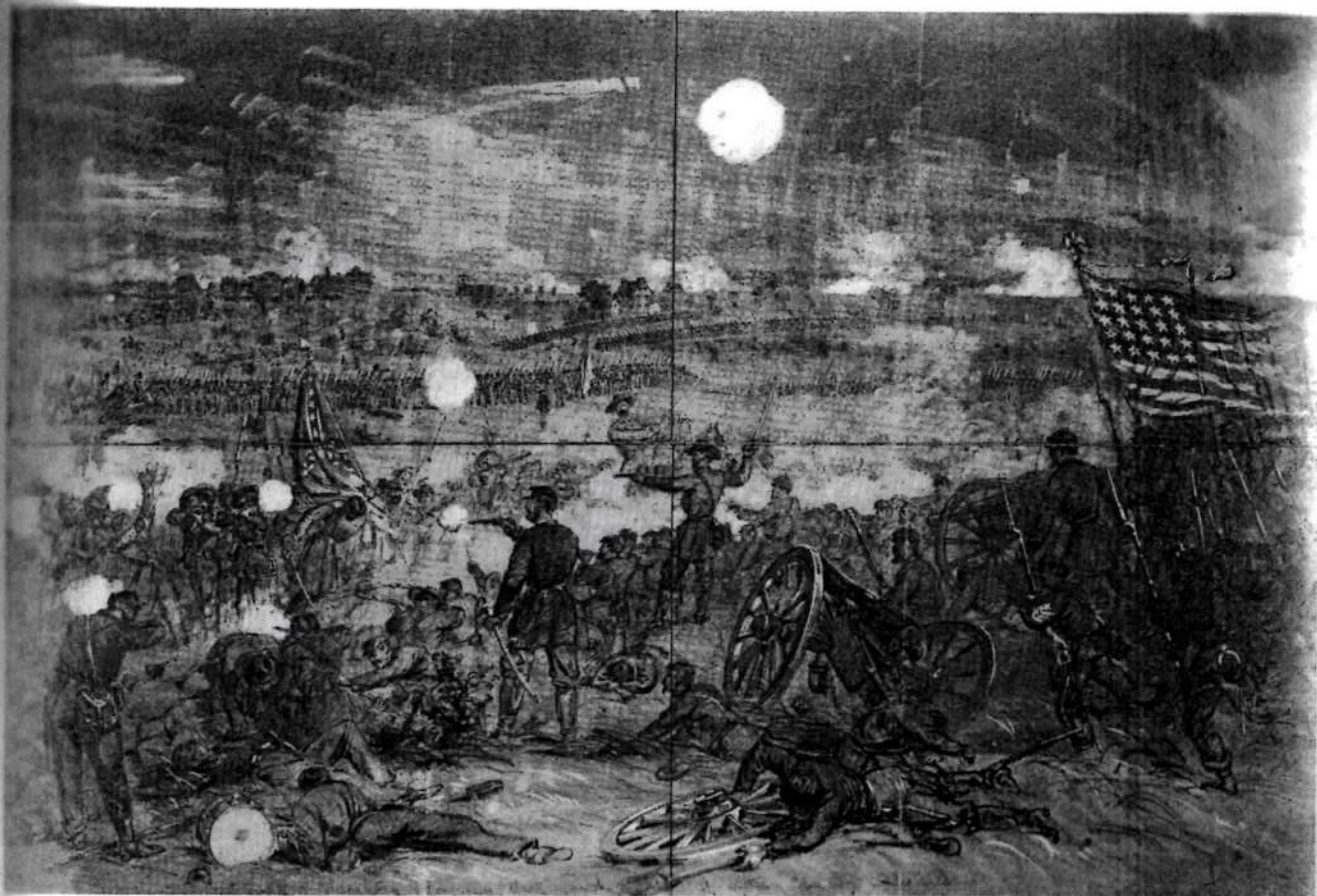


9. Cannon
BY CONRAD WISE CHAPMAN

Oct. 29, 1863
7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

published. A soldier says that *Leslie's* pictures of the Battle of Lexington, Missouri, in which he participated, are "as correct as can be had on paper."⁴⁹ Major Kimball of the 9th New York Regiment wrote, "I beg to say that your illustrations of the victories on Roanoke Island are very correct."⁵⁰ And General Q. A. Gillmore, in command of the

Department of the South, said, "I most cheerfully bear testimony to the general accuracy of his [William T. Crane's] delineations."⁵¹ Delighted with this unsolicited testimonial regarding their artist, *Leslie's* responded exultantly that none can doubt now "as to the truth of what we occasionally say of the merit of our sketches, as actual living pictures



222. Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

July 3, 1863
13 3/8 x 20 3/4 in.

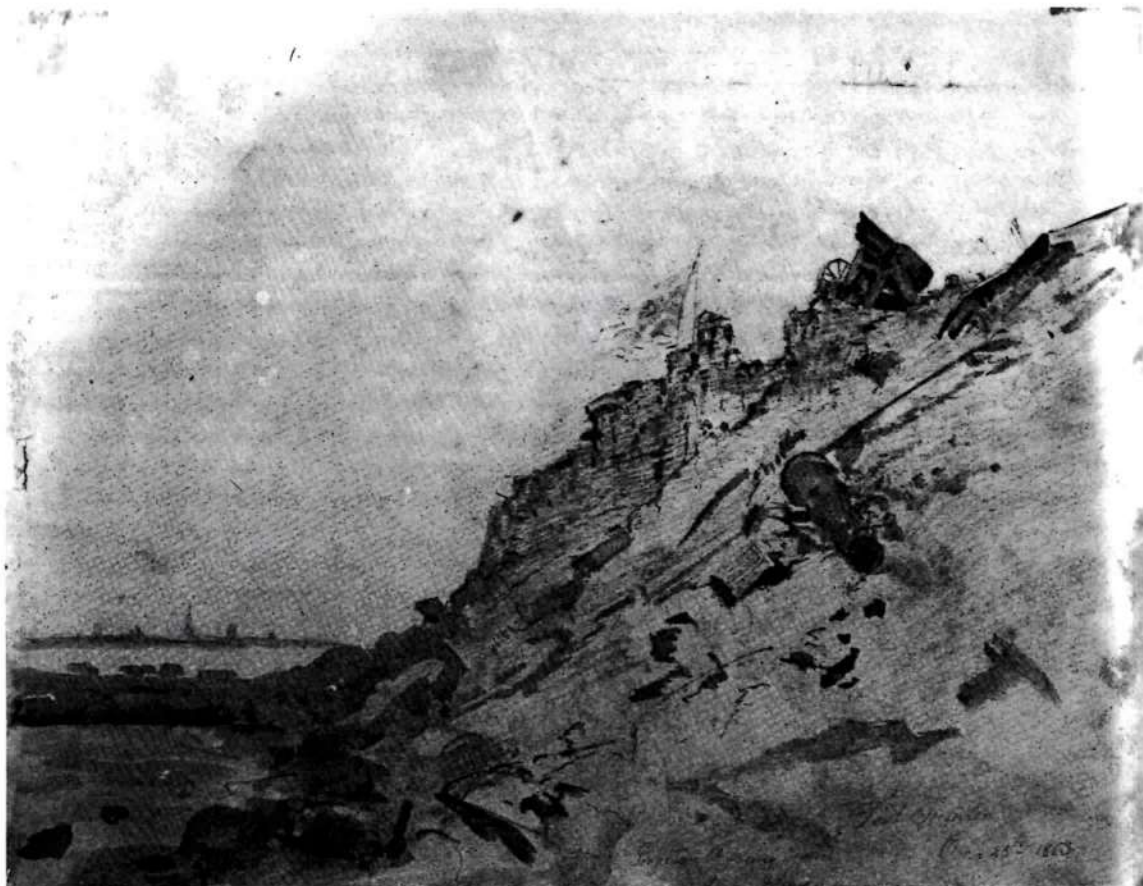
Oct. 29, 1863
7 3/8 x 9 1/2 in.

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of events passing around us."⁵² And in a letter to his wife, Major Henry Hitchcock, of Sherman's staff, wrote: "You must take 'Harper's Weekly' now. Their special artist, Theo. R. Davis, has been with us all the time. . . . His sketches are good and truthful."⁵³

Not all, however, endorsed so enthusiastically the accuracy of the artists'

pictures. William Waud wrote his brother about sketches of another artist which had been submitted to the censor: "Gen Patrick told me he should have kicked the artist out of Camp but that Gen Meade to whom they [the artist's sketches] were shewn said they were so unlike the places they were intended for & so bad they could do no harm."⁵⁴

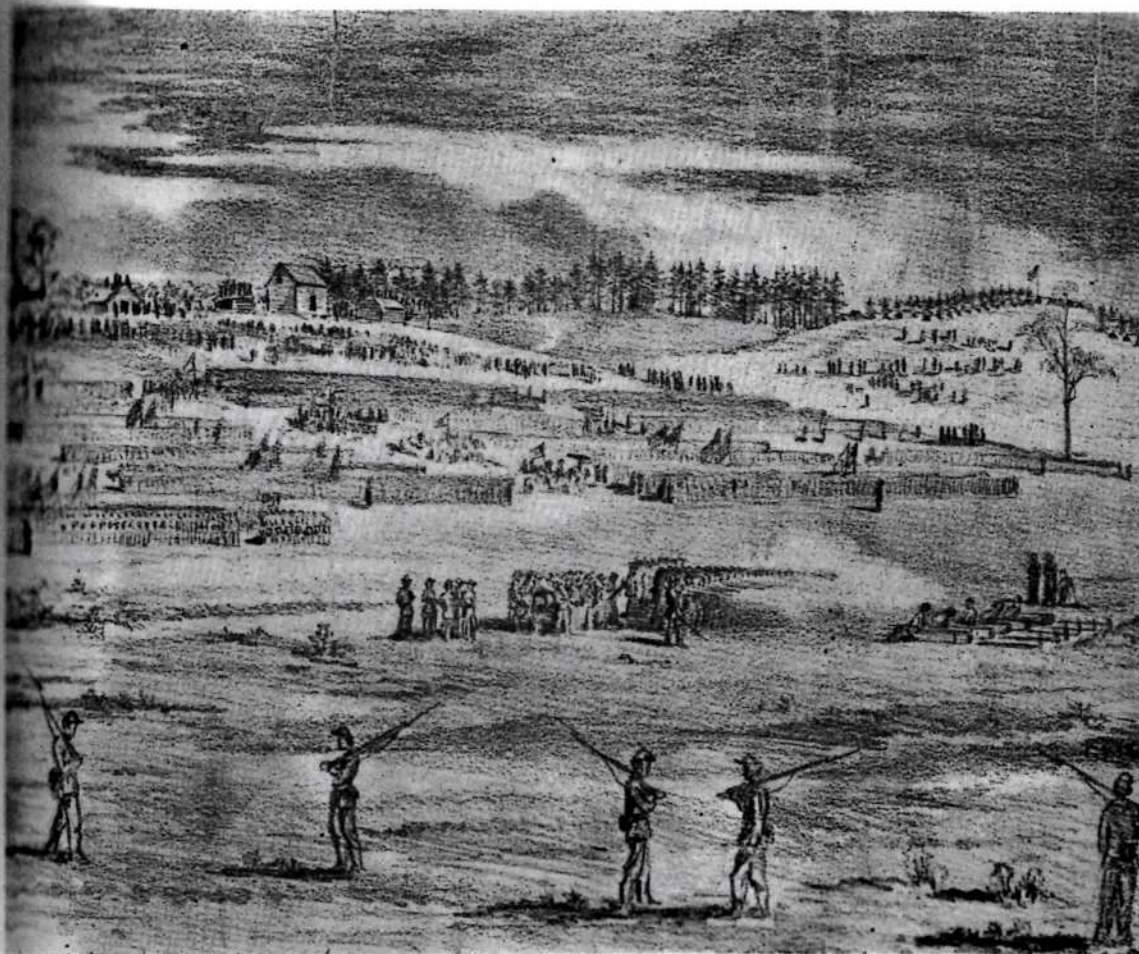


8. Fort Sumter
BY CONRAD WISE CHAPMAN

Oct. 25, 1863
7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

Doubts concerning the pictures in the illustrated weeklies also were unwittingly raised by the papers themselves, which now and again would join the skeptics by accusing a competitor of publishing false pictures: "we have avoided the errors of other illustrated papers, which have given 'bogus' drawings as ridiculous as untrue, instead of trustworthy pictures."⁵⁵ A more gen-

eral complaint was raised in 1864 by the Executive Committee of the New-York Historical Society: "It is true that the illustrated newspapers are full of sketches purporting to be pictures of important scenes, but the testimony of parties engaged shows that these representations, when they are not taken from photographs, are not always reliable."⁵⁶



37. Execution of Five Deserters—The Fatal Volley
BY EDWIN FORBES

Aug. 29, 1863
9 5/8 x 13 1/8 in.

The artist writes: "But of late a new kind of deserters have appeared—men who enlist in order to desert . . . imposters, who brave the danger for the chance of obtaining bounties . . . imposing array at the execution of five deserters, Kuhna, Felane, Walter, Keinese and Lay . . . in a beautiful valley, near the headquarters of the 1st Division—the whole of Sykes's Corps being drawn up to witness it. The condemned are seated on their coffins, in front of their open graves—their religious attendants, a Jewish rabbi, a Protestant minister, and Catholic priest, being a short distance from them . . . thirty-six muskets were discharged, and instant death was announced by the surgeons in attendance."



229. Dragging Artillery Through the Mud at Night
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

Prob. Feb. 1864
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

"Grossly unjust," retorted the editor of *Leslie's*, and he was justifiably aggrieved if the sense of the Historical Society's ambiguous statement was that a large percentage of the illustrations based on drawings were unreliable. But it cannot be denied that several categories of illustrations deviated in varying degrees from the truth. The most extreme examples are the imaginary creations fabricated by the artists in the home office. These were usually of spectacular current events, such as Quantrill's massacre of citizens of Lawrence, Kansas; or the removal of the Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell,

from the British mail steamer *Trent* on the high seas; or a significant battle of which the paper had received no sketch from the field. Each paper felt its competitors would have pictures of such events, and, since it did not wish to be scooped, it had one of its artists in the home office imagine the episode. If later the paper received a legitimate drawing, it might also be reproduced. None of these fanciful pictures could be called authentic; but the uniforms, paraphernalia of war, and military tactics would be appropriate, if not accurate for the specific event, being based on photographs and field drawings in the archives



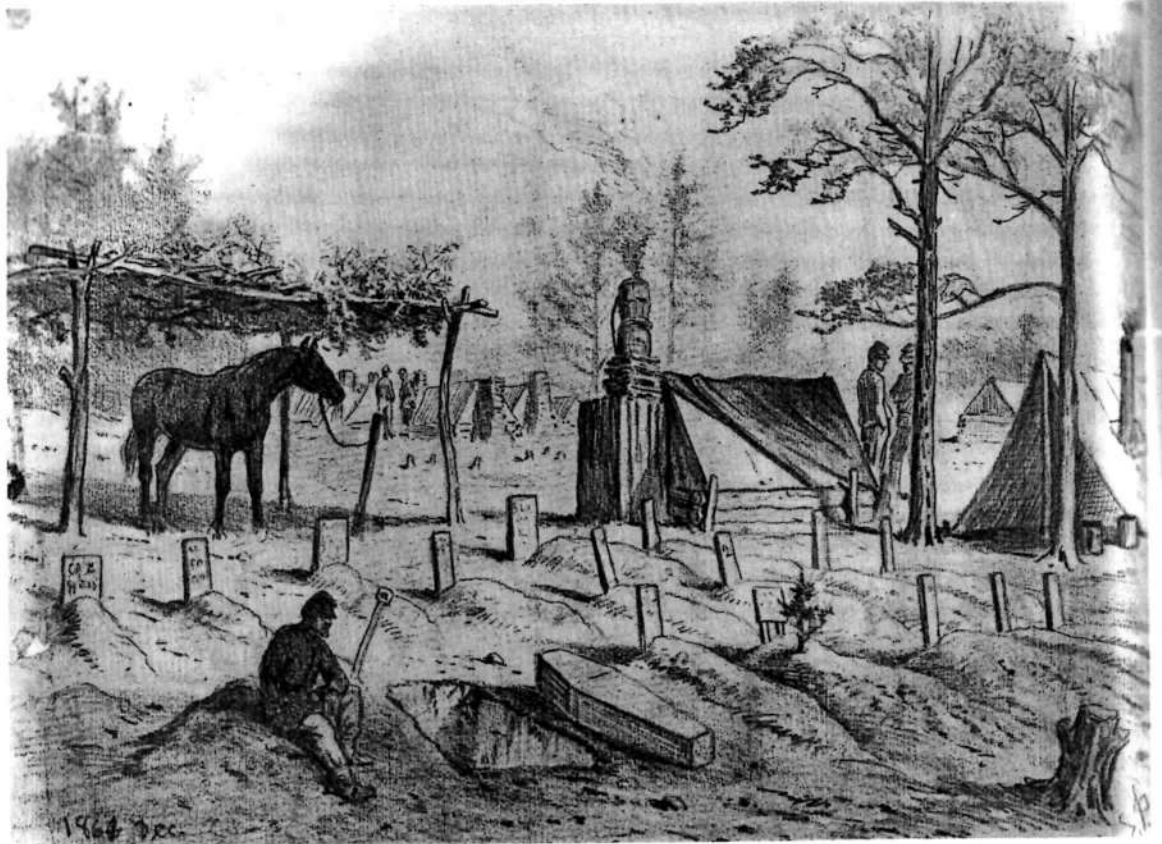
53. Contrabands Coming into the
Union Lines May 29, 1864
BY EDWIN FORBES 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.



54. The Bucktail's Last Shot June 8, 1864
BY EDWIN FORBES 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

of the paper. Moreover, some of the Home Artists were experienced in the field and often had a first-hand acquaintance with the kind of subject they were depicting. There was, however, probably no attempt on the part of the papers to mislead the public in the case of such pictures, which were never credited or claimed to be on-the-spot representations.⁵⁷

One might conjecture that a more likely source of inaccuracy would have been the translation of the original drawing into the published wood engraving. Comparison of drawings with the engravings made after them, however, shows that the pictorial elements were little altered during this process.⁵⁸ The Home Artist responsible for transferring the original onto the printing block would, of course, correct any ill proportion or wrong perspective, but he did not alter the pictorial content. Some engravings follow the drawings exactly, but more often there are slight adjustments, usually resulting from the necessity to adapt a drawing of particular proportions to a newspaper space of different proportions. The artist naturally had no way of foreknowing the shape of the space in which his sketch was to be reproduced, and the Home Artist might, as required, add or subtract a



29. An Army Graveyard
BY EDWIN FORBES

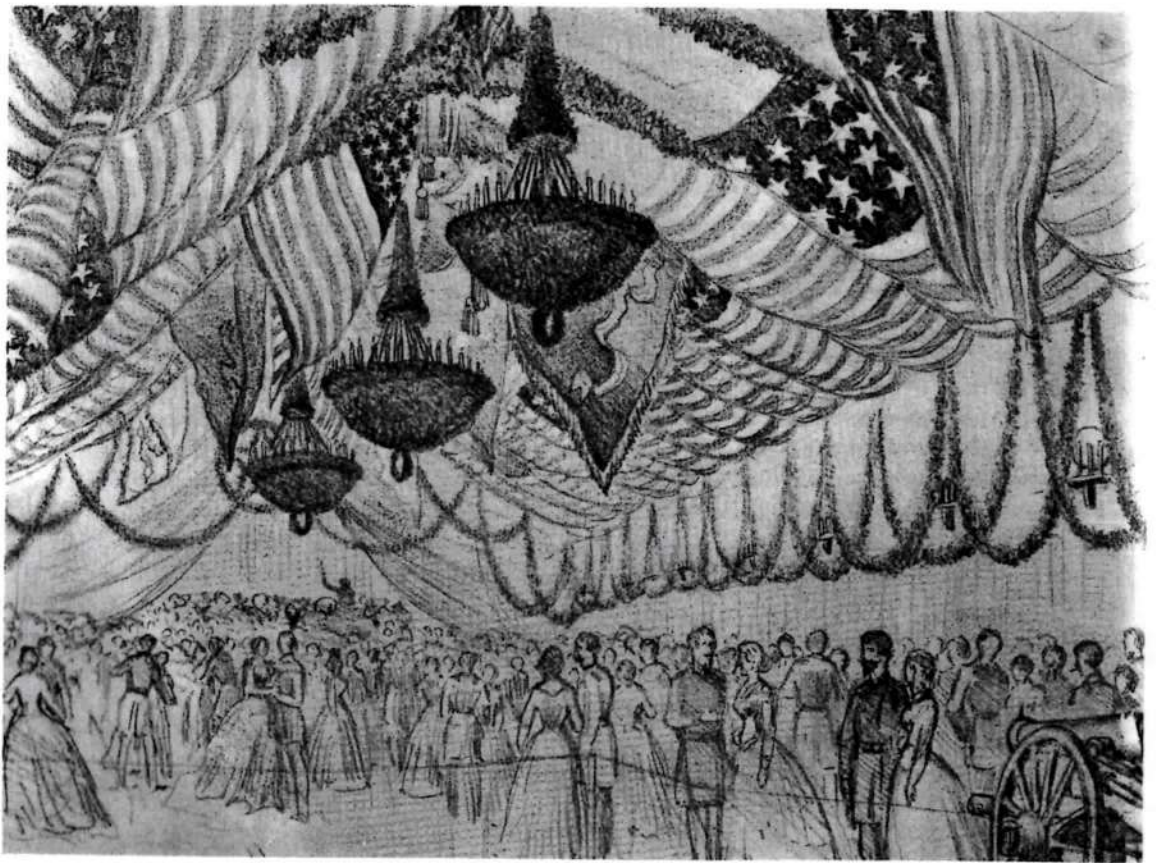
Feb. 15, 1863
8½ x 11½ in.

figure at the side, condense the center if it struck him as unnecessarily empty, add a house to an empty background or, if the action seemed to have been placed too far off, he might bring it more into the foreground. Occasionally, a sketch might be modified lest it offend a squeamish public.⁵⁹ Still another kind of alteration of the original sketch might be made in the interest of greater

action. A view of an army graveyard, for example, which in the drawing shows a single soldier at rest beside an open grave with coffin alongside, was engraved to show the identical scene but with an addition of four soldiers lowering the coffin into the grave (Ill. pp. 74, 75). In all these instances, however, the basic sense of the original drawings was retained in the engraving.⁶⁰

A more difficult question concerns the truthfulness of the original drawing, for, owing to the competitive drive to "get the news and get it first," there was great pressure on the Special Artist to cut corners. As one Special noted: "an occasional error is inseparable from the conditions under which he [the Special Artist] works; but on the whole his productions are remarkably accurate, and

the wonder is, not that blunders are so many, but that they are so few."⁶¹ In general, the Artist was a person of integrity. For example, he may note on his drawing that it was indebted to a photograph, or that the scenery was truthful though the representation of the action was based on verbal description. But even if the artist was not naturally honest, he was forced to act



48. Ball of the Fifth Corps
BY EDWIN FORBES

Mar. 16, 1864
6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 in.

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so, for he knew that much of his work
would be checked against that of other
artists, as well as against photographs
(Compare Illustrations on p. 76 and p.
77). He also knew that it must meet
with the soldiers' approval, for the il-
lustrated weeklies had large circulation
among the troops. How one Special
Artist strove to achieve accuracy is told
by Theodore R. Davis:

"Infantry, cavalry, and artillery sol-
diers, each had their particular uniform,
and besides these, their equipments,
such as belts, swords, guns, cartridge-
boxes, and many other things, were dif-
ferent. Their tactics and maneuvers
were not alike, and some distinguishing
point in each uniform designated the
corporals, sergeants, lieutenants, cap-
tains, majors, colonels, and generals.



264. Transportation of Hancock's Corps Across the
James at Wilcox's Landing
BY WILLIAM WAUD

June 14, 1864
9 5/8 x 13 3/8 in.



234. 7th New York Heavy Artillery at Cold Harbor
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

June 3, 1864
13¼ x 20¼ in.

As many as ten different saddles were in use, and of the many army homes—tents—there was a great variety. The harness for artillery horses was peculiar, as was that of the mules which drew the army wagons and ambulances.

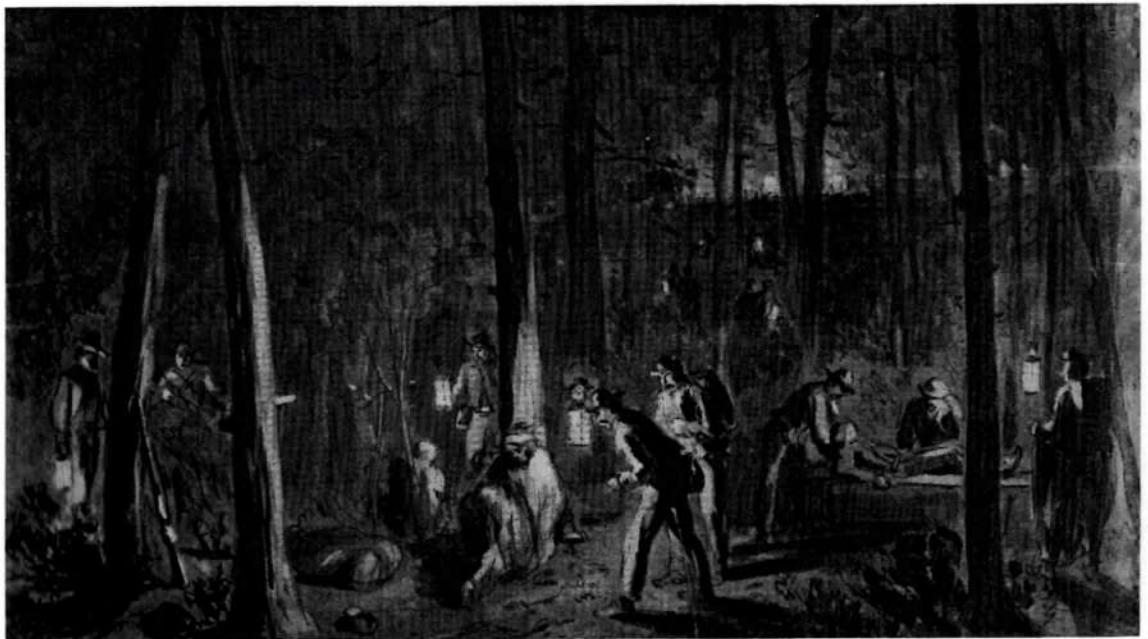
“Now, these are only some of the things,—a few of them,—but sufficient to show the necessity for a special sketch-book, in which to make, when-

ever I found an opportunity, memorandum sketches of every new thing. I thus provided myself with a reference book for use when active campaigning commenced; for then there would be no time to secure detailed sketches, and under some circumstances it would often be impossible to get more than a very rough sketch from which to finish a drawing of some very important oc-

currence . . . these note-books were small, so that they might conveniently be carried in my pocket, ready for use at any moment."⁶²

It goes without saying, however—and this was certainly understood by the Civil War reader—that when an artist made a drawing of action, troops fighting for example, he could create a picture that was only approximately as it occurred. The setting would be accurate, the action accurately located in it, and the general disposition of the troops accurately arranged. But it was

impossible to record as of a given moment, as the camera can do today, the precise attitude of each soldier and his exact placement relative to others. Usually the best that could be done was to build the composition of the picture about an especially striking moment of the action. If time permitted, the attitudes of a few focal figures might be recorded, but it is clear that these had to represent successive actions. In instances, the attitudes of individual soldiers certainly derived from earlier studies.⁶³



270. Hospital Attendants Collecting the Wounded at Night
After the Battle
BY WILLIAM WAUGH

Prob. early Oct. 1864
9 x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

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85. Battle of Munfordville, Kentucky
BY HENRI LOVIE

Sept. 14, 1862
8 7/8 x 13 5/8 in.

In addition to the lack of photographic exactness in a drawing of action, necessitated by the mind's inability to retain the image of an instant, the artist employed many artistic conventions. Meaningful as these may have been to the Civil War public, they were, of course, factually untruthful, especially when repeated over and over.

While most sketches were as nearly as possible direct transcriptions of the actual scene, there were some in which,

to heighten interest, the artist might falsify the viewpoint from which he actually witnessed the event. Sometimes he pretended to draw from the Confederate position, watching the oncoming attack of the Union forces, while the Confederate soldiers, with backs to the viewer, were returning the fire (See Ill. above). In others the artist showed a naval engagement as if seen from a distance although he was actually on board one of the ships engaged. Then

there is the bird's-eye view from an imagined height (See Ill. p. 96).⁶⁴

Finally, some of the drawings by the Special Artists were of events not actually witnessed by them. Usually, however, the artist was careful to visit the locale and to learn as much as possible from eyewitnesses. This is explained by Henri Lovie in a letter to his editor. Lovie, who was not present at the Battle of Shiloh, describes how he made his

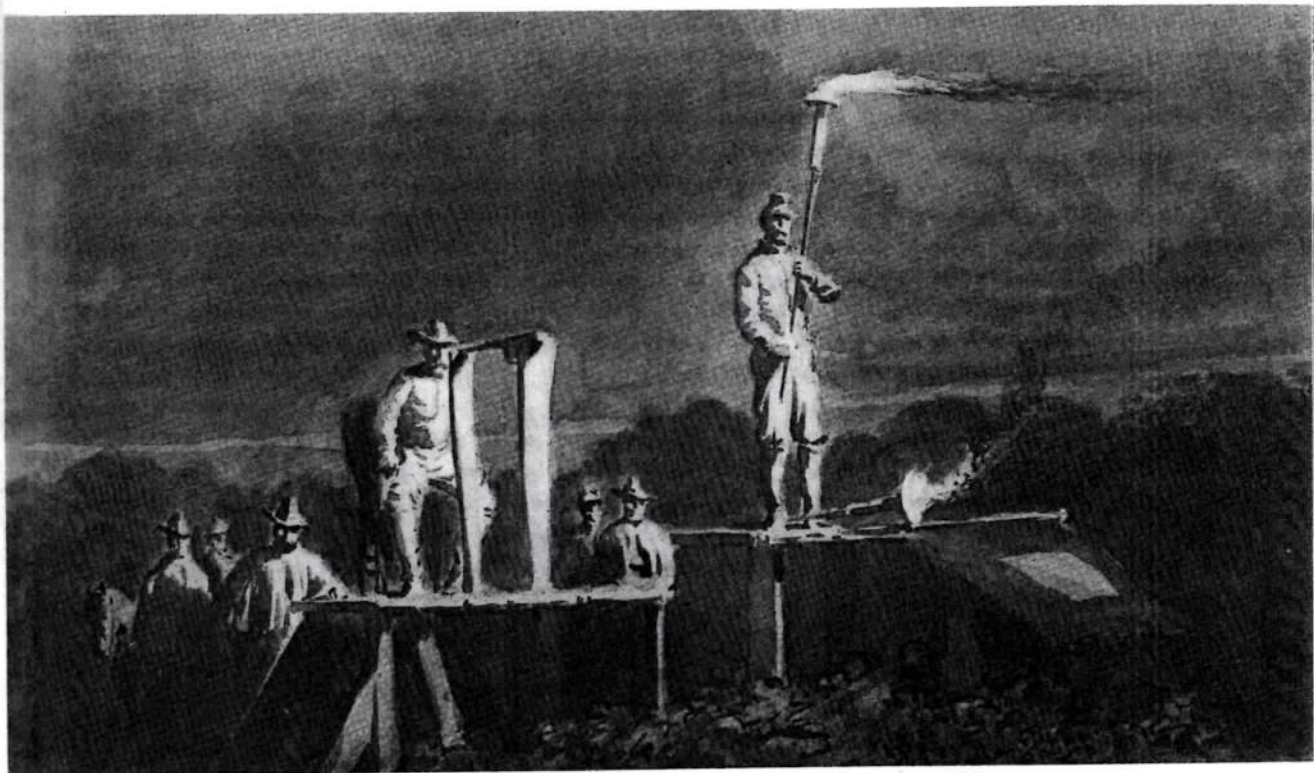
drawings of the conflict: "I commenced on the extreme left wing, and visited every division, obtained guides, listened to all stories from all sides, and made upwards of 20 local sketches of positions and scenery, including all the battle-grounds—for there were many—and send them to you in something like their logical and chronological relation, a task of no little difficulty, where nobody knows what was done by anybody



244. Explosion at City Point
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

Aug. 9, 1864
9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

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272. Signalling by Torches Across the James River
BY WILLIAM WAUD

Prob. Oct. 1864
5¼ x 10½ in.

else.”⁶⁵ Such a frank acknowledgment of the source of a picture—and there were many others⁶⁶—could only have created reader confidence in the integrity of a paper.

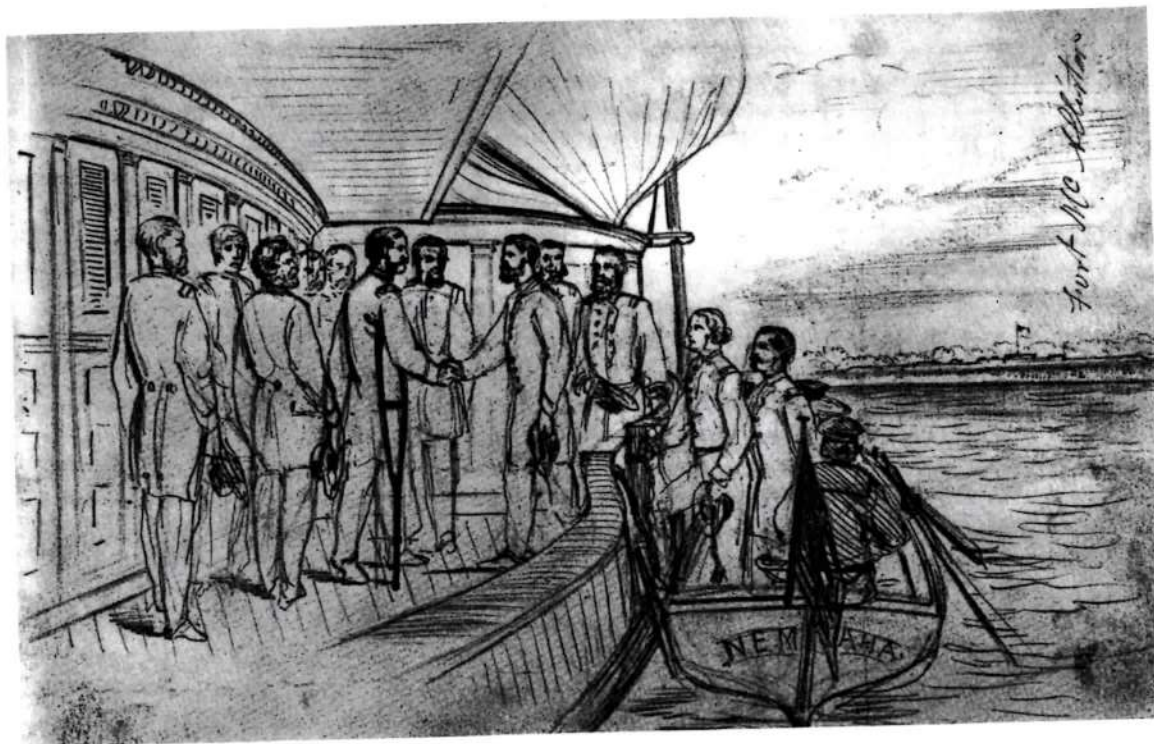
There was, however, a certain practice of the illustrated papers which undoubtedly would have been questioned at the time, had the reader been aware of it. This was the use of a given scene to represent another. For example, on July 3, 1863, Edwin Forbes made a

drawing on the Gettysburg battlefield of dead horses and wrecked caissons. When this picture was published, it purported to show a scene of Meade’s retreat from Richmond some three months later; another Forbes picture of a cavalry charge near Brandy Station, northwest of Fredericksburg, was illustrated as depicting a subsequent attack at Yellow Tavern, outside Richmond.⁶⁷ If we could have accused the editor of duplicity in these instances, he un-

WHILE THE SPECIAL ARTIST was the most important supplier of pictures to the weekly papers, he was supplemented by the Amateur Artist.⁶⁸ Usually the Amateur was a member of the Armed Forces, but he might also be a civilian. The pictures he submitted were in response to a standing advertisement, substantially similar in all illustrated papers: "Any one, in any part of the country, who will send us faithful sketches of scenes and incidents connected with the war, however roughly they may be drawn, will

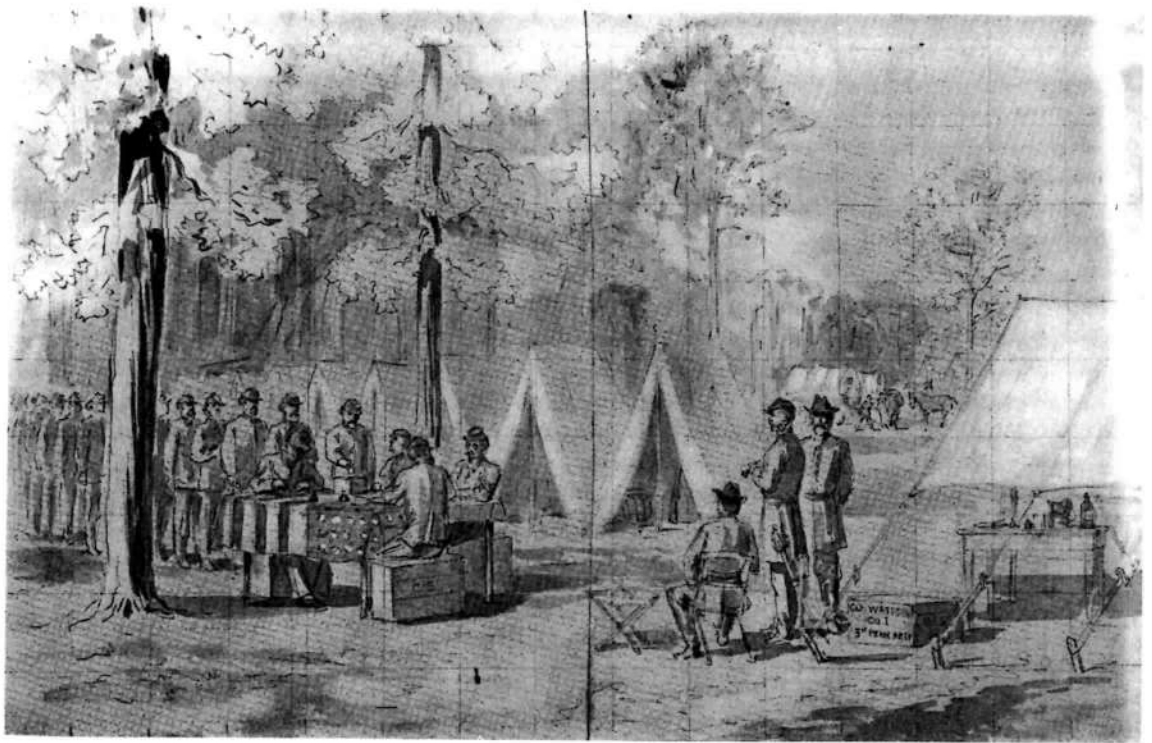


242. Picket in Front of Fort Mahone
June 1864-Mar. 1865
BY ALFRED R. WAUD 3½ x 5½ in.



14. Reception of General Sherman by General Foster on the Ogeechee River, Georgia
BY WILLIAM T. CRANE

Dec. 14, 1864
6¾ x 10 in.



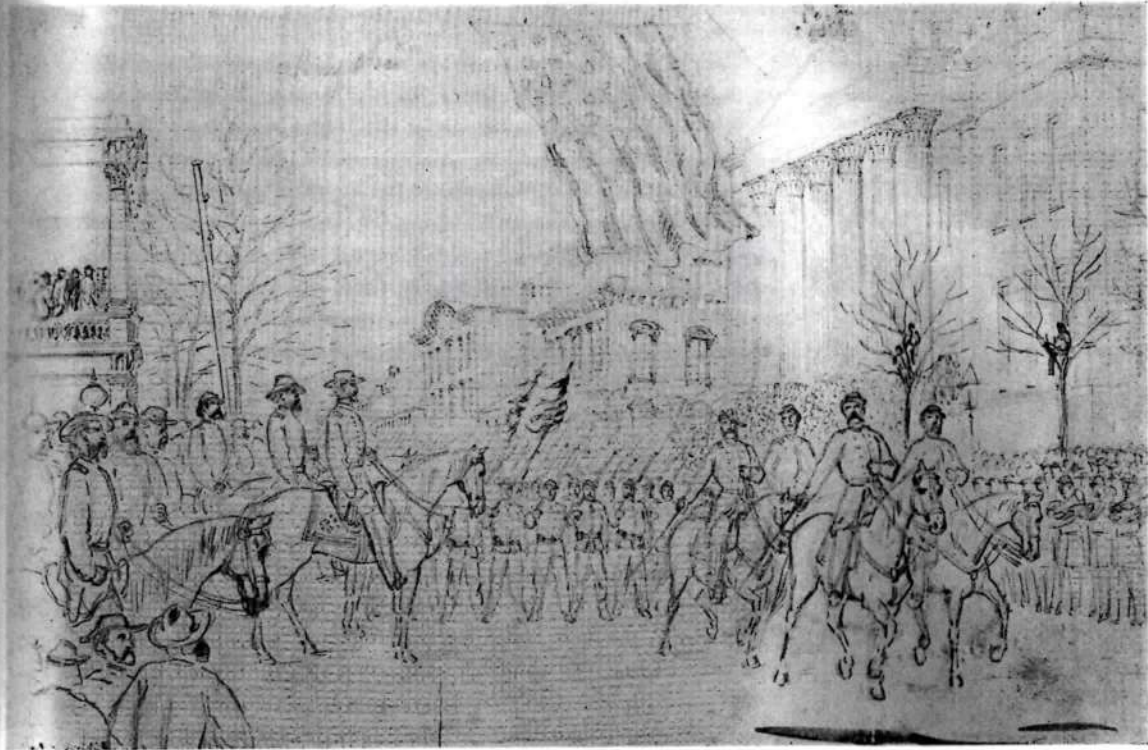
273. Pennsylvania Soldiers Voting, 1864
BY WILLIAM WAUD

Prob. Oct. 1864
8 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

be heartily thanked by the proprietors of this paper. If the sketches are used, they will be liberally paid for.”⁶⁹ There were great numbers of these casual witnesses, over 300 known by name, each of whom supplied the weeklies with one or more published sketches. Individually they added little to the picture of the War; collectively their contribution was important.⁷⁰

The Amateur Artist was indispensable to the illustrated papers, but his

importance to them varied according to time and place. His services were needed especially during the first half of 1861, when those papers were hardly prepared to cover events that were occurring too rapidly from South Carolina to Florida and Texas. It was the Amateur Artist, always on hand everywhere, who enabled them to meet the emergency. On the sea, in the day-to-day naval operations in the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, the Amateur



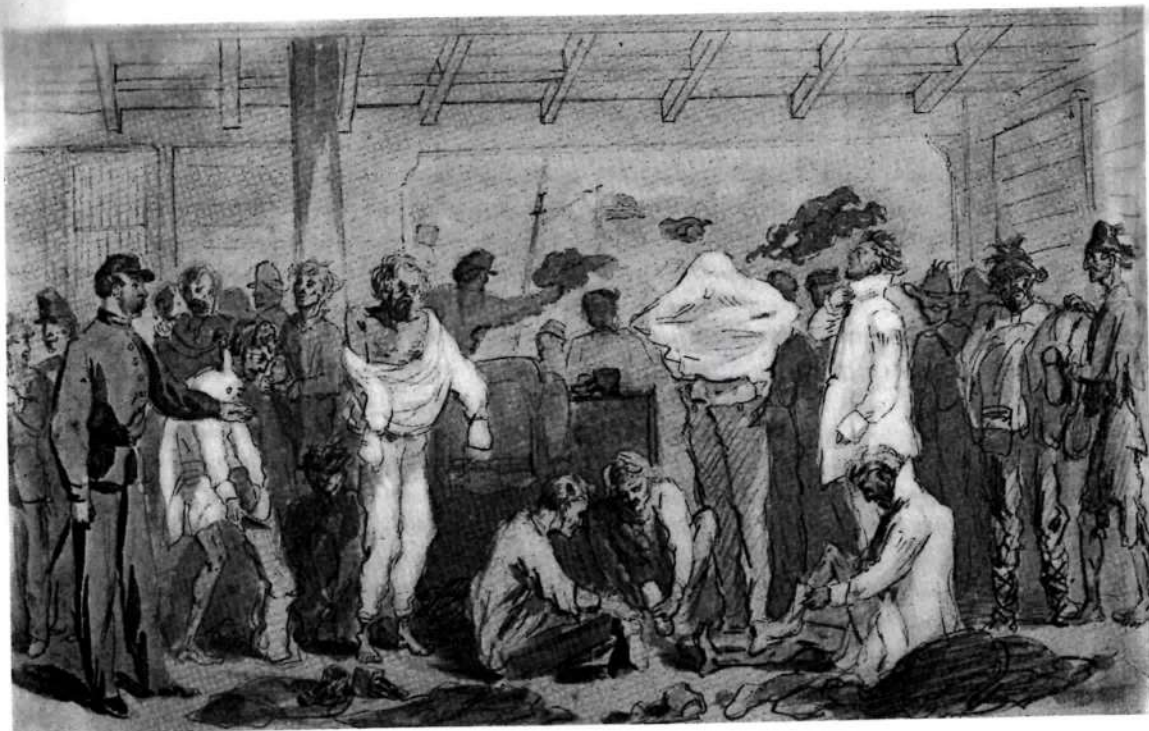
278. Sherman Reviewing His Army in Savannah
BY WILLIAM WAUD

Jan. 1865
9 1/8 x 12 3/4 in.

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was indispensable throughout the War, since it was obviously uneconomical to assign a Special Artist to every ship. The occasional action that did occur could be adequately covered by a member of the crew with an artistic bent. Similarly, the Amateur remained important in the Western theater, where the fighting was scattered over a very wide area. Though he gradually became less useful as staffs of Special Artists increased, the need for his reporting

never died out, for he was omnipresent, sketching many events that otherwise would have gone unrecorded. As might be expected, the Amateur Artist was, however, a less reliable reporter of the War than the Special.⁷¹



276. Returned Prisoners of War Exchanging Their Rags,
Charleston, S. C.
BY WILLIAM WAUD

Dec. 1864
9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

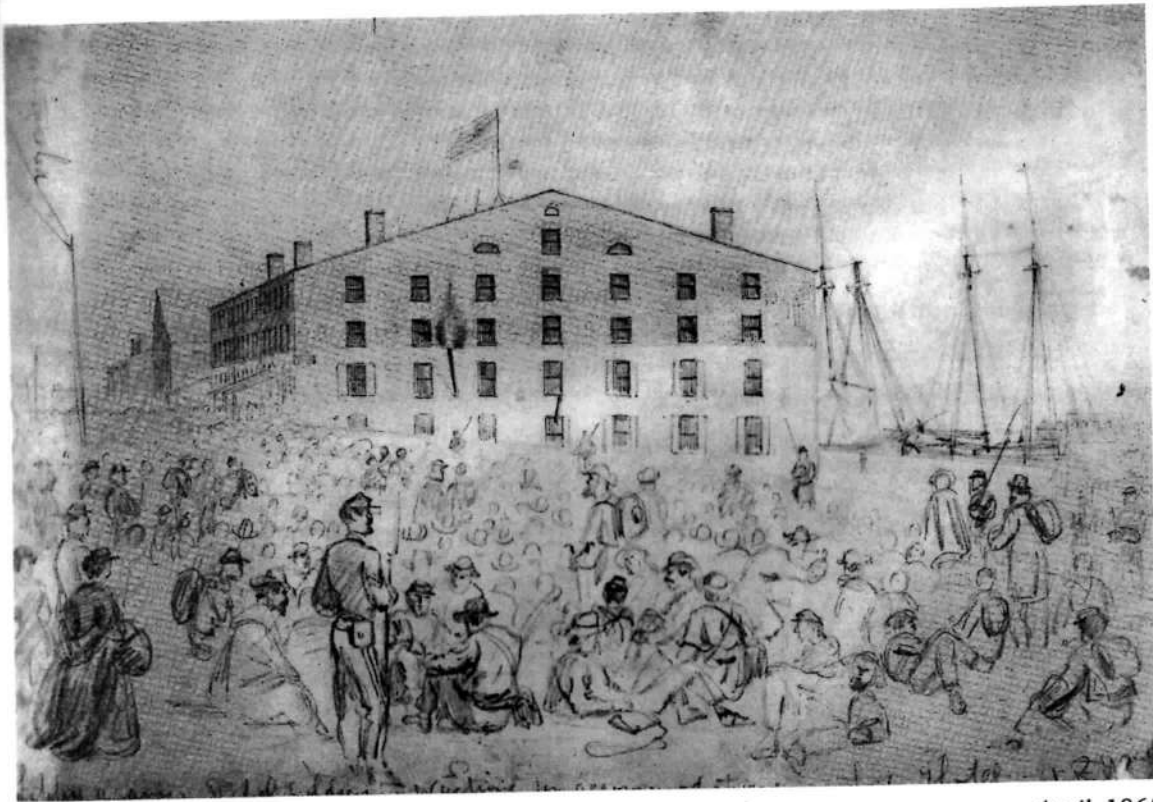
The artist notes: "*Returned Prisoners of War exchanging their rags for new clothing on board Flag of Truce boat New York. The figures on the right are coming in with the new clothing, in the Centre pitching the old rags overboard, & going out on the left to get their rations. See New York Times.*"

SATISFACTORY as drawings were by artists, the illustrated weeklies would have preferred photographs, in whose "inflexible veracity" they and the public had unbounded confidence.⁷² At the time, however, the photographer could not compete with the artist, who was more versatile, more dependable, and less expensive to main-

tain. To record anything, anywhere, in any light, the artist needed only a horse and a pad and pencil. In fact, he could do without the horse, and frequently was compelled to. But the photographer required, in addition to his horse, a large, cumbersome camera and a dark room in the form of a specially-fitted-out wagon filled with glass

plates and bottles of chemicals. These impedimenta prevented him from reaching many scenes he might have recorded more tellingly than the artist. Muddy roads bogged him down in wet seasons; his glass plates and bottles broke if he rattled too fast over frozen ruts; and his pictures were lost if, as happened too often, his wagon overturned behind a runaway horse frightened by a too-near shell burst.

As if these hindrances were not enough, the "wet plate" process of photography, commonly used during the Civil War, demanded that the glass photographic plates be sensitized just before use and developed soon after exposure. Owing to the fickleness of these operations, delicate even in a well-ordered studio, the photographer never realized many pictures of scenes he had hoped to immortalize.

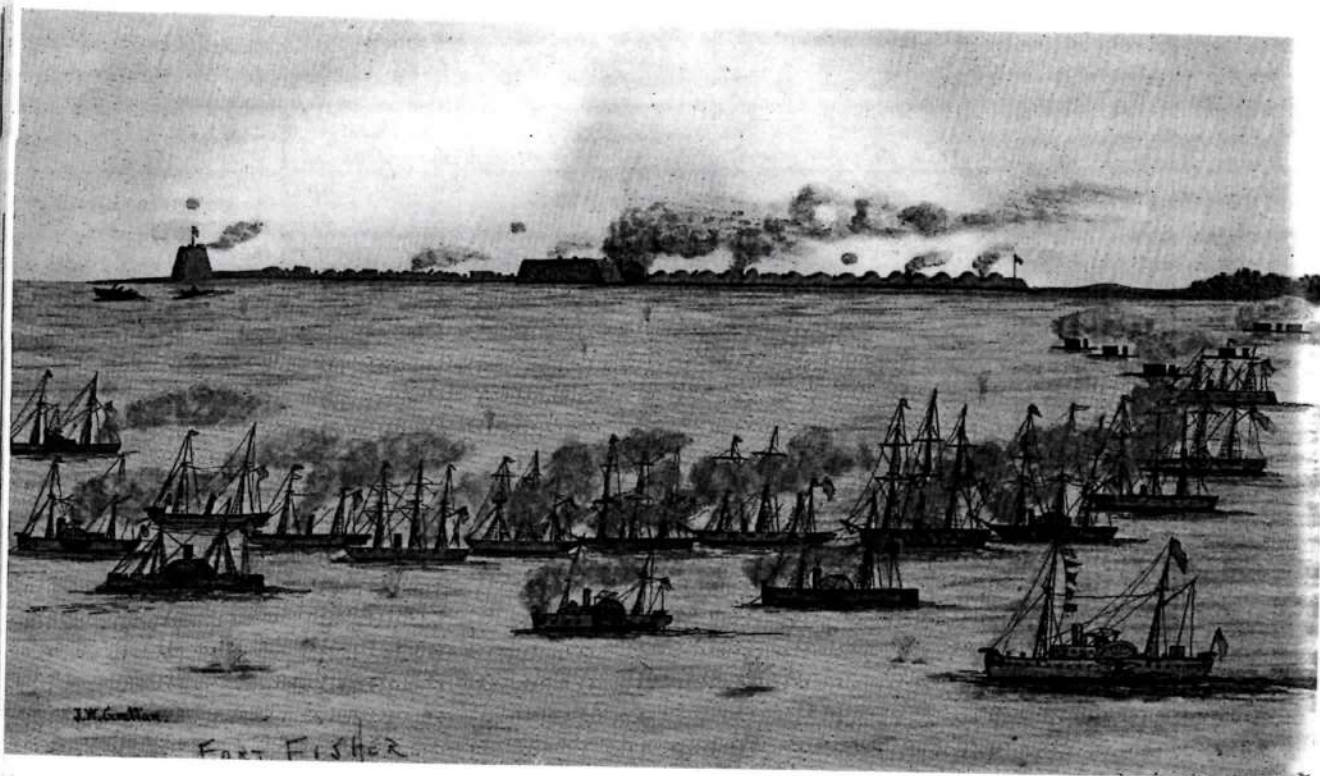


254. Libby Prison, Richmond
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

April 1865
9 7/8 x 13 1/2 in.

NINETY-FIVE

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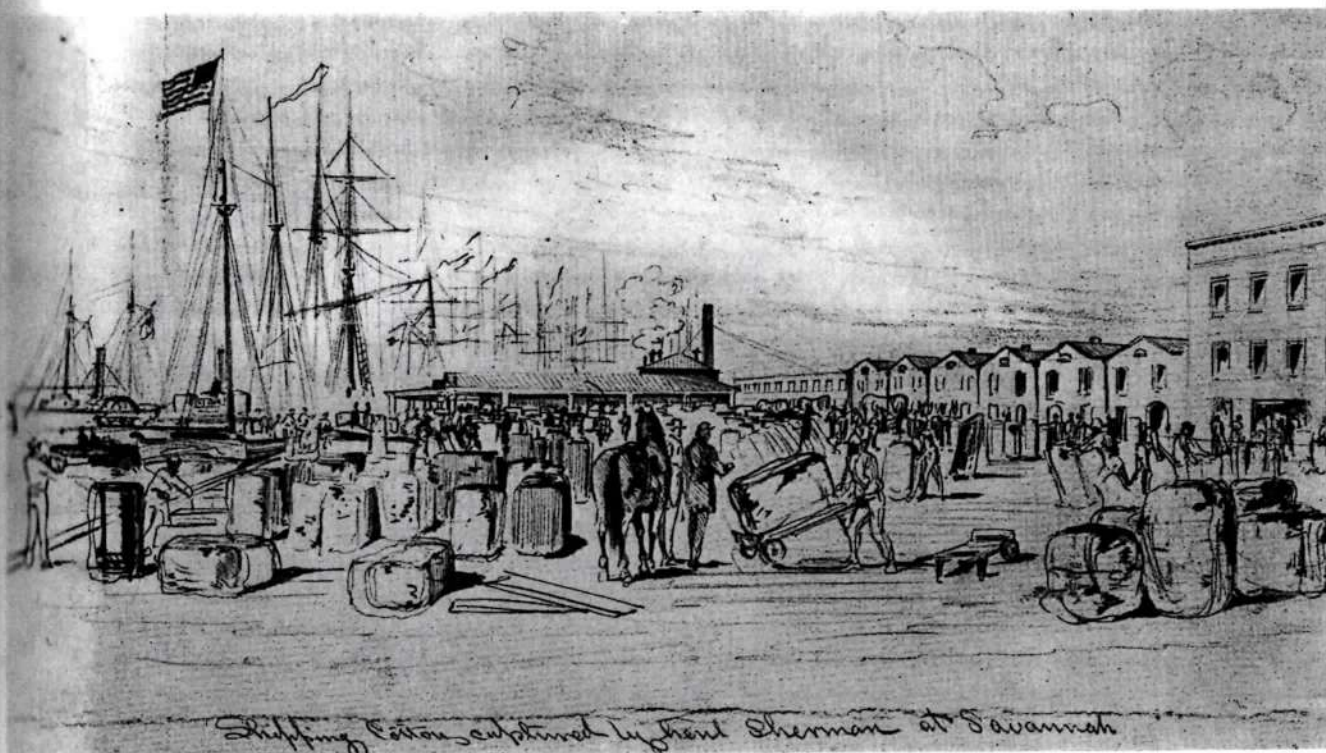
56. Battle of Fort Fisher
BY JOHN W. GRATTAN

Jan. 13-15, 1865
5 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 in.

The final limitation, which would have been decisive in itself as far as the illustrated weeklies were concerned, was that the camera was technically incapable of "stopping" action, for even under most favorable conditions, a time exposure of ten to thirty seconds was required. The camera was ideal for recording "still life," but it could not catch scenes of motion with satisfactory clarity.

Despite these drawbacks, the photographer was responsible for about 15

percent of the pictures in the illustrated papers.⁷³ These included almost all the many portraits of people in the news, plus a few scenes of battlefields strewn with corpses, of shells of buildings in ravaged towns, of the paraphernalia of war, etc. While today these photographs are extremely important to the pictorial record of the Civil War, it is a curious fact that at the time they were being taken their influence on the populace, North and South, was relatively slight.⁷⁴

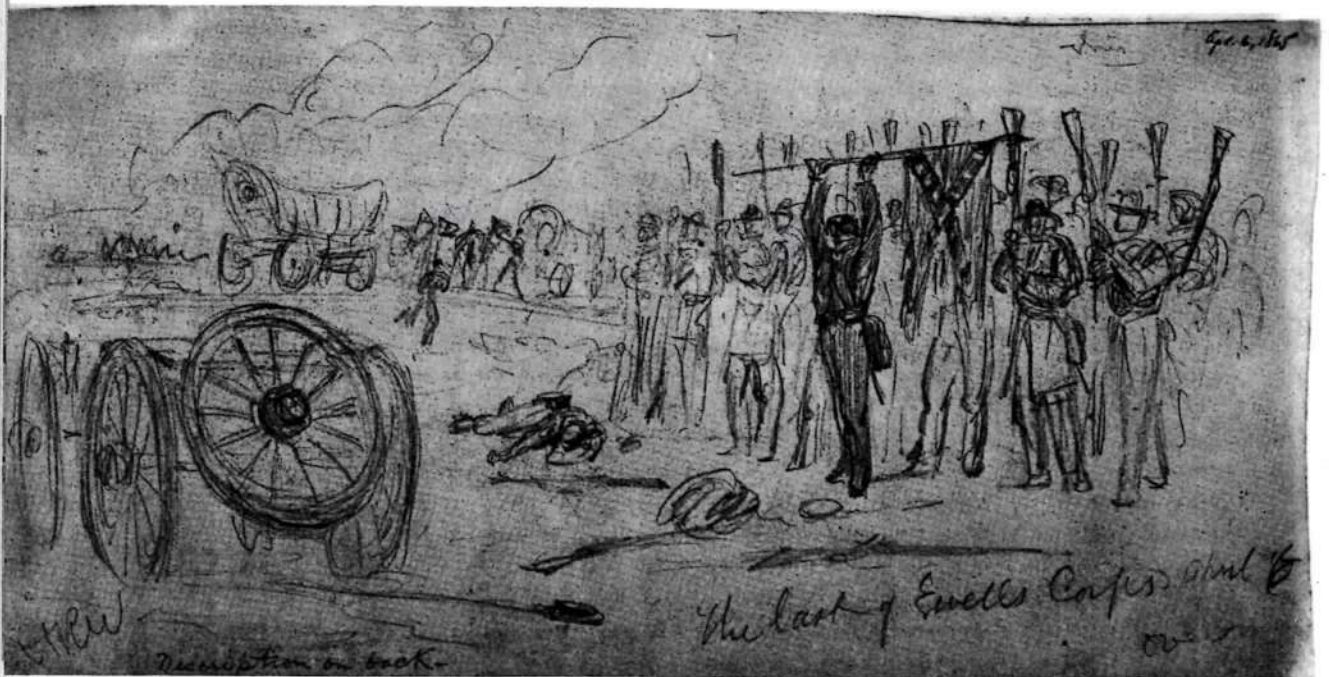


16. Shipping Cotton Captured by General Sherman
at Savannah
BY WILLIAM T. CRANE

Prob. Jan. 1865
6 3/8 x 10 in.

IT WAS, THEN, the drawings of the Special and Amateur Artists engraved in the illustrated papers that were primarily responsible for giving the people, at least in the North, the specific image they had of the War. The reader learned what troops looked like when they attacked in line, and how they appeared when deployed as skirmishers; he saw the mountainous terrain in Eastern Tennessee and better understood the difficulties of the fighting around Chat-

tanooga; he saw the appearance of great armies spread across a countryside at Second Bull Run; and he appreciated how even small units lost their identity and how friend and foe were confused in the tangled underbrush of the Wilderness. He saw how cannon smoke hung over a field and marked the sites of gun emplacements; and he understood the look of a mortar and a light twelve, and learned how each was manned. He saw the awkward shapes of the gunboats on



251. The Last of Ewell's Corps
BY ALFRED R. WAUD

Apr. 6, 1865
5½ x 11¼ in.

The Artist writes: "This was quite an effective incident in its way the soldiers silhouetted against the western sky—with their muskets thrown butt upwards in token of surrender, as our troops closed in—beyond a wagon train, which was captured, and burning debris probably other wagons in the gathering gloom—"

the western rivers, and the sleek lines of the blockade runners. He became familiar with the appearance of pontoons and saw how they were formed into bridges under enemy fire at Fredericksburg. He saw the wounded carried from the field in makeshift stretchers and the surgeon amputating legs under the sky at Antietam. He watched the soldiers

at play, and learned how they buried their dead almost within their camp.

These and myriad other things he saw and learned about the lives of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank.

Finally the Struggle was ended. And, as the Special Artists turned to other scenes, *Harper's Weekly* penned them a grateful tribute: ⁷⁵ "The soldiers

are marching home, and with them the noble army of artists. The national debt to these latter gentlemen should be fully recognized. There never was a war before of which the varying details, the striking and picturesque scenes, the sieges, charges, and battles by land and sea, and all the innumerable romantic incidents of a great struggle have been presented to the eye of the world by the most skillful and devoted artists. . . . [They] have not been less busy and scarcely less imperiled than the soldiers. They have made the weary marches and dangerous voyages. They have shared the soldier's fare; they have ridden and waded, and climbed and floundered, always trusting in lead pencils and keeping their paper dry. When the battle began they were there. They drew the enemy's fire as well as our own. The fierce shock, the heaving tumult, the smoky sway of battle from side to side, the line, the assault, the victory—they were part of all, and their faithful fingers, depicting the scene, have made us a part also."

WILLIAM P. CAMPBELL



252. General Lee Leaving the McLean House
After the Surrender Apr. 9, 1865
BY ALFRED R. WAUD 9 1/8 x 5 1/4 in.

NOTES

¹ Alexander Hunter, *Johnny Reb and Billy Yank*, New York and Washington, 1905, p. 9. Hunter served throughout the War in the Confederate Army.

² The first successful illustrated newspaper was the *Illustrated London News*, founded in 1842.

³ An edition in German of *Leslie's* entitled *Frank Leslie's Illustrirte Zeitung*, was published throughout the War. On May 4, 1861, and following weeks, the *New York Illustrated News* advertised a German edition, the *New Yorker Illustrierte Zeitung und Familien-Blätter*, which purported to carry all the engravings of the English edition. This publication merged with *Frank Leslie's Illustrirte Zeitung* probably soon after Nov. 18, 1861.

During the War both *Leslie's* and *Harper's* made double use of some of their newspaper illustrations by collecting them in regularly-issued pictorial histories of the War. Other collections of this material were also published after the War.

Leslie's and *Harper's* gave about equal coverage to the War, but the *New York Illustrated News* was never in the same league with its rivals. It had only two important Special Artists, Arthur Lumley and his successor Alfred R. Waud, both of whom worked only in the Eastern theater. On January 16, 1864, this paper was taken over by W. J. Demorest whose policy resulted in a radical reduction of news of the War. On January 23, 1864, the publication was renamed *Demorest's New York Illustrated News*. Its last issue as a pictorial newspaper appeared on August 13, 1864.

Of the foreign illustrated papers, the *Illustrated London News* gave much the best coverage. It alone had an artist in the field. When communications were good, its illustrations of the War appeared regularly; but from 1862 on, owing to the effectiveness of the blockade and bad transportation facilities within the Confederacy, it became increasingly difficult to get the artist's drawings to England. Frequently there were long spans of time when no pictures of the War appeared.

Other foreign pictorial papers that have been consulted—*Le Monde Illustré*, *L'Illustration*, *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipzig)—gave considerably less coverage to our Civil War. Many of their drawings derived from other illustrated papers; the source of others is difficult to determine. Their coverage was intermittent.

For helpful material on the illustrated papers see, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, I (1855), 6; XI (1860), 53; XXI (1865), 193; XXII (1866), 251; Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, London, 1885; F. Weitenkampf, *American Graphic Art*, new ed., New York, 1924; Robert Taft, *Photography and*

the American Scene, a Social History, 1839-1889, New York, 1938; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, New York, 1945; and Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900*, New York, London, 1953.

⁴ September 6, 1862, p. 4. Another article on the same page states that the *News* was "the only enterprise of the kind ever undertaken in the South." From this it may be guessed that the illustrated weekly paper proposed in the Charleston, S. C., *Mercury* (May 3, 1861, p. 2) was never born.

Southern Punch was published from Aug. 29, 1863, to Mar. 27, 1865. From three-fifths of its issues that were consulted, this publication does not seem likely to have been important in bringing war pictures to the Southern public.

⁵ For a life of this artist, see W. Stanley Hoole, *Vizetelly Covers the Confederacy*, Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1957.

⁶ *Illustrated London News*, XXXIX (Aug. 17, 1861), 168.

⁷ The archives of the *Illustrated London News* were destroyed in World War II. The only known originals of Vizetelly's Civil War sketches, 28 in number, are owned by Harvard University.

⁸ Extensive lists of imported cargoes do not include any items that might be inferred to have been large numbers of newspapers (Frank E. Vandiver, *Confederate Blockade Running Through Bermuda, 1861-1865*, Austin, Texas, 1947; Francis B. C. Bradlee, *Blockade Running During the Civil War and the Effect of Land and Water Transportation on the Confederacy*, Salem, Mass., 1925, pp. 31-32, 51-52, 64, 72, 81-82, 87-92, 95, 112, 144, 316-17). What copies of the *News* did reach the South must have been individual copies coming through the mail or by hand. That copies of English periodicals were in fact scarce throughout the South may be inferred from the following statement of about Nov. 13, 1863: "One great treat we had here [Wilmington, N. C., one of few ports open to blockade running] was to find English newspapers in abundance, and of dates little more than a month old" (Fitzgerald Ross, *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, ed. Richard B. Harwell, Urbana, Ill., 1958, pp. 149-150).

⁹ See Appendix I for list of Special Artists. *Leslie's* claimed to have had over eighty artists employed in the field from the beginning of the War (XIX, 146, 194, 258, 402). As far as we can tell, however, *Leslie's* had only sixteen war artists who contributed

over ten drawings each that were published between January 1861 and June 1865; *Harper's* had ten; the *Illustrated News*, four. At the beginning of the War all these papers, however, were applying the words "Special Artist" liberally, presumably in the attempt to hide their unpreparedness to cover with their own staffs the activities mushrooming everywhere. Even when the staffs were built up, the words "Special Artist" were applied sometimes to anyone who supplied a paper with a drawing of an important event. Sometimes pictures were credited anonymously to "Our Special Artist" when the artist was, in fact, well known and frequently credited by name. This was probably done to conceal the fact that the paper was being too dependent upon a single source of supply. Another variation, employed especially during the first year of the War, was to refer to the same Special Artist as "Our Special Artist with General X's command," and "Our Special Artist with General Y's command", and "Our Special Artist with General Z's command." Probably he was accurately referred to in all these ways, but the reader was led to believe that the paper had a larger staff in the field than was in fact the case.

Not much is known about the method of payment of the Special Artists, but it is a safe conjecture that those whose pictures were published regularly were salaried employees. Those whose drawings were published less frequently were undoubtedly paid according to the number of pictures that were used. When Winslow Homer went to the field as a Special Artist in 1862, he expected to be paid \$25.00 a drawing, and he was considerably irritated when his editor combined several pictures on a page and paid him only \$25.00. (Lloyd Goodrich, *Winslow Homer*, New York, 1944, p. 16). The \$60.00 that Homer was paid for his page illustration entitled "The Sharpshooter on Picket Duty" is not a fair measure of payment inasmuch as Homer also drew this picture on the block (William Howe Downes, *The Life and Works of Winslow Homer*, Boston, New York, 1911, p. 47). Alexander Simplot billed *Harper's* for his pictures, the prices ranging from \$5.00 to \$25.00, and he seems to have been paid at these rates (See the larger Simplot sketchbook belonging to The State Historical Society of Wisconsin).

¹⁰ George Augustus Sala, *My Dairy in America in the Midst of War*, London, I (1865), 302-303. Sala's implication that Alfred Waud always worked for *Harper's* is incorrect. Waud was employed by the *New York Illustrated News* through 1861, during which time that paper published over 125 of his sketches (See Appendix I).

¹¹ Writings by the Special Artists themselves are few, but, since their lives were essentially the same as those of the Special Correspondents, we can learn much about their manner of living by reading the books

of the latter. There are good lists in the bibliographies of Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade, Civil War Newsmen in Action*, New York, 1954; and J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955. Emmet Crozier lists with comments what he considers the most helpful books by the correspondents (*Yankee Reporters, 1861-1865*, New York, 1956, pp. 424-28).

¹² Considering the conditions under which the sketches were done, many of them are of a surprising excellence. The comments on the Special Artist are by Harry V. Barnett, quoted in Walter Montgomery (ed.), *American Art and American Art Collections*, Boston, II (1889), 833-34.

¹³ George W. Smalley, *Anglo American Memories*, New York and London, 1911, p. 131.

¹⁴ VI (June 7, 1862), 78.

¹⁵ *Leslie's*, XIII (Dec. 7, 1861), 35. The problem of security often had a bearing on a commander's attitude toward the press. In this connection, see pages 59-60.

¹⁶ *Leslie's*, XIV (May 17, 1862), 66.

¹⁷ Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back Through Seventy Years*, London, II (1893), 96; *New York Illustrated News*, IV (Sept. 23, 1861), 330; Albert Bigelow Paine, *A Sailor of Fortune; Personal Memoirs of Captain B. S. Osbon*, New York, 1906, pp. 140-41, 170-71, 196-97.

¹⁸ The Waud sketch, entitled "In Front of Petersburg," is in The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. The Gillmore reference is, *Leslie's*, XVI, 389; repeated p. 405. Gillmore sent Crane's drawings to the War Department to illustrate his official report of the seven-days' bombardment of Fort Sumter that ended Aug. 23, 1863 (*The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. 28, Part I, 597, 599, 601, 603).

¹⁹ Waud left this area briefly in 1861 when he accompanied Burnside's expedition to Hatteras Inlet, N. C. Possibly the artist was also around Savannah, Georgia, in late December 1864 to early January 1865. The evidence for this trip is the artist's signed but undated drawing entitled, "Train of prisoners at . . . Savannah River" (The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division). On the other hand, this sketch may be one of the Civil War scenes which Waud did in the South after the War. Against the possibility that he visited Savannah during the War is the fact that there are no engravings by him of the Savannah area that were published in *Harper's*, and there was no reason for him to have been sent to this area at this time, inasmuch as William Waud and Theodore R. Davis were already covering Savannah for *Harper's*.

were certainly used interchangeably. In general, see Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, pp. 315-326; also Anon., "Making the Magazine," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXII (Dec. 1865), 1-31, but especially pp. 11-12. The claim on page 11 is that there were 40 blocks to a double-page spread; 36 blocks, however, seems more normal.

⁴³ Homer's reputation as a Special Artist of the Civil War has sometimes been exaggerated. He was infrequently and only for short periods of time in the field, and the number of his sketches of the War that were published in the illustrated papers was relatively small. See Appendix I.

⁴⁴ Albert Bigelow Paine, *A Sailor of Fortune*, New York, 1906, pp. 208-16.

⁴⁵ *Leslie's* spoke glibly of getting a picture to the public in two days, by using 20 engravers on a single block (December 15, 1860, p. 53), but actually their performance never approached such speed. In one instance, however, they did publish an engraving of an event in the extraordinarily short time of eight days after its occurrence (June 1, 1861, p. 37). On April 20, 1861, *Harper's* published an engraving of an event occurring April 8 (p. 252). In both instances the events illustrated took place in New York City and no time for transmission of the drawing was involved.

Later in the War, when circulations were larger and press runs accordingly longer, it took more time to get the papers to the readers. The September 13, 1862, issue of the *Illustrated News* went to press on September 1 (p. 290); and in the issue of April 15, 1865, *Leslie's* stated, "we stop our presses to insert news of the fall of Richmond," and quoted a dispatch dated April 3, 10 a.m. (p. 51). The span in these instances, in which engraving time was not involved, is 12 days. It should be noted that all figures for elapsed time cited above are based on the assumption that the papers were in the hands of the public on the datelines of the individual issues.

⁴⁶ *Leslie's*, XIII (Dec. 7, 1861), 35.

⁴⁷ The letter, from William Waud, is in The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. An instance of a field commander's effort to control military intelligence is discussed in *Harper's Weekly* of May 3, 1862 (p. 274). It concerned a previous issue of the paper which had been banned at Fortress Monroe for having violated military security. In defense, *Harper's* fired back: ". . . The pictures inculpated represented Big Bethel as it appeared when it was occupied by our troops, and the rebel lines at Yorktown, with the position of our forces when they first appeared before the place on 7th April. Both . . . were sanctioned by the commanding officer

of the corps. Both, as any competent military eye could see, were so drawn as not to reveal any position permanently occupied by our forces, or to contain any information whatever to the enemy.

". . . We have frequently withheld from our subscribers interesting pictures, for fear they might prove useful to the traitors. . . . Rather than publish a picture or a sketch which could by any possibility injure the Union cause, or endanger the success of our gallant soldiers, we would suppress this journal altogether.

"We recommend Brigadier-General Wool, and Colonel A. D. C. De Witt Clinton, to devote more attention to the duty of suppressing the Southern rebellion and less to the suppression of Northern newspaper

⁴⁸ James G. Randall, "The Newspaper Problem: Its Bearing upon Military Secrecy during the Civil War," in *The American Historical Review*, X (Jan. 1918), 303. An attempt to use the press for personal advantage is evidenced in a letter from General G. K. Warren to Alfred Waud whom he addressed as "Sir," requesting that the artist be present at a ceremony in which the General was to be presented with a sword. The request was strengthened in postscript: "You must be sure and come if nobody else should" (The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, letter dated September 1863). Although no illustration for this ceremony is known, we can be certain that Waud attended such a command performance, for he was dependent upon the General's permission to accompany his army on other favors that made his life and work easier. Subsequently, he and the General became warm friends (Letters of June 29 and 30, 1880, from Warren to Waud. The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division).

⁴⁹ *Leslie's*, XII (Nov. 16, 1861), 403.

⁵⁰ *Leslie's*, XIII (Mar. 15, 1862), 258.

⁵¹ *Leslie's*, XVI (Sept. 12, 1863), 389; repeated, (Sept. 19, 1863), 405.

⁵² *Leslie's*, XVI (Sept. 12, 1863), 389.

⁵³ Henry Hitchcock, *Marching with Sherman*, New Haven, London, 1927, pp. 186-87. See also pp. 39-40 and 189 of this book.

⁵⁴ Letter of Oct. 3, 1864. The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

⁵⁵ *New York Illustrated News*, VI (May 10, 1861), 11. *Leslie's* makes similar charges on Jan. 26, 1861, p. 145; April 20, 1861, p. 338; Apr. 27, 1861, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Leslie's*, XVIII (May 21, 1864), 130. The New York Historical Society has been unable to locate the original source from which *Leslie's* quotes.

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other instances of doubt concerning the accuracy of pictures in the illustrated papers, see Louis M. Starr, *Bohemian Brigade, Civil War Newsmen in Action*, New York, 1954, pp. 252-53.

⁵⁷ Propaganda pictures, such as those of Southern atrocities or the difficulty of life in the Confederacy, belong in the same category. Frequently these pictures contained in the caption a reference to a news report on the same subject, suggesting that it was in fact the news item that inspired the picture.

The Home Artist did, however, sometimes change the mood of a picture. See comparison on pp. 74-75.

⁵⁸ It is not always certain that a drawing being compared with the engraving is the actual one the Home Artist worked from, and not a working sketch for the final drawing. Probably those drawings were used which contain in another hand added words that appear in the published caption, or on which is a note, such as "make half page," or which are squared off for copying.

Of 96 original drawings or photographs of original drawings, chosen at random, that were checked against the engravings, none was found with an alteration even approximating in degree that shown in the comparison in Philip Van Doren Stern's book, *They Were There* (New York, 1959, p. 10), which suggests that the Home Artist would convert a drawing of a boat on the ways surrounded by a cheering crowd into an engraving of the boat in the water after the launching. Such a change is undoubtedly accounted for by a second sketch, for artists did, in fact, frequently record more than one episode of an event.

In very rare instances, an illustrated paper in the United States published only a small section of a sketch, altering the composition of even that part. Such a change occurs in *Leslie's* engraving of Forbes' "Retreat of the Army of the Rappahannock" (No. 23 of this catalogue). Mason Jackson implies that such radical alteration was not uncommon for the *Illustrated London News* (*The Pictorial Press*, pp. 317-20). However, in the seventeen examples of Vizetelly's original Civil War drawings that were checked against the engravings after them, the *Illustrated London News* reproduced the entire picture almost identically except in the instances of a few very rough sketches in which the Home Artist made minor adjustments in the composition.

⁵⁹ An instance is Alfred Waud's drawing of a surgical operation in the field, where the engraving shows a wounded soldier turned around so as to reveal the top of his head rather than the raw stump of his amputated leg. Original and engraving are reproduced in *Harper's Magazine*, CCXX (April 1960), 128. The drawing is No. 205 of this catalogue.

⁶⁰ Also see p. 88. In addition to his duties of transferring field sketches to the block and creating imaginary pictures, the Home Artist acted as a Special Artist in the vicinity of New York City. He covered recruiting, bivouac and hospital scenes, parades, the draft riots, the great Sanitary Fair, arrival of war ships in the harbor, etc. Occasionally he might go into the field briefly (See Appendix II). The most illustrious of the Home Artists, though his fame rested on his cartoons and propaganda sketches, is Thomas Nast, who copied many drawings on the block for the *Illustrated News* and for *Harper's*. Nast became the first war artist for an American paper when he covered Garibaldi's campaigns in Sicily and Italy in 1859-60 for the *Illustrated News*, but his service in the field during the Civil War was minor.

⁶¹ Walter Montgomery (ed.), *American Art*, Boston, II (1889), 834. On this subject the editor of *Leslie's* comments that the Specials "have to sketch and write under all conceivable circumstances of discomfort and inconvenience; and yet their sketches are expected to be accurate and spirited, and their accounts racy and complete" (Dec. 7, 1861, p. 35). Frank Vizetelly once apologized to his editor for the roughness of a sketch, remarking that "it was made amidst flying sand and earth, besides which I had to keep dodging pretty briskly" (*Illustrated London News*, XLII, April 18, 1863, pp. 432-33). Also see pp. 25, 39-40 of this catalogue.

⁶² See pages 662 of article cited in Note 63.

⁶³ On this subject see Theodore R. Davis, "How a Battle is Sketched," *St. Nicholas*, XVI, Part 2 (July 1889), 661-668.

⁶⁴ Arthur Lumley made several legitimate bird's-eye views of the Virginia countryside from a balloon (see *New York Illustrated News*, VI (May 17, 1862), 24-25, 26; and a 4-page engraving in the June 21, 1862 issue); also, see Cat. No. 98. Frank H. Schell is said to have done likewise (*American Art News*, April 10, 1909, p. 7).

⁶⁵ *Leslie's*, XIV (May 17, 1862), 66.

⁶⁶ For example: "The locality is correct, the line of men is correct, and the enemy's skirmishers as [Colonel] Hall found them" (*Harper's*, VI, August 16, 1862, p. 523); "I have just returned with J. F. C. [sic] Hillen from the spot represented. The sketch of the scenery is very accurate" (*New York Illustrated News*, V, February 22, 1862, p. 250). The editors might have omitted these references, but they were proud to point out that the scenes of the pictures were correct; and at the same time they found nothing amiss in tacitly admitting that the depictions of the

actions were imaginary. Indeed, a publication was not loathe now and again to confess that even the site of a picture was not firsthand: "from a description furnished by one of the Wounded Teamsters;" a truthful sketch "so far as could be gathered from the examination of those who visited the scene immediately after" (*Illustrated News*, VI, July 12, 1862, pp. 152-53; *Harper's*, VII, September 12, 1863, p. 576).

⁶⁷ These two pictures are Nos. 33 and 46 of this catalogue, and both were published by *Leslie's*. *Harper's* was just as guilty in using a picture of McClellan's troops landing at Hampton, Va., to represent a scene of his army retiring from the Peninsula (See No. 5 of this catalogue).

⁶⁸ The use of the word "Amateur" here merely signifies that this kind of artist had no official relationship to the organization of an illustrated newspaper. It implies nothing concerning his artistic ability or the profession by which he ordinarily gained his livelihood. The papers relied on the Amateurs to varying degrees (See Appendix II).

⁶⁹ *New York Illustrated News*, IV (May 11, 1861), 2, and in succeeding issues.

⁷⁰ See Appendix II.

⁷¹ The Amateur did not always make his drawings for profit. Sometimes they were illustrations to his letters home, or made for his own amusement, as a record of his private war. Not much of this work is extant, or at least easily to be found, having long since been thrown out in annual spring cleanings, or, in more conservative households, being hidden and forgotten among the ancestral memorabilia in the attic trunk. Among the most important groups by Northern Amateurs are William McIlvaine's water colors of the activities of Duryee's New York Zouaves, Herbert E. Valentine's pictures of the 23rd Massachusetts Volunteers, and the water colors of the Prince de Joinville made while he was accompanying General McClellan.

The drawings by Southern Amateur Artists are of especial importance today owing to the relative absence of pictures created in the Confederate States during the War. This dearth is primarily the result of the fact that there was no commercial demand for pictures in the South. The best of the Southern Amateurs was Conrad Wise Chapman, who did some interesting studies of camp life and an important series of 31 oil paintings of the defenses of Charleston Harbor. This latter group—paintings done as part of Chapman's military duty—comprises probably the most beautiful pictures inspired by the War. All belong to the Confederate Museum, Richmond. Chapman also did drawings and water colors, many of which belong to The Valentine Museum, Rich-

mond. William Ludlow Sheppard and Allen Carter Redwood made drawings while they were in the Confederate States Army, but few of these are known. After the War, Sheppard and Redwood did, however, work up many of these sketches into carefully finished pictures. The life of Confederate Soldiers in Point Lookout Prison is depicted in John J. Omenhausser's sketchbook belonging to The Maryland Historical Society.

⁷² The faith of the illustrated papers, with a touch of envy, is revealed in a review in *Harper's Weekly*. "Mr. Brady, the photographer, has lately returned from the army in Virginia with a series of views of the campaign, which are now on exhibition at his galleries [at] 785 Broadway. The series includes the most interesting scenes of operations at Cold Harbor, the Wilderness, Petersburg, etc., as well as portraits of all the most noted generals. The actuality of these views, the distinct detail, and the inflexible veracity, make them invaluable to every student of the campaign; while all who follow the army with their private hearts as well as their public hopes will see with curious satisfaction the roads, the fields, the woods, the fences, the bridges, the camps, and the streams, which are the familiar daily objects to the eyes of their loved soldier boys" (August 6, 1864, p. 499).

Likewise, see *Leslie's* (November 16, 1861, p. 403) where the editor boasts of the "photographic truthfulness" of the pictures in his paper. See also the comment of The New-York Historical Society on p. 66 of this catalogue.

For fuller discussion of the photography of the Civil War, see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene, A Social History, 1839-1889*, New York, 1938, especially pages 223-247; James D. Horan, *Mathew Brady, Historian with a Camera*, New York, 1955, pp. 53-59; Henry Wysham Lanier, "Photographing the Civil War," in Francis Trevelyan Miller (Ed.-in-Chief), *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, New York, I (1911), pp. 30-54.

⁷³ See Appendix II.

⁷⁴ This was because during 1861-1865 there was no practical way to reproduce a photograph directly in a mass medium. It could only be converted to an engraving, losing in the process its unique quality, the exact simulation of visual reality. In a few large cities there were exhibitions of War photographs, and photographers did sell quantities of stereographs, but both these methods together only brought a small picture of the War to a not-very-large public. Photographs of War subjects reached a much larger public in the North than in the South where photographic materials were very difficult to obtain.

⁷⁵ June 3, 1865, p. 339.

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APPENDIX I

MEMBERS OF PUBLISHED DRAWINGS BY KNOWN SPECIAL ARTISTS OF THE CIVIL WAR¹

Artists ²	<i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i>	<i>Harper's Weekly</i>	<i>New York Illustrated News³</i>	<i>Illustrated London News⁴</i>	Total Drawings
Alfred R. Waud		215	129		344
Arthur Lumley	82		216		298
Theodore R. Davis		252			252
William T. Crane	244				244
Frank H. Schell	209	2			211
Edwin Forbes	178				178
Henri Lovie	148				148
Frank Vizetelly				133	133
William Waud	59	54	2		115
Joseph Becker	88				88
E. H. Bonwill	87				87
Joseph E. Taylor	61				61
Alexander Simplot		50	1		51
Fred. B. Schell	43		1		44
John R. Hamilton		38			38
F. F. E. Hillen	34	2	2		38
A. W. Warren		36			36
Henry Mosler		34			34
George W. Bailey			30		30
Frank Beard		3	25		28
Bradley S. Osbon	1	23	3		27
Winslow Homer		26			26
William R. McComas	21		2		23
Edward S. Hall	22				22
Andrew McCallum	14	7			21
E. F. Mullen	20				20
Angelo Wiser		17			17
James W. McLaughlin	11				11
Total Drawings	1322	759	411	133	2625
Number of Special Artists	16	10	4	1	

¹ Figures represent the total number of pictures credited by name, plus those uncredited ones which, on the basis of other evidence, are known to be by, or are fairly attributed to, given artists. The period covered is January 1861 through June 1865.

² The 28 Special Artists listed here include those to whom more than ten published drawings may be fairly attributed. Had every engraving in the illustrated papers been credited, a few more Special Artists might be added to this list, but

most of the uncredited drawings would in all likelihood be given to the artists already listed.

³ The *New York Illustrated News* did not cover the entire War. Its last issue as an illustrated weekly newspaper was August 13, 1864.

⁴ The *Illustrated London News* was the only foreign pictorial paper with a Special Artist covering the Civil War.

APPENDIX II

SOURCES OF CIVIL WAR ILLUSTRATIONS

Used by The Illustrated Weekly Newspapers Between January 1861 and June 1865¹

Papers	Special Artists ²	Amateur Artists By Name	Other Amateur Artists ³	Total Amateur Artists	Home Artists		Photographers		Miscellaneous Sources ⁴	Total Pictures	War Maps ⁵	Grand Total
					Pictures From Life	Imaginary Creations ⁵	Scenes	Portraits				
<i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i>	1566 68.8%	117 (85) ⁶	167	284 12.5%	124 5.4%	39 1.7%	23 1%	233 10.2%	8 .4%	2277 100%	59	2336
<i>Harper's Weekly</i>	1123 47.9%	334 (118) ⁶	314	648 27.6%	69 2.9%	102 4.4%	77 3.3%	304 13%	21 .9%	2344 100%	131	2475
<i>New York Illustrated News</i>	526 42.4%	222 (111) ⁶	103	325 26.2%	81 6.5%	58 4.7%	24 2%	211 17%	15 1.2%	1240 100%	9	1249

¹ Totals of this chart are to some extent arbitrary, for at times it is a subjective decision whether a picture is a Civil War subject. Furthermore, there are certain illustrations which can be assigned to a particular source only on the basis of an educated guess. The figures stand for numbers of individual subjects, and an eighth-page picture is equal here to a four-page spread. A page of eight vignettes by a Special Artist is counted as eight subjects; a page of eight vignettes on a single propaganda, inspirational or commemorative theme by a Home Artist is counted as one subject.

² See Appendix I for list of Special Artists known by name and the numbers of their drawings published by the several illustrated papers.

³ Includes the "Occasional Artist," "An Eyewitness," etc., scenes at sea except for those of the great naval expeditions (which were covered by Special Artists), and pictures from areas where the Special Artists were not active.

⁴ See p. 105, note 60.

⁵ Includes propaganda, inspirational and commemorative pictures, as well as imaginary scenes of actual War episodes.

⁶ Includes War songs, plans, diagrams, architectural drawings, and illustrations copied from foreign papers, books, models and paintings.

⁷ Includes bird's-eye views of very large areas.

⁸ The figure in parentheses represents the number of artists supplying the number of published drawings recorded immediately above the parentheses. The total number of Amateurs credited by name in the three illustrated papers is 314.

⁹ Covers only the period between January 1861 and August 13, 1864, when this publication was an illustrated weekly newspaper.

***Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*
and *Harper's Weekly*:
Innovation and Imitation in Nineteenth-Century
American Pictorial Reporting**

Andrea G. Pearson

"Our example has . . . made illustrations almost . . . essential for newspapers . . ."

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 30 May 1857, 405.

In 1855, Frank Leslie founded *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, America's first weekly illustrated news magazine. Because news illustrations were novel to American journalism, they intrigued the public and stimulated sales of Leslie's paper. By the middle of its second year, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* was successful enough to have "created a host of imitators,"¹ the most notable being *Harper's Weekly*, established by Fletcher Harper in January of 1857. Like Leslie, Harper included illustrations in his magazine in order to attract an audience and he was delighted to find that public enthusiasm for illustrated journals was on the rise. In December of 1858, Harper boasted that his paper had a circulation of 75,000 and that this number was "steadily on the increase."² In fact, during the Civil War (1861-1865), when the production of illustrations for newspapers was at its peak, the circulation of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* often soared beyond 100,000 per issue.

Because news illustrations were so important to publishers and readers of the period, the relative merit of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* must be assessed primarily for their contributions to pictorial reporting. But this has not happened. Scholars have judged the papers only on the quality of their texts: *Harper's Weekly* has been regarded as the preeminent nineteenth-century American illustrated news magazine because Fletcher Harper and his journalists emphasized excellence in written accounts, while Leslie and his writers often resorted to sensationalizing news articles to sell papers.

When innovations in contemporary news illustrations are identified and studied, however, it becomes apparent that *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* actually led the way for *Harper's Weekly*. Leslie established

the image as a significant reporting tool in America. He recognized the importance of creating a sense of trust in the accuracy of news illustrations and developed a number of effective devices which suggested that his images were truthful. During the Civil War, when public interest in news images peaked, Fletcher Harper borrowed these techniques from Leslie in order to emphasize the authenticity of *Harper's Weekly* wartime images. Through his war illustrations, Harper in turn established the validity of news images to discerning Americans, who were more likely to buy *Harper's Weekly* than *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, which had a reputation for sensationalizing written news. Despite its tendency to exaggerate texts, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* led *Harper's Weekly* by establishing the importance and accuracy of the news image in nineteenth-century America.

The Illustrated Newspaper Before the Civil War, 1855-1860

Before Frank Leslie came to America in 1848, he was the manager of the engraving department of the *Illustrated London News*.³ The famous British magazine claimed to be "the first illustrated journal in the world"⁴ and its success as such was phenomenal: its first issue sold 26,000 copies. While Leslie worked for the *Illustrated London News*, he must have learned that written news seemed far more accurate, concrete, and marketable when accompanied by an appropriate illustration. Leslie drew upon this experience when running *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Budd Gambee has shown that Leslie even borrowed pictures from the *Illustrated London News*, which he published alongside images by his own artists in the early issues of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.⁵ By printing scenes from the London magazine, Leslie aligned his version of the illustrated newspaper with the contemporary and reputable British illustrated news journal in the hope that he could increase the prestige and circulation of his paper.⁶

From 1855 to 1857, Leslie struggled to keep *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, as America's first illustrated newspaper, in operation. It is not surprising that Leslie tried a variety of new techniques in news reporting in order to attract readers. Leslie's most innovative and ultimately most influential use of the news image came three full years before the Civil War began. In 1858, Leslie reported a major public health problem in the New York City dairy industry, the so-called swill milk trade.⁷ New York dairy customers had been told that milk producers kept their cows on farms outside the city limits where they were well cared for and produced healthy milk. But the cows actually were kept in filthy stables in the heart of the city and were fed with the wastes of nearby distilleries. Thus, milk destined for public consumption often contained bacteria that could cause digestive illnesses when consumed.

Nineteenth-Century An

The corruption of the swill milk at least one set of written reports. campaign against the swill milk printed a series of articles designed of the cows) out of business. The producers continued to make and thought that the strong visual image key to making city officials and the of the problem. He used images in order to develop the subject [of the his chief artist, Albert Berghaus, and Eytinge (both later worked for *L pictorially document the investigation Leslie published eight portraits of investigative reporter.9 In an image (fig. 1), Berghaus is represented sk a cow.¹⁰ The image of Berghaus in artist's role as a witness to the scene the authenticity of the illustrated news the portrait of Berghaus was to prove if it was not entirely truthful. In "accurate," "truthful," "correct," Berghaus' images.*

During the investigation into identify Berghaus, Nast, or Eytinge and the subsequent series of swill milk. The following account, written by a why:

The object is to get the name of the artist. I dangerous. The only way to strike down the of the artist. The person who would get up Penitentiary for the full term.¹¹

The artists who worked on the swill threats and even violence. Leslie illustration of the 'Milkmaids,' led by One Stephen Berghaus (fig. 2), in which some "milkmaids" as if they intended to physically assault Berghaus stands his ground. Leslie subject to such intimidation: "There assault [against the artist] other the producer's] low Lazar-houses truly Leslie's published image and attend was willing to take risks to create a

The corruption of the swill milk industry had been the subject of at least one set of written reports. Eight years before Leslie's pictorial campaign against the swill milk producers, the *Sunday Dispatch* had printed a series of articles designed to drive the "milkmaids" (caretakers of the cows) out of business. The attempt failed, however, and milk producers continued to make and distribute tainted products. Leslie thought that the strong visual impact of the illustration might be the key to making city officials and the public more fully aware of the severity of the problem. He used images rather than written descriptions "in order to develop the subject [of the dairy scandal] fully."⁸ Leslie sent his chief artist, Albert Berghaus, and staff artists Thomas Nast and Sol Eytinge (both later worked for *Harper's Weekly*) to the stables to pictorially document the investigation. Between May and July of 1858, Leslie published eight portraits of Berghaus working in the field as an investigative reporter.⁹ In an image called "Scene at the Offal Dock" (fig. 1), Berghaus is represented sketching a veterinarian, who dissects a cow.¹⁰ The image of Berghaus in the act of drawing emphasized the artist's role as a witness to the scene he drew and thereby underscored the authenticity of the illustrated news report. Leslie's aim in including the portrait of Berghaus was to make the image seem accurate, even if it was not entirely truthful. In fact, Leslie himself used the words "accurate," "truthful," "correct," and "authentic" when describing Berghaus' images.

During the investigation into the swill milk trade, Leslie did not identify Berghaus, Nast, or Eytinge by name, or attribute the illustrations and the subsequent series of swill milk cartoons to any one staff member. The following account, written by a dairy sympathizer, partially explains why:

The object is to get the name of the artist. It is such men who make such men as Leslie dangerous. The only way to strike down this artist and the crime is to get at the name of the artist. The person who would get up a libel of this kind ought to be sent to the Penitentiary for the full term.¹¹

The artists who worked on the swill milk story were the subjects of threats and even violence. Leslie illustrated one such incident in "Attack of the 'Milkmaids,' led by One Stephen Smalley, upon One of Our Artists" (fig. 2), in which some "milkmaids" approach Berghaus wielding clubs, as if they intended to physically assault him.¹² Despite this threat, Berghaus stands his ground. Leslie speculated why the artist might be subject to such intimidation: "There could be no reason for . . . [a] vicious assault [against the artist] other than a disinclination to have [the milk producer's] low lazar-houses truly depicted by the unerring pencil."¹³ Leslie's published image and attendant comment suggest that Berghaus was willing to take risks to create accurate drawings and, by extension,

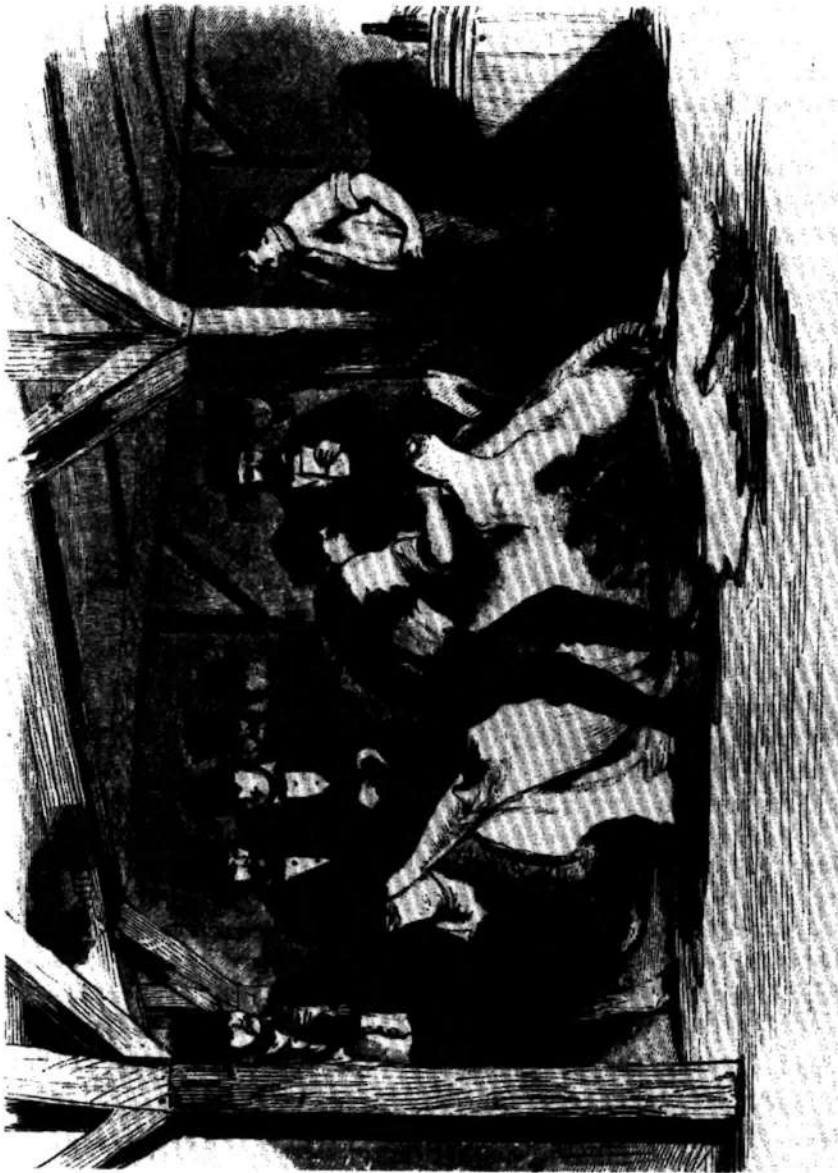
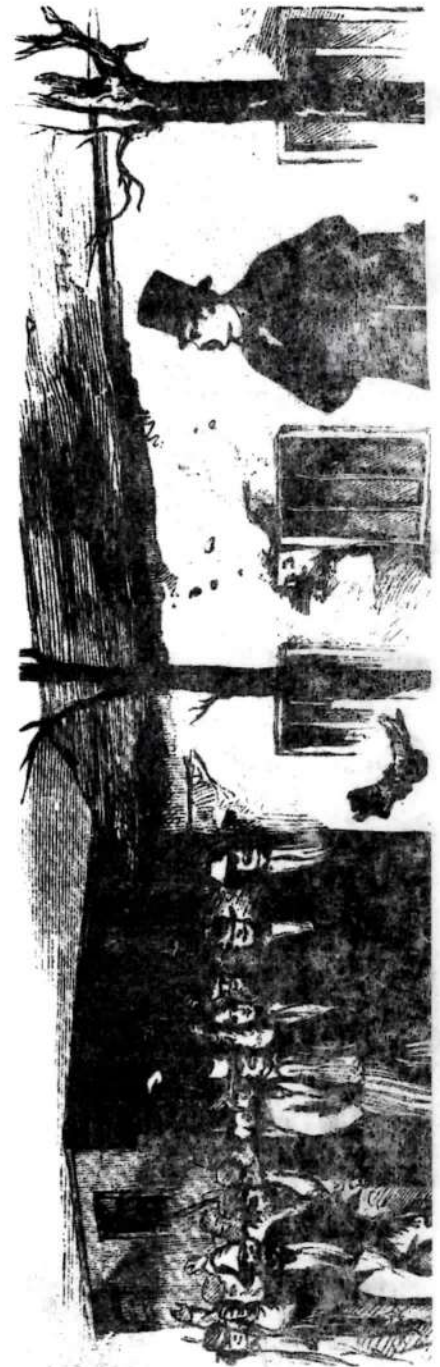


Fig. 1. "Scene at the Offal Dock," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 22 May 1858. All images were taken from volumes in the Special Collections Department of the University of Iowa Libraries. Photography by Mark Tade.



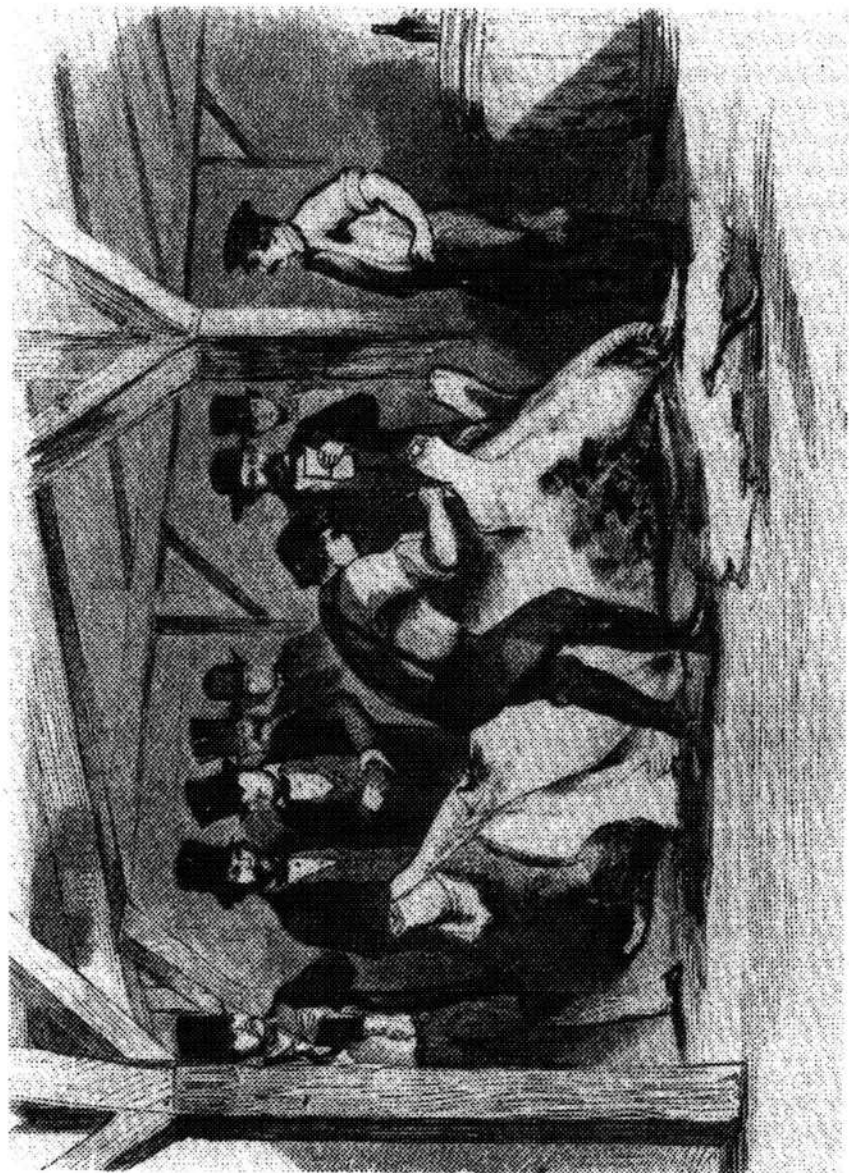
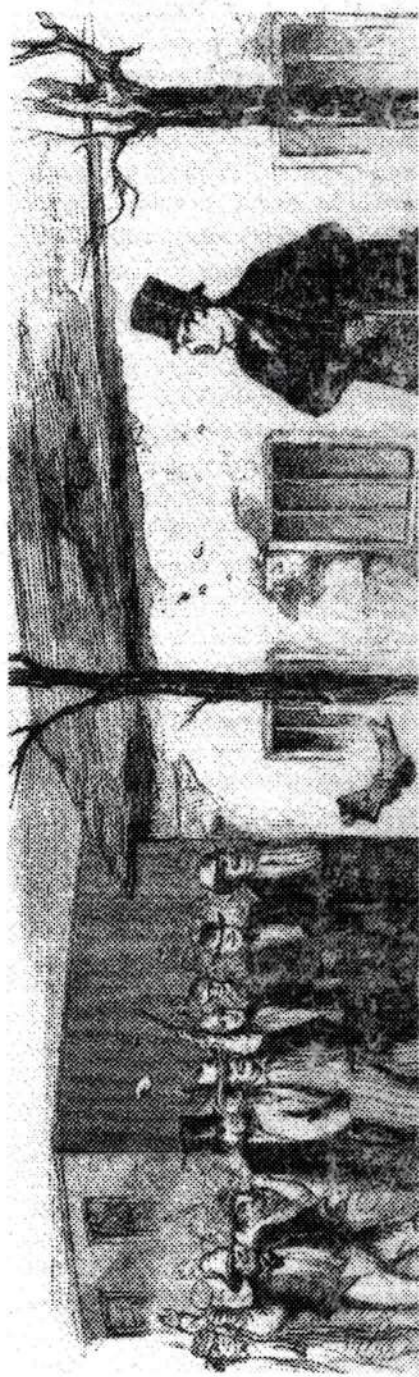


Fig. 1. "Scene at the Offial Dock." Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 22 May 1858.
All images were taken from volumes in the Special Collections Department of the University
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All images were taken from volumes in the Special Collections Department of the University of Iowa Library. Photography by Mark Tade.



Fig. 2. "Attack of the 'Milkmaids,' led by one Stephen Smalley, upon One of Our Artists,"
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 15 May 1858.

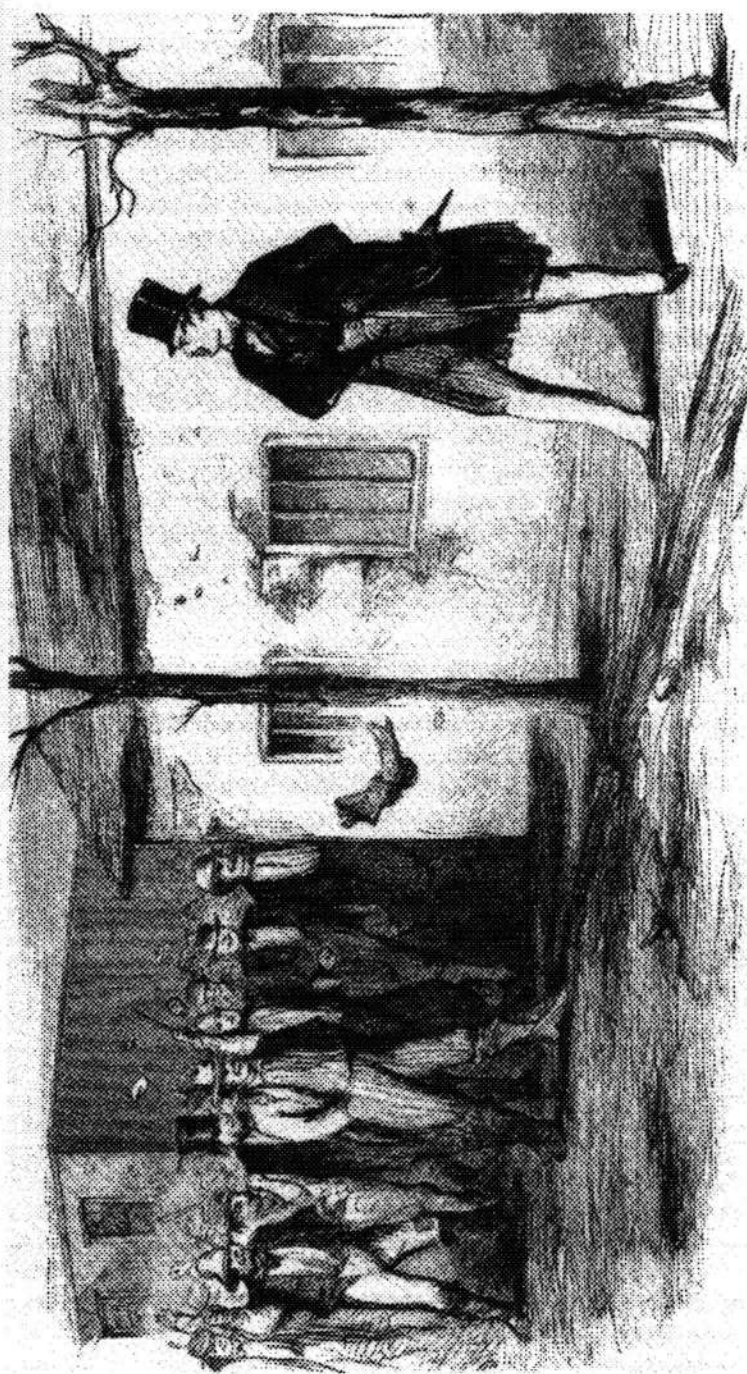


Fig. 2. "Attack of the 'Milkmaids,' led by one Stephen Smalley, upon One of Our Artists,"
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 15 May 1856.

that a man of Berghaus' apparent bravery and integrity created only truthful images. With this portrait of Berghaus, Leslie began the myth of the "on the spot" reporter, who chose to put aside his own well-being in order to have access to and sketch the most pertinent news.

As a result of Leslie's investigation, a number of dairy owners closed down their businesses while others improved the conditions of their stables.¹⁴ Leslie's use of the artist's image rather than the journalist's word to bring down a corrupted industry was successful. And even though he had published the swill milk images in part to sell papers and ensure the continued run of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Leslie also had managed to demonstrate to the American public that images could effectively and accurately report the news.

During the swill milk investigation, sales of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* far surpassed Leslie's greatest expectations. The success of the dairy scenes gave *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* an edge (albeit temporary) over the illustrated *Harper's Weekly*, its first and only real competition for readers of the weekly illustrated journal.¹⁵ Gambee has noted that Leslie was at first somewhat naive in predicting the impact of *Harper's Weekly* on other papers of the day, as is suggested in an 1856 passage printed in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*:

We observe that a new paper is to be started by the "Cliff Street Barons," entitled, "Harper's Weekly—A Journal of Civilization." This will commence with the incoming year; and with the acknowledged ability, judgment and taste of the Harpers as intellectual caterers, cannot fail to make its mark in the world of letters. It will occupy a wholly new field and not interfere at all with the "Monthly" [*Harper's Monthly*] or any other established journal.¹⁶

It is likely that one of the "established journals" to which Leslie referred was *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. A year later, however, Leslie realized that *Harper's Weekly* was the closest competition for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and he launched a campaign against Harper's paper. In December of 1857, Leslie printed the first of many accounts designed to discredit *Harper's Weekly*. He wrote:

They determined to turn [*Harper's Weekly*] into an Illustrated Paper, in order to kill us off, although they took the trouble to unnecessarily outrage the truth by assuring us in a message that theirs would not be an Illustrated Paper; that there was no rivalry against us intended. . . . We freely forgive them their feeble assault upon us and only ask that they will continue on in the way they have begun, that their journal. . . . may serve. . . . as a foil in its old-fogyishness to our energy and enterprise.¹⁷

Although Leslie attempted to injure the reputation of *Harper's Weekly*, the public continued to buy both *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* with nearly equal fervor.

In order to underscore the : thereby sell papers, Leslie conti reporters and to publish their *Newspaper* as documents of their For instance, he included a por an 1859 image called "The Great C Jewett is shown in the act of dra of Wales and Companions Enjoyi Leslie also began to print Berg Berghaus in *Frank Leslie's Illust* illustrator and acquainting the attempted to eliminate the uncert concern for the truth—that is sug

Contemporary comments su convincing his readers that *Frank* were accurate. In 1860, author Nat

You buy for sixpence, at any corner in Br *Illustrated Newspaper*. Two days previo excitement, five hundred miles away—an paying your sixpence) as complete a knowl to the spot is conveyed to your brain, at to locate the actors and their surroundings.

Willis' article first appeared in published it in *Frank Leslie's Ill* the authenticity of his news image and a *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* Charlestown, Virginia, to report th the only strangers allowed to visi the closing scene [of the executio at the scene to his paper's partic and truthful" pictorial reports.²² B Leslie's reputation for pictorial acc did not care) to station his artists at

A comparison between the con *Illustrated Newspaper* and Harp Harper's concept of illustrated new from Leslie's approach. Harper di news illustration that Leslie had acc department of the *Illustrated Londo* power base—his family's publishi behind him. His expertise, and th. It is not surprising, then, to find t quality literature, not news illustrat

In order to underscore the accuracy of his news illustrations and thereby sell papers, Leslie continued to use his artists as investigative reporters and to publish their portraits in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* as documents of their presence at the scenes they illustrated. For instance, he included a portrait of Albert Berghaus sketching in an 1859 image called "The Great Oyster Excitement."¹⁸ And artist William Jewett is shown in the act of drawing in an 1860 image of "The Prince of Wales and Companions Enjoying the Field Sports of the Great West."¹⁹ Leslie also began to print Berghaus' name and written accounts by Berghaus in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.²⁰ By identifying the illustrator and acquainting the reader with his personality, Leslie attempted to eliminate the uncertainty of purpose—or apparent lack of concern for the truth—that is suggested by artistic anonymity.

Contemporary comments suggest that Leslie was successful at convincing his readers that *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* images were accurate. In 1860, author Nathaniel Willis wrote:

You buy for sixpence, at any corner in Broadway, or in any railroad car, a *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Two days previous there has been a stirring scene of public excitement, five hundred miles away—and here is a picture of it! In one second (after paying your sixpence) as complete a knowledge of the affair as you would get by travelling to the spot is conveyed to your brain, and this without any effort of the imagination to locate the actors and their surroundings.²¹

Willis' article first appeared in the *Home Journal*, but Leslie also published it in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* as a testimony to the authenticity of his news image. And in 1859, when Albert Berghaus and a *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* correspondent travelled to Charlestown, Virginia, to report the John Brown execution, they "were the only strangers allowed to visit Charlestown and remain there till the closing scene [of the execution]." Leslie attributed their welcome at the scene to his paper's particular reputation for "straightforward and truthful" pictorial reports.²² But Fletcher Harper, who did not have Leslie's reputation for pictorial accuracy, was not permitted (or perhaps did not care) to station his artists at Charleston to report the execution.

A comparison between the content of pre-war issues of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* indicates that Fletcher Harper's concept of illustrated news reporting was remarkably different from Leslie's approach. Harper did not have the extensive training in news illustration that Leslie had acquired as the manager of the engraving department of the *Illustrated London News*. But Harper had an enormous power base—his family's publishing company, the House of Harper—behind him. His expertise, and that of his colleagues, was in writing. It is not surprising, then, to find that before the war Harper promoted quality literature, not news illustration. For instance, a *Harper's Weekly*

feature called "Notes and Queries" encouraged readers to exchange information, observations, and opinions on texts:

We hope to do good service to the cause of letters...our object is to create a literary exchange (so to speak) to which every one of cultivated tastes may contribute from his superfluity, and in turn derive instruction from the offerings of others.²³

Harper generally used images only to supplement weekly serial novellas or travel pieces. His news illustrations were so few in number compared to those in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* that Leslie called Harper's journal an illustrated paper and described his own magazine as an illustrated newspaper.²⁴ Perhaps Fletcher Harper even limited the number of news illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* to appeal to those who thought that *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* might not challenge them intellectually because it consisted largely of images and had a reputation for sensationalizing texts.

American Pictorial Reporting During the Civil War, 1861-1865

In April of 1861, Leslie received final assurance that his efforts to destroy the swill milk industry had been successful: the New York state Senate passed a bill that was designed to "prevent the Adulteration of Milk and ABOLISH THE SALE OF SWILL MILK [emphasis by Leslie's writer]."²⁵ Leslie used this occasion to publicly declare the successful results of reporting by picture. The chance to do so came at an opportune time for him. Four months earlier, Leslie, who had anticipated war, had stationed "special" artist William Waud at Charleston, North Carolina, the site of Fort Sumter, where tensions between North and South were growing.²⁶ Waud set to work and sent home images of the fort and its environs, of military implements and weapons, and of skirmishes between troops, to be published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Leslie sent a second artist, Eugene Benson, to Charleston in April. Benson arrived there just in time to pictorially report the bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12th and 13th. By underscoring the success and accuracy of the swill milk illustrations, Leslie also suggested, by extension, that the more recent images of activities of the "Secession Movement" published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* were also correct.

The Civil War began on 12 April 1861 and Leslie, who knew that images of the war would sell papers, quickly took up the challenge of illustrating it. In order to attract as many readers as possible, Leslie at first supported neither the Union nor the Confederacy, thus hoping to please both sides. But because he refused to align with either group, readers in both the North and South were offended; Leslie quickly began to lose his audience. To win back a readership, he gave *Frank Leslie's*

Illustrated Newspaper a decisively because his publishing house was in

During the war, Leslie employed produced over 1300 drawings of v notable illustrators were Frank Sch the action from "Western Maryland the acquaintance of a great many di allowed other artists to work from a William Crane at Port Royal, Sou far north as Charleston and as far so of only ninety miles by sea), to illus

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Neu of the importance of their work in to make their illustrations as aut written testimonies to his artists' *Newspaper* to enhance the credibil seemed to take for granted that ar their sketches: in an 1862 letter, I that I do my best to make [my illu is, in my opinion, the first thing I missed sketching the Battle of Shil reconstruct its appearance in sketch

I commenced on the extreme left wing, and to all stories from all sides, and made upwar including all the battlegrounds—for there something like their logical and chronologi nobody knows what was done by anybody el

Leslie printed this passage in *Frar* the public to read. William Camj "frank acknowledgement of the sou reader confidence in the integrity of

Leslie's published Civil War i papers of the day, however, were no artists' original sketches. Changes attributed to difficulties in deliv publishers. Wartime travel was lab from one to eight weeks to reach t on the average. By the time the draw the scenes that they related might t they were no longer pertinent. In changed details in the drawings in timely.³³ They did not announce t Thus, contemporary readers had t

Illustrated Newspaper a decisively Northern bent, which was logical because his publishing house was in New York City.

During the war, Leslie employed 16 known "special" artists, who produced over 1300 drawings of war subjects.²⁷ Two of Leslie's most notable illustrators were Frank Schell and Henry Lovie, who followed the action from "Western Maryland to the Indian Territories" and "made the acquaintance of a great many different divisions of the army."²⁸ Leslie allowed other artists to work from a home base. For instance, he stationed William Crane at Port Royal, South Carolina. Crane travelled only as far north as Charleston and as far south as Savannah, Georgia (a distance of only ninety miles by sea), to illustrate war events.²⁹

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper "special" artists were aware of the importance of their work in documenting the war and attempted to make their illustrations as authentic as possible. Leslie published written testimonies to his artists' efforts in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* to enhance the credibility of their drawings. Edwin Forbes seemed to take for granted that artists tried to achieve authenticity in their sketches: in an 1862 letter, he wrote, "I need hardly assure you that I do my best to make [my illustrations accurate], as fidelity to fact is, in my opinion, the first thing to be aimed at."³⁰ Henry Lovie, who missed sketching the Battle of Shiloh, made a valiant effort to correctly reconstruct its appearance in sketch form:

I commenced on the extreme left wing, and visited every division, obtained guides, listened to all stories from all sides, and made upwards of 20 local sketches of positions and scenery, including all the battlegrounds—for there were many—and send them to you [Leslie] in something like their logical and chronological relation, a task of no little difficulty, where nobody knows what was done by anybody else.³¹

Leslie printed this passage in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* for the public to read. William Campbell correctly suggests that Lovie's "frank acknowledgement of the source of a picture could only have created reader confidence in the integrity of a paper."³²

Leslie's published Civil War images, and those of other illustrated papers of the day, however, were not always exact copies of the "special" artists' original sketches. Changes made in the images usually can be attributed to difficulties in delivering the artists' drawings to the publishers. Wartime travel was laborious; sketches could take anywhere from one to eight weeks to reach the home office, three to four weeks on the average. By the time the drawings arrived at the publishing houses, the scenes that they related might have happened so far in the past that they were no longer pertinent. In these cases, publishers occasionally changed details in the drawings in order to make the images seem more timely.³³ They did not announce the changes to the public, however. Thus, contemporary readers had no way of knowing that publishers

ever altered the artists' initial drawings. The published engravings seemed as truthful to journal subscribers as the artists' original sketches.

In order to convince his readers that *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* wartime news images were truthful, Leslie again relied upon the pictorial reporting techniques that he had used to successfully report the corruption in the swill milk industry. For instance, during the war he published eight portraits of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* artists sketching in the field (see Appendix A). These were similar in purpose to the portraits of Albert Berghaus drawing "on the spot," which emphasized the correctness of the swill milk images. Leslie wanted to suggest that *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* Civil War images were as authentic as the swill milk scenes.

As the conflict wore on, Leslie published clues to the individual characters of his artists, just as he had done with Albert Berghaus. Leslie printed a wartime artist's name for the first time in May of 1861 and in April of 1862, he began to publish their comments and letters.³⁴ "Special" artists Arthur Lumley, Frank Schell, Fred Schell, Henry Lovie, Edwin Forbes, Eugene Benson, William Crane, and William Waud became well-known as personalities and reporters in words and pictures to *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* readers. A knowledge of the artists' characters made them seem more familiar to the public and therefore more trusted to produce truthful images.

Leslie continued to perpetuate the myth of the courageous artist. An 1862 passage in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* described the "daring and composure of our Special Artists [while working at the front]."³⁵ Leslie even published illustrations of artists working in dangerous situations: in "Our Artist Aloft" (fig. 3), artist William Waud sketches in the foretop of the war-steamer *Mississippi*, as shells explode around him.³⁶ Leslie's image of Waud is similar to Berghaus's "Attack of the 'Milkmaids' . . . upon one of Our Artists" (fig. 2), in which the artist is shown bravely fending off some hostile milk maids. These images suggested that the illustrators were devoted enough to their profession to take risks in order to accurately sketch a newsworthy event.

As it became apparent that the war was to be a significant part of America's history, Leslie began to suggest in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* that his intended goal was to document the conflict with visual images. In December of 1861, Leslie stated in his journal that "history is to be written from the materials which these laborious [artists] are gathering together so assiduously," and in 1862, he described his artists as "avant couriers of history."³⁷ Leslie even called his published war illustrations "a complete Pictorial History of the War."³⁸ By stating that *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* wartime images carried the history of the conflict, Leslie suggested that the journal's illustrations were authentic records of its events.



Fig. 3. "Our Artist Aloft," Frank L.

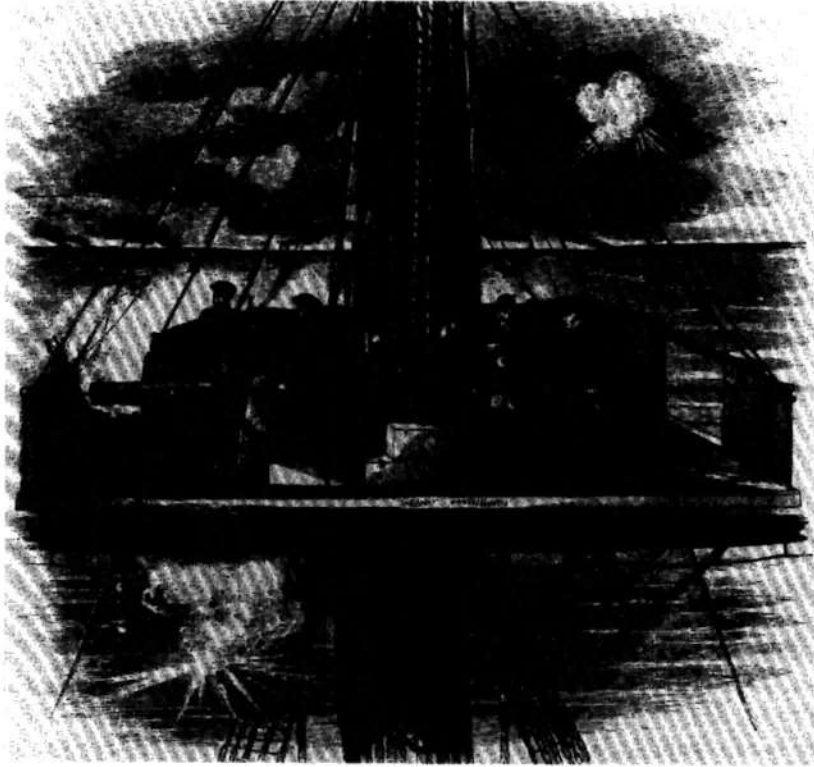


Fig. 3. "Our Artist Aloft," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 31 May 1862.

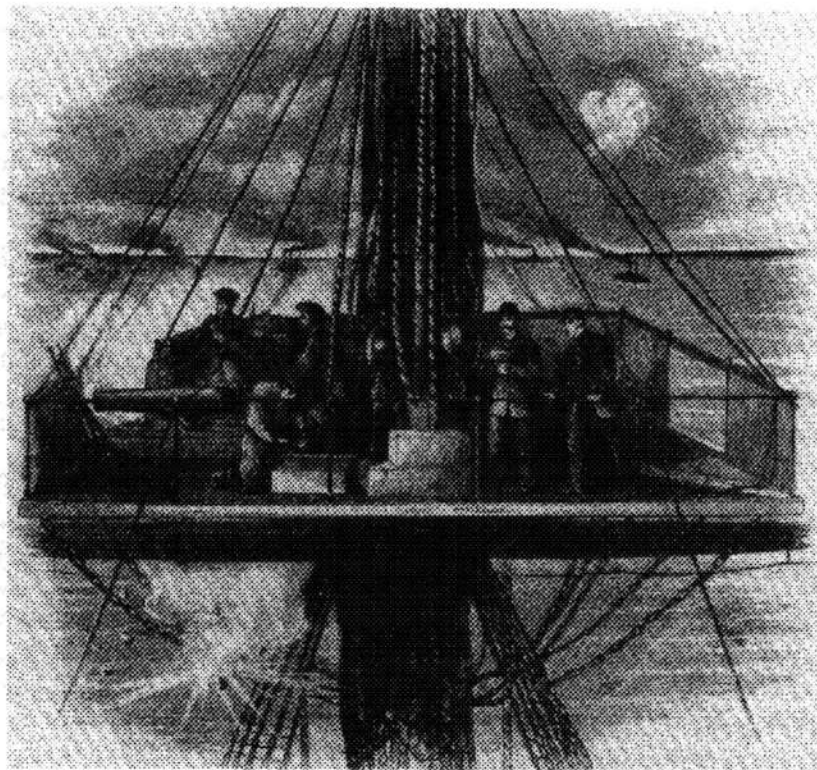


Fig. 8. "Our Artist Aloft," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 31 May 1862.

Fletcher Harper, on the other hand, did not have Leslie's extensive experience in reporting hard news by using the image nor did he even initially seem to envision *Harper's Weekly* as a news journal. Thus, he did not feel the same pressure as Leslie to quickly send his artists to cover the action in the South. But in December of 1860, Harper began to publish news images with an increased frequency. A conflict between North and South seemed eminent and Harper was aware that news illustrations attracted readers and that images of the war were particularly intriguing. In fact, in the 12 January 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Harper printed a list of his published war-related images in order to entice the public to buy future issues of the journal.³⁹ Like Leslie, Harper eventually declared his support for the Union; he remained uncommitted well into the war, however, hoping to sell papers to a larger audience.

Because the initial emphasis of *Harper's Weekly* had been on the quality of its texts, Harper had not found it necessary to establish a reputation for accuracy in news illustration as Leslie had for images in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. But as Harper began to report the Civil War with illustrations, he realized the importance of creating a sense of truthfulness in his news images: seemingly authentic visual representations of the conflict would boost the circulation of his journal. Thus, early in 1861, Harper began to solicit eyewitness drawings of events. He asked military officers to send "sketches of fortifications and scenes of interest" that they had witnessed to the *Harper's Weekly* office and promised a free-six month subscription to the journal in return for publishable drawings.⁴⁰ Harper did not have trained artists on site and thus the quality of his earliest wartime images was not equal to that of illustrations published by Leslie in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.

Given Fletcher Harper's desire to present *Harper's Weekly* images as truthful, it is not surprising to find that he drew upon Leslie's techniques for creating a sense of accuracy in news images in order to suggest that *Harper's Weekly* news illustrations were also reliable. Harper began to assign "special" artists to sketch war events "on the spot." In May of 1861, Harper announced that he had "dispatched an artist to the South."⁴¹ This was Theodore Davis, who was a "special" artist for *Harper's Weekly* for the duration of the war. Davis, like Leslie's artists Frank Schell and Henry Lovie, spent the war travelling between the Western theater and the East Coast, while pictorially documenting the campaigns of a number of Union generals.⁴² Among the other wartime "special" artists employed by Harper was Alfred Waud, who spent the war years moving between Fortress Monroe, Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley.⁴³ All in all, Harper's 10 known "special" artists made over 750 drawings of war and war-related subjects.⁴⁴

As Harper added more news announced publicly that he had. In an article on the cover of the "the present number [of *Harper's PICTURES* than any heretofore is richer in illustrations [emphasis in original]. *Harper's Weekly* began to more closely resemble *Illustrated Newspaper* as Harper' size. Harper also announced that he artists, which implied that he saw to emphasize the illustration as a news and hoped that this change would

Like Leslie, and in order to increase the circulation of *Harper's Weekly* wartime illustrations, Harper emphasized "accurate," "truthful," "correct," "special" artists' published drawings. He included the names and letters of the artists in *Harper's Weekly* with the characters of the illustrations. Harper employed a number of "special" artists, including Alexander Simplot, Robert Weir, and William Waud. To the public, especially those who rendered truthful images.

Harper also tried to suggest that his illustrations were reliable by publishing portraits of artists who sketched first-hand. "The Vigilant Robbing Our Special Artist of his life" (fig. 4), Davis sketching the committee members of the Charleston Seaside Club drawings.⁴⁷ Like the 1858 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* drawing of Albert Berghaus sketching, Davis' drawing of an unusual scene. And Harper publishing artists' portraits in order to suggest that his war images were "courageous,"⁴⁸ and in the 1863 *Harper's Weekly* drawing "The Artist in Danger at Charleston" (fig. 5), he published a portrait of artist Theodore Davis in danger, being captured by the enemy nearby.⁴⁹ This image is similar in style to William Waud sketching in the field to establish the myth of the "on the spot" artist and to suggest that his drawings were reliable records of actual scenes. A

Harper, too, tried to suggest that his illustrations were reliable records of its history. He published representations of actual scenes. As discussed in the work of Harper's "special" artists, Harper's "special" artists were recording history:

As Harper added more news illustrations to *Harper's Weekly*, he announced publicly that he had changed the content of the journal. In an article on the cover of the 4 May 1861 issue, he declared that "the present number [of *Harper's Weekly*] contains many MORE PICTURES than any heretofore issued; succeeding numbers will be still richer in illustrations [emphasis by Harper's writer]."⁴⁵ The format of *Harper's Weekly* began to more closely resemble that of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* as Harper's news images grew in number and size. Harper also announced that he had increased the budget for "special" artists, which implied that he saw a value in their work. Harper began to emphasize the illustration as a viable means by which to report the news and hoped that this change would increase sales of *Harper's Weekly*.

Like Leslie, and in order to increase the perceived authenticity of *Harper's Weekly* wartime illustrations, Harper used terms such as "accurate," "truthful," "correct," and "authentic" to describe his "special" artists' published drawings. He, too, began to print his artists' names and letters in *Harper's Weekly* in order to familiarize the public with the characters of the illustrators.⁴⁶ Harper introduced his readers to a number of "special" artists, including Theodore Davis, Alfred Waud, Alexander Simplot, Robert Weir, Andrew McCallum, A.W. Warren, and William Waud. To the public, each became a trustworthy individual, who rendered truthful images.

Harper also tried to suggest that *Harper's Weekly* images were correct by publishing portraits of artists represented as witnesses to events they sketched first-hand. "The Vigilance Committee at Memphis, Tennessee, Robbing Our Special Artist of his Sketches" (fig. 4) shows Theodore Davis sketching the committee members as they rifle through his drawings.⁴⁷ Like the 1858 *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* portrait of Albert Berghaus sketching, Davis' portrait underscored the authenticity of an unusual scene. And Harper continued to follow Leslie's lead by publishing artists' portraits in order to emphasize the perceived accuracy of war images (see Appendix B). Harper even described his artists as "courageous,"⁴⁸ and in the 1863 *Harper's Weekly* image "The Siege of Charleston" (fig. 5), he published an illustration that showed "special" artist Theodore Davis in danger, barely escaping injury as a shell explodes nearby.⁴⁹ This image is similar in purpose to Leslie's 1862 illustration of William Waud sketching in the midst of fire (fig. 3), which helped to establish the myth of the "on the spot" pictorial reporter, who sacrificed personal safety in order to witness and accurately record vital news events.

Harper, too, tried to suggest to his readers that images of the war were reliable records of its history and as such had to be correct representations of actual scenes. An 1864 passage from *Harper's Weekly* discussed the work of Harper's "special" artists and their contribution to recording history:



Fig. 4. "The Vigilance Committee at Memphis, Tennessee, Robbing Our Special Artist of His Sketches," *Harper's Weekly*, 22 June 1861.





Fig. 4. "The Vigilance Committee at Memphis, Tennessee, Robbing Our Special Artist of His Sketches," *Hörner's Weekly*, 22 June 1861.

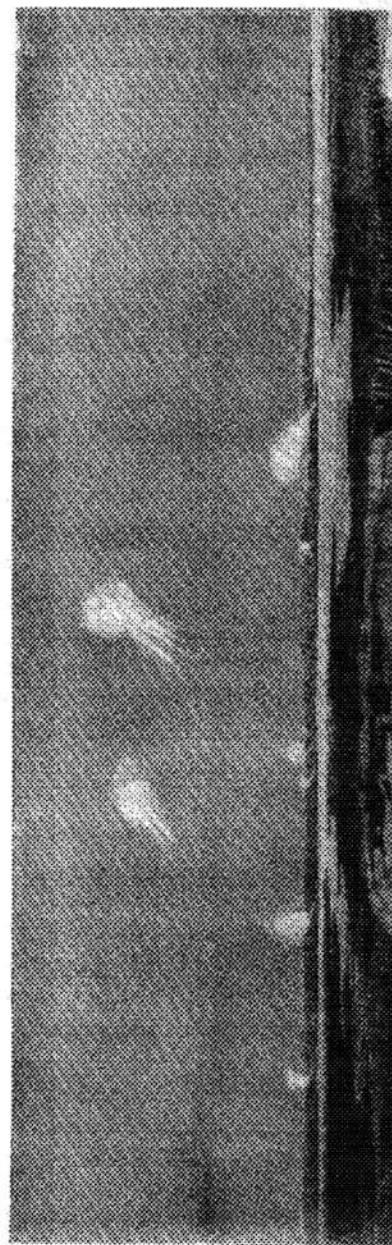




Fig. 5. "The Siege of Charleston," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1863.

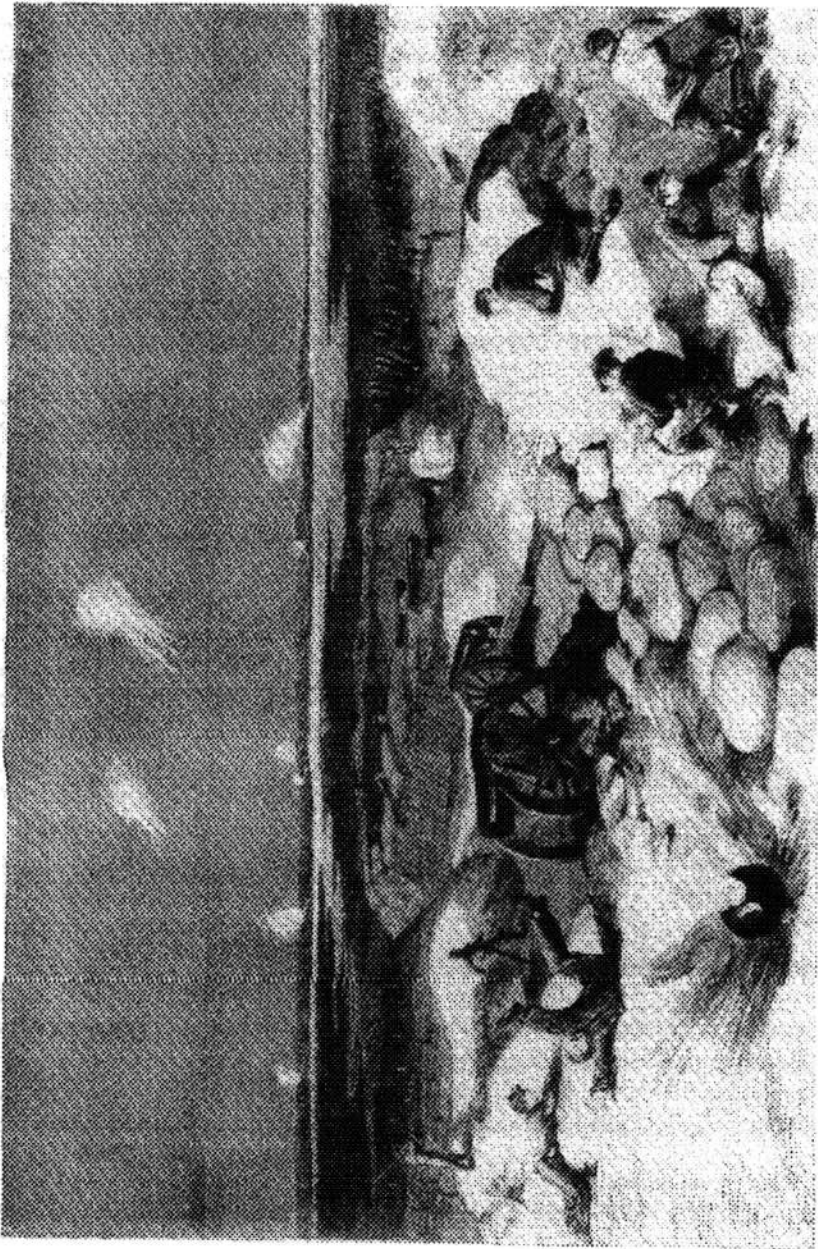


Fig. 5. "The Siege of Charleston," *Harper's Weekly*, 26 September 1863

The materials for the history of this great conflict are furnished almost entirely by these gatherers of 'things great and small' in the field, and posterity would be wholly ignorant, but for them, of that vast body of incident and adventure which finds no mention in official reports, and which is absolutely necessary to a proper appreciation of central facts and events.⁵⁰

And when the illustrators returned home after the war, a *Harper's Weekly* writer said that "the pictorial history of the war which [the artists] have written with their pencils in the field. . . is a history quivering with life, faithful, terrible, romantic, the value of which will grow every year."⁵¹

In 1862, Fletcher Harper hired former *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* illustrator, Thomas Nast, as a *Harper's Weekly* home artist. Nast had left Leslie's establishment (perhaps because he had to work in Berghaus' shadow) in 1859 to free-lance for the *New York Illustrated News* and *Harper's Weekly*. One of the Nast's assignments for the *Illustrated News* was to pictorially report the progress of Giuseppe Garibaldi and his troops as they fought to unify Italy.⁵² Although Nast's illustrations of Garibaldi's campaign were, for the most part, romanticized and partisan toward Garibaldi, Nast tried to retain some sense of accuracy in his images by including in them at least one self-portrait.⁵³ Moreover, Harper knew that Nast had assisted Berghaus with the swill milk drawings and might have deliberately hired Nast for his ability to suggest a degree of accuracy in his images.⁵⁴ Harper also hired other illustrators who had worked for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, such as Sol Eytinge, Charles Parsons, and William Jewett.⁵⁵ It is likely that Harper's interest in these artists was directly related to their "on the spot" reporting for Leslie and their knowledge of Berghaus's work during the swill milk investigation.

Harper's Weekly "special" artists, who were aware that Harper wanted to make published images seem historically correct, diligently tried to produce truthful sketches. During times of leisure Theodore Davis made detailed drawings of military uniforms, implements, and weapons. He later used the sketches to elaborate the drawings he made in the heat of battle, when there was no time to capture every aspect of a scene. Davis described this practice in an 1889 article:

[There is] the necessity for a special sketch-book, in which to make, whenever I found an opportunity, memorandum sketches of every new thing. I thus provided myself with a reference book for use when active campaigning commenced; for then there would be no time to secure detailed sketches, and under some circumstances it would often be impossible to get more than a very rough sketch from which to finish a drawing of some very important occurrence. . . . These notebooks were small, so that they might conveniently be carried in my pocket, ready for use at any moment.⁵⁶

Nineteenth-Century A

And when Harper's illustrators m out eyewitnesses to help them cor is correct, the line of men is cor as [Colonel] Howe found them."⁵⁷

Harper's attempts at creating images were so successful that a considered a jeopardization of mil in the 26 April issue (published ' Firing at Yorktown," recorded Yorktown and of Union ships in generals thought that the image wa of their troops and ships to the ' positions, the generals suppressed

At the time of the suppressi Homer was at Yorktown to report Colonel Francis Barlow, a friend at Yorktown, wrote to his brothe to the suppression:

We have yesterday's [New York] Herald. . [Weekly] of last week had been suppressed. his occupation [as a pictorial reporter for dare go to the front having been an obj go home after the battle [anticipated at Yor

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David Tatham has suggested t from the War" as a direct response 1862 suppression of *Harper's W: Homer tried to convince the gene not jeopardize military secrets but j effort by boosting the morale of t at home.*

And when Harper's illustrators missed an important event, they sought out eyewitnesses to help them correctly recreate the scene: "The locality is correct, the line of men is correct, and the enemy's skirmishes are as [Colonel] Howe found them."⁵⁷

Harper's attempts at creating a sense of accuracy in his artists' news images were so successful that an 1862 *Harper's Weekly* image was considered a jeopardization of military security. An illustration printed in the 26 April issue (published on the 19th), called "The First Day's Firing at Yorktown," recorded the positions of Northern forces at Yorktown and of Union ships in the surrounding harbor.⁵⁸ Northern generals thought that the image was correct enough to reveal the locations of their troops and ships to the Confederacy. To avoid disclosing the positions, the generals suppressed the entire issue of *Harper's Weekly*.⁵⁹

At the time of the suppression, *Harper's Weekly* artist Winslow Homer was at Yorktown to report the Peninsular campaign. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Barlow, a friend of Homer's, who was also stationed at Yorktown, wrote to his brother Edward to tell of Homer's reaction to the suppression:

We have yesterday's [New York] Herald... We were much amused to read that Harper's [Weekly] of last week had been suppressed. It had nothing of Homer's in it but we regard his occupation [as a pictorial reporter for *Harper's Weekly*] as gone. He now does not dare go to the front having been an object of suspicion even before. He says he will go home after the battle [anticipated at Yorktown].⁶⁰

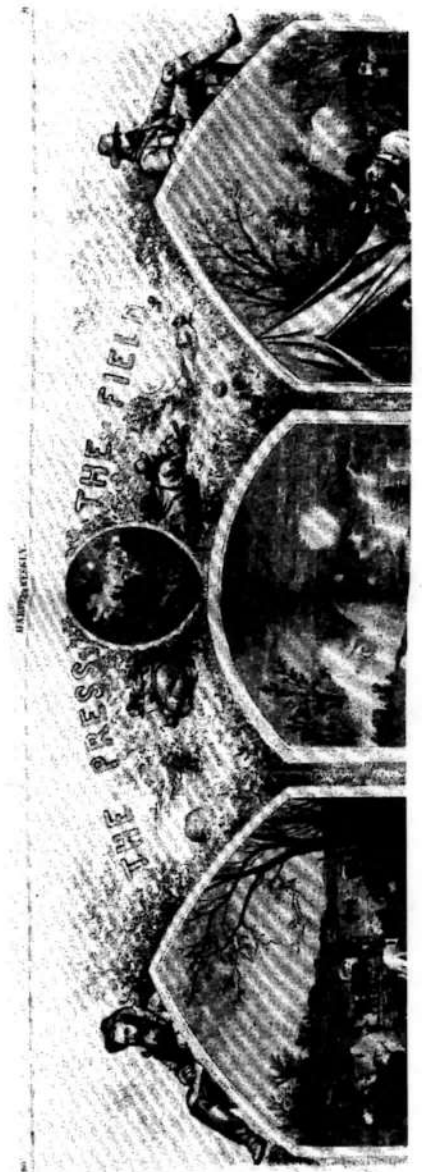
And in the two subsequent issues of *Harper's Weekly*, Harper's writers expressed their dismay at the suppression.⁶¹

Homer returned to New York in June of 1862 and shortly thereafter, *Harper's Weekly* published a double-page, centerfold grouping of his drawings called "News from the War" (fig. 6).⁶² The illustrations recorded individually the various means by which war news reached the public and the soldier in camp—by messenger, bugle, telegraph, mail, and the spoken word. In the two largest scenes in the composite image, Homer emphasized the role of the newspaper: at the right, soldiers eagerly read *Harper's Weekly* and at the left, Alfred Waud, Homer's artistic colleague at *Harper's Weekly*, sketches two very tall soldiers.⁶³

David Tatham has suggested that Harper published Homer's "News from the War" as a direct response from artist and publisher to the April 1862 suppression of *Harper's Weekly*.⁶⁴ With "News from the War" Homer tried to convince the generals that artists and their images did not jeopardize military secrets but played an important part in the Union effort by boosting the morale of the soldiers in camp and the civilians at home.



Fig. 6. "News from the War," Harper's Weekly, 14 June 1862.



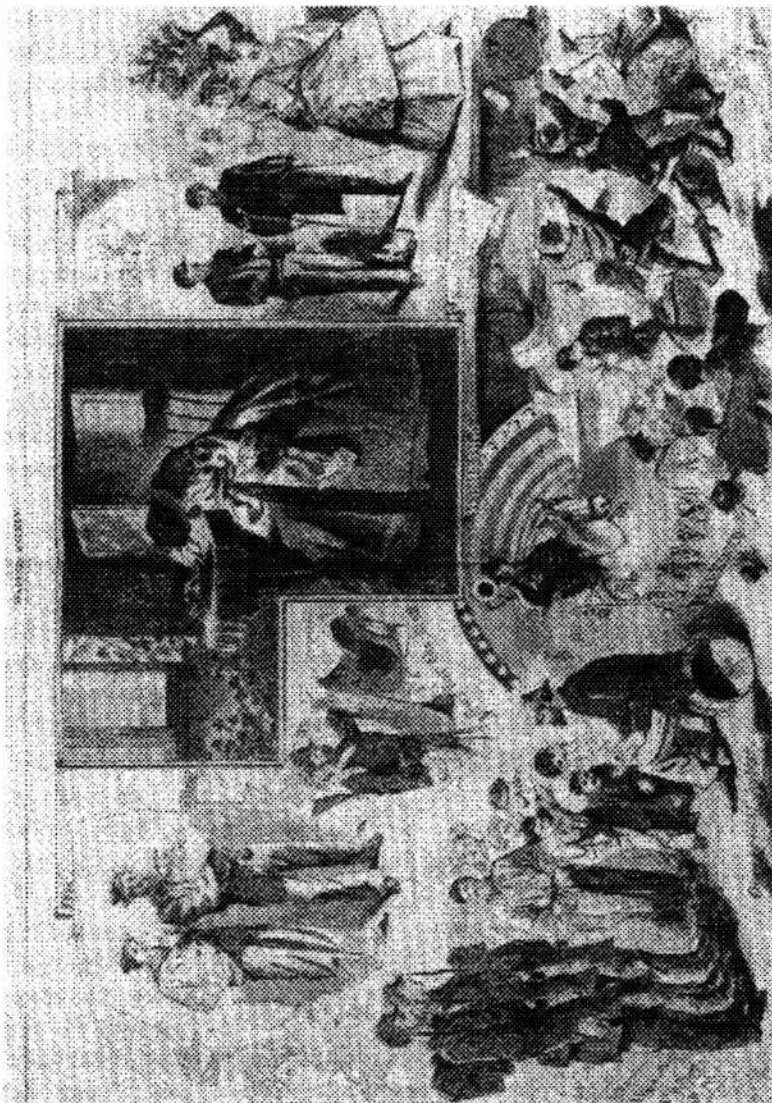
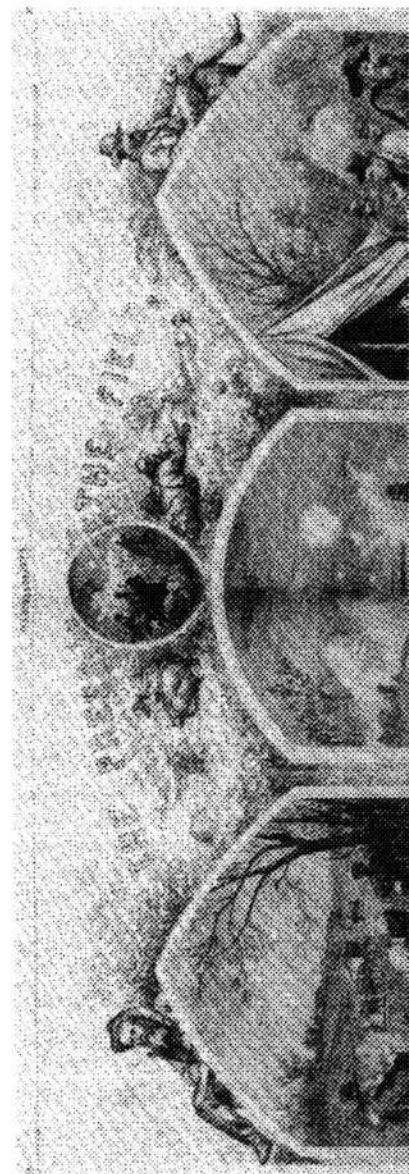


Fig. 6. "News from the War," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 June 1862.



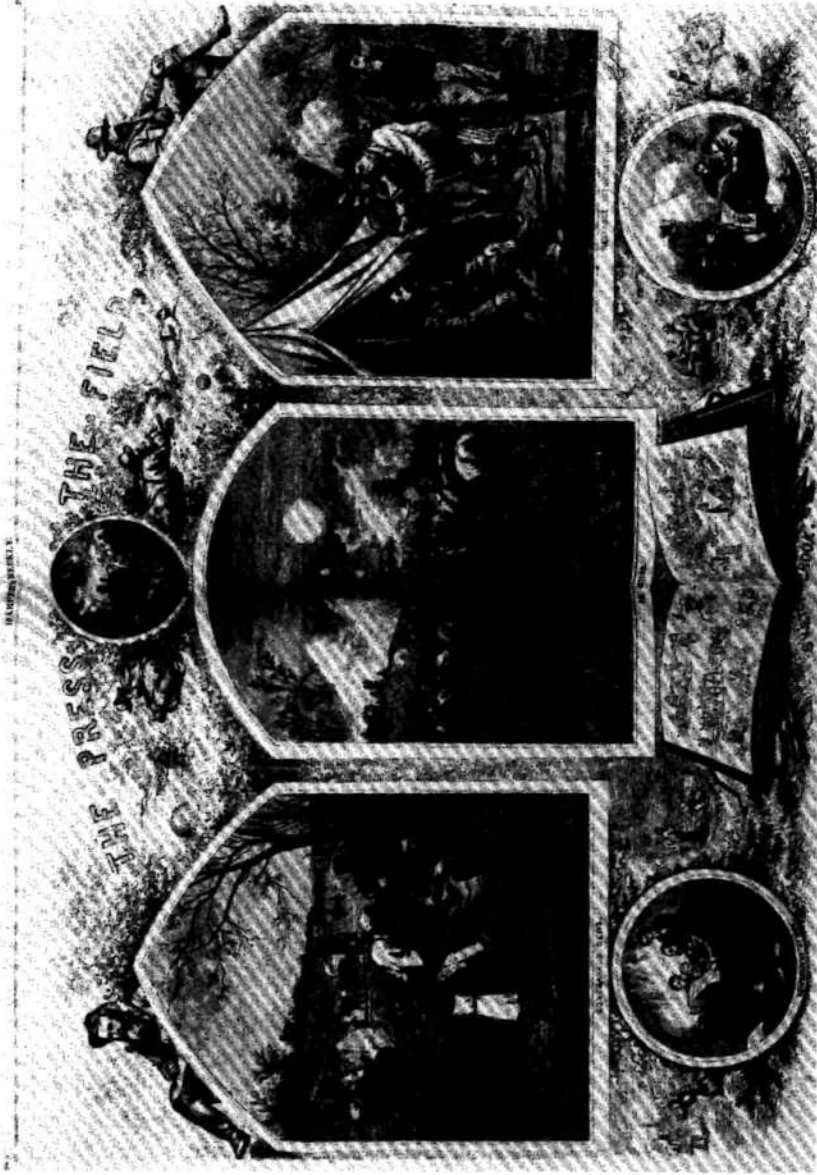


Fig. 7. "The Press on the Field," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 April 1864.

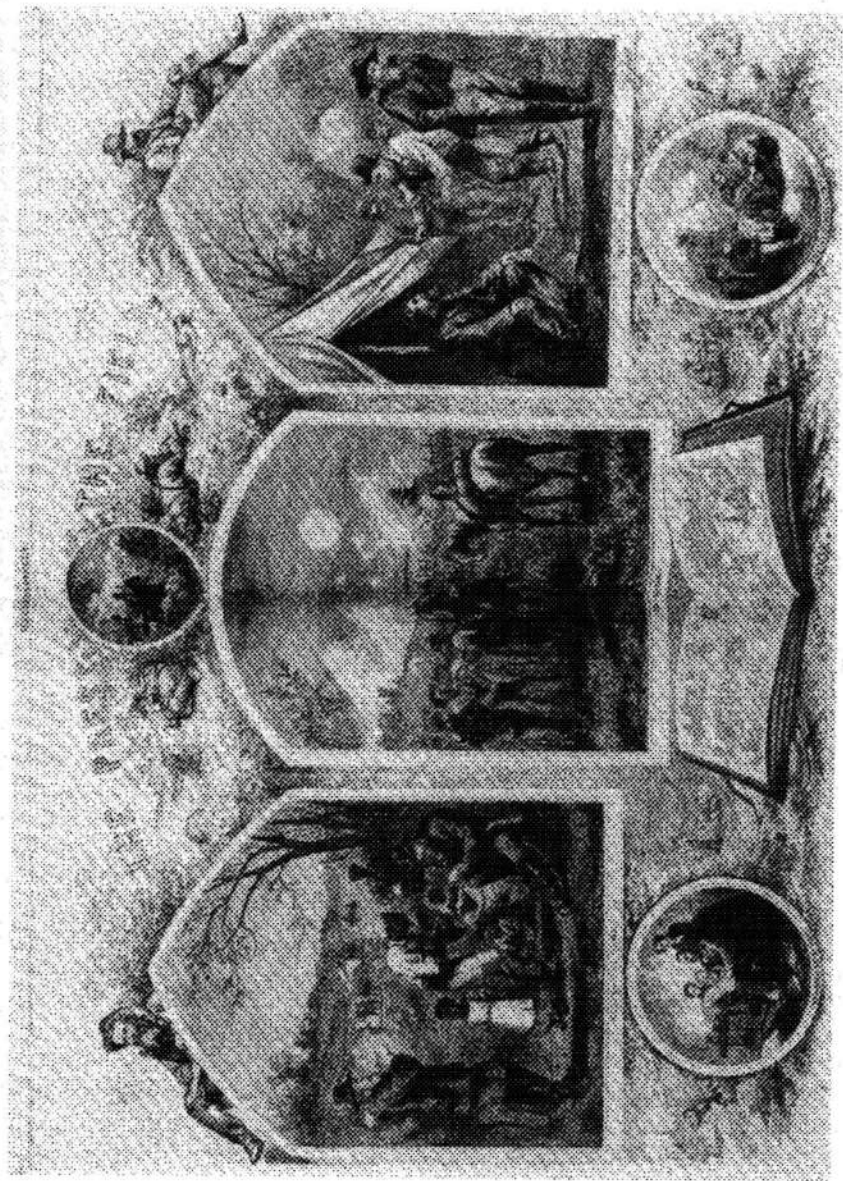


Fig. 7. "The Press on the Field," *Harper's Weekly*, 30 April 1864.

Harper and Homer went to such lengths to preserve their rapport with the Union generals because generals were a valuable source of war information for the artists. It was not unusual for artists and generals to be friendly, because artists relied on the generals for passes to the front. Illustrators and generals often found that they had a common interest in art (generals often had some training in drawing because it was taught at West Point Military Academy). Moreover, generals often preferred to be remembered in the image, because of its immediacy, rather than with the written report.⁶⁵

Journal publishers liked to play up the connection between artists and generals. For instance, in an 1864 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Fletcher Harper published a letter by Alfred Waud, who, as an artist, "was the only person connected with the newspapers permitted to go upon the recent advance to the Rapidan. An order of General Meade's sent all the reporters back."⁶⁶ To the public, the connection between the illustrators and the seemingly omnipotent Union generals made the artists' drawings seem all the more historically correct: generals frequently gave their most up-to-date information to the illustrators.

Although Homer created "News from the War" to appease the generals, artists usually did not need to be encouraged to praise the military leaders. In 1863, for instance, Harper printed the following account written by Theodore Davis:

No officer has won for himself more golden opinions during this brilliant campaign than General McPherson. He is a cool and daring soldier in battle, a courteous gentleman in camp; as an engineer his is unsurpassed. The works constructed by his corps are pronounced by the army 'the most complete and satisfactory of the line.' Each day he is in the trenches with the soldier, not a single thing escapes his notice—commendation or disapproval. He is the pride of the corps that he commands.⁶⁷

Illustrators also tried to encourage communication and goodwill between themselves and the generals by asking for their approval of sketches. In 1862, Davis drew a series of images of the warship *Monitor* and showed them to the ship's officers, who approved the correctness of the renderings. Harper published the officer's testimonial with the illustrations.⁶⁸ In 1863, at the request of Brigadier General Q.A. Gillmore, William Crane of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* depicted the demolition of Fort Sumter. Gillmore's reaction to the drawings received front-page coverage: "I most cheerfully bear testimony to the general accuracy of [Crane's] delineations."⁶⁹

In April of 1864, Harper published a double-page, centerfold set of illustrations of the field artist and journalist by Thomas Nast entitled "The Press on the Field" (fig. 7).⁷⁰ The image is significant in that it is the only *Harper's Weekly* engraving devoted exclusively to the work of the war correspondents. It covered two full pages of the paper and





Fig. 8. "The Atlantic Telegraph Cable," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 15 July 1865.

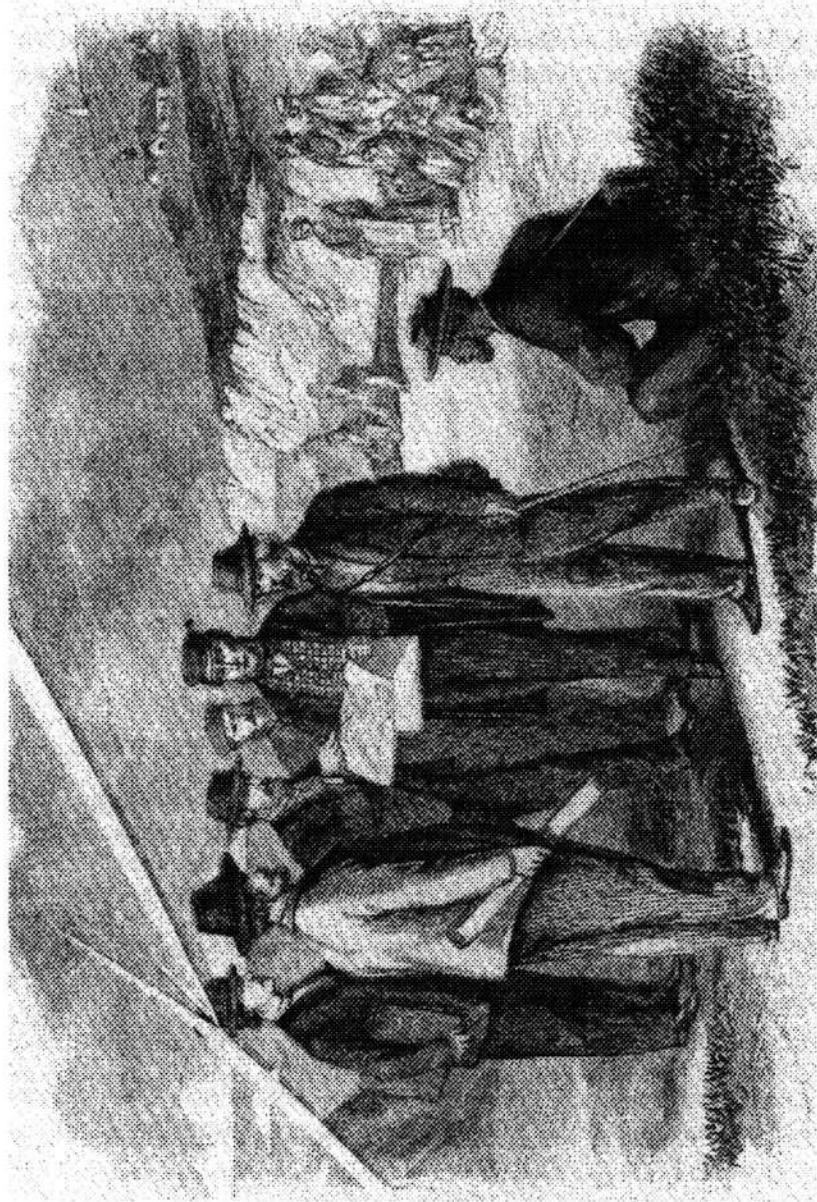


Fig. 8. "The Atlantic Telegraph Cable," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 15 July 1866.

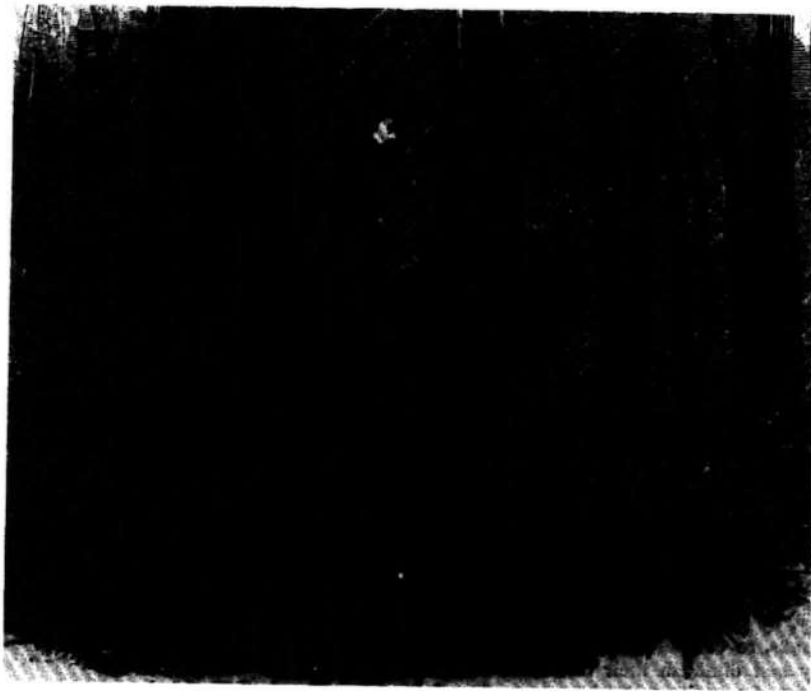


Fig. 9. "Our 'Special' A.R.W., on his Journeyings," *Harper's Weekly*, 28 April 1866.

Post-war portraits of artists do not show the illustrators at work in the field and as witnesses to the events they drew. Thus, the portraits clearly do not suggest the same degree of authenticity as wartime portraits of illustrators, who were represented drawing "on the spot." Because of this, we might assume at first that Leslie and Harper no longer were interested in creating a strong sense of accuracy in news images. But written accounts published after 1865 in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* do not support this assumption. In 1867, when Alfred Waud drew a series of images of the Indian war in Kansas, a *Harper's Weekly* author described one of his illustrations as "a faithful delineation of the scene."⁷⁶ In 1867, Leslie published a double-page, centerfold grouping of Albert Berghaus' images, which were together called "The Alleged Inhuman Outrages upon the Inmates Practiced by the Keeper of the Paterson Almshouse."⁷⁷ The illustrations showed the adverse conditions of the inmates' quarters and the hardships that the warden inflicted upon the prisoners. Leslie commented on the accuracy of this unusual image in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*: "Our illustrations were made on the spot, and represent the cruelties which were established by testimony upon the examination as having occurred."⁷⁸ This comment and others like it indicate that Leslie and



Fig. 10. "Theodore R. Davis,"

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Artists' portraits, then, did not illustrate newspapers because of the portraits of artists, publishers, or public. After the swill milk scandal and then by the end of the Civil War, had already clear illustrations. The public no longer publishers relaxed their efforts to

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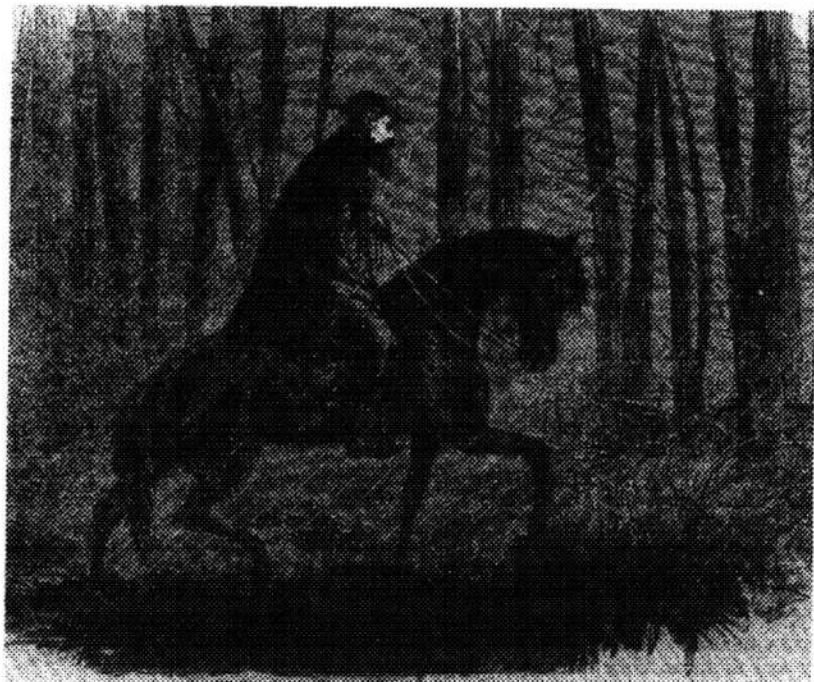


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Harper remained committed to accurate, even after the war had ended.

Artists' portraits, then, did not disappear from illustrated newspapers because of a loss of interest by artists, publishers, or public. As the portraits of artists, used first in the 1850s during the swill milk scandal and then by Leslie and Harper during the Civil War, had already cleared the way for more accurate illustrations. The public no longer demanded that publishers relax their efforts to provide accurate news.

Through his pictorial reports, Leslie was able to establish the illustrati



Fig. 10. "Theodore R. Davis," *Harper's Weekly*, 7 September 1867.

Harper remained committed to publishing news images that seemed accurate, even after the war had ended.⁷⁹

Artists' portraits, then, did not disappear from the pages of the illustrated newspapers because of a disinterest in accuracy on the part of artists, publishers, or public. A more reasonable explanation is that the portraits of artists, used first by Leslie in his pictorial reports of the swill milk scandal and then by both Leslie and Harper in illustrations of the Civil War, had already clearly established the authenticity of news illustrations. The public no longer questioned their validity, and publishers relaxed their efforts to make the images seem truthful.

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Fig. 11. "Our Artist," from the full-page illustration "Grand Masquerade Ball," *Harper's Weekly*, 14 April 1866.

convey the news to the sophisticated New York reader, who might not have bought *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* because of its reputation for sensationalism and gossip. Harper's contribution, however, was possible only because of the example set by Leslie in his more controversial journal, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Leslie's magazine, contrary to current belief, clearly stands at the forefront of nineteenth-century American illustrated journalism for its role in establishing the significance and accuracy of the news image.

Notes

¹*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 30 May 1857, 405.

²*Harper's Weekly*, 25 December 1858, 817. Harper might have exaggerated the circulation of *Harper's Weekly* in order to impress the public.

³For Frank Leslie's biography, see especially, "Frank Leslie," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 24 January 1880, 381-382; "A Tribute of Respect to the Memory of Frank Leslie, by the Employes [sic] and Former Employes [sic] of his Publishing House," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 31 January 1880, 403; Richard B. Kimball, "Frank Leslie," *Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine* (March, 1880), 369-372, 373, 376; Fulton Oursler, "Frank Leslie," *American Mercury* (May, 1930), 94-101;

Budd Leslie Gambee, Jr., *Frank Leslie and Technical Operations of a Pioneer*, University of Michigan, 1964; *Frank Leslie and his Illustrated Newspaper*, University of Michigan, 1964. Gambee brings together for Leslie and his establishment. A *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* of Missouri, Columbia, 1960, is current libraries but might be informative in the details of Leslie's work for the *Illustrated London News*, 16 May 1858.
⁵*Ibid.*, 1964, Chapter 4, "Borrow

420.

⁶Between 1853 and 1856 the *Illustrated London News* covered the Crimean War. Leslie might have used *News* Crimean War images and used them during the Civil War.

⁷*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 8 May 1858.

⁸*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*

⁹Gambee, 1963, 171-173, lists the "Milkmaids," led by one Stephen Smith; "Scene at the Offal Dock," 22 Hibernians to the Entrance of Our Health Wardens visit the 39th St. I caught by Our Artist in the Act," 5 Our Artist's Sketching," 3 July 1858, of Low, Blackguard 'Milkmaids,' who off," 10 July 1858, 92. Gambee, 1964 included portraits of local citizens to increase the perceived realism of the image of Leslie in "Scene at the Offal Dock." Gambee, however, does not propose that the pictures were truthful.

¹⁰*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*

¹¹*Ibid.*, 7 August 1858, 153, cited in

¹²*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*

¹³*Ibid.*, 8 May 1858, 353.

¹⁴Gambee, 1964, 72.

¹⁵Leslie's only other competition was never as popular as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and never posed a serious threat to the

¹⁶*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 1964, 64.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 5 December 1857, 6, cited in

¹⁸*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 13 October 1860, 330.

²⁰Gambee has noted that Leslie *Illustrated Newspaper*: see 24 March 1858, 273. Leslie printed an excerpt from



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⁴Between 1853 and 1856 the *Illustrated London News* used many Crimean War images and used the Civil War.

⁵*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 8 May 1858.

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⁷Gambee, 1963, 171-173, lists the "Milkmaids," led by one Stephen Smith; "Scene at the Offal Dock," 22 Hibernians to the Entrance of Our Health Wardens visit the 39th St. Caught by Our Artist in the Act," 5 Our Artist's Sketching," 5 July 1858, of Low, Blackguard "Milkmaids," who off," 10 July 1858, 92. Gambee, 1963 included portraits of local citizens to increase the perceived realism of the image of Leslie in "Scene at the Offal Dock," 22. Gambee, however, does not propose that the pictures were truthful.

⁸*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 7 August 1858, 153, cited.

⁹*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 8 May 1858, 355.

¹⁰Gambee, 1964, 72.

¹¹Leslie's only other competition was never as popular as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and never posed a serious threat to the *Illustrated London News* 1964, 64.

¹²*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 5 December 1857, 6, cited.

¹³*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 13 October 1860, 330.

¹⁴Gambee has noted that Leslie *Illustrated Newspaper*: see 28 March 1858, 273. Leslie printed an excerpt from

Budd Leslie Gambee, Jr., *'Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,' 1855-1860: Artistic and Technical Operations of a Pioneer Pictorial News Weekly in America*, Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1964, published in part in Budd Leslie Gambee, Jr., *Frank Leslie and his Illustrated Newspaper, 1855-1860*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1964. Gambee brings together some significant information on and sources for Leslie and his establishment. A Master of Arts thesis by Stuart William Becker, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper from 1860 to the Battle of Gettysburg*, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1960, is currently missing from the University of Missouri libraries but might be informative if located. Scholars have yet to piece together the details of Leslie's work for the *Illustrated London News*.

⁴*Illustrated London News*, 16 May 1942, 567, cited in Gambee, 1964, 7.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1964, Chapter 4, "Borrowings from the *Illustrated London News*," 381-420.

⁶Between 1853 and 1856 the *Illustrated London News* featured images of the Crimean War. Leslie might have asked his artists to study the *Illustrated London News* Crimean War images and use them as examples when they began to illustrate the Civil War.

⁷*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* first reported on the swill milk trade on 8 May 1858.

⁸*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 8 May 1858, 353.

⁹Gambee, 1963, 171-173, lists the eight portraits of Berghaus: "Attack of the 'Milkmaids,' led by one Stephen Smalley, upon One of Our Artists," 15 May 1858, 384; "Scene at the Offal Dock," 22 May 1858, 385; "Resistance of the Infuriated Hibernians to the Entrance of Our Artist," 29 May 1858, 401; "Our Artist and the Health Wardens visit the 39th St. Distillery," 29 May 1858, 404; "The Proprietor caught by Our Artist in the Act," 5 June 1858, 9; "The 'Milkmaids,' disgusted by Our Artist's Sketching," 3 July 1858, 69; "Our Artist forces his way through a Mob of Low, Blackguard 'Milkmaids,' who threaten and bully much but 'keep their hands off,'" 10 July 1858, 92. Gambee, 1964, 70, has suggested that Leslie and his artists included portraits of local citizens and famous people in their images in order to increase the perceived realism of the drawings. For instance, Berghaus included an image of Leslie in "Scene at the Offal Dock" (fig. 1); Leslie is second from the left. Gambee, however, does not propose that the image of the artist sketching suggests that the pictures were truthful.

¹⁰*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 22 May 1858, 385.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 7 August 1858, 153, cited in Gambee, 1963, 133.

¹²*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 15 May 1858, 384.

¹³*Ibid.*, 8 May 1858, 353.

¹⁴Gambee, 1964, 72.

¹⁵Leslie's only other competition was the *New York Illustrated News* (1859-1864). It was never as popular as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* or *Harper's Weekly* and never posed a serious threat to the circulation of either publication.

¹⁶*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 6 December 1856, 6, cited in Gambee, 1964, 64.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 5 December 1857, 6, cited in Gambee, 1964, 68.

¹⁸*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 8 October 1859, 302.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 13 October 1860, 330.

²⁰Gambee has noted that Leslie names Berghaus many times in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*: see 24 March 1860, 255; 12 May 1860, 368; 22 September 1860, 273. Leslie printed an excerpt from Berghaus' diary in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*

Newspaper, 23 June 1860, 70. He even published a bust-length portrait of Berghaus as a tribute to his work as a "special" artist: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 17 December 1859, 34. Leslie also assumed that "readers are perfectly familiar with Mr. Berghaus' name, as he has frequently appeared prominent in our pages." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 22 September 1860, 273.

²¹*Ibid.*, 15 December 1860, 53.

²²*Ibid.*, 10 December 1859, 18.

²³*Harper's Weekly*, 3 January 1857, 11.

²⁴Gambee, 1963, 68.

²⁵*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 6 April 1861, 305.

²⁶Leslie announced in January of 1861, on the cover of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, that one of his artists had reached Charleston. This indicated the importance he placed on his illustrator's presence at the scene of impending conflict.

²⁷For statistics on wartime "special" artists and images, see William P. Campbell, Appendix A, "Numbers of Published Drawings by Known Special Artists of the Civil War," in "The 'Special Artist' Reports The Civil War," *The Civil War: A Centennial Exhibition of Eyewitness Drawings* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1961), 107.

²⁸Henry Lovie in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 7 December 1861, 35, cited in Campbell, 27.

²⁹Campbell, 25.

³⁰*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 12 April 1862, 366.

³¹*Ibid.*, 17 May 1862, 66.

³²Campbell, 87.

³³For instance, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* artist Henry Lovie was present at the 1861 Battle of Wilson's Creek, where General Lyon was shot and killed. Lovie witnessed and drew the scene. His sketch did not reach the home office of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* until three weeks later. By this time, Leslie had printed two other images of the same subject drawn by other artists. Rather than repeat the theme a third time, Leslie changed Lovie's image to show the General leading a battle charge. Campbell, 89.

³⁴Leslie first identified wartime artists by name in the 4 May 1861 issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*: he credited artists Arthur Lumley, William Waud, and Eugene Benson in the captions that accompany their illustrations. Leslie published one of many wartime letters by Edwin Forbes on 5 April 1862, 323, and one by Henry Lovie on 7 December 1861, 35.

³⁵*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 31 May 1862, 134. See also 21 May 1864, 130.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 31 May 1862, 113. See also three images, which are together called "The Perils of Our Special Artist in the West," in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 14 February 1862, 332.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 7 December 1861, 35, and 31 May 1862, 134.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 20 September 1862, 401.

³⁹*Harper's Weekly*, 12 January 1861, cover.

⁴⁰See, for instance, 16 March 1861, 162. In the 18 May 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Harper published an illustration that includes a portrait of an officer sketching. Leslie also tried to solicit eyewitness sketches from military officers and "others who can sketch" in exchange for a year's subscription to *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 27 April 1861, 352, and 4 May 1861, 384.

⁴¹*Harper's Weekly*, 4 May 1861, 274.

⁴²Campbell, 25.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 107.

⁴⁵*Harper's Weekly*, 4 May 1861, 2.

⁴⁶For instance, Harper's artist T war, travelled with William Russell in Harper's magazine only as the *fa Harper's Weekly*, 1 June 1861, 341. But on 22 June 1861, 394, Harper identified to credit his illustrations. Within seven illustrations drawn by other artists, (24 August 1861, 535) and Alfred W. (57). He published many letters by D. June 1861, 413; 4 July 1863, 427; 19 by Waud, see 3 October 1863, 635.

⁴⁷*Harper's Weekly*, 22 June 1861,

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 30 April 1864, 277. See also

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 26 September 1863, 613.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 30 April 1864, 277.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 3 June 1865, 339.

⁵²For Nast's illustrations of the *G. News* from July to December, 1860.

⁵³Nast's self-portrait appears in 1860, 405, cited by W. Fletcher Thompson in *The American Civil War* (New York mentions George M. Trevelyan, "The Cornhill Magazine, 97 (June, 1908), 8: Reminiscence," *The National Review* work during Garibaldi's campaigns.

⁵⁴Although Nast was a home address suggest that Harper wanted Nast's address of illustrations.

⁵⁵Gambee has studied images of *Newspaper* artists and has been able associated with the paper during the war 1963, 127, 243-261; for Parsons, see 196

⁵⁶"How a Battle is Sketched," *St.*

⁵⁷*Harper's Weekly*, 16 August 186

⁵⁸*Harper's Weekly*, 26 April 1862,

⁵⁹By preventing the release of it also hoped to suppress its distribution soldiers often traded papers.

⁶⁰David Tatham, "Winslow Homer in American Art," ed. J. Kuchna, *Art* 87. The Barlow Letters are in the collection

⁶¹*Harper's Weekly*, 3 May 1862,

a response, in the form of text and image called the "Battle of the 'Bol Artists, and the Mosquitos and G McLaughlin shows journalists and il

⁴²Campbell, 25.

⁴³Ibid., 25.

⁴⁴Ibid., 107.

⁴⁵*Harper's Weekly*, 4 May 1861, 274.

⁴⁶For instance, Harper's artist Theodore Davis, who, at the beginning of the war, travelled with William Russell of the *London Times*, was at first identified in Harper's magazine only as the famous British reporter's travelling companion. *Harper's Weekly*, 1 June 1861, 341. But Davis' name soon appeared in *Harper's Weekly*: on 22 June 1861, 394, Harper identified Davis by name and shortly thereafter, began to credit his illustrations. Within several months Harper began to caption published illustrations drawn by other artists, such as Alexander Simplot (*Harper's Weekly*, 24 August 1861, 535) and Alfred Waud (*Harper's Weekly*, 25 January, 1862, 56-57). He published many letters by Davis in *Harper's Weekly* including those on 29 June 1861, 413; 4 July 1863, 427; 19 September 1863, 603. For one of many letters by Waud, see 3 October 1863, 635.

⁴⁷*Harper's Weekly*, 22 June 1861, 394.

⁴⁸Ibid., 30 April 1864, 277. See also 3 June 1865, 339.

⁴⁹Ibid., 26 September 1863, 613.

⁵⁰Ibid., 30 April 1864, 277.

⁵¹Ibid., 3 June 1865, 339.

⁵²For Nast's illustrations of the Garibaldi campaign, see the *New York Illustrated News* from July to December, 1860.

⁵³Nast's self-portrait appears in the *New York Illustrated News*, 3 November 1860, 405, cited by W. Fletcher Thompson, *The Image of War: The Pictorial Reporting of the American Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), 189, n. 21. Thompson mentions George M. Trevelyan, "The War Journal of Garibaldi's Englishman," *Cornhill Magazine*, 97 (June, 1908), 824 and 848, and Evelyn Ashley, "A Garibaldian Reminiscence," *The National Review*, 33 (May, 1899), 492-500 as sources on Nast's work during Garibaldi's campaigns.

⁵⁴Although Nast was a home artist and not a field artist, it is reasonable to suggest that Harper wanted Nast's advice on how to increase the perceived reliability of illustrations.

⁵⁵Gambee has studied images and biographies of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* artists and has been able to determine in general which artists were associated with the paper during the swill milk investigation. For Eytinge, see Gambee, 1963, 127, 243-261; for Parsons, see 1963, 210-227; for Jewett, see 1964, 78.

⁵⁶"How a Battle is Sketched," *St. Nicholas*, XVI, no. 9 (July, 1889), 662.

⁵⁷*Harper's Weekly*, 16 August 1862, 523, cited by Campbell, 105, n. 66.

⁵⁸*Harper's Weekly*, 26 April 1862, 261.

⁵⁹By preventing the release of the journal to their own men, Union generals also hoped to suppress its distribution to Confederate soldiers with whom Northern soldiers often traded papers.

⁶⁰David Tatham, "Winslow Homer at the Front in 1862," in "New Discoveries in American Art," ed. J. Kuchna, *American Art Journal*, vol. 11, pt. 3 (July, 1979), 87. The Barlow Letters are in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁶¹*Harper's Weekly*, 3 May 1862, 274; 17 May 1862, 306. Leslie also published a response, in the form of text and image, to the *Harper's Weekly* suppression. In an image called the "Battle of the 'Bohemian Brigade' of Correspondents and Special Artists, and the Mosquitos and Gallinippers of the South-West," artist J.M. McLaughlin shows journalists and illustrators trying to bat away a swarm of flying

insects. The accompanying text compares this battle with the concurrent conflict between Northern generals and *Harper's Weekly* artists: "Mr. Secretary Stanton suppressed the news of this drawn battle for very obvious reasons." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 31 May 1862, 144.

⁶²*Harper's Weekly*, 14 June 1862, 376-377.

⁶³Frederic Ray, *Alfred R. Waud, Civil War Artist* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), 34, identifies the artist in "News from the War" as Waud.

⁶⁴Tatham, 87.

⁶⁵George Sala, a reporter for the *London Times*, suggests in his description of Alfred Waud that generals preferred news images to written reports: "Commanding officers were glad to welcome in their tents the genial companion who could... transmit to posterity, through woodcuts, their features and their exploits but who was not charged with the invidious mission of commenting in print on their performances." *My Diary in America in the Midst of a War*, 2nd ed. (London: Tinsley, 1865), 302-303.

⁶⁶*Harper's Weekly*, 3 October 1863, 635.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 1 August 1863, 487.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 12 April 1862, 237.

⁶⁹*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 12 September 1863, 389. Even if a general had asked an artist to change an illustration, the public reaction would have been favorable. Generals had access to the most accurate information and thus seemed most qualified to judge the reliability of an image. Thus, readers would not have considered generals' suggestions to be censorship.

⁷⁰*Harper's Weekly*, 30 April 1864, 280-281.

⁷¹Frank Luther Mott, "Thomas Nast Pictures of Civil War Reporters," *Oldtime Comments on Journalism*, vol. 3, no. 1 (November, 1959), n.p.

⁷²Ray, 35.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 35.

⁷⁴*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 15 July 1865, 261.

⁷⁵For Waud's image, see *Harper's Weekly*, 28 April 1866, 257; for Davis see 7 September 1867, 564; for Nast see 14 April 1866, 233.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 8 June 1867, 357. See also 8 August 1868, 497.

⁷⁷*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 24 August 1867, 360-361.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 24 August 1867, 364.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 12 October 1867, 50, and 30 November 1867, 171.

Appendix A:

Portraits of Civil War Artists Published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper

- 15 June 1861, 384. "Sketches Made or Picked up by Our Eccentric Artist at the Seat of War." This cartoon is comprised of eight sketches which have as their subject the work of the "special" artist. Two scenes show the artist sketching in the field. The initial "N" in the lower center image identifies the artist as Thomas Nast.
- 3 August 1861, 180. "Great Battle of Bull's Run." The anonymous artist sketches.
- 4 January 1862, 105 (centerfold and double-page). "The Deserter Johnson." An anonymous artist, who appears in a small vignette, sketches.
- 12 April 1862, 360. "Manassas Junction." The artist, identified in the caption as Edwin Forbes, sketches.

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- 31 May 1862, 113 (cover). "Our Artist as William Waud, sketches.
- 31 May 1862, 144. "Battle Between the Special Artists, and the Mosquito artist, identified in the caption as
- 20 September 1862, 416. This captioned treatment of artists and correspondents a sketch book under his arm.
- 14 February 1863, 332. Three images of West." The artist, Henry Lovie, is
- 25 July 1863, 273 (cover). "Siege of Vicksburg." The artist, identified in the caption

Appendix B: *Portraits of Civil War Artists Published in*

- 15 June 1861, 384. "Sketches Made or Picked up by Our Eccentric Artist at the Seat of War." This cartoon features the work of the artist he sketches, in a second hand sketch book and is about to draw.
- 22 June 1861, 394. "The Vigilance Committee's Special Artist of his Sketches." The artist, identified in the caption as Theodore Davis, sketches.
- 14 June 1862, 376-377 (centerfold and double-page). The caption states that the artist, identified as Theodore Davis, had been sketched by the artist (see note 63 above). The caption states that the artist, identified as Theodore Davis, had been sketched by the artist (see note 63 above).
- 26 September 1863, 613. "The Siege of Chattanooga and Union Encampment." The artist, identified as Theodore Davis, sketches.
- 30 April 1864, 280-281 (centerfold and double-page). The caption states that the artist, identified as Theodore Davis, had been sketched by the artist (see note 63 above).

I wish to thank Dr. Joy Sperling, Assistant Professor of Art at the University of Iowa, for her encouragement and suggestions on the content and style of the

Andrea G. Pearson is in the doctoral program at the University of Santa Barbara.

- 31 May 1862, 113 (cover). "Our Artist Aloft." The artist, identified in the caption as William Waud, sketches.
- 31 May 1862, 144. "Battle Between the Bohemian Brigade of Correspondents and Special Artists, and the Mosquitos and Gallinippers of the South-West." The artist, identified in the caption as J.M. McLaughlin, sketches.
- 20 September 1862, 416. This captioned cartoon responded to Major-General Halleck's treatment of artists and correspondents. The anonymous artist is shown with a sketch book under his arm.
- 14 February 1863, 332. Three images of "The Perils of Our Special Artist in the West." The artist, Henry Lovie, is identified in the accompanying text.
- 25 July 1863, 273 (cover). "Siege of Vicksburg—Mining the Rebel Works, Fort Hill." The artist, identified in the caption as Fred Schell, sketches.

Appendix B

Portraits of Civil War Artists Published in Harper's Weekly

- 15 June 1861, 384. "Sketches Made or Picked up by Our Eccentric Artist at the Seat of War." This cartoon features three portraits of an unidentified artist. In one image he sketches, in a second he photographs, and in a third he holds his sketch book and is about to draw.
- 22 June 1861, 394. "The Vigilance Committee at Memphis, Tennessee, Robbing Our Special Artist of his Sketches." The artist, identified in the accompanying text as Theodore Davis, sketches.
- 14 June 1862, 376-377 (centerfold and double-page). "News from the War." The anonymous artist sketches. Ray has identified him as Alfred Waud (see note 63 above). The caption states that the artist of the image is Winslow Homer.
- 26 September 1863, 613. "The Siege of Charleston." The artist, identified in the caption as Theodore Davis, had been sketching but was interrupted by a shell explosion.
- 28 November 1863, 761-762 (centerfold and double-page). "General View of Chattanooga and Union Encampments." The artist, identified in the caption as Theodore Davis, sketches.
- 30 April 1864, 280-281 (centerfold and double-page). "The Press on the Field." Six images of the artist sketching, two images of the artist idle. Mott has identified the artist as Thomas Nast (see note 71 above).

I wish to thank Dr. Joy Sperling, Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History at the University of Iowa, for her encouraging comments and multitude of helpful suggestions on the content and style of the paper.

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