

## Boston Cityscapes and the 'Black Albums' Part II

By Ron Polito

This essay expands on a sidebar written to accompany Peter Vanderwarker's article, *Then and Now: Taking a Stand on Architectural Photography*, published in the 2017 *Journal of New England Photographic History*, Issue 175. That sidebar briefly introduced five known copies of an early twentieth-century scrapbook style album, with each black paper page containing a tipped-in photograph of nineteenth-century Boston.

The photographers are not identified, but some images are almost certainly the work of Josiah Johnson Hawes; a few possibly by the firm of Southworth & Hawes. The Boston Athenaeum and the Boston Public Library own two copies of the album each; the fifth (#5), from this author's collection, is reproduced following this discussion.<sup>1</sup> [Click [here](#) to view the album, with an easy return to this place in the text after the last photograph in the album (Article Page 66).]

The five albums are unique, not only for their current rarity (it is genuinely hoped others will come to light), but also what they reveal about Boston and the emergence of urban photography in the nineteenth century. As Peter Bacon Hales points out in *Silver Cities*:

*Between 1839 and 1939, many photographers took the city as their subject. Their vision of the city became the heritage of modern America. Offering not simply facts but information, they were cultural messengers, and their messages reflected and defined how Americans saw their cities. More important, they assisted in the process by which American culture adjusted to its urbanization.*<sup>2</sup>

While the albums illustrate this movement, they also raise difficult questions: How many of the views can be firmly attributed to Hawes, or Southworth & Hawes? And who created these "scrapbooks"?

They appear to have been assembled at slightly different times in the early twentieth century. They look back over a rapidly changed Boston and may well have been sold in a turn-of-the-twentieth century souvenir or print shop. Architectural authority, Stephen Jerome, notes:

*The album definitely looks to be of a souvenir nature, reflecting the antiquarian and Colonial Revival movements following the Philadelphia Centennial fair.<sup>3</sup> That it includes the National Peace Jubilee Coliseum of 1869 is intriguing (**figure 1**). Perhaps it best represents the relatively short life of many of the other subject buildings that survived the Great Fire, only to fall victim to the rising real estate values by the late 1800s? It can be argued that the cityscape changed much more dramatically between 1850 and 1900 than during the stagnant decades between the Depression and Urban Renewal, and such albums must have been appealing to those who lived through the vast changes.<sup>4</sup>*



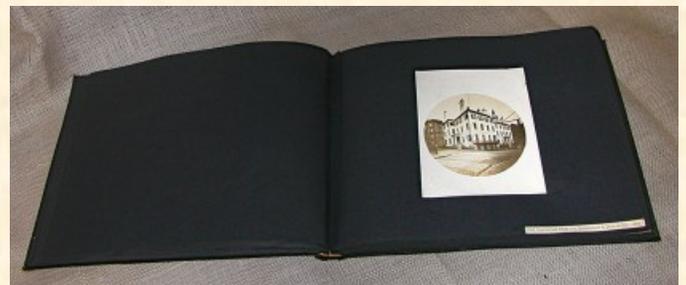
**Figure 1.** Album Photograph 11: “Peace Jubilee, 1869.” (Collection of the author.)

Each cloth-covered album measures 10 ¼ x 12 ¼ inches and uses nearly the same photographs of Boston streets and buildings, with an occasional image unique to an individual copy. They appear to be silver gelatin prints, most nominally 5 x 7 inches, some larger; many are faded and exhibit silvering on their surface (**figures 2 and 3**).

**Figures 2 and 3.** Album cover and a representative page. (Collection of the author.)

The images are presented one to a page, and with few exceptions, each page has a crudely-printed/hand-cut caption pasted in the lower right corner.<sup>5</sup> These captions describe the view and date the photograph; at times they are grammatically inconsistent and contain factual errors.<sup>6</sup> The dates provided range between 1856 in all albums to 1900 in one album; most fall between 1857 and 1869.

Two albums are almost identical in the sequence of photographs; the order in the other three varies significantly. For those interested, Appendix A provides in a more detailed summary of the difference and commonality between scrapbooks and some thoughts on who may have assembled them. [Click [here](#) to see Appendix A, with an easy return to this place in the text.]



### **How Many ‘Black Album’ Photographs Can Be Attributed to J. J. Hawes or Southworth & Hawes?**

With few exceptions, all images in the five albums are the work of accomplished photographers. A number of institutional collections have identical scenes, varying in size and process, but with varying attribution. For the same image, some collections firmly credit either Hawes or the firm, Southworth & Hawes; some demure by using “attributed to”; many more are silent on the subject.

The largest repository of confirmed images by Hawes is at the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. PHSNE member and the library’s retired archivist, Allan Goodrich, indicates the collection contains more than 800 glass negatives and some prints; many of these images are cityscapes. Unfortunately, the collection is not readily accessible and does not have a finding aid.<sup>7</sup> It was beyond the scope of this article to compare the Black Album photographs to that collection.

Of the major online collections, the Bostonian Society’s *Street Collection* has the greatest number of images matching those in the album presented here — forty-five out of fifty — but only a few are identified as either Hawes or Southworth & Hawes. The online collections for the Boston Public Library and the Boston Athenaeum follow a similar pattern<sup>8</sup> (table 1).

**Table 1.** Album #5 has forty-nine photographs by unidentified photographers and one photographic copy of an 1802 lithograph.

Online Collection	Number of Matches Identified as J. J. Hawes	Number of Matches Identified as Southworth & Hawes
Bostonian Society	7	0
Boston Public Library	5	2
Boston Athenaeum	2	1

Photographs in Album #5 identified in collections as either J. J. Hawes or Southworth & Hawes. (The black numbers in the cells refer to the chronological order of the photographs in the album. The numbers, in blue, refer to the page number in this article where the images may be viewed.)

Bostonian Society	Hawes: #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 18, 27 Southworth & Hawes: none Page #16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 34, 43	
Boston Public Library	Hawes: #18, 23, 24, 26, 27 Page #34, 39, 40, 42, 43	Southworth & Hawes: #1, 10 #16, 26
Boston Athenaeum	Hawes: #10, 47 Page #26, 63	Southworth & Hawes: #1 #16

It should be noted that five of the photographs identified above are presented in a circular format: numbers 18, 23, 24, 26, and 27, a style closely associated with Hawes. In her seminal book, *The Legacy of Josiah Johnson Hawes*, Rachel Homer reproduces one hundred of his Boston cityscapes; ninety are circular.<sup>9</sup>

In total, only twelve of the fifty photographs in the Album #5 are firmly credited by online sources to Hawes or the firm of Southworth & Hawes, but some of the uncredited photographs matching the Bostonian Society’s collection, and other archives, may be their work as well. To some degree, the lack of conclusive attribution for many of the same city scenes across institutional collections can be attributed to Hawes’ lengthy career, and the disposition of his photographs and negatives after his death.

Hawes joined the firm of A. S. Southworth and Joseph Pennell in 1843. Pennell left that year, and the firm became Southworth & Hawes until Southworth left photography in 1861. Hawes continued as an active photographer under his own name until shortly before his death on August 7, 1901.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to traditional studio work during these fifty-eight years, Hawes continued to photograph Boston scenes and sell prints. Homer speculates:

*These photographs of buildings, like [his] portraits, were probably commissioned by their owners. An awaking interest in history may have stimulated the demand for prints. In an advertisement for the studio which appeared in the Boston directories for the years 1865-1870 the prints were offered for sale to the public. They were used as a basis for engravings and etchings, which were cheaply and widely distributed.*<sup>11</sup>

An excerpt from the 1865 advertisement reads:

*Photographs of every description, in the perfection of the art... Particular attention to Views of Scenery, Villas, Public Buildings, or Private Residences.*<sup>12</sup>

In his revealing essay, *Southworth and Hawes: The Studio Collection*, Ken Appollo writes:

*At various times during his long life, Josiah Hawes claimed to be the custodian of as many as 20,000 daguerreotypes and 40,000 glass negatives. To be sure, he was determined and single-minded in his preservation of these materials. Copying his old photographs was part of his trade.*

*... Exactly what happened in 1901, when the studio was closed, is uncertain. In all probability, decisions regarding what to keep and what not to keep were made in stages, and at first the bulk of the studio contents was removed to a family storehouse of unknown location and to the family home at 90 Bay State Road [Boston].*<sup>13</sup>

Appollo continues with a fascinating and detailed account of the collection's somewhat tortuous deaccession over the next eighty years. In summary:

*The careful reader will have noted that there is a discrepancy between the tens of thousands of daguerreotypes and negatives that Josiah Hawes claimed were in his studio collection and the approximately 1,400 daguerreotypes and 800 negatives traced to their present custodians. ...The following speculations are based primarily on bits and pieces gleaned from the George Eastman House manuscript materials and ten years of field research.*

*1. Josiah Hawes traded and sold pieces of his collection during his lifetime. He corresponded with photography collectors, including other professional photographers and academics.*

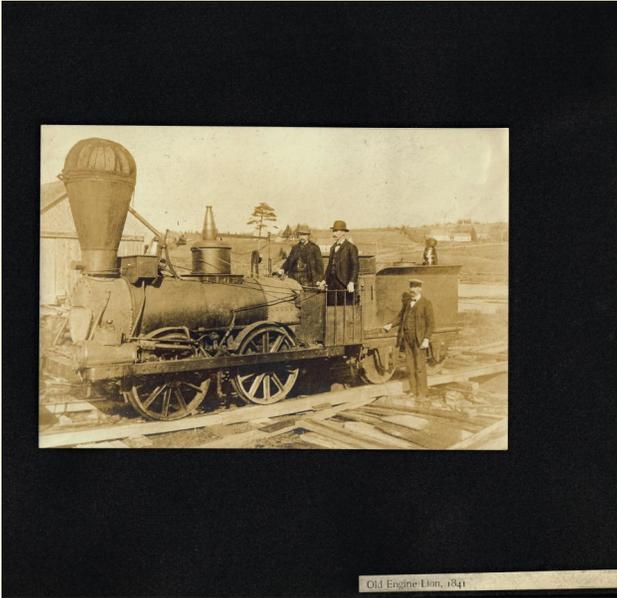
*2. Hawes gave photographs away.*

*3. He may have reused old plates during his daguerreian revival period in the 1890s. [Author's note: There is evidence that Hawes may have made glass copy negatives of some plates in order to make paper photographs in subsequent years.]*<sup>14</sup>

*4. The present location of Albert Southworth's personal photographs and his share of the studio collection, if he or his heir in fact claimed a share, is unknown.*

5. *The records of Holman's Print Shop regarding the final fate of the studio collection following the death of Edward Southworth Hawes [Josiah Hawes' son, in November 1942] are incomplete, nonexistent, and/or unknown at this writing.*<sup>15</sup> [Author's note: As noted in endnote 7, a significant amount of the print shop's holdings eventually went to the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston.]

The reluctance of institutions to credit Hawes or Southworth & Hawes as the photographers of many surviving nineteenth-century Boston views is quite understandable, given the uncertain provenance of their work. Unfortunately, this means the majority of the images in the Black Album presented here remain uncredited at this time<sup>16</sup> — save the last image, #50, “Old Engine Lion, 1841” — and even that carries a high degree of speculation (**figure 4**).



**Figure 4.** Album Photograph 50: “Old Engine Lion 1841. (Collection of the author.)

What is certain is that this image was not made in 1841, as the caption indicates; rather, the clothing of the men shown strongly suggests the 1890s. Indeed, the Bowler hat wasn't created until 1849 in England, and later became a popular and enduring style in the United States.<sup>17</sup>

The 1841 date likely refers, somewhat incorrectly, to the Lion's date of manufacture. The Nashua [NH] & Lowell [MA] Railroad used a presumably English-made locomotive of that name, ca. 1836.<sup>18</sup> An American-made Lion was completed by Hinkley & Drury of Boston in 1843 and put into service on Maine's Whitneyville & Machiasport line, although some sources set the date at 1846.<sup>19</sup> The Machiasport engine still exists and is on display at the Maine State Museum in Augusta, but a widely-cast research net could not confirm it is the engine shown in Album #5, and sources exist favoring both railroads.

The least convincing of these is that album photograph #50 appears in the *Portland [ME] Press Herald* on April 3, 1934. The caption reads in part: *This one was known as “The Lion” and was part of the old Boston and Worcester railway in Massachusetts.*<sup>20</sup>

More enticing, and perhaps with a bit more authority, is an article that appeared in the December 14, 1897, edition of the *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier*. Sadly not illustrated, the report details the history of the Whitneyville & Machiasport Railroad, with considerable description of the Lion, much of which matches the visual detail shown in photograph #50.

The article ends with:

*The “Lion” and the “Tiger,” which weigh with tender about nine tons each, were recently purchased together with the strap iron and spikes of the road, by Thomas Towle, Portland, Me. Whether these engines will be broken up or preserved as keepsakes is not known ...and before they were taken away photographs of them were secured by Albee Bros., of Machias. These gentlemen were kept busily engaged several days making duplicates to supply those in this vicinity who were desirous or retaining a memento of the past.*

While very tempting to attribute album photograph #50 to the Albee Brothers, no photographs of the Lion can be firmly credited to them, despite the report that many copies were made. In addition, the mid-December *Herald* article hints the “Lion” and the “Tiger” were recently photographed; yet all deciduous trees in the image still have their leaves.

### **The Influence of Southworth & Hawes on Urban Photography**

While most photographers in the Black Albums remain anonymous, the pioneering work by Southworth or Hawes in urban photography almost certainly provided a standard and style for their contemporaries to follow.

In 1847, the firm entered a massive twelve-foot long panorama of Boston into the fifth exhibition of the prestigious Massachusetts Mechanic Charitable Association. Composed of daguerreotype plates, now presumed lost,<sup>21</sup> the work was apparently well-received, and although the judges’ report does not mention it, Southworth & Hawes — masters of marketing — quickly integrated its accolades into their advertising.

*TWO SILVER MEDALS,  
AS FIRST PREMIUMS, AWARDED TO  
SOUTHWORTH & HAWES,  
No. 5 1/2 Tremont Row,  
For the best Daguerreotypes and for the best Daguerreotype Plates.*

*A CARD,—Our friends and patrons will be gratified with the announcement of the Committee of the Fair, that we EXCEL in our art, and that TWO PREMIUMS for the BEST work are awarded us. It is universally admitted, that there has never been such a competition by Daguerreotypists.*

*The public, with unanimous voice, pronounced our pictures the best they ever saw. Professor B. Silliman, Jr. complimented us on the perfection and size of our Portraits and copies, and particularly the perfection of our Instruments, as beyond what he had supposed attained by any, and the President of the Association said repeatedly respecting our twelve feet Panorama of Boston and vicinity, that it was, to him, the most interesting of anything in the Exhibition.*  
[Author’s emphasis]

*Such testimonials from such sources, and also others as worthy, too numerous to particularize, from Artists, Amateurs, and the Scientific, are in the highest degree flattering, and shall stimulate us to still greater efforts. We thank the public for their attention and our friends and patrons for their encouragement. To the Editors who gave us extended notices we feel under obligations, for they were unsolicited.*

*We again invite all lovers of the Fine Arts, and all interested to call at our Exhibition Room, and examine some of the best, specimens, and the greatest variety to which Daguerreotype has ever been applied.<sup>22</sup>*

The five paper prints, dated 1857, that open the Black Album presented here also display panoramic views of Boston and are credited by the Bostonian Society to J. J. Hawes; all appear to be taken from the cupola of the Massachusetts State House. Architectural authority Stephen Jerome notes two of the buildings in photograph #1 (“Back Bay, 1857”) were built post-1847, so

this series appears to be a new venture for Hawes, perhaps modeled after the 1847 panorama.<sup>23</sup> Two similar views in the album, by still-anonymous photographers taken later in the century, closely follow these five. (photographs #6 and #8) The photograph numbers below refer to the chronological order in the album. The numbers in blue refer to the page number in this document where the image may be viewed.

- Photograph #1 (page 16) “Back Bay, 1857” [looking West]
- Photograph #2 (page 17) “View from the State House looking South West, 1857”
- Photograph #3 (page 18) “View from the State House looking South, 1857”
- Photograph #4 (page 19) “View from the State House looking south east, 1857”
- Photograph #5 (page 20) “View from the State House looking North West, 1857”
- Photograph #6 (page 21) “Back Bay, 1869”
- (Photograph #7 Photograph of an 1802 lithograph of the Boston skyline)
- Photograph #8 (page 23) “Back Bay, 1890 “

These seven panoramic views (1-6 and 8) follow the same order in the other four scrapbooks. But a unique photograph further into one of the Boston Athenaeum’s albums appears to use the viewpoint of photograph #1, but is dated, in hand, 1900 (figures 5 and 6).



**Figure 5.** Album Photograph 1: “Back Bay view, 1857.” (Collection of the author.)

**Figure 6.** Back Bay view, A.D. 1900. (Courtesy of The Boston Athenaeum.)

Given his advanced age, it is unlikely J. J. Hawes made this 1900 view, and perhaps photograph #8, the one dated 1890 — although a nationally circulated 1898 newspaper article reports:

*Josiah Johnson Hawes, the oldest working photographer in this country, and possibly the world, celebrated his ninetieth birthday. ...Mr. Hawes is still vigorous and attends to all the details of trade.*<sup>24</sup>

In the end, while the photographers whose work populates these Black Albums are largely anonymous, Peter Bacon Hales provides an interesting lens through which to view their work:

*The Boston firm of Southworth and Hawes was perhaps the master of the urban view in the daguerreian era. In some ways, the two partners defined the “artistic”*

*daguerreotype, not as an advertising tool but as a separate category of daguerreian practice. Yet they were also commercial entrepreneurs for whom the rhetoric of artistry translated into a stellar reputation and a steady stream of customers.*

*...Southworth & Hawes used, adapted, and created distribution mechanisms [for their photographs] in order to celebrate their city, and by extension, the urban future, to local and national audiences.*

*.... But their microcosm revealed only the best of Boston, only the monuments, and symbols of its residents' idealized self-image. In some sense, Southworth and Hawes set an important precedent, for they suggested that the most successful role the photographer could take within his urban culture was that of celebrant.<sup>25</sup>*

[As noted previously, to view the facsimile of Album #5, click [here](#). For a summary of the differences and commonality between the five albums, along with some thoughts on who may have assembled them, see Appendix A, next page.]

## **Acknowledgements**

The initial research into the five known copies of the Black Albums began in 2006, when Sally Pierce, now curator emerita of Prints and Photographs at the Boston Athenaeum; Aaron Schmidt, of the Print Department at the Boston Public Library; and this author met to compare albums and share thoughts about them. Some progress was made, but life intervened, and the project was shelved.

In 2017, Peter Vanderwarker's article on the re-creation of J. J. Hawes' circular view of Colonnade Row motivated this author to continue the research. The article above, still with many unresolved questions, could not have gone this far without the extensive help and support of many, including:

Sarah Dunbar, education associate at The Bostonian Society, Boston, Massachusetts, for extensive digging, broadly and deeply, into the Society's collections.

John Felix, for his insightful proofreading of this text.

Allan Goodrich, for information regarding the Hawes Collection at the John F. Kennedy Library.

Stephen Jerome, independent scholar, for his valuable insights into Boston architectural history.

Whitey Morange for his careful tweaking of the album's photographs; presenting them in their best possible light and Bonnie Regelman for designing this online article.

Sally Pierce, curator emerita of Prints and Photographs at the Boston Athenaeum, Boston Massachusetts, for her work on the Black Albums before and during the 2006 phase of this project.

Aaron Schmidt, Print Department, Boston Public Library, for both his 2006 and current insights.

Catharina Slautterback, curator emerita of Prints and Photographs at the Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts; her extensive knowledge of Boston history and of the Athenaeum's holdings was indispensable.

And by no means last, the curators of railroad history and the railroad enthusiasts who responded in numbers to my shotgun-like request for information on the “Old Engine Lion”: Marc Belanger; Eileen Herring, Nashua (NH) Historical Society; Michael Hoyt, author of *Images from the Past: Machias Area, Vol.2, Glass Plate Negatives by John H. Wooster and Albee Brothers*; Nelson Lawry; Adrian Levesque; Natalie Liberace, Maine State Museum, Augusta, Maine; Rick Nowell, Boston & Maine Railroad Historical Society at the Center for Lowell History, Lowell, Massachusetts, and especially Desiree Butterfield-Nagy, Special Collections Department at the Raymond H. Folger Library, University of Maine, Orono.

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## **Appendix A**

[To return to the main text, click [here](#).]

### **Comparison of the Black Albums and Speculation on their Creation**

Before a summary comparison of these five albums, it may be worth some speculation on who created these works, and for what purpose. If the identity of the photographers represented is murky, who assembled the albums — and presumably sold them — is even more uncertain.

It is known that Hawes sold prints and traded his work during his career. It is most unlikely he allowed others to make copies of negatives and prints, but given the quantity of his work in circulation, it would have been easy for others to reproduce his photographs.

The Bostonian Society has at least four 14 x 18-inch glass-plate negatives in their collection, which match the images in Album #5: photographs #2, #3, #4 (pages 17, 18, & 19 in this document), and a slight variant of #4. Each appears to be a dry-plate copy of an original collodion negative. The provenance for these plates is not recorded, so it is not known if they were made by Hawes later in life or by another photographer.<sup>26</sup>

Given the similarity of the albums and the photographs they contain, it seems unlikely they were made to order. It is more probable they were assembled for sale in a souvenir or print shop. The unprofessionally printed captions and use of slightly different blank albums suggest only few albums were made at a time, and possibly over a period of time. As noted earlier, they may have been a market response to the antiquarian and Colonial Revival movement, in vogue at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>27</sup>

Also noted earlier, all five albums seem to be early twentieth-century constructions. The photographs appear to be some variant of the silver gelatin process and glued directly to black, slightly textured pages popular in scrapbooks of the time. The blank, cloth-covered albums were supplied by the Housh Company of Boston, a major manufacturer of albums from at least the early 1900s well into the twentieth century.

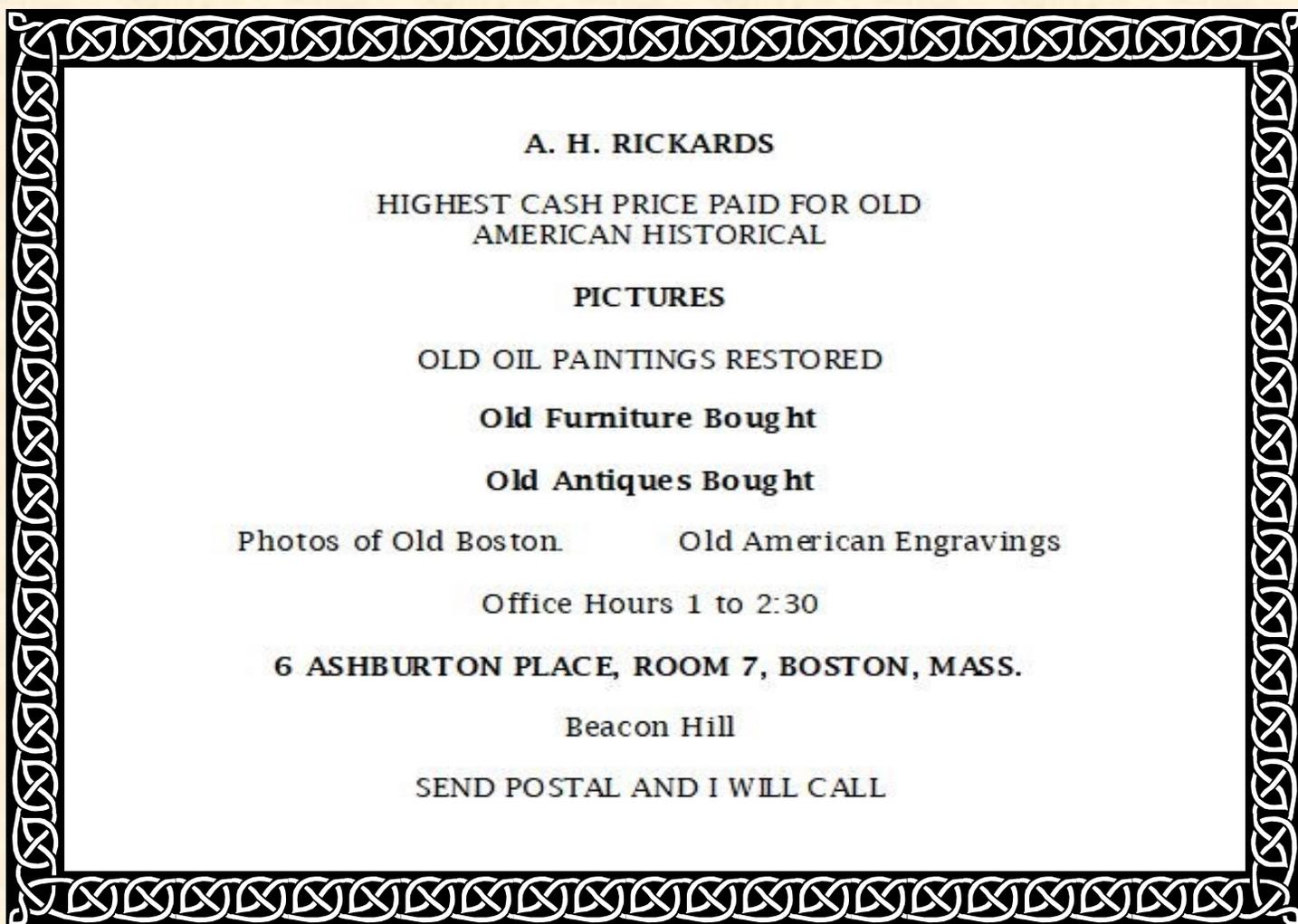
The last caption date for an image appearing in all albums is 1888. Three other albums, including #5, have a photograph dated 1890, and one Boston Athenaeum album has a photograph dated 1900, again indicating the albums may not have been created at the same time. There were certainly a number of shops in Boston selling prints and photographs between 1895 and 1910, and an average of four per year listed themselves specifically as photo publishers in the city directories.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to this array of possible vendors, the odd errors of identifying locations in the photograph captions (detailed later) raises the possibility these albums were created by someone unfamiliar with Boston, or even some distance from it. There is, however, one name worth noting here — Alfred H. Rickards — if for nothing else than the need for further research.<sup>29</sup>

In January 1907, Rickards, a Boston antique and picture dealer, sold the Boston Athenaeum, a large group of photographs displaying Boston buildings and streets. Most are albumen prints, and while varying in size, many are large, nominally 10 x 14 inches on 11 x 16-inch mounts.

Some of the large views were photographed by Rickards and bear his copyright. The others are unidentified, but twenty-seven match photographs in the Album #5, and thirty-two match photographs in one of the Athenaeum Black Albums. Catharina Slutterback, former curator of prints and photographs, has also noted similarity between the handwritten captions on the large prints purchased from Rickards and the printed captions in the five albums.<sup>30</sup>

Rickards first appears in the 1897 and 1898 Boston city directory resident listings, but no occupation is listed. He does not appear in the 1899 or 1900 directories, but from 1901 to 1910, his occupation is listed either as "Pictures," or "Pictures and Frames," and from 1908 to 1910 he ran the following advertisement. (There is no listing for Rickards after 1910.)<sup>31</sup>  
[Note: The border below is not original to the advertisement.]



**A. H. RICKARDS**  
HIGHEST CASH PRICE PAID FOR OLD  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
PICTURES  
OLD OIL PAINTINGS RESTORED  
**Old Furniture Bought**  
**Old Antiques Bought**  
Photos of Old Boston.      Old American Engravings  
Office Hours 1 to 2:30  
**6 ASHBURTON PLACE, ROOM 7, BOSTON, MASS.**  
Beacon Hill  
SEND POSTAL AND I WILL CALL

## A Comparison of the Five Black Albums

In the discussion that follows, the following conventions are used:

**Athenaeum #1** refers to the Boston Athenaeum's "*Old Boston Album*" #UT.9 B64B6 (no. 2), donated by Mrs. E. Sturgis Hines.

**Athenaeum #2** refers to the Boston Athenaeum's "*Old Boston Album*" #UT.9 B64B6 (no. 1), donated by Mrs. Walter Muir Whitehill.

**BPL #1** refers to the first uncatalogued Boston Public Library copy, donated by Mrs. Winslow Warren.

**BPL #2** refers to the second uncatalogued Boston Public Library copy, also donated by Mrs. Winslow Warren.

**Album #5** refers to the album reproduced here.

- All albums are black cloth-covered and bound, with black-paper pages. Covers measure 10 1/4 x 12 1/4 inches; pages 10 x 11 3/4 inches.
- All albums were manufactured by The Housh Company, a major supplier of scrapbooks, albums, and mounts from at least the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. They advertised heavily in photographic magazines and stationery publications.
- Each album carries a Housh label; the printed text reads "The Housh Company, Boston, Massachusetts," along with an ink-stamped style number. Four albums use style "1012-60:" Athenaeum #2 reads "1012."
- The size of the photographs within each album varies, nominally from 4 1/4 x 5 7/8 to 7 1/2 x 9 1/4 inches. The most common size throughout all albums is approximately 5 x 7 inches.
- All albums use the same photographs, with a few exceptions; however, the order of images within albums differs. Athenaeum #1 and BPL #1 are almost identical; Athenaeum #2 and Album #5 are slightly mixed.
- Many of the large-format photographs purchased by the Athenaeum from Alfred H. Rickards in 1907 (see above) match the photographs in other albums. The twenty-seven matches for Album # 5 are photographs: 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25-28, 31-33, 36, 38, 40, and 43-49. (In this document, pages [16](#), [18](#), [19](#), [26](#), [27](#), [31](#), [33](#), [35](#), [36](#), [38](#), [41-44](#), [47-49](#), [52](#), [54](#), [56](#), and [59-65](#)).
- For other elements of comparison, see **Table 1**.

**Table 1.**

	<b>Album #5</b>	<b>Athenaeum #1</b>	<b>Athenaeum #2</b>	<b>BLP #1</b>	<b>BPL #2</b>
Number of <b>images</b> in each album.	50	50	56 (51 captioned, 1 blank page, 5 uncaptioned)	50	51
Number of <b>photographs</b> in each album, excluding photo of 1802 lithograph in all albums and a photo of uncaptioned engraving in Atheneaum #2.	49	49	54	49	50
Range of caption dates in each album, excluding incorrect date of 1841 for the "Old Engine Lion" photograph.	1856-1890	1856-1900	1856-1890	1856-1888	1856-1890
Number of caption dates between 1857 and 1869, excluding incorrect date of 1841 for the "Old Engine Lion" photograph.	43	44	42	44	43

Finally, the following examples from Album #5 illustrate the inconsistencies in the crudely printed and unevenly cut captions pasted in the lower right corner of the album pages. As before, the photograph numbers refer to the chronological order in the album. The numbers in blue refer to the page number in this document where the image may be viewed.

Compass direction generally, but not always, given in uppercase:

Photograph #2 (page 17) "View from State House looking South West, 1857"

Photograph #4 (page 19) "View from State House looking south east, 1857"

Inconsistent use of capital letters:

Photograph #12 (page 28) "Side View of Colliseum [sic] in gale, 1869"

Photograph #13 (page 29) "Colliseum [sic] in Gale, 1869"

Inconsistent and incorrect spelling:

Photograph #15 (page 31) "Tremont St., looking North from Elliot [sic] Street, 1869"

Photograph #16 (page 32) "Tremont St., South from Eliot, 1869"

Photograph #39 (page 55) "Tremont Street looking North from Warrington [sic, Warren-ton] St., 1869" [A check of several city street directories, just before and after 1900, do not list a "Warrington Street." The 1868/69 Samson & Murdock Directory indicates that Warren Street has become Warrenton Street. This street does intersect with Tremont.]

Photograph #42 (page 58) "Tremont St. & Hotel Pelham before winding [sic, widening], 1869"

### Inaccurate dating:

Photograph #49 (page 65) “Scollay Square Building, 1859” This image is misdated by some ten years. A search of the Boston city directories for business names on a number of the signs in the photograph reveal 1868 is a more accurate date. Of particular note is the over-the-street banner reading *Dunshee’s New Photograph....*, appearing in the background on the right side of the Scollay building. Edward S. Dunshee operated a photographic studio at 3 Tremont Row and is first listed in the 1868/1869 city directory. Photograph #50 (page 66) “Old Engine Lion, 1841” [Dating issue discussed above.]

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[All links cited below were active as of August 2018]

<sup>1</sup> The two scrapbooks owned by the Boston Athenaeum can be viewed by appointment. Unfortunately, the Boston Public Library’s photographic archive is currently closed to visitors.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Bacon Hales, *Silver Cities: Photographing American Urbanization, 1839-1939, Revised and Expanded* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), inside front cover.

<sup>3</sup> For information on the Colonial Revival Movement, see Briann Greenfield’s article at <https://connecticuthistory.org/the-colonial-revival-movement-sought-stability-during-time-of-change/>

<sup>4</sup> Correspondence with Stephen Jerome, February, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> The few pages without captions likely lost their pasted-in text over time.

<sup>6</sup> For example, photograph #39 (article page #55) is captioned: “Tremont Street looking North from Warrington St., 1869.” Checks of several Boston city street directories just before and after 1869 do not list a Warrington Street. In 1868/69, the Samson & Murdock Directory indicates that Warren Street becomes Warrenton; that street does intersect with Tremont Street. Also, photograph #49 (article page #65), “Scollay Square Building, 1859,” is misdated by some ten years. A search of the Boston city directories for business named on a number of the signs in the photograph reveal 1868 is a more accurate date. Of particular note is the banner over the street reading, *Dunshee’s New Photograph....*, appearing in the background on the right side of the Scollay building. Edward S. Dunshee operated a photographic studio at 3 Tremont Row and is first listed in the 1868/1869 city directory.

<sup>7</sup> In the 1930s and ‘40s, The Holman Print Shop in Boston acted as agents for Josiah Hawes’ heirs, eventually purchasing his negatives and selling prints made from them. In 1977, the shop closed and the negatives soon became the property of Gates & Tripp, who sold prints from their shop in the Faneuil Hall Market. After some years, the collection went to Thomas Lee, who “...in turn donated them to the John F. Kennedy Library, where they represent the richest and perhaps least studied of the Hawes photographic legacy.” (Reference: Ken Appollo, “Southworth & Hawes: The Studio Collection” in *Young America The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes*, edited by Grant B. Romer and Brian Wallis (New York: George Eastman House & International Center for Photography, 2005), pp. 515-520.

As noted in the text of this article, a finding aid for the Kennedy Library collection has not been completed; however, a partial listing of its negatives was assembled by George F. Jacobson in 1961. Titled *A Preliminary Catalog and Index to the Glass Negatives of Josiah J. Hawes (1808-1901), Photographer, now in the possession of The Holman Print Shop, Inc. 8 Tremont Place, Boston 8, Massachusetts*; a copy of this document is at the Boston Athenaeum.

<sup>8</sup> The full holdings of these three institutions may well have other photographs that match those in Album #5. The Print Department at the Boston Public Library is temporarily closed, and the Bostonian Society currently has limited research hours. These factors and the publication deadline for this article did not allow for extensive onsite searches. Rachel Homer, in her 1972 book, *The Legacy of Josiah Johnson Hawes*, writes: *The largest group [of Hawes’ prints] is in the Print Department of the Boston Public Library; some are at the Boston Athenaeum, the Bostonian Society, and the Society for the Preservation of the New England Antiquities [now Historic New England].*

<sup>9</sup> Rachel Homer, editor, *The Legacy of Josiah Johnson Hawes 19<sup>th</sup> Century Photographs of Boston*, (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, 1972).

<sup>10</sup> Ronald Polito, editor; Chris Steele & Ronald Polito, research, *A Directory of Massachusetts Photographers: 1839-1900* (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1993), pp. 74, 123-124.

<sup>11</sup> Homer, editor, *The Legacy of Josiah Johnson Hawes 19<sup>th</sup> Century Photographs of Boston*, p. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>15</sup> Ken Appollo, "Southworth & Hawes: The Studio Collection," in *Young America The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes*, pp. 515-520.
- <sup>14</sup> The Boston Athenaeum owns a whole-plate daguerreotype of Court Street, Boston, ca. 1848; the Boston Public Library has a 8 x 7 ¾-inch paper print of the same scene, dated ca. 1860. For images and details, see:  
The Boston Athenaeum: <http://catalog.bostonathenaeum.org/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=519290>  
The Boston Public Library: <https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:bv73cc85p>
- <sup>15</sup> Ken Appollo, "Southworth & Hawes: The Studio Collection," in *Young America The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes*, pp. 515-520.
- <sup>16</sup> The record for one album in the Boston Athenaeum identifies William Hudson as the photographer of the John Hancock house (1860), photograph #20 in all five albums (here, article page 36). The basis for this attribution is unknown.
- <sup>17</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bowler\\_hat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bowler_hat)
- <sup>18</sup> Frank J. Barrett, Jr., *The Opening of the Railroads and the Creation of White River Junction*, Presentation given at the Northern New England Chapter, Society for Industrial Archeology, June 20, 2015. <http://nec-sia.org/pdf/WRJ%20Railroads.pdf>.
- <sup>19</sup> The 1843 date of manufacture appears in several sources, including the December 14, 1897, edition of the *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* in an article titled, "ALL A 'FREE BLOW.' An Unique Railroad Upon Which No One Paid a Cent of Fare or Said Thanks." The 1846 date also appears in several sources, including the *Old Lion* files held by the Special Collections Department at the Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine, Orono.
- <sup>20</sup> Limited research could not confirm the Boston & Worcester Railroad was a successor to the Nashua & Lowell line. Google searches easily confirm that the Nashua and Lowell became part of Boston & Lowell Railroad, and later the Boston & Lowell became part of the Boston & Maine.
- <sup>21</sup> Grant B. Romer, "A High Reputation with All True Artists and Connoisseurs': The Daguerreian Careers of A. S. Southworth and J. J. Hawes," in *Young America The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes*, edited by Grant B. Romer and Brian Wallis (New York: George Eastman House & International Center for Photography, 2005), p. 51.
- <sup>22</sup> *The Daily Chronotype* (Vol. 4, No. 529, November 9, 1844) from Gary Ewers' online database, *The Daguerreotype: An Archive of Source Texts, Graphics and Ephemera*, <http://www.daguerreotypearchive.org/sitesearch.php>.
- <sup>23</sup> The row-house block on Beacon Street (facing the Public Garden), and 5-7 Walnut Street, visible in the photograph #1 with the four round-topped dormers, behind 1 Joy Street (which appear to be open and/or under construction), date to ca. 1858 according to MACRIS (The Massachusetts Cultural Resource Information System). Correspondence with Stephen Jerome, February, 2018.
- <sup>24</sup> "Personal and General Notes," in *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), March 12, 1888, Issue 47, p. 4.
- <sup>25</sup> Hales, *Silver Cities*, pp. 17, 22-24.
- <sup>26</sup> With much appreciation to Sarah Dunbar, education associate at The Bostonian Society, for her extensive work in locating this material and the provenance that accompanies them.
- <sup>27</sup> Correspondence with Stephen Jerome, February, 2018. For information on the Colonial Revival Movement, see Briann Greenfield's article at <https://connecticuthistory.org/the-colonial-revival-movement-sought-stability-during-time-of-change/>
- <sup>28</sup> Listings for Photograph Publishers from the business sections of the Boston city directory, 1895-1910.
- <sup>29</sup> The possible connection with A. H. Rickards to the five Black Albums was first noted by Sally Pierce when she was curator of Prints and Photographs at the Boston Athenaeum. Subsequent information has been added by Catharina Slautterback, Pierce's successor, and this author.
- <sup>30</sup> Conversation with Catharina Slautterback at the Boston Athenaeum, December 8, 2017.
- <sup>31</sup> Directory list compiled by Renee A. Dansro for the Boston Athenaeum, 1982; modified by Sally Pierce, 2006, and this author, 2017.
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## ***Boston Cityscapes and the “Black Albums”***

**A facsimile of the original album discussed in  
The New England Journal of Album Photographic History,  
Issue 175, 2017**



*Black Album Photograph 1; Article Page 16*

"Back Bay, 1857"



Back Bay, 1857

***Black Album: Photograph 2, Article Page 17***

**“View from State House looking South West, 1857”**



View from State House looking South West, 1857

***Black Album: Photograph 3, Article Page 18***

**“View from State House looking South, 1857”**



View from State House looking South, 1857

***Black Album: Photograph 4, Article Page 19***

**“View from State House looking south east, 1857”**



View from State House looking south east, 1857

*Black Album: Photograph 5, Article Page 20*

“View from State House looking North West, 1857”



View from State House looking North West, 1857

*Black Album: Photograph 6, Article Page 21*

“Back Bay, 1869”



Back Bay, 1869

**Black Album: Photograph 7, Article Page 22**

**“Boston from South Boston Bridge, 1802”**



Boston from South Boston Bridge, 1802

*Black Album: Photograph 8, Article Page 23*

“Back Bay, 1890”



Back Bay, 1890

***Black Album: Photograph 9, Article Page 24***  
**"Public Garden, 1857"**



Public Garden, 1857

The Boston Athenaeum has identified the two men in this photograph as Oliver Wendell Homes (left) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (right). See detail, next page.

*Black Album: Photograph 9 (detail), Article Page 25*



Oliver Wendell Holmes, on left; Ralph Waldo Emerson, on right

*Black Album: Photograph 10, Article Page 26*

**“Park Street from State House, 1857”**



Park Street from State House, 1857

*Black Album: Photograph 11, Article Page 27*

“Peace Jubilee, 1869”



Peace Jubilee, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 12, Article Page 28*

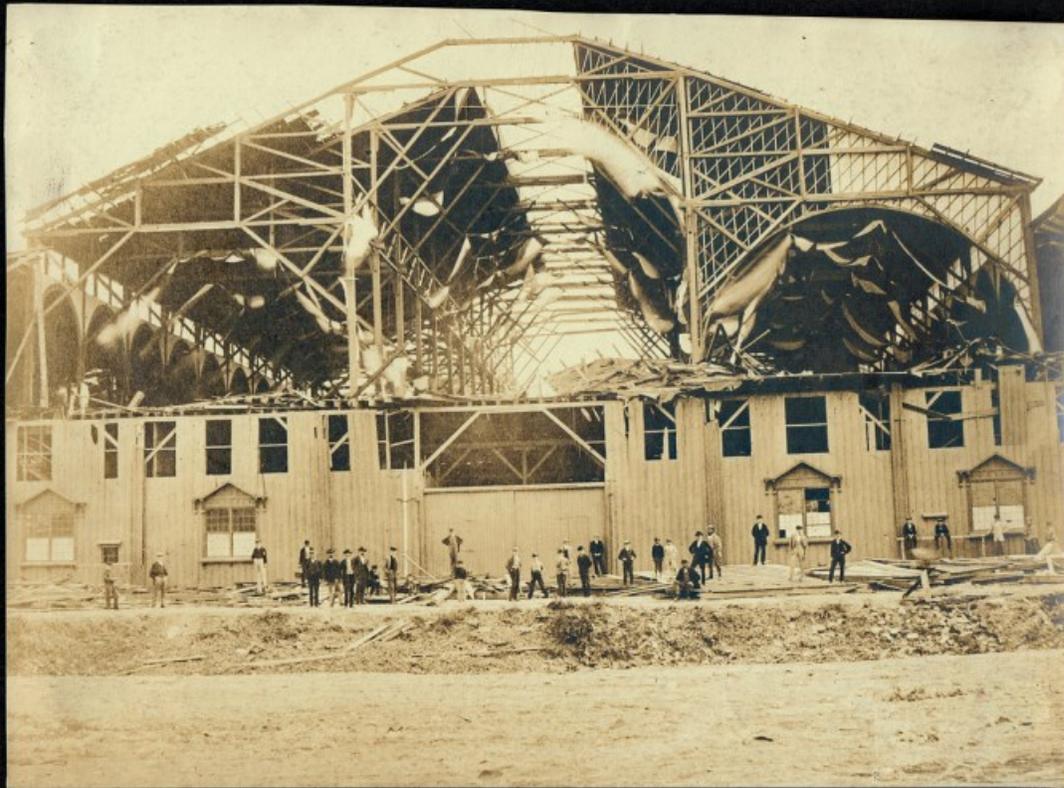
“Side View of Colliseum [sic] in gale, 1869”



Side View of Colliseum in gale, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 13, Article Page 29*

“Colliseum in Gale, Sept. 8, 1869”



Colliseum in Gale, Sept. 8, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 14, Article Page 30*

“Cockerel Church, Hanover St., 1869”



Cockerel Church, Hanover St., 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 15, Article Page 31*

“Tremont St., looking North from Elliot Street, 1869”



Tremont St., looking North from Elliot Street, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 16, Article Page 32*

“Tremont St., South from Eliot, 1869”



Tremont St., South from Eliot, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 17, Article Page 33*

“Tremont House, looking north west, 1857”



Tremont House, looking north west, 1857

***Black Album: Photograph 18, Article Page 34***

**“Providence Depot and Park Sq., 1859”**



Providence Depot and Park Sq., 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 19, Album Page 35*

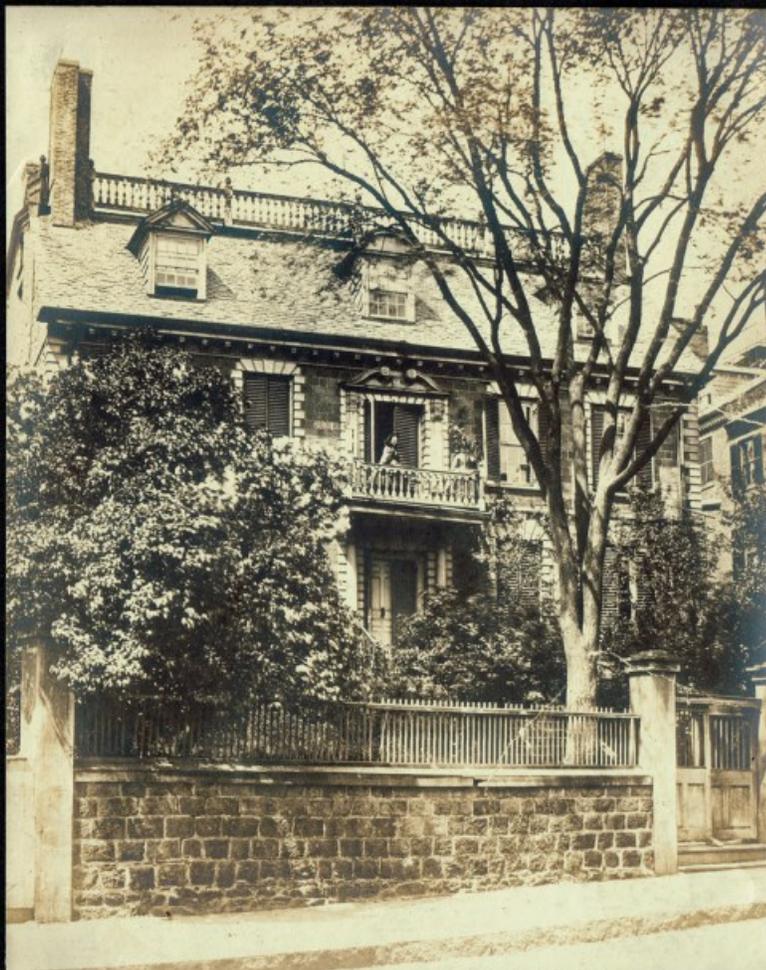
“Bromfield Inn, Bromfield Street, 1860”



Bromfield Inn, Bromfield Street, 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 20, Article Page 36*

“John Hancock House, 1860”



John Hancock House, 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 21, Article Page 37*

“State Street, 1888”



State Street, 1888

*Black Album: Photograph 22, Article Page 38*

“Old State House, 1858”



Old State House, 1858

*Black Album: Photograph 23, Article Page 39*

“Brattle Sq. and Church, 1859”



Brattle Sq. and Church, 1859

***Black Album: Photograph 24, Article Page 40***

**“Temple Place, showing steps at end near Wash. St., 1859”**



Temple Place, showing steps at end near Wash. St., 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 25, Article Page 41*

“Corner of Court & Tremont Sts., 1856”



Corner of Court & Tremont Sts., 1856

*Black Album: Photograph 26, Article Page 42*

“Adams House, 1859”



Adams House, 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 27, Article Page 43*

“Old Summerset Club cor. Summerset & Beacon Sts., 1860”



Old Summerset Club cor. Summerset & Beacon Sts., 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 28, Article Page 44*

**“Washington Street South from Milk Street, 1857”**



Washington Street South from Milk Street, 1857

*Black Album: Photograph 29, Article Page 45*

“Providence Depot and Park Square, 1857”



Providence Depot and Park Square, 1857

*Black Album: Photograph 30, Article Page 46*

**“Daniel Webster Home, 1859”**



Daniel Webster Home, 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 31, Article Page 47*

**“Tremont House, King’s Chapel & Paddock Elms, 1859”**



Tremont House, King's Chapel & Paddock Elms, 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 32, Article Page 48*

“Old National Theatre, cor. Portland & Travers Sts., 1860”



Old National Theatre, cor. Portland & Travers Sts., 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 33, Article Page 49*

“Howard Street and old Howard Athenaeum 1860”



Howard Street and old Howard Athenaeum 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 34, Article Page 50*

Winthrop House after Fire, 1864”



Winthrop House after Fire, 1864

*Black Album: Photograph 35, Article Page 51*

**“Removal of Hotel Pelham, 1869”**



Removal of Hotel Pelham, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 36, Article Page 52*

**“Exchange Building and Post Office, State St., 1860”**



Exchange Building and Post Office, State St., 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 37, Article Page 53*

“Franklin St. and First Catholic Church in New Eng. 1859”



Franklin St. and First Catholic Church in New Eng. 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 38, Article Page 54*

“Federal Street Church, 1869”



Federal Street Church, 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 39, Article Page 55*

**“Tremont Street looking North from Warrington St., 1869”**



Tremont Street looking North from Warrington St., 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 40, Article Page 56*

**“Water St., 1860”**



Water St., 1860

*Black Album: Photograph 41, Article Page 57*

“Temple Place, South Side, 1865”



Temple Place, South Side, 1865

*Black Album: Photograph 42, Article Page 58*

“Tremont St. & Hotel Pelham before winding, 1869”



Tremont St. & Hotel Pelham before winding, 1869

***Black Album: Photograph 43, Article Page 59***

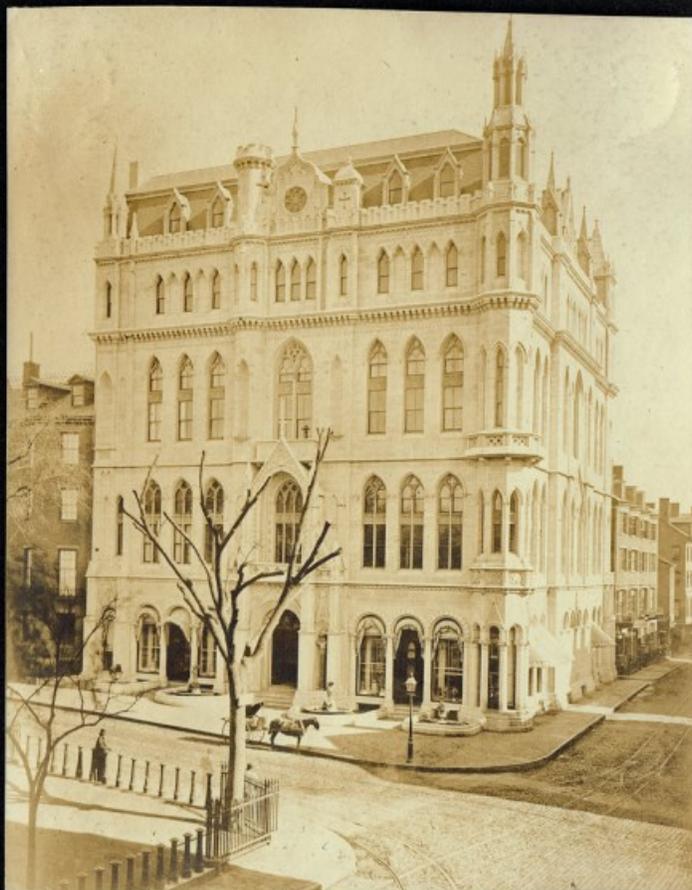
**“U.S. Court, cor. Tremont St., and Temple Place, 1870”**



U. S. Court, cor. Tremont St., and Temple Place, 1870

*Black Album: Photograph 44, Article Page 60*

**“Masonic Temple, 1870”**



Masonic Temple, 1870

*Black Album: Photograph 45, Article Page 61*

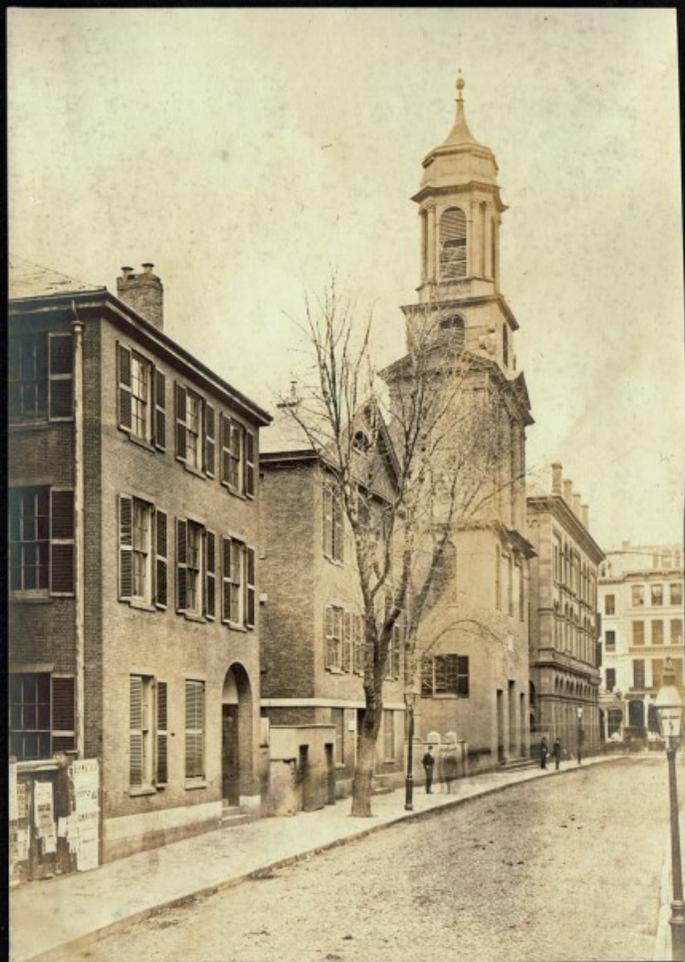
“Water St., cor. Devonshire St., 1860”



Water St., cor. Devonshire St., 1860

***Black Album: Photograph 46, Article Page 62***

**“Chauncy Hall School, Chauncy St. Church, 1860”**



Chauncy Hall School, Chauncy St. Church, 1860

***Black Album: Photograph 47, Article Page 63***

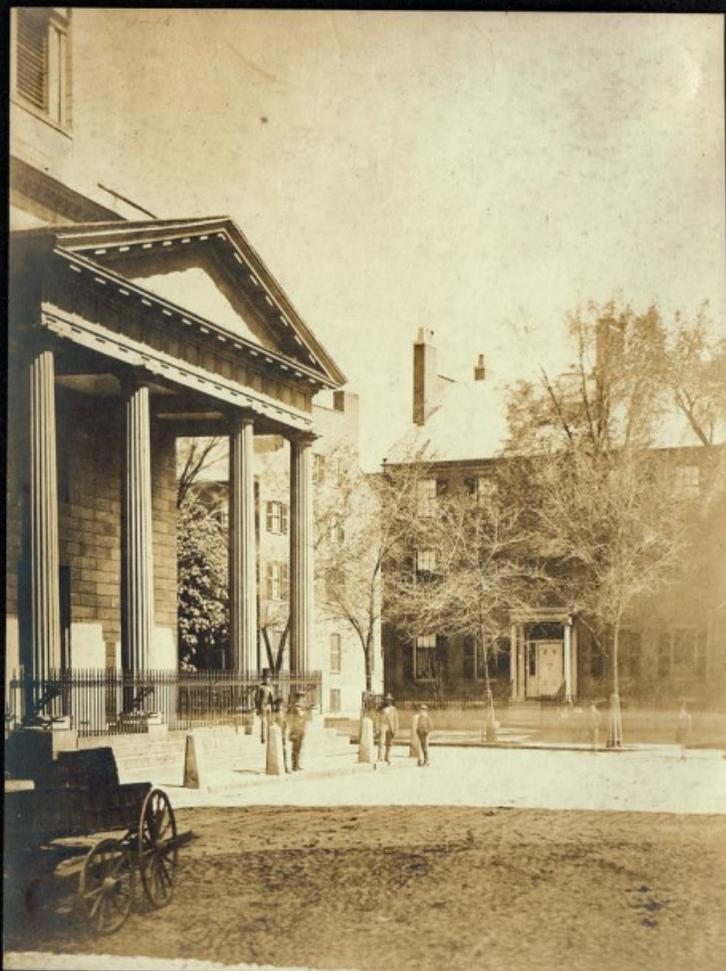
**“Tremont Street, Paddock Elms, 1859”**



Tremont Street, Paddock Elms, 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 48, Article Page 64*

“Church Green, Summer St., 1869”



Church Green, Summer St., 1869

*Black Album: Photograph 49, Article Page 65*

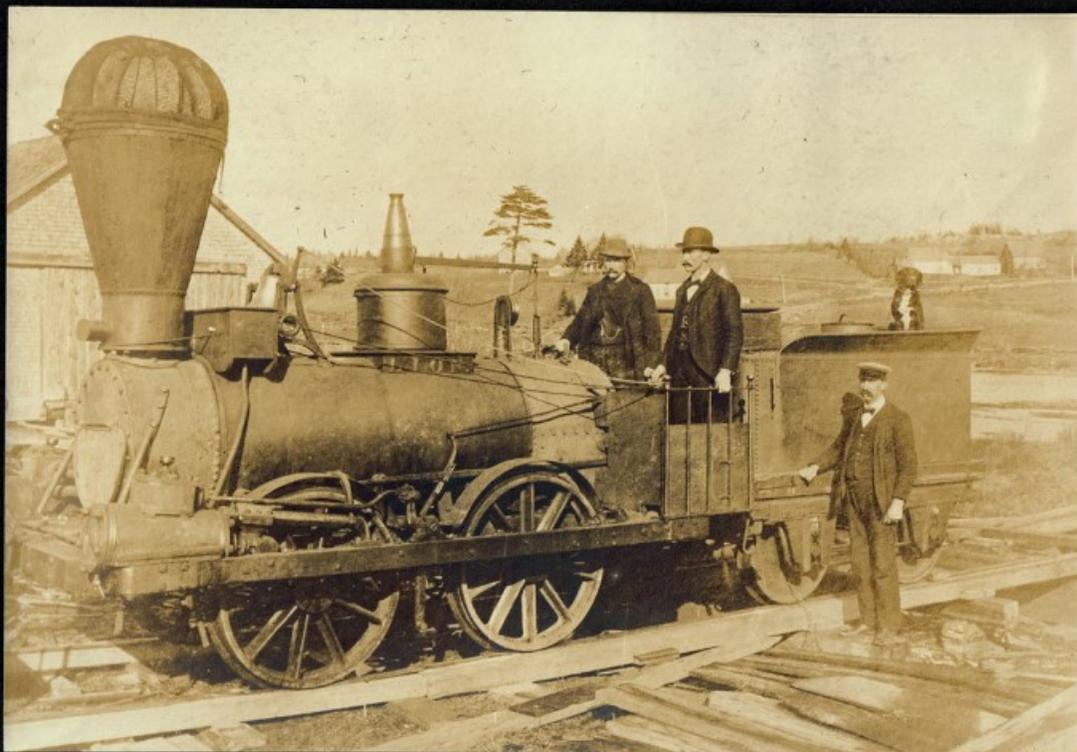
**“Scollay Square Building, 1859”**



Scollay Square Building, 1859

*Black Album: Photograph 50, Article Page 66*

*“Old Engine Lion, 1841”*



Old Engine Lion, 1841

[To return to Article Page 1, click [here](#).]