

*The Shady Side of the Lens: Six Lawbreaking Nineteenth-Century**New Jersey Photographers*

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*While the vast majority of New Jersey photographers in the 1800s were law-abiding, there were exceptions, including six photographers accused of crimes: Gideon C. Angle, Edward W. Blake, Frederick Fearn, Edward R. Stoutenburgh, John C. Tibbels, and Peter Walker. This study examines the lives of these photographers just before and during the Gilded Age. See also additional illustrations at <http://saretzky.com/shadyside>.*

### Introduction

The prototypical nineteenth-century town photographer was someone like Gustavus Pach of Long Branch, an affable solid citizen with a “smiling countenance.”<sup>1</sup> The vast majority of New Jersey photographers in the 1800s were, like Pach, law-abiding and well respected if not as financially successful, but a few transgressed, were caught, and damaged their reputations. To provide a more nuanced understanding of New Jersey life in the Victorian Era, this essay examines six photographers who were accused of crimes that regrettably still occur in the twenty-first century: Gideon C. Angle, Edward W. Blake, Frederick Fearn, Edward R. Stoutenburgh, John C. Tibbels, and Peter Walker.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gary D. Saretzky, “Gustavus W. Pach: A Nineteenth-Century New Jersey Photographer,” *The Daguerreian Annual*, 2021. Cecil, PA: The Daguerreian Society, 2021, 140–159.

<sup>2</sup> Among the few other early New Jersey photographers known to have committed crimes, John Wesley Nichols, 23, of Spring Lake, known as a “Broadway photographer,” was arrested in 1872 with George Francis Train for publishing an obscene paper, the *Train Ligue*, at his studio. Train stated that Nichols had no involvement and tried to plead guilty for publishing obscenities that were direct quotes from the Bible, but the judge ordered a not guilty plea to be entered. The complainant was the famous arbiter of morality, Anthony Comstock. Five issues were published in New York after its suppression in Omaha. It consisted mostly of “Train’s letters of condolence to [Victoria] Woodhull and [her sister Tennessee] Cleflin while in prison, and denunciations of the Bible.” Free love advocates Woodhull and Claflin had been arrested briefly for publishing an obscene newspaper but were released. *New York*

While the primary intent of this study is to shed light on the lives of hitherto obscure New Jersey photographers, this essay also provides examples of crimes just before and during the Gilded Age. Historians of the period who have addressed the issue of crime in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have tended to focus either on prison reform, exemplified by the Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia,<sup>3</sup> or on sensational murders, most notably the assassinations of Presidents Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley.<sup>4</sup> Some New Jersey historians have addressed specific homicide cases, such as that of John Meierhofer in West Orange, for which his wife and a handyman were executed by hanging in 1881, and the lynching of Mingo Jack in Eatontown in 1886.<sup>5</sup> But murder was a relatively uncommon crime in New Jersey compared to other offenses. In 1891, Trenton State Prison reported that of 951 prisoners, 46 were convicted of murder and 24 for manslaughter.<sup>6</sup> By comparison, at least 190 were in prison for various assault charges such as assault and battery, and no less than 172 for grand larceny, larceny, robbery, burglary, and other theft-related crimes. Among those incarcerated in 1891 for crimes committed by the selected

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*Times*, December 21, 12, and December 22, 1872, 8. E. D. Files, a photographer at Henry W. Maynard's gallery in Plainfield, absconded in 1900 with a camera, plateholders, and other paraphernalia, altogether valued at \$100, and \$6 he had collected from a customer. He was arrested on June 2 in New York for larceny and embezzlement after he pawned the equipment for \$10. *Plainfield Courier-News*, June 1, 1900, 1 and June 2, 1900, 1. Born in 1860, Burton W. Beach of Orange was sentenced on January 30, 1905, to two years at Trenton State Prison for false pretenses and was released on October 13, 1906. Inmate Registers, NJ State Prison, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>3</sup> The Fortress Penitentiary, still operating as part of the Trenton State Prison in New Jersey and populated with inmates after four years of construction in 1836, implemented the Pennsylvania System of solitary confinement introduced at Eastern State Penitentiary. Marianna Thomas Architects, *Eastern State Penitentiary Historic Structures Report*, Vol. I, July 21, 1994, 15, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Among general social histories, J. C. Furnas, *The Americans: A Social History of the United States, 1587–1914* (New York: J. C. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 483–484, discussed penal reform but only occasionally mentioned crime in his 928-page book. For murders in the United States, see Roger Lane, *Murder in America: A History* (Columbus, Ohio): Ohio University Press, 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Peter J. Wosh and Patricia L. Schall, *Murder on the Mountain: Crime, Passion, and Punishment in Gilded Age New Jersey* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2022). For seven other murder cases in New Jersey between 1850 and 1900, including that of Mingo Jack (Samuel Johnson) see *Murders in Monmouth*, Monmouth County Archives, 2000 Annual Exhibit, <https://www.monmouthcountyclerk.com/archives/events-exhibits/exhibit-catalogs-2000-current/>. See also James Stone, *The Murder of Mingo Jack: New Jersey's Only Nineteenth Century Lynching* (Bloomington, Indiana: iUniverse, 2020).

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report of the New Jersey State Prison Embracing the Reports of the Joint Committee, Inspectors, Keeper, Supervisor, Clerk, Physician and Moral Instructors for the Year 1891*, 101–105, <http://hdl.handle.net/10929/49079>.

photographers, only three were in prison for passing counterfeit bills and none specifically for embezzlement, although from other evidence, it is likely that a few of those charged with larceny were embezzlers.<sup>7</sup> Without implying that photographers were more or less likely to commit certain crimes than the general population, this study provides examples of such offenses during the latter 1800s.

### **Gideon C. Angle**

Among the photographers considered here, Gideon Calvin Angle, usually found as G. C. Angle or Gideon C. Angle, fell the farthest from grace. Angle was born on March 10, 1834, as the eighth of twelve children to Alem Albertson Angel (1799–1868) and Margaret Vought Hazen (1800–1866) in Paulina, Warren County, New Jersey.<sup>8</sup> He resided in Belvidere and worked as a harness maker, when found by the 1860 U.S. census taker.<sup>9</sup> That year, Belvidere had 1,530 residents, almost 53 percent more than in 1850, just five years after it was incorporated. It had become the Warren County seat in 1825, and its town square featured the courthouse and several churches. Local businesses included large gristmills and sawmills.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to harness making, historian Jay C. Richards found that, in May 1861, Angle also was the sole agent in Warren County for a 500-page book, *The Teachings of Patriots and Statesmen, or The Founders of the Republic on Slavery*. This tome, which included views of

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<sup>7</sup> Between 1850 and 1900, there were 77 cases involving embezzlement processed by the courts in Monmouth County, all 1874 or later. Other Monmouth cases between 1850 and 1900 included assault, 349; assault & battery, 3,720; assault & battery with intent, 87; atrocious assault, 68; adultery, 185; grand larceny, 472; and rape, 31. The totals, which are approximate, include each perpetrator when there was more than one for a crime. Oyer & Terminer/Quarter Sessions database, Monmouth County Archives. <https://www.monmouthcountyclerk.com/archives/record-groups/clerk-of-court-records/quarter-sessions-minute-books-1667-1948/>. The author acknowledges with gratitude the courtesy of Mary Hussey of the Monmouth County Archives for compiling these statistics.

<sup>8</sup> Parents' names and dates from FamilySearch. <https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/details/KLXM-18X>.

<sup>9</sup> Angle is not listed as a harness maker in *Boyd's Business Directory for New Jersey 1860*, so he likely worked for someone else in this profession.

<sup>10</sup> Belvidere Historic District, [https://www.livingplaces.com/NJ/Warren\\_County/Belvidere\\_Town/Belvidere\\_Historic\\_District.html](https://www.livingplaces.com/NJ/Warren_County/Belvidere_Town/Belvidere_Historic_District.html).

political leaders on slavery and related documents, was issued by John Simerson, editor and publisher of the *Warren Journal*. Simerson, a Democrat, averred, “This is a work which every man needs, who wishes to be fully posted upon slavery agitation, from the formation of this government to the present time.”<sup>11</sup> But Angle’s work was not limited to harness making and bookselling. He became one of three Warren County coroners before the Civil War.<sup>12</sup> At that time, the coroner was a political appointment and did not require a medical education. Judging from these varied activities, Angle appears to have been an ambitious young family man. He married his first wife, Margaret Jane Miller (“Maggie”), on July 6, 1859, and on August 25, 1860, they had a young son, Henry, who, since he does not reappear in records, must have died young.<sup>13</sup>

The Civil War began in April 1861 and Angle heeded the call to duty five months later. On September 14, in Philadelphia, he joined Company I, Eleventh Pennsylvania Cavalry, known as Colonel Josiah Harlan’s Light Cavalry, 108th Pennsylvania Volunteers.<sup>14</sup> Attorney Charles W. Buttz raised the company from men in Belvidere, Hope, and Blairstown.<sup>15</sup> Relevant to his harness-making experience, Angle’s rank was listed as “Saddler” and he was known as “Doc” Angle, suggesting that he had an above average education.

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<sup>11</sup> Jay C. Richards, Civil War Warren County, <https://jayrichards-civilwarwarrencounty.blogspot.com/2011/10/october-17-1861-letter-from-gideon.html>. “Sole agent” is based on ads in the *Warren Journal*, according to Richards.

<sup>12</sup> *Boyd’s Business Directory for New Jersey 1860*, 403. Angle and Robert Little and Lawrence L. Mettla are listed as the Warren County coroners in *Boyd’s Business Directory of the State of New Jersey, 1860*, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Boyd\\_s\\_Business\\_Directory\\_of\\_the\\_State\\_of\\_New\\_Jersey/IDRktr7YjaMC?hl=en&gbpv=1&bsq=gideon+c.+angle&dq=gideon+c.+angle&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Boyd_s_Business_Directory_of_the_State_of_New_Jersey/IDRktr7YjaMC?hl=en&gbpv=1&bsq=gideon+c.+angle&dq=gideon+c.+angle&printsec=frontcover). Angle would return to being a county coroner in the 1880s, as discussed below.

<sup>13</sup> New Jersey, U.S., Marriage Records, 1670–1965 for Gideon Calvin Angle and birth of Henry, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). The New Jersey State Archives index to death records does not include Henry, who is not listed in the 1865 New Jersey census with his parents.

<sup>14</sup> U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations Records, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). The record is indexed erroneously in [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com) as Gideon E. [sic] Angle and mentions that Angle had previously served three years in “U.S. Service.” Angle reenlisted on January 1, 1864, in Portsmouth, Virginia. Pennsylvania, U.S., Civil War Muster Rolls, 1860–1869, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>15</sup> Buttz (1837–1913), sometimes found as Butts, was wounded in 1863 and soon resigned. In 1870, he moved to South Carolina and served as a congressman for four months in 1876–1877. In 1878, he moved to North Dakota and was a state representative, 1903–1909.

This inference is supported by his correspondence. About a month after his enlistment, Angle wrote a long, very detailed letter on October 17 to John Simerson about his experiences, which Simerson published in the *Warren Journal*. Angle had been to Washington, DC, and through the kindness of a patent office employee, Dr. Wilson, who had been his schoolteacher in Paulina when Angle was nine years old, he got an excellent tour and saw the uniform that George Washington wore during the American Revolution, the original Declaration of Independence, and other relics. With others, he got a tour of the Capitol with the unfinished dome. Clearly, the patriotic Angle was interested in American history. He wrote that he was very pleased with his officers, including Lieutenant Buttz: “Our 1st and 2nd Lieutenants, Kensinger and Butts [sic], are good, whole-souled fellows, and it gives me pleasure to speak in their praise. They have robbed themselves of money and clothes to befriend their men, and will do all in their power in having justice dealt to them.”<sup>16</sup> Although Simerson may have done some editing of the letter before publication, it provides persuasive evidence that Angle was literate.

In 1863, Angle attempted to transfer to the Signal Corps of the Seventh Army Corps, General Peck’s Division, and get promoted from Corporal to Second Lieutenant. Several laudatory letters were written as recommendations on his behalf. On March 26, Buttz wrote to Secretary of War Edward M. Stanton that Corporal Angle had served under his immediate command for 19 months and that he was “of very good moral character, a good mind & in every way suitable for [promotion].” The chaplain of the 11th, J. Addison Whitaker, stated that Angle was “a young man of excellent habits and most trustworthy.” W. Wright wrote to Stanton on April 13 that Angle “is a young man of education and ability, excellent character.” Writing from Belvidere, a Mr. Osborn

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<sup>16</sup> Jay C. Richards, cited above, reproduces the letter by Angle, published in the *Warren Journal*, October 25, 1861, 2.

described Angle's "honesty, faithfulness & aptness" for the Signal Corps.<sup>17</sup>

But Angle's attempt to transfer was unsuccessful and he stayed with Harlan's Cavalry, which saw much action during the war and was present at the village of Appomattox Court House when General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia on April 9, 1865.<sup>18</sup> After serving four years, Angle was mustered out with his company on August 13.<sup>19</sup> He rejoined his wife Maggie, who by then was living with her parents in Readington in Hunterdon County, and their daughter, Martha Longstreet Angle, born December 14, 1864.<sup>20</sup>

By 1867, Angle had become a photographer in Clinton, not far from Readington, and remained active in the profession until the late 1880s.<sup>21</sup> By comparison to Belvidere at that time, Clinton was about half the size and did not count more than 1,000 residents until the 1940 U.S. census. In Angle's time, it featured two functioning mills on the opposite sides of South Branch River, one of which is now the Red Mill Museum, and the other, the Hunterdon Art Museum. Near the mills is Main Street, where Angle established his photography gallery.<sup>22</sup>

Unfortunately, Maggie died at age 32 on October 15, 1867, and on October 20, 1869, Angle

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<sup>17</sup> Military records, National Archives and Records Administration. [ancestry.com/Fold3](https://www.ancestry.com/Fold3). Courtesy, Bette Epstein, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>18</sup> For a history of Harlan's Cavalry that includes Angle in the accompanying roster, see *History of York County, Pennsylvania* (1907), 373–374.

[https://www.google.com/books/edition/History\\_of\\_York\\_County\\_Pennsylvania/psc4AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=gideon+c.+angle&pg=PA374&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.com/books/edition/History_of_York_County_Pennsylvania/psc4AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=gideon+c.+angle&pg=PA374&printsec=frontcover).

<sup>19</sup> Pennsylvania, U.S., Veterans Card Files, 1775–1916 for Gideon C. Angle, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). Angle's card states that he was five feet, ten inches tall with brown hair and blue eyes. The *Egg Harbor Pilot*, May 9, 1874, reproduced an act passed by the New Jersey state legislature for the relief of Gideon C. Angle, passed March 10, 1874. It stated that on September 12, 1861, Angle joined the 11th Pennsylvania Cavalry and was refused payment of \$6 per month for the relief of his family to which he was entitled by the laws of the State of New Jersey, that he was never paid for his services from the date of his enlistment to January 1, 1864, when he reenlisted as a veteran, and that it is enacted that Angle be paid \$165 with interest from the date of his reenlistment. See also *Angle v. Runyon*, 38 N.J.L. 403 (1876). June 1876. New Jersey Supreme Court. <https://cite.case.law/njl/38/403/>.

<sup>20</sup> [Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com) provides an incorrect birth year for Martha, 1874 instead of 1864. Martha is listed as 5 years old in the 1870 U.S. census, 10 in the 1875 New Jersey census, and 15 in the 1880 U.S. census.

<sup>21</sup> Internal Revenue Assessment to the federal government, NARA/NY (NJSTAL, RG 58, Box 360, 1867, Dist. 3, Div. 5, code 207). In 1868, if not before, Angle's studio was on Main Street near Leigh.

<sup>22</sup> Angle's gallery initially was on Main Street near the corner of Leigh Street. In the early 1870s, he was on Leigh Street opposite Weller's Hotel.

married Sarah (née Kline, 1834–1911), the widow of Jacob Runkle Wert (1830–1863).<sup>23</sup> Gideon and his daughter Martha established a household with Sarah and her son, Frank Wert, from her previous marriage. Gideon and Sarah's son, Harry, their only surviving child together, was born in 1871.

Angle became well integrated into the Clinton community and, like most local photographers of the 1860s and 1870s, his primary business consisted of portraits in the *carte-de-visite* (cdv) format, small photos contact-printed from glass negatives in the sun on albumen paper and mounted on cards about 2 1/2 by 4 1/8 inches, with Angle's name and town printed on the back. On the verso of one example, he mentioned availability of now rare stereographic views, pairs of images that appeared 3D when viewed with a stereoscope. He also made larger single-frame photographs taken outdoors. For example, one depiction of a street, now at the Red Mill Museum Village, is an oval albumen print signed by Angle under the image. In the 1880s, the cabinet card, about 4 1/4 x 6 1/2 inches, superseded the cdv in popularity, and Angle's extant portraits in that format include a portrait of two gents with bowler hats.<sup>24</sup> But Angle's cabinet cards are less commonly found today than his earlier cdvs.

The small size of Clinton's population was not likely to provide Angle with a satisfactory income. Consequently, after 1880, he expanded his other activities and likely produced fewer photographs. From 1881 to 1885, he was a justice of the peace and, in that decade, operated a book and stationery store, where he also was the local operator for the Western Union Telegraph

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<sup>23</sup> Death record, Margaret Angle, 32, October 15, 1867, Clinton, Hunterdon County, Vol. AL, page 395. New Jersey State Archives. Marriage record for Gideon C. Angle and Sarah Werts, Hunterdon County, Book BI, p. 441. New Jersey State Archives. Dates for Jacob Werts and Sarah Angle, who is buried next to her first husband, Jacob, in photo of tombstones, Find A Grave, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/134114819/jacob-r-wert>.

<sup>24</sup> Red Mill Museum Village in Clinton.

Company.<sup>25</sup> Returning to an earlier public service position from his time in Warren County, he served as a Hunterdon County coroner by 1884, one of three with that title.<sup>26</sup> In 1888, the year of his downfall, he was described as “a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church and . . . a chorister and Superintendent of a Sunday-school.”

Consequently, it must have come as a sensational shock to the good citizens of Clinton when Angle was accused by 17-year-old Theresa Hill, a domestic servant from Glen Gardner, of getting her pregnant. The scandal made national news and was reported by the *San Francisco Examiner* on January 30, 1888, in “An Old Man’s Insanity. Serious Allegations Against the Character of a Prominent Churchman,” as well as other newspapers.<sup>27</sup> Angle’s wife Sarah said she would leave the house unless he proved himself innocent. He did not respond whether or not he was guilty of the charge but seemed “stunned.” A few days later, according to the *Examiner*, Angle seemed to have had a mental breakdown. “He rushed out into the street and began talking to everyone he met,” including a Reverend Howland, who reported Angle saying, “I have been a hypocrite for twenty years. So have you. We are all hypocrites. This matter will bring out a great revelation.” Upon returning home, he became so violent that at times five men could hardly hold him down. It was decided to take him to the Morris Plains Asylum, but he seemed slightly improved and remained at his residence for a few days. But on February 7, the *Hunterdon Gazette* stated that he had been moved to the asylum for treatment. How long he stayed there has not been

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<sup>25</sup> In part, *Sterling Kansas Bulletin*, February 2, 1888. Angle’s JOP Docket Books, 1881–1885, are at the New Jersey State Archives (Hunterdon County Clerk’s Office), which also holds appeals of cases in the court of common pleas from decisions by Justice of the Peace Angle.

<sup>26</sup> *Manual of the Legislature of New Jersey*, 1884, 276, lists Angle, Edward W. Closson, and Moses D. Knight as Hunterdon County coroners with terms ending in 1890.  
[https://www.google.com/books/edition/Manual\\_of\\_the\\_Legislature\\_of\\_New\\_Jersey/yOAGAOAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=gideon+c.+angle&pg=PA276&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Manual_of_the_Legislature_of_New_Jersey/yOAGAOAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=gideon+c.+angle&pg=PA276&printsec=frontcover).

<sup>27</sup> *San Francisco Examiner*, January 30, 1888, 1. Other coverage included, “Did the Charge Craze Him; A Citizen of Clinton Accused of Betrayal Becomes Violently Insane,” *Hutchinson News* (Hutchinson, Kansas), February 2, 1888, 1, also in *Sterling Kansas Bulletin* (Sterling, Kansas), February 2, 1888, 1.

determined, but the disgraced photographer probably left town by November 19, when his brother-in-law, James A. Kline, filed his justice of the peace docket book with the authorities. On March 11, 1890, he belatedly resigned as county coroner when his term ended.

Angle was neither prosecuted nor sued in court for his transgression.<sup>28</sup> Still in his fifties, he embarked on a new career as an evangelist in the Buckeye State, where he applied for a Civil War invalid pension on March 7, 1889.<sup>29</sup> Angle settled in the town of Delaware, Delaware County, Ohio, and in April 1890 was in Marysville canvassing for an inspirational religious book entitled *The Road to Heaven*.<sup>30</sup> By July, he was soliciting for this tract in Richwood in Union County, Ohio.<sup>31</sup> In April 1895, still a Delaware, Ohio, resident, he was licensed as a local evangelist in the Marion Presbytery in Marion.<sup>32</sup>

By 1902, Angle had moved to Denver, Colorado, where his married daughter Martha had lived with her husband, Merrill P. Anthony, and their three young children. Martha had died on September 6, 1901, and Angle probably wanted to establish a relationship with his grandchildren.<sup>33</sup> He was listed in the 1902 Denver city directory as “Rev. G. Calvin Angle, evangelist” but without profession in 1903. In 1905, his directory listing indicated that he was in the real estate business. Angle died in Denver on February 16, 1909, and was interred in Crown Hill Cemetery outside

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<sup>28</sup> Hunterdon County criminal and civil court records for 1888–1889 were searched without finding mention of either Angle or Theresa Hill. Suzanne Bennett, Hunterdon County Clerk’s Office, emails to author, September 13 and 17, 2019.

<sup>29</sup> U.S. Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861–1934. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). The index card also shows that Angle’s widow, Sarah K. Angle, applied for a widow’s pension on August 7, 1909.

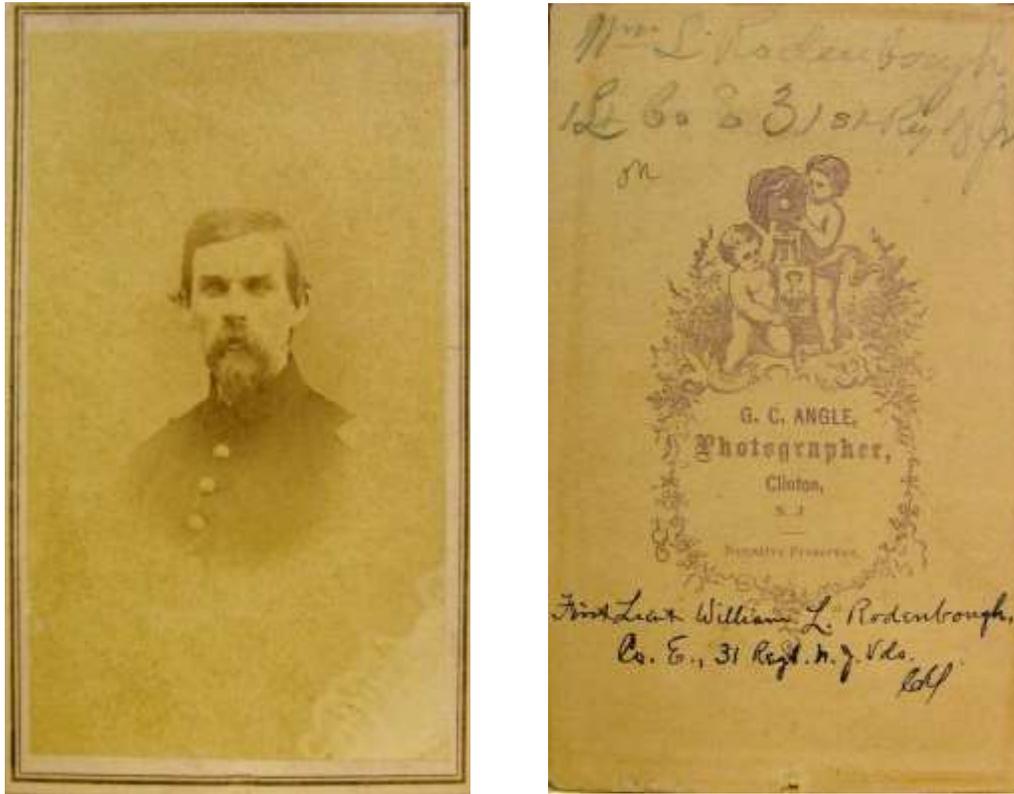
<sup>30</sup> *Union County Journal* (Marysville, Ohio), April 3, 1890. This article mentioned that Angle was “of Delaware,” presumably Delaware, Ohio, rather than the State of Delaware. Angle was not found in city directories in either state around 1890.

<sup>31</sup> *Richwood Gazette* (Richwood, Ohio), July 24, 1890, 3. Angle is not to be confused with another G. C. Angle in Kansas mentioned in newspapers around this time. That Angle’s first name was George.

<sup>32</sup> *Marion Star* (Marion, Ohio), April 10, 1895.

<sup>33</sup> Colorado, Wills and Probate Records, 1875–1974, No. 7241, for Martha L. Anthony, late of Denver. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). Martha married Merrill Palmer Anthony (1867–1960) on November 14, 1889, in Denver and they had three children: Oscar Angle Anthony (Denver, 1894–1960), who became a traffic manager at a shipping company and died in Houston; Zaola Hannah Anthony (Colorado, 1896–1906); and Merrill Howard Anthony (Denver, November 29, 1898–1985).

Denver in a section for Spanish American War veterans. His gravestone mentions his Civil War unit.<sup>34</sup>



**Gideon C. Angle, Clinton, William L. Rodenbough, First Lieutenant, Company E, 31st Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers, cdv, late 1860s. Courtesy New Jersey State Archives.**

<sup>34</sup> Crown Hill, Block 26, Wheat Ridge, Jefferson County, Colorado. Find-A-Grave. Angle owned a lot worth about \$100, \$835 in cash, and about \$800 in notes and bills receivable from 14 individuals or couples; total estate about \$1,600. His heirs were Harry F. Angle, Clifton, son, (1/4); grandchildren Oscar Angle Anthony, 12, and Merrill Howard Anthony, 8, 1/8 each, both of Denver, children of the late Martha F. Angle Anthony, G. C. Angle's daughter; and Sarah K. Angle, 1/2, widow of G. C. Angle, unless they were divorced. (No divorce found.) Martha's husband, Merrill P. Anthony, son-in-law, was appointed administrator. On December 14, 1911, Sarah's brother, James A. Kline, swore that Sarah never had any children other than Harry F. Angle, except one who died in infancy (this conflicts with the 1900 U.S. census, which indicated that three had died). Estate Papers, New Jersey State Archives. Sarah died intestate of pneumonia on February 18, 1911, so her share went to Harry. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). The obituary for Sarah K. Angle, *Democrat-Advertiser* (Flemington, New Jersey), February 21, 1911, noted that she died unexpectedly at age 79 in Clinton, where she had been a resident for many years and had been active in the Presbyterian church. Sarah was the daughter of Miller Kline, a Flemington resident, and first came to the vicinity of Clinton as the wife of Runkle Werts, who lived on a farm between Clinton and Annandale. After the early death of Werts, she moved with her son, Frank, since deceased, to Clinton, where she later married Angle.

**Edward W. Blake**

In New Jersey, counterfeiting and passing fake paper money began in Colonial times, when it was punished severely. Potential miscreants were warned on the bills, “To Counterfeit Is DEATH.”<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, despite efforts to prevent the practice, some were convicted and at least two were executed, John Stevens in 1744 and Henry Yager in 1748.<sup>36</sup> Although the problem persisted in New Jersey, it was particularly dire after the Civil War when Edward W. Blake succumbed to temptation.

Blake, a photographer who did undercover police work and used the alias Edward Williams until his arrest in September 1867, was described as “a remarkably smooth, oily-tongued fellow, of good appearance and well calculated to deceive.”<sup>37</sup> In this era, there were a few Edward W. Blakes in the United States, including a dentist in Connecticut, but none can be positively identified as the photographer in a U.S. census. When and where he was born remains to be discovered. But it is known that during the Civil War, he photographed in Union army camps, as did other photographers, who found that taking portraits of soldiers was a lucrative business. During the war, he also became a photographer and military detective in Philadelphia.

Blake first came to public attention in May 1863, when the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported that he was accused, along with Major Montreville (or Monteville) Sommers and John Mackay, for conspiracy to commit an assault and battery upon Arthur W. Painter and deprive him of his liberty. Painter stated that after he had been approached by a man who offered to sell him vessels

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<sup>35</sup> To prevent forgeries, each bill of the 1755 New Jersey currency was numbered by hand and signed by three different officials. *Windows to the Past: Forty Documents and Photographs from the Monmouth County Archives*. Exhibit at the Monmouth County Library Headquarters, October 2012, 8–9.

[https://www.monmouthcountyclerk.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/2012\\_40Docs\\_Photos\\_Exhbit\\_Catalog2012.pdf](https://www.monmouthcountyclerk.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/2012_40Docs_Photos_Exhbit_Catalog2012.pdf).

<sup>36</sup> Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, *An Introduction to Crime and Punishment in Colonial New Jersey* (Trenton, New Jersey: Past Times Press, 1960), 39–41.

<sup>37</sup> *Trenton State Gazette*, September 27, 1867, 3.

to run the Union blockade of the Confederacy, he went to a local U.S. Marshal's office and suggested that a deputy accompany him to the meeting to serve as a witness. On the way to the rendezvous, Deputy Snare suggested that upon arrival, they pretend interest in buying the blockade runners. This plan was implemented, but as soon as Snare voiced his intent to purchase, several military detectives, including Blake, burst in and arrested both Painter and Snare and put them in irons. Apparently, it was a sting operation. After a hearing, the accused were released on bail. The case was likely dropped, as the resolution was not reported in the *Inquirer*.<sup>38</sup> Later that year, Blake became an independent photographer in Philadelphia and paid for licenses to practice photography on December 31, 1862, and May 1864.<sup>39</sup> It is likely that he also photographed in Union army camps during this period.<sup>40</sup>

After his time based in Philadelphia, Blake photographed for several years in small towns and villages in central New Jersey, including Vincentown, Red Lion, Buddtown, and Toms River.<sup>41</sup> By the summer of 1867, he lived and had a gallery in Shelltown, now called Ellisdale, a tiny village in Upper Freehold Township in Monmouth County near the borders of Burlington and Ocean Counties. If he put his name on any of his photos, none have been located by this author, as is also the case regarding his work produced in army camps and in Philadelphia. Quite likely,

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<sup>38</sup> May 29, 1863, 8; June 5, 1863, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Blake's addresses for the licenses in Philadelphia were 522 North Second and 808 Arch, respectively. Ross J. Kelbaugh, *Directory of Civil War Photographers. Volume Two. Pennsylvania, New Jersey* (Baltimore: Historic Graphics, 1991), 3, based on U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862–1918, National Archives and Records Administration, now available via [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com). The license was in the sum of \$10, \$15, or \$25 depending on the annual income of the photographer, who was required to pay what amounted to an income tax. Blake was succeeded at 522 North Second by Andrew Hendrickson, who paid for a license in May 1864. Martin Roberts was also at the latter address in 1865 and paid for his own license. In 1866, "William Blake," probably the same Blake, was listed in the city directory at 808 Arch. Author, Philadelphia Photographers List, <http://saretzky.com/history-of-photography-indexes-to-photographers.html>.

<sup>40</sup> The *Trenton State Gazette*, September 27, 1867, 3, mentioned that he had photographed in New Jersey for several years, as discussed in the following paragraph. This would be consistent with a starting date of late 1864 or 1865 for his New Jersey activities. His photography at Union camps is discussed below.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* As noted below in Footnote 57, Blake owned property in Southampton Township, Burlington County, and was mentioned in one document as a resident of Vincentown.

Blake made tintypes, which could be processed and delivered to the sitter in 15 minutes or less. Unlike cdvs, which usually have the photographer's imprint on the back, tintypes in the 1860s and later often are found without a photographer's credit.<sup>42</sup> Blake's income in New Jersey from photography must have been inconsistent or quite low, which may help explain why he turned to crime. Alternatively, he may have just used photography as a cover for his sub-rosa activities.

Blake's nemesis turned out to be Ichabod C. Nettleship (1832–1886) of Newark, who served as justice of the peace (1864–1886), police justice for Essex County (1881–1882), and most significantly for Blake, a chief assistant and operative for the Secret Service in Newark (1864–1873).<sup>43</sup> For the Secret Service, Nettleship's primary concern was to put an end to the rash of counterfeiting then plaguing New Jersey. The center of the counterfeiting ring was in Paulsboro, Gloucester County, where William E. Spencer (1822–1920), alias William E. "Long Bill" Brockway, a trained engraver, produced excellent imitation bonds and paper currency. Some of his \$1,000 treasury notes, which paid 7.3 percent interest and thus were known as 7-30s, were made from lead impressions of the actual plates used to print the bonds in Washington, DC, secured by a confederate, Edward A. Laukin. Between 1865 and November 1867, when with Nettleship's assistance Spencer and his "reputed wife," Hannah Seymour, were arrested in New York as they prepared to leave for Europe, it was estimated that the illegal business netted them more than \$1 million and the value of Spencer's home in Philadelphia was thought to be \$200,000. Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCullough was so concerned about Spencer's counterfeiting ring that he

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<sup>42</sup> Ferrotypes cards, small tintypes mounted to the back of a cdv-sized card with an aperture to enable viewing the image, were used beginning in the 1860s and have a small piece of paper glued on the back holding the tintype in place, sometimes with the photographer's imprint.

<sup>43</sup> Summary for the Ichabod C. Nettleship Papers, New Jersey Historical Society.

<https://jerseyhistory.org/manuscript-group-208-ichabod-c-nettleship-1832-1886-secret-service-investigator-papers-1864-1886/?highlight=nettleship#Summary>.

announced an enormous \$20,000 reward for his capture.<sup>44</sup>

In the course of his work, Nettleship met Blake while attending the trial in United States district court, held in Trenton in July 1867, of Charles Dobbins for passing counterfeit money. Blake, presenting himself as a former United States detective, approached Nettleship and offered to be a witness against Dobbins. Nettleship, who became suspicious that Blake was trying to cover up his own “evil doings,” declined and began investigating the photographer. He learned that while a detective, Blake captured a man with \$25,000 in contraband money, but whether it originated from Brockway is unknown. As recounted in the *New York Herald*:

His avarice was excited, and, allured by the large sum, he disavowed his allegiance to his whilom employer, and, it is alleged, commenced plying the nefarious trade of circulating the ill-gotten booty. Under the ostensible profession of photographer, he frequented public assemblies, but at a recent camp meeting his credulity betrayed him. Detective Appleton [at the direction of Nettleship], by false misrepresentations, insinuated himself into the confidence of [Blake’s confederate Thomas F.] Smyth [a.k.a. John F. Smith], who gave him a letter of introduction to Blake, recommending him as all right and a good ‘runner.’<sup>45</sup>

As recounted in the *New York Herald*, Blake tested Appleton by asking him to steal a couple of chickens. Appleton purchased a pair and returned them with cut necks. Blake then gave Appleton a bogus ten-dollar bill to buy a pound of butter and Appleton brought him the butter and the correct change after he bought it with real money. After these tests, at a meeting in Philadelphia, Blake gave him \$50 in counterfeit bills and that led to the arrest in mid-September 1867 of Blake and Smyth, who after initially pleading not guilty, changed their pleas to guilty.<sup>46</sup> At the United

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<sup>44</sup> \$20,000 in 1867 is equivalent to more than \$700,000 in 2021 U.S. dollars. “The Week,” *Anglo American Times*, December 14, 1867, 4, mentioned Nettleship’s involvement and erroneously renders the counterfeiter’s name as William E. Brockaway. Also in part, Fred L. Reed III, “Wood’s Practices Lead to His Fall,” *Bank Note Reporter*, Part 59, May 10, 2010, Krause Publications. See also “A True Criminal of the 19th Century—William Brockway,” <https://thisistrovegeneralstore.wordpress.com/2011/04/10/a-true-criminal-of-the-19th-century-william-brockway/>, which focuses on Brockway’s arrests in 1880 and 1895.

<sup>45</sup> “Trenton. United States District Court,” *New York Herald*, October 11, 1867, 8. In Nettleship’s diary, he mentions Blake’s co-defendant at the arraignment in Trenton as R. S. Hoffman, likely another name for Smith.

<sup>46</sup> *New York Herald*, October 11, 1867, 8.

States district court in Trenton on October 10, Blake admitted that he passed counterfeit 25-cent fractional currency at the camp meeting. (At that time, since a dollar was worth much more than it is now, the government issued 25-cent bills.) Smyth/Smith also pled guilty.<sup>47</sup> Note that although Blake was passing bills in higher amounts, his indictment only references this fractional currency, perhaps because he had agreed to plead guilty.<sup>48</sup> George Somers, another confederate of Blake's, was soon arrested by Nettleship in Camden County.<sup>49</sup> When he was apprehended, he had five ten-dollar counterfeit bills in his possession.<sup>50</sup>

Additional details of the investigation regarding the insinuation of Appleton into Blake's confidence were reported by the *Daily Evening Press* in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. According to this source, Nettleship learned that "Williams" planned to attend a Methodist camp meeting in Pointville, which the article stated was in Cumberland County but in fact is in Burlington County, between what is now Fort Dix and Browns Mills. A decoy (Appleton) was sent to gain Williams's confidence. "Williams was found in all his glory at the camp meeting, shouting with the brothers and praying with the sisters, and apparently joining with his whole soul in all the religious exercises. He had his own tent on the ground, in which he employed himself during intervals at taking photographs." After becoming his "pal," the detective bought \$90 in bogus money at a discount, a sum greater than the \$50 mentioned in the *New York Herald*. A Trenton paper carried the story along similar lines, consistent regarding the \$90 and stating that "the accused played the hypocrite quite successfully by taking part in the devotions" and did a brisk business at the camp

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.; "United States District Court," *Trenton State Gazette*, October 11, 1867, 3.

<sup>48</sup> United States District Court, Third Circuit, September 1867 Term, indictment of Edward W. Blake for passing counterfeit money at Pointville, New Jersey State Archives. The indictment includes a hand-drawn picture of a 25-cent bill.

<sup>49</sup> "The Counterfeiter, Williams," *Trenton State Gazette*, September 27, 1867, 3.

<sup>50</sup> *New Jersey Courier*, September 26, 1867. The *Trenton State Gazette*, November 1, 1867, 3, reported that Nettleship had arrested Jacob Brough and Frederick Maurer for passing counterfeit bills in Monmouth and Ocean Counties. The pair started out from Trenton with carts loaded with crockery to trade for old iron and rags, as a cover for passing counterfeit bills.

meeting making pictures of “both saints and sinners.” This article went on, “The intimacy [of Blake and Appleton] was continued for a day or so, during which Williams is said to have narrated many incidents of his past romantic and successful criminal career.”<sup>51</sup> Williams (Blake) was not arrested immediately, as it was hoped that evidence could be gathered regarding others associated with him.

Blake was arrested at his house in Shelltown, although newspapers reported incorrectly that he lived in nearby New Egypt, more recognizable to readers than tiny Shelltown. Sourcing the *Mount Holly Mirror*, the *Trenton State Gazette* stated: “When arrested, he was much surprised, and upon being told in the parlance of rogue-takers that he was ‘dead to rights,’ otherwise that sufficient evidence had been obtained to convict him, he said, ‘Well, I throw up the sponge, but Mr. Nettleship, you’re the only man living who could have beat me.’”<sup>52</sup> Blake’s arrest was kept quiet for a few days while Nettleship tried to round up some of Blake’s cronies in the illicit business.<sup>53</sup>

While this is a good story, it is not completely true, as Nettleship’s diary at the New Jersey Historical Society, a more reliable source, makes clear.<sup>54</sup> Nettleship did go from Trenton to Shelltown with a detective named Hawthorne and a driver on September 12. He wrote that “when there we saw Blakes [sic] photograph gallery but it was a very small village and no Hotel or place where we could stop. I made all the enquiries about Blake that I dare [sic], and learned that he had drove off to some place that morning, leaving the gallery in care of his woman.” Nettleship and Hawthorne then drove to Allentown, about four miles distance, and in the afternoon returned to

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<sup>51</sup> “Important Arrest,” *Daily True American* (Trenton), September 20, 1867, 3.

<sup>52</sup> September 27, 1867, 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Daily Evening Press* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania), September 21, 1867, 2; *Daily True American* (Trenton, New Jersey), September 20, 1867, 3. The *New York Herald*, October 11, 1867, 8, mentioned that Appleton gave Blake a letter of recommendation from Blake’s confederate, Thomas Smyth.

<sup>54</sup> Diary in Manuscript Group 208, Ichabod C. Nettleship (1832–1886), Secret Service investigator Papers, 1864–1886, New Jersey Historical Society.

Shelltown, where they “saw nothing of Blake although his likeness case had been hung out.”<sup>55</sup> Here Nettleship refers to a large frame, often called a showcase, with sample photos that photographers typically placed outside their premises. Not being successful at personally apprehending Blake, Nettleship directed others on his team to do so a few days later.

It was Detectives Hagerty and Applegate who actually arrested Blake on September 15. Nettleship penned, “This morning at Newark was called on by Mr. Hagerty who has returned on the owl train with Blake.<sup>56</sup> He informed me that Applegate and him found Blake at his house after dark and got him to walk outside the Village to talk over land [a pretext suggested by Nettleship regarding buying some land that Blake owned] when he arrested him and no person knew anything about it as it was very late when they got to Trenton.<sup>57</sup> Blake owned up and said he got all his stuff from Harry Stewart. I asked him if he would write a letter for me to give to Applegate for him to take it to Stewart. He said he would. I then took him to Jail.”<sup>58</sup>

The next day, likely September 16, wrote Nettleship, he and Hawthorne interrogated Blake and Blake agreed to help get Harry Stewart, “as he is such a great scoundrel.” When Nettleship took Blake back to jail, the jailer gave him a letter that “Blake had written to his wife No. 2 telling her to be sure and get everything out of his trunk. I saw by the letter that the trunk troubled him. I then made arrangements with the Jailer not to send the letter for two days yet.” Unfortunately,

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<sup>55</sup> Nettleship diary, September 12, 1867, page not noted.

<sup>56</sup> Nettleship diary, page 90. The “owl train” apparently was one that traveled late at night and what today is often called a “red eye.” Nettleship made frequent references to train travel in his diary, writing at a time when there were more lines throughout the state and decades before automobiles provided an alternative.

<sup>57</sup> Blake purchased 32.75 acres and premises on Willards Run, adjoining lands of John Chambers in Southampton Township, Burlington County, from Joseph R. and Mary E. Dobbins on January 16, 1866, for \$377.50. The lot was previously owned by Joseph’s father, Samuel Dobbins, deceased. Burlington County Deed Book L7, 93–95. On October 15, 1867, after his arrest, Blake and his wife, Emma C. Blake, described as “of Vincentown,” Southampton, authorized John L. Stratton of Mount Holly to sell the land in Southampton to best advantage. Burlington County Deed Book S7, 200. Acting as attorney for the Blakes, Stratton sold the property to Burlington County Clerk Amos Gibbs on January 31, 1868, for \$1,277.25. Burlington County Deed Book T7, 481–483. No deed for land owned by Blake or his alias, Williams, in Monmouth County was found in a deed search.

<sup>58</sup> Whether Stewart was connected to “Long Bill” Brockway has not been researched by the author.

Nettleship did not mention the names of either wife No. 1 or No. 2.<sup>59</sup>

After staying in Newark overnight, Nettleship recalled that after he and his associate Mr. Hawthorn attended Blake's arraignment in Trenton, they took a horse and buggy and

drove to Shelltown, for the purpose of searching Blake's trunk. I there [illegible word] in with his woman and got at the trunk. I searched it but could find no counterfeit [sic] money but I found different things there which he evidently had stolen, but as that was not my business I left the trunk bringing all his papers away with me at Trenton. I searched the papers which showed him to have been in everything bad. I found amongst them a Commission from Jeff Davis. Signed by [Confederate Secretary of State] Judah P. Benjamin allowing him to pass through their lines & [illegible word] at the same time he held passes from most of the Union Generals of the Army of the Potomac allowing him to Establish himself in the photographic business. He had also detective papers. (illus., p. 19)

The discovery of the commission from the president of the Confederate States of America led to the reasonable conclusion that Blake had been a spy for the South and this sensational news was covered by the press at the time. For example, the *Trenton State Gazette* described him as "a spy to penetrate the lines of the Union army," and the *Boston Evening Transcript* noted, "He was formerly a rebel spy and officer."<sup>60</sup> Less plausibly, Blake was a double agent because during the Civil War he also worked as a military detective for the Secret Service.

On October 17, 1867, Blake was sentenced to ten years in the state prison.<sup>61</sup> On October 22, Blake's reputed wife, either No. 1 or No. 2, variously named Emma Perrine and Emma Paine, was arrested in Ewensville, Burlington County, and charged with being Blake's accomplice. Nettleship arrested "the young woman" at her mother's house. When he inquired after Emma, her mother assured him that she had gone off on an extended trip, but the diligent detective searched

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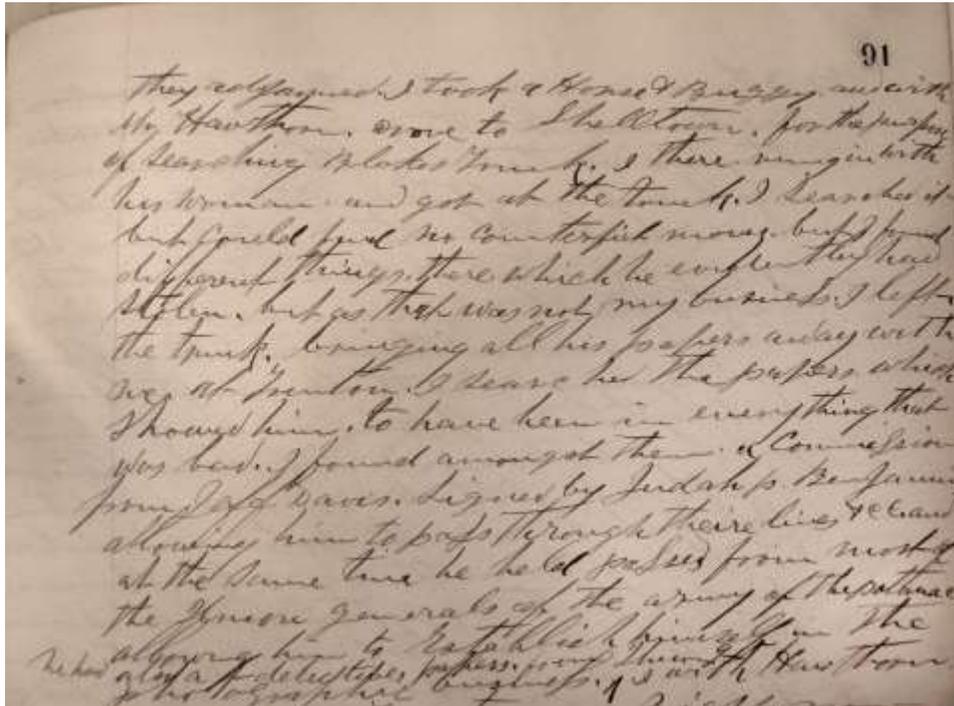
<sup>59</sup> Nettleship also mentioned an unnamed daughter of Blake but no other children.

<sup>60</sup> *Trenton State Gazette*, September 20, 1867, 3; *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 20, 1867, 2.

<sup>61</sup>In reporting the sentence, the *Paterson Daily Press*, October 18, 1867, 3, described Blake as "a scamp who circulated counterfeits at a camp meeting while pretending piety. . . ." Unlike some others who were convicted of passing counterfeit notes, Blake was not pardoned by President Andrew Johnson. Andrew Johnson Papers: Series 8, Courts-martial and Amnesty Records, 1864–1869; Subseries 8C, 1865–1869; Vol. 3, 1866, Apr. 3, 1889, Mar. 3, Library of Congress, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss27839.mss27839-050\\_0673\\_0893/?sp=33&st=image&r=0.04,0.487,0.599,0.384,0](https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss27839.mss27839-050_0673_0893/?sp=33&st=image&r=0.04,0.487,0.599,0.384,0).

the house and found Emma under a bed in one of the upper rooms. The disposition of her case and traces of her later life have not been found.<sup>62</sup>

New Jersey State Prison records for the period do not exist, so it is not known if Blake completed his sentence. Blake is not listed in the 1870 U.S. census in New Jersey. A photographer named Edward W. Blake is listed with a home address in the 1878 Chicago city directory, so it is possible that he went to the Windy City after his release. But it would not be surprising if he assumed a new alias that would explain the lack of documentation on his life after prison. Taking on a new identity was much easier at that time than later with the advent of driver's licenses, Social Security numbers, and other means of identification.



Ichabod C. Nettleship  
diary page re: Edward  
W. Blake (alias  
Williams), 1867.  
Courtesy New Jersey  
Historical Society.

<sup>62</sup> *Trenton State Gazette*, October 26, 1867, 3; *New York Tribune*, October 26, 1867, 8. The former gives her surname as Perrine and the latter as Paine. A search of genealogical databases did not result in a confirmed match in New Jersey under either name. An Emma Paine was arrested in Baltimore in 1865 after a “pitched battle” with Matilda Stewart and Blanch Davis. “For several minutes they fought with the fury of beasts, and succeeded in destroying a considerable quantity of dry goods, and inflicting upon each other’s countenances numerous bruises and scratches.” Whether this Emma was later associated with Blake is undetermined.

**Frederick H. Fearn**<sup>63</sup>

Frederick H. Fearn and William R. Fearn were sons of John Fearn and Amelia Ann Hearn, who were married on February 2, 1846, at St. Leonard's Church in the Shoreditch district in the East End of London, England.<sup>64</sup> The Fearn family emigrated to New York in 1850 with their infant son, John (Jr.), and initially lived in Brooklyn, where father John was listed as a dyer in the 1850 U.S. census.<sup>65</sup> He then found work as a hat presser for at least 15 years. After Frederick was born in Queens in about 1853, the Fearn family settled in Staten Island, where Amelia gave birth to their third son, William, in 1858.<sup>66</sup>

Inflating his age, Frederick joined the U.S. Navy when he was about 15. On January 29, 1868, he shipped out of New York on the U.S.S. *Franklin* as a landsman, the lowest rank, and as such would have performed unskilled labor on board. In September 1871, he contracted gonorrhea while the *Franklin* was in Nice, France, and by November he was in the U.S. Chelsea Naval Hospital in Massachusetts. The doctor transferring him to the hospital wrote that his case "has lately become unusually troublesome" and that Fearn also suffered from phimosis.<sup>67</sup>

By the 1870 census, while Frederick was in the navy, his father, John, had become a photographer in Middletown, a municipality in Staten Island incorporated in 1860 from parts of

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<sup>63</sup> This section on Fearn is a revision of part of the author's "Careers in Camerawork: Six Photographers of Camden, New Jersey, 1860–1910," *SoJourn: A Journal Devoted to the History, Culture, and Geography of South Jersey*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Summer 2021), 7–25.

<sup>64</sup> England, Select Marriages, 1538–1973. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>65</sup> The younger John eventually lived in Camden County, as did his parents and brothers. In the 1880 census, he was a barber in Merchantville, and in the 1900 census, he was a watch repairer in Haddonfield. John was married and had several children with his wife, Annie.

<sup>66</sup> The 1855 New York census gives Queens as Frederick's birthplace but as Richmond County in the 1860 U.S. census for Port Richmond. Between Frederick and William, sisters Alice A. was born in 1854 and Ida F. in 1856. Another son, Albert, was born in 1863. The 1865 census in Castleton, Richmond County, lists the occupation of John, the father, as straw-hat presser. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>67</sup> Fearn's Hospital Ticket, U.S.S. *Franklin*, Boston, November 6, 1871, gives his residence at time of enlistment as Flushing, Queens, and age in 1871 as 21 years old. Census records concerning Frederick's age are inconsistent: 3 in 1855, 8 in 1860, and 47, born January 1853, in the 1900 census. His second marriage record, July 21, 1884, listed his age as 30 and his death record implied that he was born in 1855. Fearn likely lowered his age when he married his much younger second wife. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

Southfield and Castleton.<sup>68</sup> But John did not remain a photographer. By 1875, John and Amelia had relocated to Camden, New Jersey, where they lived at 433 Market Street for about seven years. John had become a “medical electrician,” a term used by those who offered “galvanism” to rejuvenate or cure patients with an electrical current from a galvanic battery.<sup>69</sup> Amelia also practiced galvanism at their residence and advertised her services.<sup>70</sup> Beginning in 1879, ads with testimonials began appearing that extolled the treatment offered by Mrs. A. A. Fearn, herbalist and medical electrician. At least one ad mentions that Mr. Fearn also administered treatment. Among the testimonials, Mrs. Mary Stone stated that she was cured of “womb disease and ulcers.” Charles W. Stetser went to Mrs. Fearn for rheumatism and was informed that he also had lung and kidney disease, but she cured him in ten treatments. Mrs. Terrence Johnson wrote that she was cured of dropsy in an ad claiming, “All diseases of women cured.” Samuel H. Severns claimed that Mrs. Fearn cured his daughter, age 19, of fits that lasted three days at a time, after 18 treatments. Mrs. R. Evans stated that Mrs. A. A. Fearn removed her cataracts and her sight was restored in five weeks. That ad also mentioned that Mrs. Fearn was selling her Herb Medicine for Dyspepsia and Liver Complaint for 75 cents a bottle.

The Fearn family seem to have done well with their galvanism business for several years, but after one of John Fearn’s patients died in 1881, he and Amelia abruptly moved to Philadelphia.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> 1870 U.S. Census, Middletown, Richmond County, New York. The father, John, is listed as 40 years old and his wife, Amelia (oddly listed as Mary), 41, with children Alice, Ida, William, and Albert. [ancestry.com](https://ancestry.com).

<sup>69</sup> Lauren Young, “The Real Electric Frankenstein Experiments of the 1800s,”

<https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-real-electric-frankenstein-experiments-of-the-1800s>. Street address from Camden city directories, 1875, et seq. By the 1880 U.S. census, John and Amelia had been joined by Amelia’s father-in-law, another John Fearn, 82, but none of their children were living with them.

<sup>70</sup> *Morning Post* (Camden, New Jersey), May 24, 1879, 3; August 27, 1879, 3; February 5, 1880, 3; March 29, 1880, 3; November 20, 1880, 4.

<sup>71</sup> *Morning Post*, April 23, 1881, 1; December 5, 1883, 4. Robert Moore, 22, died after treatment by “Dr. Fearn” for pneumonia. Mr. Fearn filed the death certificate, stating that Moore had expired from bronchial consumption and signed it, “John Fearn, M.E.” (Medical Electrician). The coroner inquired at the county clerk’s office and learned that Fearn had not registered his medical diploma as required by law. Fearn immediately left Camden after posting a sign on his premises that he had “removed to Broad street, fourth door above York street, Philadelphia.” John Fearn is not mentioned again as a medical practitioner in the Camden newspapers.

But by 1883, Amelia was again advertising her services from a Camden address.<sup>72</sup> In 1888, John died as a result of injuries purportedly suffered in a fall in 1884 while carrying a heavy galvanic battery.<sup>73</sup>

While John and Amelia were involved in quasi-medical work, Frederick and William became photographers in Camden. Frederick was a photographer by 1878, when the *Morning Post* reported that he was arrested by Officer Randall at Federal Street, next to the post office, for “an alleged indignity perpetrated upon Delia Hann, a girl nine years of age, living with her mother at 303 Federal street. The details are too revolting to make public, the little girl having been induced, after sitting for her picture, to go into a dark rear room, where she was subject to insult and outrage without knowing the nature of the offense owing to the darkness. Mayor Ayers will investigate.” On the following day, the *Morning Post* published an update that Mrs. Hann, the mother of the little girl, as well as Fearn, stated that “the whole affair as given by Officer Randall, is wrong, and that her little girl made no such statement as represented.”<sup>74</sup> So the case was dropped.

Frederick’s younger brother, William Fearn, seems to have been more well behaved than his sibling, if the lack of negative press on his activities are a reliable indicator. William began his working career as an upholsterer, but by 1879 the brothers had formed a photography partnership,

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<sup>72</sup> Amelia began advertising again in the *Courier-Post* (Camden) in 1883, with an address of 627 Clinton Street. She was awarded a patent on July 20, 1886, for her “Life-Preserving Corset,” #345,960. The corset featured stays made of cork. Filed March 6, 1886. *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*, Vol. 36, 1887, 311.

<sup>73</sup> *Morning Post*, October 15, 1884, p. 1; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 15, 1884, 3. In 1884, Amelia sued the West Jersey Ferry Company over a sprained wrist she had suffered. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* explained that she had slipped on ice and snow that had not been removed from the deck of the ferry at the Market Street wharf in Philadelphia. The suit was unsuccessful, but Amelia persisted. In 1891, the supreme court of Pennsylvania heard her appeal of the case she had lost in common pleas court. Her attorneys argued that although she had previously sued only for her injury, her husband also fell, landing on a cleat while carrying a heavy galvanic battery, and that he had died from his injuries in 1888. The court ruled that the ferry company was not responsible because it could not reasonably be expected to keep the snow off the deck during a storm. In 1888, the *Morning Post*, July 27, 1888, 1, reported that Amelia had been appointed executor of John’s estate by the surrogate in Camden. *Fearn v. West Jersey Ferry Co.*, *Pittsburgh Legal Journal*, No. 22, 1891, 196–197; *Pennsylvania State Reports Containing Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania by Boyd Brumrine, State Reporter, Containing Cases Decided at January Term and October Term 1891* (New York and Albany: Bank & Brothers, 1892), 122–129.

<sup>74</sup> January 28, 1878, 3; January 29, 1878, 3.

when the *Morning Post* reported that Frederick and William Fearn had a photographic wagon on the corner of Fifth & Market.<sup>75</sup> They had a dispute about business matters, and Frederick (with a man named Lewis Kupp) took the wagon to pieces. Frederick and Kupp were arrested, charged with malicious mischief, and held on \$100 bail each.<sup>76</sup> Possibly as a consequence of this fraternal strife, William left town. By 1880, he was working as a photographer for, and living with, the highly respectable cameraman Theodore M. Schleier in Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>77</sup> He returned to Camden by 1882.<sup>78</sup>

Apparently, the brothers reached a rapprochement, for in 1883, they began to be listed as Fearn Brothers at 326 Federal Street. However, it appears that often they did not operate there simultaneously and “Brothers” was soon dropped from the name. William ran it for a year, then turned it over to Frederick, who operated it until 1890. Frederick then moved to Trenton, where he opened a new gallery, and William returned to run the operation in Camden until September 1893, when he was succeeded by J. E. Smith, probably John E. Smith, a photographer who had a gallery in Bordentown from 1869 to 1897.<sup>79</sup>

The Fearn’s 326 Federal Street studio in Camden was on the second floor and by 1890 employed four assistants. To attract patrons, the gallery ran ads in the *Courier-Post*. In 1885, it was offering Bon Tons (tintypes) for 50 cents per dozen and cabinet cards for \$1.50 per dozen.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> *Camden City Directory*, 1878, lists William Fearn as an upholsterer living at 434 Hamilton Street. In 1879, William lived at 4413 Bridge Avenue.

<sup>76</sup> September 20, 1879, 1.

<sup>77</sup> 1880 Census, Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee. Schleier was a Prussian-born photographer, inventor, and diplomat who served as U.S. consul to Amsterdam, 1890–1893. He pioneered electrical lighting systems for photography studios in the 1880s.

<sup>78</sup> *Camden City Directory*, 1882, living at 827 Carpenter Street.

<sup>79</sup> Smith kept the Camden location for about a year and in turn was succeeded by Samuel C. Chester, who remained there until 1924. Smith also worked in Hightstown in 1875. For Chester, see author’s “Samuel C. Chester: Southern New Jersey Photographer,” *SoJourn: A Journal Devoted to the History, Culture, and Geography of South Jersey*, in preparation.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, ads, June 4 and August 19, 1885.

While the brothers took turns operating the gallery in Camden, they were active elsewhere in the area as photographers. In 1882 and 1883, Frederick worked as a photographer in Philadelphia while living in Camden but did not have his own studio in the larger city. In 1887, William had a gallery in Haddonfield in Camden County. From January to March of that year, the *Courier-Post* ran his ad: “Go to W.R. Fearn, for Fine Cabinet Photographs at Haddonfield, Main Street, near Braddock’s Drug Store. N.B. This is not F.H. Fearn of Camden. I have no connection with any other gallery.”<sup>81</sup> This ad implies that William did not want to have anything to do with Frederick. William then operated in Philadelphia at 120 South Second Street in 1888 and 1889 before returning to Camden upon Frederick’s departure for Trenton.

After turning over the Camden gallery to J. E. Smith in 1893, William continued to be listed as a photographer in the city directories until 1898, when he was described as a salesman. Eventually he became a building contractor, and in 1923, he and his wife Anna moved to California to be near their married daughter. The couple seems to have had a stable family life, except for the early deaths of two children.<sup>82</sup> William and Anna had married in 1877 and had four children, two of whom survived to 1900.<sup>83</sup>

By comparison, Frederick’s home life was turbulent. After Frederick got out of the navy, he went to Camden and married Annie Lawrence. By 1880, they had three children: Walter, six;

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<sup>81</sup> See, for example, March 8, 1887, 4. Some of the ads erroneously listed him as W. B. Fearn instead of W. R. Fearn.

<sup>82</sup> In 1899, William went back to his youthful occupation of upholsterer until around 1910, when he was described as a carpenter in the 1910 census. Subsequently, he became a building contractor in Camden until 1923, when he and his wife Anna moved to Glendale, California, where they joined their married daughter Lucy and her husband, William Ziegler, a printer who worked as a compositor for newspapers. William and Lucy Ziegler briefly lived in Long Beach in 1923 before joining William and Anna Fearn in Glendale at 405 East Elk Avenue. William and Lucy continued living there with Anna into the 1930s and Anna was still there in 1940. City directories for Camden and Glendale.

<sup>83</sup> Before Lucy, born in 1882, they had Howard, who was listed as a 21-year-old upholsterer in the 1900 U.S. census, Camden, Camden County, which listed the William Fearn family at 129 Centre Street. In addition to William and Anna, who was born in February 1859, and the two children, Anna’s mother, Rebecca Fox, 61, and Anna’s brother, Albert F. Fox, 21, lived with the family.

Louis, four; and George, eleven months.<sup>84</sup> At the age of 26, Annie died of consumption (tuberculosis) on December 6, 1883, less than two months after giving birth to a daughter, Pansey, delivered by her grandmother Amelia serving as midwife.<sup>85</sup> Frederick soon found another spouse. On July 2, 1884, he married 16-year-old Georgianna Reed of Camden.<sup>86</sup> A month later their daughter Bertha was born.<sup>87</sup>

Frederick Fearn and his second wife, Georgianna, made headlines in October 1886. Newspapers reported demonstrations and court actions against them for sending his sons, Walter, Louis, and George, now aged fourteen, ten, and seven, to reform school in Jamesburg, New Jersey, as incorrigibles. Although Fearn denied it, it was alleged that when he married Georgianna, he had agreed to get rid of the children from his first marriage and they were neglected and had to eat out of garbage cans. Neighbors were outraged and Fearn was burned in effigy in front of his home. A mob that gathered of men, women, and children, estimated at 2,000 to 3,000, included a procession of about 200 boys who carried Chinese lanterns and banners, such as “The Old She Cat!” and “Turn the Rascals Out!” They demanded that Fearn leave town.<sup>88</sup> On another night, a brass band passed his house, followed by a parade of demonstrators, who were not allowed to stop by the police.

Fearn’s mother, Amelia, took a leading role in petitioning the court to get the boys returned. The youngest child was sent home because he was under the minimum age of eight at the

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<sup>84</sup> 1880 U.S. Census, Camden, Camden County. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>85</sup> New Jersey Death Record, New Jersey State Archives. Annie was buried in Camden Cemetery. Her father was John Lawrence on the death record; her mother’s name was not noted. Birth of Pansey: New Jersey Birth Record, New Jersey State Archives, October 17, 1883, at 594 Carman Street, Camden. Pansey probably did not survive, as no further mention of her has been found.

<sup>86</sup> New Jersey Marriage Record, New Jersey State Archives. It was Georgianna’s first marriage and Frederick’s second. Her parents were J. Reed and Sallie A. Williams.

<sup>87</sup> Marriage: *Camden County Courier*, July 26, 1884, 3. Bertha was born August 1884, according to 1900 U.S. census, Trenton. Georgianna’s age in that census is listed as 30, so she would have been 14 in 1884 but 16 according to her death certificate.

<sup>88</sup> *Courier-Post* (Camden, New Jersey), October 16, 1886, 1; *Monmouth Inquirer*, October 21, 1886, 3.

Jamesburg reform school. An attorney, John Harris, appointed by the court to represent the children, found two dozen witnesses who said the boys were docile.<sup>89</sup> The two older boys came back on October 27 by order of Judge Parker. Parker ruled that if the stepmother continued to abuse them, the neighbors should have her arrested—but he condemned the rioting. The *New Brunswick Times* commented, “It is not the first time that public opinion has been strong enough to prevent private outrages, but in this case public opinion came very near leading to the lynching of the offender.”<sup>90</sup>

Fearn testified that if the children were returned, he would have to separate from his wife. The judge said he would try to find another home for the boys and it is likely that their grandmother Amelia took them in, at least temporarily.<sup>91</sup> With her stepsons out of the way, Georgianna had four more children of her own by 1895.<sup>92</sup>

Frederick Fearn opened a new gallery at 23 South Broad Street in Trenton by the spring of 1890.<sup>93</sup> He called his business Excelsior Photo Co. instead of using his surname.<sup>94</sup> On April 12, 1890, he made front-page news again when he was arrested for assault and battery on his wife and held for \$300 bail.<sup>95</sup> The family strife may have related in some way to Frederick’s mother,

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<sup>89</sup> *Courier-Post* (Camden, New Jersey), October 19, 1886, 1.

<sup>90</sup> *New Brunswick Times*, quoted in *Courier-Post* (Camden, New Jersey), October 26, 1886, 2.

<sup>91</sup> *Camden Daily Courier*, October 13–16, 19–20, 26–27, 1886, all page 1; *Monmouth Inquirer*, October 21, 1886, 3; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 18, 1886, 7.

<sup>92</sup> One child was Clifford Fred Fearn, born May 1890 in Philadelphia, according to the 1900 U.S. census, Trenton, although his draft registration card in 1917 gave his birth as May 6, 1889. [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com). The others were Clarence, born December 17, 1887, at 586 Benson Street, Camden; Dora E., born October 23, 1892, at 315 Perry Street, Trenton; and female [Lorraine], born November 30, 1895, at 276 Bellevue Avenue, Trenton. Birth records, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>93</sup> The Trenton city directory did not list Fearn until 1891 with business at 23 South Broad and home at 315 Perry Street. However, as noted in the text, he advertised in April 1890.

<sup>94</sup> The street name changed from Greene to South Broad in November 1889. At the same location from 1889 to 1892 was the branch gallery of the prominent photographer James R. Applegate, based in Philadelphia. It has not been determined if there was a business connection between Fearn and Applegate. Applegate was arrested on January 28, 1892, in Philadelphia for running a disorderly house. For Applegate, see the author’s “Nineteenth-Century New Jersey Photographers,” *New Jersey History*, 122:3–4 (Fall/Winter 2004), 36–143, revised text without illustrations at [http://www.gary.saretsky.com/photohistory/resources/photo\\_in\\_nj\\_july\\_2010.pdf](http://www.gary.saretsky.com/photohistory/resources/photo_in_nj_july_2010.pdf).

<sup>95</sup> *Trenton Times*, April 12, 1890, 1.

Amelia, moving to Trenton in 1890.<sup>96</sup> She advertised her services as a medical electrician and may also have helped take care of her grandchildren.<sup>97</sup>

Subsequently, Fearn seems to have been sufficiently well behaved in the 1890s to keep his name out of the newspapers. Beginning in 1895, Excelsior advertised regularly in the *Trenton Evening Times*. That year, he offered 16-by-20-inch portraits enlarged from tintypes and daguerreotypes for three dollars.<sup>98</sup> In 1897, he moved the gallery to 306 East State Street, succeeding John H. Britton, where he competed with, among others, Edward S. Dunshee at 209 East State Street.<sup>99</sup> In 1899, he offered cabinet cards for 75 cents per dozen (a very low price), 16-by-20 crayon portraits with six cabinet cards for \$2.50 with a free frame, and ten little penny photos for ten cents.<sup>100</sup> In 1899, a dollar was worth about \$32.65 in 2021 dollars.

The Frederick Fearn family had an addition as well as some near tragedies in the early 1900s. In December 1900, Frederick and Georgianna's 13-year-old son, Clifford, fell through the ice. Fortunately, he was rescued and returned home to his mother, who had heard he had drowned. In January 1901, Georgianna had another baby girl named Etta and that year she took all six children to Atlantic City for the summer.<sup>101</sup> In 1903, two of the girls were hospitalized with typhoid

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<sup>96</sup> Amelia Fearn was listed in the 1890 *Trenton City Directory* as A. A. Fearn, medical technician, with home at 234 Perry Street and in 1891 with both business and home at 240 East State Street. Frederick first appears in the *Trenton City Directory* in 1891 at 23 South Broad with home at 315 Perry Street.

<sup>97</sup> In March and April 1891, she advertised as Dr. A. Fearn, Medical Electrician, at 240 East State Street, promising to treat "all chronic and female disease. No shocks given . . . The poor treated free each Tuesday." *Trenton Evening Times*, March 8, 1891, 4. Amelia is listed in the 1891 *Trenton City Directory* as an electrician with the same home address.

<sup>98</sup> For example, *Trenton Evening Times*, November 22, 1895, 4.

<sup>99</sup> See the author's "Last Man Standing: E. S. Dunshee, Veteran Trenton Photographer," *Garden State Legacy*, Issue 30, December 30, 2015. <http://www.GardenStateLegacy.com>. Dunshee was one of a family of photographers but the only one associated with New Jersey. For a broader overview, see author's "The Dunshees: Itinerant New England Photographers from Bristol, Vermont," *The Journal* (Photographic Historical Society of New England), No. 174 (2016), 46–63.

<sup>100</sup> *Trenton Evening Times*, January 31, 1899, 5.

<sup>101</sup> *Trenton Evening Times*, December 19, 1900, 1; January 15, 1901, 1; July 22, 1901, 5. The *Times* reported the name erroneously as Eetta.

fever but they recovered.<sup>102</sup>

On March 14, 1904, Frederick Fearn died in Trenton after a few years of failing health. Members of the Sons of Union Veterans served as pallbearers and he was buried in Greenwood Cemetery.<sup>103</sup> Georgianna then applied for a Civil War widow's pension on March 24.<sup>104</sup> She married James W. Hickey in 1905 and, after some time in Philadelphia, where she had a son, Arthur Frank Hickey, on August 4, 1910, the Hickeys moved to Atlantic City.<sup>105</sup> Georgianna outlived Frederick Fearn by more than 50 years. She died on March 22, 1956, at the age of 88.<sup>106</sup>

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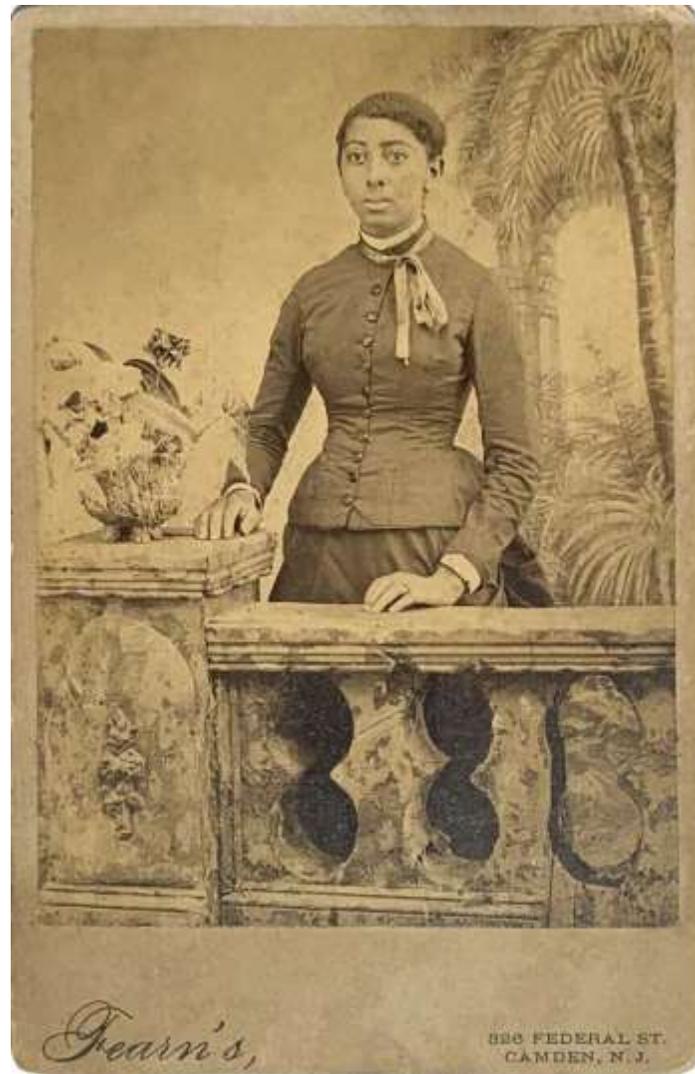
<sup>102</sup> One of the girls was Dora, who had appeared as "Baby" Fearn in several theatrical performances. The other was Lorraine. *Trenton Evening Times*, April 29, 1903, 1.

<sup>103</sup> *Trenton Evening Times*, March 19, 1904, 2; Death Record, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>104</sup> Civil War Pension Index, 1861–1934. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). Frederick had applied previously for a pension as an invalid on July 11, 1901. His naval rank was landsman in the application.

<sup>105</sup> New Jersey Marriage Index, 1901–2016 and birth of Arthur in New Jersey, U.S. United Methodist Church Records, 1800–1970. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). 1910 U.S. census, Philadelphia, Georgianna, 43, with James W. Hickey, 36, bricklayer, no children present. 1915 N.J. census, Atlantic City, Georgianna, age not given, with James, 43, her daughters Lorraine, 18 and Etta, 14, and son, Arthur, 4. The Fearn daughters' surnames were recorded as Hickey, so they may have been adopted. In the 1920 U.S. census, Atlantic City, Georgianna, 53, born Maryland, was recorded with husband, James W. Hickey, 45, born England, home builder, emigrated 1896, with son, Arthur, 9, and daughter Lorraine, 23. In the 1930 U.S. census, Atlantic City, Georgianna, 62, was listed with James Hickey, 55, building contractor, and their son, Arthur, 19, a musician in an orchestra.

<sup>106</sup> New Jersey Deaths and Burials Index, 1798–1971. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).



Frederick H. or William R. Fearn, Camden, Mary Blackstone, African American woman, cabinet card, 1880s. Courtesy author's digital collection.

### Edward R. Stoutenburgh

Unlike the vast majority of nineteenth-century New Jersey photography galleries, Edward R. Stoutenburgh's was not for the most part a sole proprietorship. In fact, it is not even clear that Stoutenburgh took any photographs himself. But he owned all or part of a large portrait studio at 244 Broad Street in Newark between 1863 and 1867. A good indicator of the size of his operation is his business income tax returns in 1867, a year in which photographers were supposed to pay 5 percent of their gross income monthly to the federal government. Among 64 New Jersey

photographers in the tax records for 1867, Stoutenburgh ranked third, although he just reported income for ten months that year, including three months with a partner, Royal Hill Rose. Only Joseph Kirk of Newark and Ira G. Owen of Newton ranked higher. Stoutenburgh, including when he was with Rose, filed taxes on \$5,074 gross income in 1867, equivalent to almost \$93,000 in 2021 dollars. His gross represented 7.4 percent of the total gross for all reporting photographers in New Jersey. Of the 19 photographers reporting more than \$1,000 in annual gross income in 1867, nine were in Newark, including Stoutenburgh and Rose filing separately when not with their partner.<sup>107</sup>

Stoutenburgh's years of photographic activity bracket the tail end of the cdv craze that reached its zenith during and just after the U.S. Civil War.<sup>108</sup> That cdvs and tintypes were inexpensive compared to the earlier popular photographic processes, notably the daguerreotype and ambrotype, helps explain the high volume, as does the popularity of collecting in the Victorian age, when keepsakes of all kinds were de rigueur. Moreover, the uncertain life expectancy as a result of the high rate of infant mortality, the prevalence of incurable diseases like consumption, and the risk of death to soldiers from battle and maladies like diarrhea and dysentery from contaminated water, helped drive business to photo galleries.<sup>109</sup> At that time, there were few amateur photographers, so photographs of people were mostly made by professionals, and in Newark, many galleries could be found on Broad Street.

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<sup>107</sup> Internal Revenue Assessment records, National Archives and Records Administration, summarized in Revised Table 2 in author, "Nineteenth-Century New Jersey Photographers, Revision of Illustrated Article" in *New Jersey History*, Fall/Winter 2004," [http://www.gary.saretzky.com/photohistory/resources/photo\\_in\\_nj\\_July\\_2021.pdf](http://www.gary.saretzky.com/photohistory/resources/photo_in_nj_July_2021.pdf).

<sup>108</sup> The cdv format continued to be quite popular until the early 1880s and persisted into the 1890s in the United States and longer in Europe and elsewhere. For an overview of the Civil War and the cdv craze, see author, "Photographers of the Civil War Era: Theodore Gubelman of Jersey City," *New Jersey Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Winter 2021), 209–225. With Joseph G. Bilby. <https://doi.org/10.14713/njs.v7i1.228>.

<sup>109</sup> Two-thirds of an estimated 660,000 deaths of soldiers in the Civil War were from diseases, especially pneumonia, typhoid, diarrhea, dysentery (diarrhea with blood in the stool), and malaria. J. S. Sartin, "Infectious Diseases during the Civil War: The Triumph of the 'Third Army,'" *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 16:4 (April 1993): 580–584. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/8513069/>.

Newark was the largest city in New Jersey, so more photographs were made there than in other parts of the state. It was growing rapidly: The population increased from 71,941 in 1860 to 105,059 in 1870. The economy in New Jersey and the gross national product in the United States as a whole were also expanding.<sup>110</sup> This period of prosperity would continue until the Panic of 1873 caused a recession in Europe and North America that lasted about five years in the United States and longer in some other countries.

Edward's father, Robert C. Stoutenburgh (Sr.), who lived from 1801 to 1870, rode this wave of prosperity. In 1821, he moved from New York to Newark and opened a store for the sale of "looking glasses" (mirrors).<sup>111</sup> By 1832, he became a partner in the furniture business with Elihu Day, as Stoutenburgh & Day, and in the 1850s, they were joined by John H. Reock in Stoutenburgh, Day & Reock, furniture manufacturers and dealers.<sup>112</sup> In the 1860s, they also sold oilcloths.<sup>113</sup> According to an 1870 ad, they could furnish an entire house on one day's notice from items in their warehouse. Among their products were mirrors, cabinets, carpets, chairs, featherbeds, mattresses, silver and silver-plated ware, hollow and wooden ware, table cutlery, "Brittania" ware (teapots and other items made of a silver-plated pewter alloy), china, glass and earthenware (imported), andirons, shovels, and tongs.<sup>114</sup> The 1850 U.S. census reported Robert's net worth at \$23,000, equivalent to almost \$800,000 in 2021, and his wealth continued to grow.<sup>115</sup>

Edward R. Stoutenburgh was born about 1835–1837 to Robert C. Stoutenburgh (Sr.) and

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<sup>110</sup> Robert E. Gallman, "Gross National Product in the United States, 1834–1909," in Dorothy S. Brady, ed., *Output, Employment, and Productivity in the United States after 1800*, NBER, 1966, <https://www.nber.org/system/files/chapters/c1565/c1565.pdf>.

<sup>111</sup> Ad, *Centinel of Freedom*, June 5, 1821, 1.

<sup>112</sup> Ads for carpeting, cabinets, chairs, mirrors, china and crocker, silver, mattresses and beds, feathers, willow and wooden ware, window blinds, andirons, and other items, *Jerseyman* (Morristown, New Jersey), April 25, 1832, 3; "Sheriff's Sale," *Newark Daily Advertiser*, February 1, 1855, 3, mentions Reock with Stoutenburgh and Day.

<sup>113</sup> Newark city directories, 1865, 1867, and 1868.

<sup>114</sup> *Newark City Directory*, 1870, 881. The address was 803 (Old Nos. 308 & 310) Broad Street.

<sup>115</sup> The net worth of Robert (Sr.) was not recorded in the 1860 U.S. census and he died before the 1870 census. See also Note 135.

his wife, Caroline (née Feagles, 1804–1895), and in the 1850 and 1860 censuses, he is listed as a clerk, very likely in the business of his father or brother.<sup>116</sup> The 1860 census found Edward, at the age of 27, living with his wife Annie. He had married Anne E. Osborn in Newark on March 8, 1860.<sup>117</sup> They resided in the home of his parents. Also in the household were his older brother, Robert (Jr., 1828–1884), and his wife, Caroline; their three-year-old son, Frederick; and an Irish servant, Caroline Dougherty. (Yes, there were three Carolines in the household.) The younger Robert had become a tailor and became a highly successful clothing merchant whose business was later carried forward by Frederick. When Frederick died in October 1922, he left an estate valued at more than \$331,000, worth about \$5.6 million in 2021 dollars. The Stoutenburgh clothing store remained in operation until 1923, and after the business was sold by Frederick’s son Lyndon E. Stoutenburgh, in the largest mercantile deal until then in the history of New Jersey, the building was rented to Woolworth’s.<sup>118</sup> While the Stoutenburgh family’s wealth was not comparable to the Astors, Goulds, and Vanderbilts in the Gilded Age, they evidently became well off by contemporary standards.

Robert Stoutenburgh (Jr.) is an example of a son of a successful father who emulated his parent and did as well or better in business. By comparison, his younger brother, Edward, from the limited evidence available, seemed more interested in spending money than earning more of it. He did give it a try, perhaps with his family’s encouragement and seed money. In 1863, he became a

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<sup>116</sup> In the 1880 U.S. census for Newark, Edward is listed as a “retired clothier,” suggesting that he had worked for his brother.

<sup>117</sup> “Married,” *Newark Daily Advertiser*, March 9, 1860, 2; Marriage Record, New Jersey State Archives. Edward and Anne were wed in the First Reformed Dutch Church by Reverend E. P. Terhune. The bride and groom were both of Newark.

<sup>118</sup> “F.D. Stoutenburgh Estate Valued at \$331,300 Net,” *Newark Evening News*, September 19, 1922; “Stoutenburgh Store Sale Consummated, Is Report,” *Newark Evening News*, January 27, 1923; and “Stoutenburgh’s Store Sold to Barney Taylor,” *Newark Evening News*, January 28, 1923. The January 28 article stated that the price was more than \$1 million. Clippings courtesy Tom Ankner, Director, Charles F. Cummings New Jersey Information Center, Newark Public Library, email to author, May 11, 2022.

partner with William H. Rolf in the Star Photographic Gallery at 244 Broad Street.<sup>119</sup> The partners paid \$16.67 in May 1863 for a license to practice photography for eight months.<sup>120</sup>

Rolf is first known as a daguerreotypist in Newark in 1855.<sup>121</sup> In 1856, he was awarded best assortment of photographs and ambrotypes at the New Jersey State Fair.<sup>122</sup> By 1858, he had partnered with Benjamin F. Powelson in the Star Gallery. Powelson bought him out in 1858, but Rolf came back and became sole owner no later than December 1859, when he took out an ad for six months that read, “Rolf’s Star Gallery of Art . . . Photographs for the Million, Cheaper and Better than have ever been offered in this city before . . . Our facilities for producing first-class Photographs are second to none in the United States, and we are making them from the largest to the smallest size. Of our Ambrotype Department, we need say nothing, as we have ever taken the lead in this beautiful picture. We have a fine selection of Fancy Cases, suited for Holiday Presents. Mothers, bring your little ones in the morning, if possible, as we have more leisure then, and a better light for children.”<sup>123</sup> In October 1863, after managing Rolf’s for the past eight years, Joseph Kirk opened his own photo gallery. Whether Kirk’s departure was related to Stoutenburgh’s arrival or just stemmed from a desire to strike out on his own is undetermined, but it is plausible that Kirk taught Stoutenburgh about gallery management before departing. As noted above, Kirk did very well by 1867.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> The address of the gallery is sometimes found as 242 Broad and as 244 & 246 Broad. 1863 starting date: Newark City Directory, 1863.

<sup>120</sup> Kelbaugh, 80. The fee was paid as Rolf & Stoutenburgh, but their cdvs carried the name Stoutenburgh & Rolf.

<sup>121</sup> In 1855–1856, Rolf was listed in the Newark city directory at 65 Columbia Street and in the latter year became partners with Jenks (likely Jonathan B. or Robert V. Jenks, brothers in Paterson, or both) at 354 Broad Street, which was called the Gift Gallery. John S. Craig, *Craig’s Daguerreian Registry*. Vol. 3 (Torrington, Connecticut: John S. Craig, 1996), 490.

<sup>122</sup> *Centinel of Freedom* (Newark), September 16, 1856, 3; *Newark Daily Advertiser*, September 8, 1856, 2.

<sup>123</sup> *Newark Daily Advertiser*, June 23, 1858, 3, and January 20, 1860, 3. See also author, New Jersey Photographers List, for listings of Powelson, Rolf, and Stoutenburgh, <http://gary.saretzky.com/photohistory/njphotographers.html>.

<sup>124</sup> Ad, *Newark Daily Advertiser*, October 2, 1863, 1. For Kirk, see author, “Joseph Kirk & the Huff Brothers,” *Garden State Legacy*, 41 (December 2018), <http://www.GardenStateLegacy.com>.

By joining with Rolf, Stoutenburgh became partners with a well-established and experienced gallery owner. Stoutenburgh & Rolf produced a high volume of cdvs, some of them Civil War soldiers, such as Second Lieutenant George W. Dalley, 5th Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers, whose portrait is at the New Jersey Archives. The poses were typical of the era. The three most common compositions were a seated figure with one hand positioned above the other to form a scalene triangle with the head; a standing figure with one hand or arm on the back of a chair or on top of a column for support; and a vignetted head and shoulders with substantial blank space around the subject. When stability was needed during the exposures, which could be as little as half a second, the camera operator placed an immobilizer behind the figure with a clamp to hold the head. The base of the immobilizer sometimes can be seen behind the feet in cdvs of standing subjects.

The Stoutenburgh and Rolf partnership lasted about two years. Rolf's subsequent life has not been documented; possibly, he went abroad. Some of the studio's cdvs carried the imprint "Stoutenburgh & Co." and it is likely that they are from a brief period after Rolf departed.<sup>125</sup> But by the end of 1865, Stoutenburgh had an excellent new partner at 244–246 Broad Street, Royal Hill Rose (1840–1918), and the firm became Stoutenburgh & Rose.

Rose was born and raised in Hudson, New York, and married Emma Walker, the stepdaughter of Poughkeepsie photographer Samuel Leon Walker. Very likely, he learned photography from his father-in-law. Like many other contemporary photographers, he moved around quite a bit before settling down. In 1860, he briefly had his own gallery in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and then his whereabouts have not been found by this author until late 1865, when

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<sup>125</sup> Dated examples of cdvs with "Stoutenburgh & Co." have not been located but given the firm's Civil War soldier portraits with this imprint, it is likely that they were made between Rolf's departure and Rose's arrival in 1865 rather than after Rose left in 1867, although further research is required to rule out the later date. It is also possible that Rose was the "& Co." before his name was added to the firm's.

Stoutenburgh & Rose began operations. In 1867, he left the partnership and established his own studio in Newark and did well, judging by his tax returns. Rose then became the chief photographer for Henry C. Lovejoy in Trenton in 1870 but in 1871 went back to Poughkeepsie to work with Walker. In 1873, he moved to Princeton, New Jersey, where he became the leading town photographer for decades. Eventually Rose was joined and succeeded by his son Royal Cutting Rose, who in turn was assisted and then succeeded by his son, Carleton Wallace Rose Sr. In 1951, Carleton closed the long-running studio.<sup>126</sup>

From 1865 to 1867, Stoutenburgh & Rose continued and may have increased the high volume of portrait cdvs produced by Stoutenburgh & Rolf, as extant cdvs by Stoutenburgh & Rose are somewhat more commonly found today. Among their subjects were Civil War soldiers in uniform.<sup>127</sup> Other clients included the well-known Newark native Marcus Ward (1812–1884), who served as New Jersey governor (1866–1869). At least two different cdvs of Ward by Stoutenburgh & Rose are known and appear to be from separate sittings.<sup>128</sup>

When Rose departed in March 1867, Stoutenburgh assumed sole proprietorship and continued filing monthly tax returns until October of that year. He then apparently decided to retire in his mid-thirties.<sup>129</sup> In the 1870 U.S. census, the year his father died, he was listed without profession. Very likely, he felt that he had enough money and spent his time enjoying himself. Edward and his wife lived with his parents through most of the 1860s, so his housing expenses were probably minimal. In 1870, the census taker found him with his wife, Annie, and three-year-

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<sup>126</sup> In part, *Princeton History*, 16 (2000, special issue on Rose studio). While the Rose studio did some photography on the Princeton campus and studio portraits of Princeton faculty and students, the class photos were done by out-of-town photographers such as Gustavus Pach, as explained in Melissa Johnson, *Reflections on Photographing Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Library), 1999.

<sup>127</sup> About a dozen cdvs of Civil War soldiers by Stoutenburgh & Rolf, Stoutenburgh & Rose, and Stoutenburgh & Co. are in the New Jersey State Archives, inventoried at <https://www.nj.gov/state/archives/sdea4010.html>.

<sup>128</sup> Author's digital archives.

<sup>129</sup> The 1868 Newark city directory still listed Stoutenburgh & Rose, but Stoutenburgh probably closed his doors in October 1867.

old daughter, Carrie B., at the home of Annie's parents.<sup>130</sup> One must wonder what Stoutenburgh's father-in-law thought about providing a roof over the head of his indolent well-off son-in-law. Stoutenburgh and his family, however, soon moved back in with his widowed mother until his brother Robert and his family moved to his mother's in 1873 and Edward got his own home in Newark.<sup>131</sup> In an article about his trial in 1880, he was described in one newspaper as "a well-known sporting man of Newark, who is possessed of considerable means."<sup>132</sup> Another wrote that he had "sporting proclivities," implying perhaps that he liked to wager.<sup>133</sup> Stoutenburgh testified at the trial, discussed below, that he had a substantial income.<sup>134</sup> The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* described him as "well known to sporting men for many years, and his extravagant habits rendered him a popular person with this class."<sup>135</sup>

The events that led to Edward Stoutenburgh's trial for the theft of a valuable diamond in 1880 are rather complicated and the prosecution's case was vigorously disputed by Stoutenburgh, who proclaimed his innocence, as did his defense lawyer. What does seem evident is that Stoutenburgh's reputation was damaged by testimony regarding a night of heavy drinking with a man named William Lindsley and a young former chambermaid, Lizzie Maloney, who appeared to have been Stoutenburgh's paramour and who was seen wearing the diamond ring.

Stoutenburgh was arrested after Mrs. Frank K. Leavitt, "a handsomely-dressed young lady

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<sup>130</sup> 1870 U.S. census, Newark: Edward, 38 [sic], born New Jersey, occupation "none," and Annie, 30, born New Jersey; Carrie, 3, born New York, the Stoutenburghs living with Annie's family surnamed Osborn: her parents, Andrew, 66, works in shoe factory, and Isabella, 56; Julia, 23; and John, 21, bookkeeper, all born in New Jersey. In city directories, Andrew Osborn is listed as a shoemaker, but from 1869 on, he is not listed with a profession.

<sup>131</sup> Newark City directories, 1861–1871, 1873–1876, 1878–1879. In 1861, Edward was listed as living at 79 Halsey, the same address as Robert (Jr.). In 1862, Robert (Sr.) moved to what was probably a larger abode, and Edward and his wife moved in with his parents.

<sup>132</sup> *Morris County Chronicle*, February 27, 1880, 3.

<sup>133</sup> *New York Herald*, January 19, 1880, 4.

<sup>134</sup> The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 2, 1880, 2, wrote that Stoutenburgh "is 41 years of age, and is the son of a wealthy furniture dealer, who settled \$6,000 a year upon his son."

<sup>135</sup> March 2, 1880, 2.

of prepossessing appearance,” accused him of substituting a paste for the \$1,500 diamond on her wedding ring, a stone valued at more than \$40,000 in 2021 dollars. Mary Gardner Leavitt (née Dorr) and her wealthy husband, who had never worked, lived in upscale Llewellyn Park, one of the first planned suburban communities in the United States, located in West Orange. Their “elegant residence” was owned by Mrs. Leavitt. After moving to West Orange, Frank Leavitt began frequenting Melville Sandford’s billiard parlors on Broad Street in Newark, where he became well acquainted with Stoutenburgh.<sup>136</sup>

The Leavitts had gotten married less than two years previously, and Frank, who had returned to the United States after 15 years in Paris with his father, gave her the ring for a wedding present. After acquiring the diamond as a gift from the proprietor of Pike’s Opera House in Cincinnati, he had had it placed in the ring by Ladd’s jewelry store at 14 Wall Street, New York.<sup>137</sup> At the time of the crime, Mrs. Leavitt was about 20 years old and recently had given birth to a son, Frank Jr.<sup>138</sup>

Stoutenburgh had learned that Leavitt owed \$175 to a former Newark alderman, A. C. Westervelt, and that his check had bounced. Leavitt apparently was short of cash and likely did not want to ask his father for help. According to Leavitt, Stoutenburgh suggested that if Leavitt lent him the diamond ring as collateral, he would loan him the money to pay Westervelt. Leavitt agreed to the deal and wrote a note to his wife. It was delivered by a young law student, William Dougherty, who returned with the ring. While Stoutenburgh did not dispute the substance of the

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<sup>136</sup> Sandford was subpoenaed as a witness but did not appear to testify. For that reason, he was arrested for contempt of court in May 1880 and held in \$300 bail. *Trenton State Gazette*, May 26, 1880, 2.

<sup>137</sup> *Jersey Journal*, November 12, 1879, 1.

<sup>138</sup> 1880 U.S. Census, West Orange, New Jersey, lists Frank as 28 without occupation, Mary G., 20 or 24, and Frank S., 10 months.

deal, he said it was Leavitt who proposed using the ring as security for the loan.<sup>139</sup>

Leavitt recalled that about six months after Stoutenburgh obtained the ring, Leavitt still had not paid him back. Stoutenburgh then told him that it would be pawned or sold. Leavitt got jeweler William A. Freeman Jr. of Bloomfield to pay Stoutenburgh the \$175 and hold the ring until the Leavitts could redeem it. Stoutenburgh turned over the ring and Freeman then had it appraised in New York at three jewelers. Tiffany's and Benedict's valued it at \$4 and \$5, respectively, and Ladd's, which as noted above had placed the diamond on the ring, concluded that the valuable stone had been replaced with a cheap substitute. Upon Freeman showing the ring to Mrs. Leavitt, she exclaimed that it was not the diamond in the ring given to Stoutenburgh and filed the complaint that led to Stoutenburgh's arrest on November 14, 1879.<sup>140</sup> Stoutenburgh made bail of \$1,000.<sup>141</sup>

Stoutenburgh countered that the stone had already been changed when he got it from Leavitt. He said that when he got the ring, he offered to go with Leavitt to a pawnbroker to get it appraised but Leavitt would not agree. Subsequently Stoutenburgh took it to a pawnbroker who said it was paste, but he did not mention this finding to Leavitt. "I just kept my mouth shut," said Stoutenburgh, "until I got the money I had advanced, and then I gave up the ring. I don't know about any changes in the stone. It may have been changed before I got it."<sup>142</sup>

Indicted for a misdemeanor by the grand jury in January 1880, Stoutenburgh pleaded not guilty and the trial was scheduled for February 2. By that time, the real diamond had been located

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<sup>139</sup> Primarily, *Jersey Journal*, November 12, 1879, 1, and *Sun and New York Press*, November 13, 1879, 2. These articles were written by the same reporter, as the name of one of the people involved in the case, William A. Freeman, is corrected in the second article with reference to the first. Leavitt said that Stoutenburgh told him that there was a constable waiting outside to arrest him if he did not immediately pay off his debt, but Stoutenburgh disputed this allegation, stating that he just warned Leavitt that he would be arrested soon.

<sup>140</sup> *Sun and New York Press*, November 13, 1879, 2. Freeman, identified as W. A. Freeman, is described as a jeweler in the *New York Herald*, January 19, 1880, 4.

<sup>141</sup> *New York Tribune*, November 14, 1879, 5.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

by detectives under the direction of Essex County Prosecutor Colonel Gustavus N. Abeel and returned to Mrs. Leavitt.<sup>143</sup> Stoutenburgh was also the subject of civil suits filed by Mrs. Leavitt and he unsuccessfully offered her money to settle them and, it was suspected, to get the criminal charge against him dropped.<sup>144</sup>

The trial was held as scheduled and well attended by the public. According to the *New York Herald*, “The court room was filled with people, many handsomely dressed ladies from Orange being present to hear testimony, some of which was well calculated to bring the color to their cheeks.” Mrs. Leavitt, “a pretty woman, richly dressed in a black silk costume, wore on her dainty, ungloved hand the jewel which had caused all the trouble.” She testified that she had been sued by Freeman to recover the money he had loaned her and that she had “triumphed in the suit.” Mr. Leavitt testified, according to the *Herald*, that he “was a young gentleman of leisure, who spent his time in the pursuit of pleasure.” William Lindsley, “another gay young Newarker,” stated that he and Stoutenburgh attended a variety hall and there he saw the Leavitt diamond on the finger of a female habitu  (Lizzie Maloney) of the place who had been a chambermaid at a Newark hotel where Lindsley boarded.<sup>145</sup> The court adjourned with Lindsley on the stand and he continued his testimony the next day.

According to Lindsley, Lizzie Maloney was wearing the ring during a night of partying with Stoutenburgh at the Metropolitan Hotel in New York. In another version of the story, he said he saw Stoutenburgh and two girls, including Lizzie wearing the ring, at Harry Hill’s Saloon.

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<sup>143</sup> *New York Tribune*, January 19, 1880, 8; *New York Herald*, February 20, 1880, 9; and *Jersey Journal*, January 19, 1880. The *Jersey Journal* article was reprinted in *Bridgeton Evening News*, January 20, 1880, 2, and the *Patriot* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, January 20, 1880, 1. Stoutenburgh later testified that when the real stone turned up, he paid for it. For a biography of Abeel (1839–1884), see Francis Bazlee Lee, ed., *Genealogical and Memorial History of the State of New Jersey* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1910), 1412.

<sup>144</sup> *New York Herald*, January 19, 1880, 4. This article mentioned that Stoutenburgh “inherited a handsome fortune at the death of his father some years ago. His brother is one of the most extensive clothiers in Newark.”

<sup>145</sup> *New York Herald*, February 20, 1880, 9.

Lindsley claimed that he saw Lizzie again at the Revere House and, while lying in bed sick, she gave it to him to give to Stoutenburgh. However, the defense elicited testimony that Stoutenburgh, Lindsley, and Lizzie spent the night together at the Revere House after a night of drinking and that Lindsley took the ring from Lizzie's finger while she was lying on the bed prostrated, "sick from her potations."<sup>146</sup>

Stoutenburgh took the stand in his own defense. He testified that he had an income of \$6,000 a year from his father and had lost \$40,000 "by helping his friends" start billiard parlors and similar places of entertainment.<sup>147</sup> Recounting the "jollifications in New York," he testified that he went to Harry Hill's with Lizzie Maloney and another woman and Lizzie was wearing the ring. Stoutenburgh also stated that he thought he had been drugged, presumably by Lindsley. While Lizzie was intoxicated, Lindsley took the ring and did not return it for a week. Then, Stoutenburgh said, in the company of billiard parlor owner Sandford, he took it to Freeman, who pronounced it to be a fake.<sup>148</sup> This story was inconsistent with his earlier assertion that he had found out it was a fake earlier when he got it from Leavitt and took it to a pawnbroker. Stoutenburgh also stated that he was ready to spend \$25,000 to establish his innocence, perhaps to give the jury the impression that he had no motive to steal the diamond since he had ample resources.

In important testimony, Alfred C. Sniffin, a clerk at R. Humphreys & Co. jewelers, Broadway and Twelfth Street, New York, testified that William Lindsley came in with the ring on

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<sup>146</sup> *New York Times*, February 22, 1880, 8.

<sup>147</sup> *New York Herald*, February 21, 1880, 9; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 2, 1880, 2. Edward's father, Robert C. Stoutenburgh, left \$25,000, his gold watch, and other items to his wife, Caroline. All the income from the remainder of his estate, which totaled \$71,808, was divided between his sons, Richard and Edward, and upon their deaths, to his grandchildren. Estate Papers, Essex County, for Robert C. Stoutenburgh, filed May 25, 1870, Book Q, Page 325, 17191G, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>148</sup> *New York Times*, February 22, 1880, 8; *Jersey Journal*, February 21, 1880, 1; *New York Herald*, February 21, 1880, 9; *New York Tribune*, February 21, 1880, 8. The last article also in *Trenton State Gazette*, February 23, 1880, 2.

September 14 or 15, ordered the paste, and picked it up two or three days later.<sup>149</sup> The question then became for the jurors whether Lindsley acted alone or in concert with Stoutenburgh to effect the substitution or whether Stoutenburgh was solely responsible. Other witnesses testified, including A. C. Westervelt, who stated that, in conversation with Stoutenburgh on September 10, he threatened to have Leavitt arrested, backing up Stoutenburgh's account.<sup>150</sup>

Newspapers reported that many thought that Stoutenburgh would be acquitted or that there would be a hung jury. But whether or not Stoutenburgh had ordered the paste made, his questionable behavior regarding Lizzie Maloney probably influenced the jury. Despite the evidence in his favor, the jury convicted him of a misdemeanor after deliberating for several hours. When the verdict was read, Stoutenburgh "turned white to his lips, but made no remark."<sup>151</sup> Pending sentencing, he was released on bail of \$4,000 put up by his father-in-law. A few days later, after a rumor reached the court that Stoutenburgh had been seen in a travel office where he could buy a steamer ticket for Europe, Judge McCarter ordered him arrested and brought to the Newark city jail.<sup>152</sup> Perhaps because of Stoutenburgh's reported inclination to jump bail, Judge McCarter gave him the maximum sentence, two years hard labor in the state prison and a \$500 fine.<sup>153</sup>

But Stoutenburgh never served time in the state prison. On March 14 and 15, the press

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<sup>149</sup> In part, *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1880, 8.

<sup>150</sup> *Jersey Journal*, February 21, 1880, 1. Other witnesses included Walter Knight, a Newark stenographer, William Loder, one of Pinkerton's detectives, and James B. Hill, a bartender, among others. Perhaps because he was a witness for the prosecution, Lindsley was not charged in the case. Essex County, Court of General Quarter Sessions minutes, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>151</sup> *New York Tribune*, February 25, 1880, 8; *Morris County Chronicle*, February 27, 1880, 3; Essex County, Court of General Quarter Sessions, minute book, New Jersey State Archives.

<sup>152</sup> *New York Herald*, February 27, 1880, 9; *New York Dispatch*, February 29, 1880, 6.

<sup>153</sup> *Sun* (Baltimore), March 2, 1880, 4. The *Sag Harbor Corrector*, March 6, 1880, reported that Stoutenburgh was sentenced to the maximum penalty because he falsely accused Mrs. Leavitt of cheating him and that about two weeks previously, Stoutenburgh had been cheated out of \$1,200 by buying fake gold bars from a proprietor of a gambling saloon in Leadville who had lost all his money while on a visit to New York.

reported that he was “seriously ill and may die in consequence of severe hemorrhage of the lungs.” Ill with consumption, the leading cause of death in the United States in the nineteenth century, he lost about a pint of blood and was taken to the hospital room at the jail. His wife Annie would not leave his side and helped him all she could. He was able to ingest only a little beef broth and it was not thought possible that he would survive.<sup>154</sup> On the following day, he continued to bleed, but a physician determined that he was not in immediate danger of dying. His transfer to the state prison was put on hold.<sup>155</sup>

Stoutenburgh’s friends began a campaign to reduce his sentence and have him released as a consequence of his ill health. Three physicians certified that the very weak Stoutenburgh would soon die if not removed to a hospital or his residence.<sup>156</sup> Although Judge McCarter ordered him transferred to the state prison on June 12, he was pardoned by the court of pardons on account of his illness and allowed to go home. He had already paid the \$500 fine and court costs.<sup>157</sup> In August, Stoutenburgh tried to recuperate at Manhattan Beach in Brooklyn. The *Jersey Journal* quipped, “He finds it better for his health and more agreeable [sic] than a stay at the Trenton State Prison would have been.”<sup>158</sup> Stoutenburgh subsequently sought to prolong his life at Saratoga Springs, but he died there of consumption on November 27, 1882, at the age of 43.<sup>159</sup> Mary Leavitt also died in 1882 and the diamond ring became an issue during the settlement of her estate.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> *New York Herald*, March 14, 1880, 8; *Jersey Journal*, March 15, 1880, 1. The latter article was also in the *New York Herald*, March 15, 1880, 1.

<sup>155</sup> *New York Herald*, March 16, 1880, 3.

<sup>156</sup> *New York Daily Graphic*, March 19, 1880, 167.

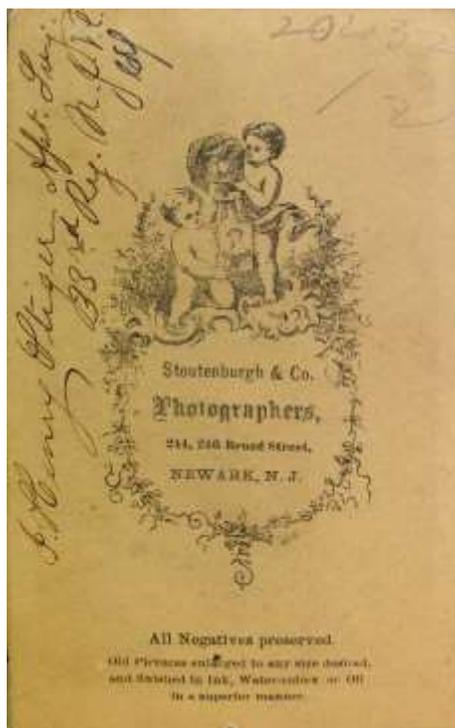
<sup>157</sup> *New York Herald*, June 13, 1880, 12, and July 1, 1880, 10; *Morris County Chronicle*, July 2, 1880, 2; *Camden County Courier*, July 3, 1880, 2. The *Courier* identified the illness as consumption.

<sup>158</sup> *Jersey Journal*, August 10, 1880, 4.

<sup>159</sup> *Jersey Journal*, November 29, 1882, 4.

<sup>160</sup> Mary Gardner Leavitt Estate papers, New Jersey State Archives, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

The Stoutenburgh family's tragedy reverberated through the years. After Edward's wife, Annie, died in August 1910, the *New York Press*, on December 15, 1910, reported that Edward's daughter, Carrie Belle Stoutenburgh Fuller of New York, had contested Annie's will, stating that her mind was addled because she had used morphine and drank four quarts of whiskey per week. Annie left an estate of about \$20,000 to her own brother and sister, while Carrie only got a one-third interest in a property at 5 New Jersey Railroad Avenue. Annie's will stated that Carrie had gotten sufficient inheritances from her father and grandfather and "if she had been careful, would have [been] well provided for her and her family."<sup>161</sup> Actually, Edward had left all of his estate,



after his debts were paid, to Annie; Carrie had gotten nothing directly from her father through his will, although upon his death, she inherited his income from her grandfather's estate.<sup>162</sup>

**Stoutenburgh & Co., Newark, J. Henry Stiger, 33rd Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers, cdv, 1865. Courtesy New Jersey State Archives.**

<sup>161</sup> Annie died of a brain hemorrhage on August 19, 1910, at her home, 49 Columbia Street, Newark, and was buried in Mount Pleasant Cemetery. She was a Newark resident all her life. [Find-A-Grave.com](https://www.findagrave.com); *Newark Evening Star and Newark Advertiser*, August 22, 1910, 5; "Fights Her Mother's Will," *New York Press*, December 15, 1910, 7 (accessed via [fultonhistory.com](https://www.fultonhistory.com)).

<sup>162</sup> Stoutenburgh left his estate to his wife, Annie E. Stoutenburgh, and only if she predeceased him, to his daughter Carrie Belle. New Jersey Wills and Probate Records, Essex, Wills, Vol. Z, 1882–1883, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

**John C. Tibbels**<sup>163</sup>

Although Frank Z. Fritz was the major photographer in Lambertville from 1867 to 1897, John C. Tibbels gave him significant competition in the 1880s. Born about 1845 in Pennsylvania, Tibbels (as Tibbles) enlisted on August 15, 1861, at Camp Olden in Trenton as a private in Company F, 4th Regiment Infantry, New Jersey Volunteers (NJV), for three years of service in the Civil War.

The 4th Regiment Infantry, NJV, took part in memorable engagements, including at Gaines Mill, Virginia, on June 27, 1862, one of a series of battles called the Seven Days, at which the regiment suffered heavy casualties. At Gaines Mill, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th New Jersey regiments formed a brigade that was sent to the front by General George B. McClellan as a holding action to give time for the badly outnumbered Union Fifth Corps to retreat. The brigade lost more than 1,000 men killed and wounded and “500, belonging to the 4th were captured in a body, having refused to retreat from the woods when they might have done so, and [continued] to fight until completely surrounded.”<sup>164</sup>

Tibbels was wounded and captured at Gaines Mills, then confined in Richmond. He was paroled on July 27, 1862, and sent to Washington, DC, presumably to recuperate.<sup>165</sup> On April 10, 1863, Tibbels deserted at Camp Parole, Annapolis, Maryland.<sup>166</sup> Camp Parole was one of three

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<sup>163</sup> No relationship was found between John C. Tibbels and photographer Horace W. Tibbals, active around the same time in Painesville, Ohio, including a partnership with George N. Barnard.

<sup>164</sup> The Union troops at this juncture were outnumbered by about two to one by the Confederates under General Robert E. Lee, approximately 60,000 to 27,000. National Park Service, Battle of Gaines Mill, <https://www.nps.gov/rich/learn/historyculture/gainesmille.htm>; *The Union Army A History of Military Affairs in the Loyal States 1861–65—Records of the Regiments in the Union Army—Cyclopedia of Battles—Memoirs of Commanders and Soldiers*. Vol. 3 (Madison, Wisconsin: Federal Publishing, 1908), 38–39, <https://archive.org/details/unionarmyhistory03madi/page/38/mode/2up>.

<sup>165</sup> Memorandum from Prisoner of War Records, J. F. Tibbles [sic], National Archives and Records Administration. Tibbels was paroled at City Point, Virginia, later annexed by Hopewell Township.

<sup>166</sup> William S. Stryker, *Record of Officers and Men in New Jersey of the Civil War, 1861–1865* (Trenton: State of New Jersey, 1876), 209, <https://archive.org/details/recordsofofficer01newj/page/208/mode/2up>. For a summary of Camp Parole, see “Camp Parole, Annapolis, Maryland,” <https://www.pa-roots.com/pacw/campparole.html>. Clara

Union camps established during the Civil War for captured Union troops who were released by the Confederates after taking a pledge (“Parole of Honor”) not to accept military duties until officially exchanged. The camp in Annapolis, built to house 50,000 men, was loosely guarded. The parolees were free to go into the town of Annapolis for recreation, and quite a few like Tibbels deserted.<sup>167</sup> For the next few years, Tibbels remained absent from his regiment and his whereabouts have not been determined. He was exchanged but did not appear subsequently on the 4th’s muster rolls.

On September 12, 1867, at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, Tibbels married Caroline Williams, born in 1850 in Pennsylvania. They had two children, Caroline and Ewing, in 1869 and 1871, respectively, while living in Illinois, where he has not been found in the 1870 U.S. census or in directories.<sup>168</sup> The next trace of Tibbels is when he came to Lambertville, New Jersey, in 1876. He may have worked there for another photographer; if so, it probably was Fritz. However, no record of him working as a photographer before 1879 has been found. On May 24 of that year, he opened his own photography gallery in the center of town. The gallery occupied the entire second story of the Charles Schulhaus building on the southeast corner of Union and Church Streets, opposite the Presbyterian church. Harry Williams, his young brother-in-law, served as his apprentice, and his wife worked as a photograph retoucher, a job that usually involved enhancing glass-plate negative portraits before printing to remove blemishes and other detractions

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Barton had her Missing Soldiers Office at Camp Parole. See “It All Started Here,” <https://www.clarabartonmuseum.org/it-all-started-here/>. Before deserting, Tibbels was court-martialed twice in April 1862 for unrecorded causes and docked \$3.00 and \$5.00 from his pay. Company F, 4th Regiment Muster Roll, April & May 1862, National Archives and Records Administration.

<sup>167</sup> In part, “Camp Parole, Annapolis, Maryland,” <https://www.pa-roots.com/pacw/campparole.html>. Tibbels deserted about a week before another Company F man at Camp Parole, Eleazer Stark.

<sup>168</sup> 1880 U.S. Census, Hunterdon County, Lambertville. The 1880 census recorded Tibbels, 35, photographer, born in Pennsylvania, which agrees with *Industries of New Jersey*, op. cit., and gave his father’s birthplace as Maryland and his mother’s as New Jersey. His wife, Caroline, 33, was recorded as born in Pennsylvania, as were her parents. The Tibbels family has not been found by the author in the 1870 census.

from the sitter's appearance.<sup>169</sup> In the *Lambertville Record*, Tibbels announced his intention to produce portraits in several formats: cdv, cabinet cards, promenade cards (similar to cabinet cards but larger, usually 4 1/8 by 7 1/8 inches), large photos for framing, "ferreotypes" (tintypes), and others. He mentioned a specialty in children's portraits and planned to do copying and make views of buildings, machinery, and other subjects. Like many other studio photographers, he also would sell picture frames.<sup>170</sup> Although he did not mention it in this ad, Tibbels also made stereographic views, now rare.<sup>171</sup>

Tibbels began his studio at the time that cabinet cards were overtaking cdvs as the most popular format for portraits. According to the *Lambertville Record* on September 10, 1879, he was "making some excellent pictures at his gallery. . . . The cabinet pictures are all the go, and his are finished in the highest style of the art."<sup>172</sup> Indeed, Tibbels's portraits were carefully, if rather conventionally, posed and lighted, and were comparable to those made by many other contemporary portrait photographers, few of whom could be compared favorably to Napoleon Sarony of New York, whose portraits of theatrical celebrities were uniquely posed, no doubt with the input of the stage personalities who flocked to his premises for promotional cabinet cards.<sup>173</sup>

Tibbels placed sitters in one of two different chairs, including the familiar fringed studio model, introduced in the 1860s, with an adjustable arm that could be moved to either side of the

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid. Harry Williams, born in Pennsylvania, was 21 years old in the 1880 census. The household also included Lizzie Hunt, servant, 15, born in Pennsylvania to Irish parents. Tibbels's wife as a retoucher is inferred from her occupation in the 1900 U.S. census, Lower Makefield Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>170</sup> *Lambertville Record*, May 21, 1879, 3; *Industries of New Jersey. Morris, Hunterdon, Warren, and Sussex* (New York, et al.: Historical Publishing Co., 1883).

<sup>171</sup> The only Tibbels stereoview seen by the author is of a centennial display in honor of Robert Raikes, Sunday school founder in 1780, with a banner carrying the dates 1780 and 1880, and floral decorations. The view is on a yellow mount and the verso has an imprint, "Tibbels, Lambertville." Kenneth H. Rosen collection.

<sup>172</sup> *Lambertville Record*, September 10, 1879, 4. Tibbels's cabinet cards are the most commonly found format today among his extant photographs, followed by cdvs.

<sup>173</sup> For Napoleon Sarony, see John Rohrbaugh, ed. *Acting Out: Cabinet Cards and the Making of Modern Photography* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of American Art and Oakland: University of California Press, 2020).

sitter. The customer would place one elbow on a chair arm and the other hand on his or her lap so that the two hands were not at the same height, as recommended in manuals for photographers.<sup>174</sup> For standing poses, Tibbels often used an ornate pedestal that was supposed to add dignity to the portrait. The subject placed a hand or two on it, sometimes holding a book, or an elbow. One such portrait is of young Henry V. Swallow, whose small dog sits on top of the pedestal.<sup>175</sup> Behind Swallow is Tibbels's painted backdrop, often seen in his cabinet cards. The painted staircase behind the subject provides a remarkable illusion of depth, as the detail gradually softens in the distance of the painted view.

By the time Tibbels opened for business, Lambertville had become a shipping center of about 4,000 residents conveniently located on the Delaware River and served by rail lines to Flemington and another that ran along the Delaware River between Trenton and Belvidere.<sup>176</sup> It boasted paper, grist-, and sawmills, two banks, and the Lambertville Manufacturing Co., which made rubber goods. But whether Lambertville could support two professional photographers well is doubtful. Consequently, Tibbels found a way to supplement his income both legally and illegally.

About five years after he started his photo gallery, Tibbels began to get involved in public

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<sup>174</sup> Henry Peach Robinson complained that this or a similar position “is to be seen in nine out of every ten photographs of the sitting figure; in fact it appears to be the traditional position of the photographic sitter handed down from the earliest times, and religiously followed by photographers who are not observers, or who do not know how to invent positions for themselves.” *Pictorial Effect in Photography, Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* [1869] (Pawlet, Vermont: Helios, 1971, Second Impression for International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, 1972, with introduction by Robert A. Sobieszek), 65. For an early example of instructions for posing, see W. S. Haley, *The Daguerreotype Operator, a Practical Work, Containing the Most Approved Methods for Producing Daguerreotypes* (New York: Printed for the author, 1854), 45–46.

<sup>175</sup> Born about 1874, Henry, also known as Harry, Swallow was the son of Gershon Swallow, whose father was Charles Rice Swallow. Email, Maureen Wlodarczyk to author, September 15, 2019.

<sup>176</sup> Built by the Belvidere-Delaware Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad acquired the line in 1871 that ran from Trenton through Lambertville to Belvidere. It then became the Belvidere Division of the United Railroads of New Jersey Grand Division. In Lambertville, it was known as the Belvidere Line. The Black River & Western Railroad opened the line between Flemington and Lambertville in 1851.

service. In 1884, running as a Democrat, he was elected by a comfortable margin as trustee of public schools in the Second Ward. He received 171 votes compared to Republican Lewis A. Reading with 133.<sup>177</sup> The following year, at a meeting of the town council, Tibbels was appointed tax receiver.<sup>178</sup> Notices by Tibbels regarding tax collection began to appear subsequently in the local newspaper.

In September 1885, the *Lambertville Record* reported, “Major J.C. Tibbels has been secured as manager of the [roller] skating rink in this city, for the present season. This is a good selection.”<sup>179</sup> (How Tibbels became a major, if true, is unknown.) Roller-skating, which began in the eighteenth century, was quickly spreading in popularity in the mid-1880s and Tibbels’s son, Ewing, became very proficient. In January 1886, Ewing won a one-mile roller-skating race and gave an exhibition of fancy and trick skating.<sup>180</sup>

Perhaps encouraged by his regular positive mentions in the local newspaper, Tibbels ran in April 1886 for common council in the Second Ward but lost in a close race to Republican John Sproat, 150 to 140 votes.<sup>181</sup> He continued serving on the school board and in the same month, the school board trustees appointed him to three committees: books and furniture, finance, and expulsion.<sup>182</sup> Meanwhile, Tibbels still ran his photo gallery and worked as the local tax collector. In January 1887, the town council ordered that he be paid \$202.51 for his services as tax receiver, equivalent to about \$5,790 in 2021 dollars.<sup>183</sup> In April, apparently satisfied with his work, the

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<sup>177</sup> *Lambertville Record*, April 16, 1884, 4.

<sup>178</sup> *Lambertville Record*, April 22, 1885, 4.

<sup>179</sup> *Lambertville Record*, September 16, 1885, 4.

<sup>180</sup> *Lambertville Record*, January 20, 1886, 4. For the roller-skating craze, see “The History Behind the Roller Skating Trend,” <https://daily.jstor.org/the-history-behind-the-roller-skating-trend/>.

<sup>181</sup> *Lambertville Record*, April 14, 1886, 4.

<sup>182</sup> *Lambertville Record*, April 28, 1886, 4.

<sup>183</sup> *Lambertville Record*, January 5, 1887, 4. Tibbels probably spent some of the money on a summer vacation. *Lambertville Record*, July 27, 1887, 4, reported that Tibbels was “rusticating” at Beasley’s Point, Egg Harbor Bay.

council reappointed Tibbels as tax receiver.<sup>184</sup>

In 1888, Tibbels ran again for town council and this time he was successful. The *Lambertville Record* reported in April that he had been sworn in, and immediately the council elected him as their president. This was the high point of Tibbels's career, just before his precipitous fall. He gave a rather pompous speech, stating in part,

It would be unnatural indeed if I did not feel grateful at this mark of courtesy and esteem you have extended toward me, a newly elected member of the Common Council, in tendering me the presiding officer's chair. Had my own feelings been wholly consulted in the matter, I should have preferred remaining upon the floor; but inasmuch as you have unanimously elected me to the position, I will accept. I shall make it my earnest endeavor to so discharge the duties devolving upon me that I may reflect no discredit upon you as a body or upon the people who have chosen me to represent them here. And in return, gentlemen, I ask at your hands your undivided support and forbearance.

After mentioning that the interests of the public schools and the fire department should be guarded "with a jealous care," Tibbels closed with his conviction that the Democrats, who were in the majority on the council, and the Republicans could work together for the good of the community.<sup>185</sup>

Tibbels's excellent reputation unraveled after he was replaced as tax receiver, as the new one must have noticed some problems with his tax records. In fact, Tibbels had failed to turn over some of the money he had collected. The town council's finance committee reported that between \$2,000 and \$4,000 was missing, quite a significant sum in those days. (\$4,000 in 1888 was worth more than \$106,000 in 2021 dollars.) The scandal broke in June 1886. Tibbels was in Philadelphia at the time and telegraphed that he would not be attending the council meeting because he had missed the train. Apparently, he never returned. Subsequent to a lengthy investigation and after his bondsmen did not respond, the matter was referred to the city solicitor for prosecution in

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<sup>184</sup> *Lambertville Record*, April 20, 1887, 6.

<sup>185</sup> *Lambertville Record*, April 18, 1888, 4.

August 1889, but it is likely that Tibbels got away.<sup>186</sup>

Tibbels's wife, Caroline, soon moved to Philadelphia, where she was listed in the 1889 city directory without John.<sup>187</sup> She had to cope not only with her husband's embezzlement but soon also with the death of their son, Ewing, in 1890. Ewing, already married at age 21, died in Philadelphia when a Pennsylvania Railroad engine overturned after striking an iron bar on the tracks.<sup>188</sup> She already had lost another child, as on August 6, 1884, a male infant had died, apparently before he was named.<sup>189</sup> The 1900 census found Caroline, a "widow," at the Sanitarium in Lower Merion Township, Montgomery County, outside Philadelphia. Her listed occupation was "photograph retoucher." She died in her early fifties on August 10, 1901, and was buried in Holcombe Riverview Cemetery in Lambertville.<sup>190</sup>

Although Caroline was recorded as a widow in the 1900 census, it is quite possible that her husband was still alive, as no death record for him has been found. It was quite common in the 1900 census for deserted wives to be listed as widows even though their husbands were living. Sometimes these women were known as "grass widows" or "prairie widows." In fact, Tibbels likely escaped to the Midwest. In 1907, a farmer near Bonner Springs, Kansas, named J. C. Tibbels disappeared after mortgaging his property and buying from merchants on credit, then leaving the area, taking the cash with him.<sup>191</sup> Quite possibly, this man was the former embezzling

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<sup>186</sup> *Lambertville Record*, June 13, 1888, 4; August 7, 1889, 4; *Lancaster Examiner*, June 20, 1888, p. 3. At the request of the author, Veronica L. Calder of the New Jersey State Archives kindly searched the Hunterdon County Rough Court Minutes, which includes both criminal and civil courts, and did not find a reference to Tibbels. Around 1890, Arthur H. Winner briefly was a photographer at the corner of Union and Church Streets in Lambertville, possibly at Tibbels's former location.

<sup>187</sup> *Philadelphia City Directory*, 1889, 1775. Her residence was 522 North Sixth.

<sup>188</sup> New Jersey Death Record, [ancestry.com](https://ancestry.com). William Henry Wood, 33, also was killed in the same accident. Caroline had lost an infant unnamed son in Lambertville on August 6, 1884.

<sup>189</sup> New Jersey Death Index, [ancestry.com](https://ancestry.com).

<sup>190</sup> Find A Grave; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Death Certificates Index, 1803–1915, [ancestry.com](https://ancestry.com). Find A Grave gives her place of death as Norristown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, but the Death Certificates Index indicates she died in Philadelphia. Both sources agree on the death date. Sources for her birth range from 1847 to 1849.

<sup>191</sup> *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 7, 1907, 1.

photographer of Lambertville.



**John C. Tibbels, Lambertville, young lad, Henry V. Swallow, 1880s, cabinet card. Courtesy author's collection.**

### **Peter Walker**

When Peter Walker, the popular and respected Mount Holly photographer, was called to jury duty for the May term in 1895, he did not anticipate that a little more than two years later he

would be back in court as a defendant, found guilty, and sent to prison in what a local paper described as a “beastly state of degradation.”<sup>192</sup>

Peter was born in Scotland on April 14, 1853, to John (1816–1902) and Helen (née Dick, 1812–1900) Walker.<sup>193</sup> In 1861, his father and younger brother, Robert Ramsey Walker (born 1857), emigrated to the United States, and although documentation is lacking, it is likely that Peter came over with his family at that time.<sup>194</sup> By age 17, as recorded in the 1870 U.S. census for Mount Holly, Peter had become an apprentice to a machinist, while his parents and brother had settled in Philadelphia.<sup>195</sup>

A few years later, Peter married Frances Julian, a native of Ohio, who gave birth in 1876 in Mount Holly to their son, Joseph J. Walker.<sup>196</sup> By then, Peter had become a photographer. In 1875, for one year, he was listed as a photographer in Philadelphia at 326 South Street. During the 1870s, although evidence has not been found, he may have worked for James S. Walker, possibly a relative, who had a photography gallery in Trenton from 1871 to 1877, as well as operations

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<sup>192</sup> *Mount Holly News*, April 23, 1895, 3; October 12, 1897, 3.

<sup>193</sup> Peter Walker LifeStory, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). This source gives his birthplace in Scotland as Beith, Ayrshire County. A birth record in [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com) in the record group, Scotland, Selected Births and Baptisms, 1564–1950, gives his birthplace as Kilbirnie, Ayrshire. He may have been related to one of the two photographers named James Walker in Ayrshire in the 1860s and 1870s, or another Scotland-born photographer named James Walker in Ontario in 1871. [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

<sup>194</sup> Year of immigration for John and Robert in 1900 U.S. census, Philadelphia.

<sup>195</sup> In 1870, Peter was living in a large household headed by William Finly, a watchman born in Ireland, with his wife, Sarah; four children; and three other boarders, two born in Scotland. John, Helen, and Robert are listed in the 1870 U.S. census, Philadelphia, Ward 4, District 12, 2nd Enumeration.

<sup>196</sup> Frances’s maiden name is recorded in the May 31, 1941, death record for her son, Joseph J. Walker, who was born in Mount Holly on September 7, 1876. Pennsylvania Death Certificates, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). Although a family tree in Ancestry states that she was born in December 1850, which would make her older than her husband, in the 1880 U.S. census for Mount Holly, she was recorded as 26, born about 1854 in Ohio to parents born in France. The family tree information gives her father’s birthplace as Maryland and her grandfather’s in France. In the 1900 census, in which she was erroneously listed as a widow in Philadelphia, it states that she was born in December 1859 and her age in the 1910 census is consistent with this lowering of her age. Her May 14, 1930, death certificate from Philadelphia was completed with information from her son, Joseph, who was vague about her background, as her birth is given as “about 1860” and her birthplace is erroneously listed as Ireland. (Frances had lived with Joseph and his family at 6141 Chestnut Street at the time of her death.) Joseph also did not know the name of his maternal grandmother, Anna M. Thisen, although he did know the name of his maternal grandfather and namesake, Joseph Julian. Pennsylvania Death Certificate for Frances Anna Walker, [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com).

around the same time in Bordentown and Mount Holly.<sup>197</sup> Peter Walker is first listed as a photographer in Mount Holly in 1880 in both a Mount Holly directory and the U.S. census.

An uncommon cabinet card from Walker's early practice, likely from 1880 or 1881, depicts a young woman in a white dress standing and holding a scroll, perhaps a diploma, and gazing into the camera. The composition features a bunch of flowers next to her on a papier-mâché rock and behind her is a painted backdrop with trees and what appears to be a castle tower. On the back is Walker's plain imprint, unusual in that the name of the street is omitted and Walker has filled in the blank by hand with "High." This suggests that when he ordered the imprinted cards, his location was in flux or uncertain, and he may have been operating from a wagon or tent.

In fact, Walker did not stay long in Mount Holly, although he would soon return. A local paper reported in August 1881 that he had "recently disposed of his photographic business in Mount Holly [and] is temporarily located at Brown's Mills and reports a good business."<sup>198</sup> Walker was back in Mount Holly by April 1882, when he was elected engineer of Relief Fire Company No. 1, suggesting that he was willing to share his mechanical skills for the good of the community.<sup>199</sup> In August, the fire company gave him the additional responsibility of serving on a solicitation committee to garner subscriptions for a new hose.<sup>200</sup> In October, he exhibited a "fine display of cabinet portraits" at the Burlington County Fair, vying for attention with numerous other attractions, varying in size from silk cocoons to an entire house with 28 windows, and numerous

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<sup>197</sup> Peter's father, John Walker, had a much younger brother named James, born in 1834, but there is no evidence that James S. Walker the photographer, usually found as J. S. Walker, was his uncle or another relative. Little biographical information on J. S. Walker has been found by the author. His extant work in New Jersey includes cds, tintypes, and a stereographic view. In 1892, he had a studio at 910 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia.

<sup>198</sup> *Semi-Weekly News* (Mount Holly), August 11, 1881, 3; August 18, 1881, 3. The same paper reported that Walker had sold his business to a Southerner named Hunt. Hunt's first name has not been found. About 1870, a photographer named Baker, probably Thomas Baker of Burlington, had partnered with a Hunt in a short-lived Mount Holly gallery. Among the several photographers named Hunt in New Jersey around this time, most were in the northern part of the state, but a good possibility is Ellery J. Hunt, who was active in Camden.

<sup>199</sup> *The News* (Mount Holly), April 6, 1882, 3.

<sup>200</sup> *The News* (Mount Holly), August 10, 1882, 3.

agricultural and manufactured products.<sup>201</sup>

A challenging but probably pleasurable job Peter Walker completed in 1884 was the Dobbins family reunion, which included Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Dobbins, their 11 children with spouses, and 33 grandchildren. He photographed the entire family on the lawn and made another of just the parents with their six sons and five daughters.<sup>202</sup> Walker also engaged in visually less appealing forensic photography. In 1887, he photographed the head and brain of a woman named Katie Anderson, who had been shot to death. Walker testified as to the veracity of the photographs at the trial of her boyfriend, but the court refused to admit them as evidence.<sup>203</sup>

Positive mentions of Peter Walker in the local press continued into the early 1890s as he maintained his photo business and took part in community life. Walker attended a special town meeting in January 1893 to discuss support for poor relief and the problem that overseers of the poor had in advancing money for this purpose and then getting reimbursed. A committee recommended appropriating \$500 to enable the overseers to square accounts, but Walker “moved that the sum of \$200 be appropriated.”<sup>204</sup> In May 1893, he sang a bass solo at the Sacred Heart Church in Mount Holly, during a concert held as a testimonial to the rector, Reverend M. J. Brennan, in honor of the anniversary of his ordination.<sup>205</sup>

Walker spent his summers in Beach Haven at the Jersey shore, where he conducted a seasonal gallery.<sup>206</sup> There he may have operated from a portable photographic studio that he sold in January 1894 to Augustus R. Bower and Ernest D. Holeman. In October 1893, Bower & Holeman had bought out Howard Keeler, who took a break from his photography business in

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<sup>201</sup> *The News* (Mount Holly), October 17, 1882, 3.

<sup>202</sup> *The News* (Mount Holly), August 12, 1884, 3.

<sup>203</sup> “Young Peak’s Trial,” *Morning Post* (Camden), June 2, 1887, 1.

<sup>204</sup> *Mount Holly News*, January 31, 1893, 3.

<sup>205</sup> *Mount Holly News*, May 30, 1893, 3.

<sup>206</sup> *Mount Holly News*, July 9, 1895, 3.

Mount Holly to sell his patented envelope moistener. Bower & Holeman continued operating that gallery until early 1894, when they purchased Walker's wagon and became traveling photographers in Burlington County.<sup>207</sup>

Like many contemporary studio photographers, Walker probably joined a secret fraternal order, quite likely the Knights of Pythias, as he gave a slideshow at its Mount Holly lodge in April 1894. Walker used a stereopticon, a slide projector with two lenses, one above the other, so his glass-positive lantern slides could be blended as one succeeded the other. The local paper only described the content of the show as "symbolic of the order."<sup>208</sup>

The consistently favorable occasional reports in the press regarding Walker's activities came to an abrupt end in March 1895. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* stated, "While on his way home shortly after 11 o'clock last night, Peter Walker, a photographer, was attacked on the Bispham street bridge by two men, one of whom dealt him a stunning blow on the head with a club and nearly cutting off his ear. Mr. Walker made a vigorous defense and finally succeeded in getting away from his assailants."<sup>209</sup> The paper gave no hint as to the motive for the attack. Was it a robbery attempt or had Walker offended someone who had then hired these thugs?

While the answer to this question is unknown, Walker's subsequent problems the following year suggest that excessive alcohol consumption played a part. In January 1896, he went to Moorestown and when he tried to board the 6:40 p.m. train, he was not entirely successful and was dragged a hundred feet before the train could be stopped. It was reported that "when picked up he

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<sup>207</sup> *Mount Holly News*, October 10, 1893, 3; January 30, 1894, 3. Keeler, who started his gallery in 1887, returned to run his own photo business in 1901 and remained active until 1925.

<sup>208</sup> *Mount Holly News*, April 3, 1894, 3. In Walker's time, Knights of Pythias lodges were racially segregated with both African American and white lodges. See Thomas Bell, "D.C. Knights of Pythias Hope to Eliminate Color Barrier," <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1990/02/22/dc-knights-of-pythias-hope-to-eliminate-color-barrier/8be38101-6d31-4696-a1ea-2f015a940f9a/>.

<sup>209</sup> March 30, 1895, 7.

was unconscious and very badly bruised. He was sent to his home in Mount Holly.”<sup>210</sup> Although not stated, possibly he had gotten very drunk.

Walker’s drinking may have played a factor in his arrest in March 1896 for wife beating and he was sentenced to jail.<sup>211</sup> However, as it was his first offense, the judge suspended his sentence when he promised to behave himself in the future. But in October 1897, he did it again and was taken to jail “in a beastly state of degradation.” This time he was not let off and was sentenced to the New Jersey State Prison for nine months. The editor of the *Mount Holly News*, who must have been a friend of his, wrote, “. . . he will now pay for his dereliction. Peter has sunk to a pretty low level of late, and his imprisonment may make a better man of him.” Walker served his nine months and was released in June 1898. He did not return home but went directly to New York, presumably to celebrate.<sup>212</sup>

Walker’s decline was a financial disaster for his family. Because he apparently did not pay the mortgage or the taxes on their very modest house he owned in Moorestown, the mortgage was foreclosed the month before his arrest and, while he was incarcerated, Walker’s home and his two lots on Bispham Street were sold at a sheriff’s sale on December 4, 1897, for \$600, equivalent to \$3,521 in 2021 dollars.<sup>213</sup> By 1900, his wife Frances went to live in Philadelphia with her son Joseph, who by then was 24 and working as a packer.<sup>214</sup>

After his release from prison, Walker did not reunite with Frances and found work in

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<sup>210</sup> *Courier-Post* (Camden, New Jersey), January 18, 1896, 4.

<sup>211</sup> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 25, 1896, 4.

<sup>212</sup> *Mount Holly News*, October 12, 1897, 3; October 19, 1897, 3; June 14, 1898, 3.

<sup>213</sup> *Mount Holly News*, September 28, 1897, 2; November 2, 1897, 2; November 16, 1897, 2; December 7, 1897, 3. The *Mount Holly News*, November 23, 1897, 2, and December 14, 1897, 3, listed \$12.60 as taxes owed by Mrs. Peter Walker.

<sup>214</sup> 1900 U.S. Census, Philadelphia. In 1900, Frances and Joseph were boarding with William Bulmer, a park guard, and his family. Frances continued living with Joseph in a rented row house at 43 Sixty-Second Street, Philadelphia, after he was married and had three children, Anna, Francis, and Eugene, as recorded in the 1910 U.S. census, in which Joseph is recorded as a wool buyer.

Philadelphia. In early August 1898, he was photographing in Fairmount Park, a popular recreational attraction. He stopped by Mount Holly later that month, “looking much the worse for wear.”<sup>215</sup> In October, the *Mount Holly News* sadly reported, “Peter Walker got tangled up with bad rum on Saturday night and was taken to jail.”<sup>216</sup> Likely this time, he was released when he sobered up.

After this incident, Walker seems to have been determined to reform. In February 1899, the *Mount Holly News* was glad to announce, “Peter Walker is passing through a general reformation, and is in charge of Winner’s photographic gallery on South Second street, Philadelphia. . . . he has joined one of the city’s missions. The man is trying to atone for the past and is devoting his whole attention to business and religion. He looks well and is being given encouragement by those having the mission in charge. Peter is his own worse enemy, and his Mount Holly friends will be pleased to hear of his change of life.”<sup>217</sup>

Walker’s employer, Arthur Winner, had several photo galleries in New Jersey in addition to the one in Philadelphia around 1900.<sup>218</sup> Unlike the more upscale Philadelphia photographers who were concentrated on Chestnut street, Winner’s at this time specialized in penny portraits, small photos mounted on cards about 2 by 2 1/4 inches, that were, as the name suggests, the cheapest photos that could be obtained. His gallery at 500 South Second Street faced the Head House (or Headhouse) Market, also known as the Second Street Market, and was on the block

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<sup>215</sup> *Mount Holly News*, August 2, 1898, 3; August 16, 1898, 3.

<sup>216</sup> October 25, 1898, 3.

<sup>217</sup> February 21, 1899, 3. In the *Mount Holly News*, February 28, 1899, 3, it mentioned that Walker had not renounced the Catholic religion, as it had stated on February 21, and that he never was a Catholic.

<sup>218</sup> Arthur H. Winner was born in 1851 in New Jersey and began his photographic career in the 1870s while living in Camden. Between 1882 and 1900, Winner’s New Jersey galleries included Atlantic City, Bridgeton, Lambertville, Medford, Ocean City, Smith’s Landing, Trenton, and Vincentown. One small Winner photo in a private collection has three addresses on the back: Atlantic City, Philadelphia, and Ocean City. In the 1900 U.S. census for Philadelphia, he is listed with his wife of 24 years, Mary, at 202 Lombard Street, near his gallery on Second Street.

south of the Society Hill neighborhood that ends at Lombard Street.<sup>219</sup> Society Hill is much more upscale now than it was then. It had become a run-down neighborhood, filled with recently arrived Ukrainian Jewish immigrants, that has been described as “one of the most dilapidated and unsanitary areas of Philadelphia.”<sup>220</sup>

Unfortunately, Walker could not resist temptation. In August 1899, the *Mount Holly News* reported, “It is a sad spectacle to see a man throw himself away, and sadder still when a reformed drunkard renews his old habits of debauchery. . . . Peter Walker . . . is as bad as ever.”<sup>221</sup> In October, Walker got into serious trouble when he was publicly thrashed by William M. Ogden in Camden. Ogden, a burly former Mount Holly resident, pummeled Walker with his fists for causing trouble in the Ogden household. “Keep away from my house!” was Ogden’s parting injunction after the beating, which took place near the corner of Broadway and Federal shortly before noon and left Walker “bleeding and battered.” Walker, who was carrying a roll of music, admitted that he had known Ogden’s “wife” for 20 years but that she was not married and that Ogden had long been separated from his actual wife. The photographer explained that the “pleasant, sociable woman” was “fond of music, as am I. I have been to her house from time to time and we have played and sang together. I have not alienated her affections because they were alienated by his conduct long ago.”<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> The market featured a long building in the center of the street extending two blocks from Pine to South Street. A surviving portion of this building between Pine and Lombard Streets dates back to 1745 and is designated a National Historic Landmark.

<sup>220</sup> Society Hill also contained significant numbers of African Americans and Italians. While all the Jewish neighborhoods of this time (Society Hill, Northern Liberties, South Philadelphia, and Port Richmond) were predominantly of Ukrainian origin, Polish and Lithuanian Jews were more concentrated in the Northern Liberties. Robert Phillip Tabak, *The Transformation of Jewish Identity: The Philadelphia Experience, 1919–1945*, PhD dissertation (Temple University, 1990), 31–32. The building that housed Winner’s has been demolished and a Wawa store is currently located at approximately the site where Walker worked, in a strip of commercial buildings above which are two floors of luxury apartments. Across the street currently is the Twisted Tail, a pub with live music that Walker would have been tempted to frequent.

<sup>221</sup> August 22, 1899, 3.

<sup>222</sup> *Morning Post* (Camden), October 3, 1899, 1; *Mount Holly News*, October 10, 1899, 3; *Philadelphia Inquirer*,

After this incident, Walker seems to have stayed out of the news until July 1904, when according to the *Camden Daily Courier*, “Peter Walker, a well known former resident of Mount Holly and Camden, but now of Atlantic City, has been committed to the county jail, charged with stealing a set of harness from Christian Ruff of Riverside.” Another paper reported that the harness was valued at \$5.<sup>223</sup> This story suggests that Walker had fallen very far from when he was a respected citizen of Mount Holly a decade earlier.

Peter Walker’s checkered career ended with his death at age 53 on August 6, 1906, at Hahnemann Hospital, Philadelphia, where he had gone for an operation for appendicitis.<sup>224</sup> The cause of death was uremia, a serious condition caused by malfunction of the kidneys. In a private ceremony, Walker was buried in the reopened grave of his father, John, who had died in 1902, at Belvue Cemetery in North Philadelphia. The casket lid was raised at the cemetery for a last goodbye by his family. By 1955, Belvue had become abandoned and all the remains that could be found, including those of Peter and John, were reinterred at Philadelphia Memorial Park in Frazer, Pennsylvania.<sup>225</sup>

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October 4, 1899, 6. The story mentioned that Walker was living in Mount Holly at the time of the incident and working at a Second Street, Philadelphia, gallery.

<sup>223</sup> *Camden Daily Courier*, July 7, 1904, 3; *Trenton Evening Times*, July 11, 1904, 3. In the 1900 U.S. census for Riverside, Burlington County, Ruff is listed as a milk dealer, 42, widowed, living with his son, John, 18. Walker was not listed in the 1904 Atlantic City directory and may have been working for a photographer there during the summer.

<sup>224</sup> *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 6, 1906, 7; August 10, 1906, 7. The earlier notice stated erroneously that Walker would be buried in Mount Holly.

<sup>225</sup> Funeral director Oliver Bair, record for burial at “Bellview” Cemetery, Lot 107, Section 3, [ancestry.com](https://ancestry.com); Philadelphia Memorial Park, Lot 107, Grave 3, grave owned by Robert R. Walker, index card, [ancestry.com](https://ancestry.com). For the history of the cemetery grave transfers, see Belvue Cemetery, <https://billiongraves.com/cemetery/Belvue-Cemetery/83458>.



**Peter Walker, Mount Holly, woman holding scroll, cabinet card, circa 1880. Courtesy author's collection.**

## **Conclusion**

Photographers Gideon C. Angle, Edward W. Blake, Frederick Fearn, Edward R. Stoutenburgh, John C. Tibbels, and Peter Walker had life trajectories that, to varying degrees, were marred by transgressions that were not unique to cameramen. Today, as in their day, our news media and court records document similar behavior. Gideon Angle and John Tibbels both expanded their photographic careers into the arena of local government service and should have been models of rectitude, but Angle, the middle-aged Sunday school principal, justice of the peace, and coroner, a married man with children, impregnated a teenage servant, while tax collector Tibbels embezzled public funds. Edward Blake had worked as a detective for the federal government and could not resist stealing a pile of counterfeit money and becoming a distributor.

A practiced liar and Confederate spy during the Civil War, he boasted of other crimes he had committed to an undercover agent. Frederick Fearn seems to have had a wild youth, when he prevaricated about his age, joined the navy at about 15, and contracted a sexually transmitted disease. He matured to become a domestic abuser like the alcoholic Peter Walker, and was almost lynched by a mob when he sent the innocent children from his first marriage to a reform school at his second wife's insistence. Edward Stoutenburgh was the only wealthy man in this group; whether or not he was guilty of stealing a diamond, for which he was convicted, his extramarital flirtation and profligate lifestyle may have offended the sensibilities of the jury. What these men all had in common is that they got caught and were punished, if not by law, through public condemnation and humiliation, as experienced by Fearn, or remorse and mental breakdown as was the case with the self-described "hypocrite" Gideon Angle. Their experiences provide us with a more nuanced understanding of life in the Victorian era, that while known for its emphasis on strict moral rectitude, included those who fell short of the ideal, among them photographers.

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