

A Question of Priority: George G. Rockwood, Charles D. Fredricks,
and Early Cartes de Visite in the United States

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On February 1, 1861, Charles A. Seely commented in his periodical, *American Journal of Photography*, "that card photographs in New York are now in the height of fashion. In several of the leading galleries it makes the chief business, and in one so great is the demand that the actual work is at least a week behind the orders, the patrons make their applications and appointments a week in advance. Each photograph is multiplied by the dozen, so that it appears that photographs may soon become as common as newspapers, and we trust as useful. The card photographic fashion has also brought into commerce a neat photographic album ... so that two or more may be displayed on the same page and hundreds in the whole book."¹

By 1864, cartes de visite were so ubiquitous that author John Towler concluded, "No picture has ever had so wide a sphere of action, has gratified taste so long, or has been as productive of gain to the photographer as the card-picture."² Considering its importance, it is surprising that reliable information on when it was introduced to the United States, probably in New York City, and by whom, remains challenging to determine.

Photographers in New York probably learned about the carte-de-visite (cdv) after it was patented by A. A. E. Disdéri on November 27, 1854, if not earlier, as the format, more or less, had already been created by others. Louis Dodero of Marseilles proposed it in a letter to *La Lumière*, published on August 24, 1851. One of the first to produce something like cartes de visite was Hugh W. Diamond, who presented an equestrian group of square photos on cards to Queen Victoria in 1852.³ Just as the demand for cartes de visite in France increased after Disdéri's of the Emperor Napoléon III and his wife and son became readily available in 1859, for many in the United States, Mathew Brady's portrait of Lincoln on the morning of his Cooper Union address on February 27, 1860, helped spark interest in what many termed "card pictures," when it was marketed as a carte de visite later that year.⁴

The year 1860 was pivotal in the emergence of the carte de visite. In England in August 1860, John Edwin Mayall (1813–1891) produced a set of fourteen carte de visite portraits of the royal family that sold in the hundreds of thousands.⁵ Later that year, Edward Anthony in New York began marketing cartes de visite of celebrities and has been credited with standardizing the dimensions of cartes de visite to about 2 1/2 x 4 inches.⁶ By February 1861, photographers in New York City were doing a thriving business in the new style. Seely commented on February 15, 1861, "The Card photographic business is on the increase in the city, and is steadily extending into the country. The new fashion has made quite a stir among the photographic dealers and manufacturers, and makes them quite cheerful."⁷

Some of these New York City photographers had been in business for years, making daguerreotypes and later ambrotypes and large format albumen and salt prints. The most well-known had large galleries on Broadway near City Hall, such as Rufus Anson, Mathew Brady, Charles D. Fredricks, Jeremiah Gurney, and Martin M. Lawrence.⁸

Although some New York photographers still offered daguerreotypes and ambrotypes in 1859 and 1860, as seen by the list that accompanies this article, the number of daguerreotypists decreased significantly from one year to the next. In 1859, 43 photographers or partnerships were listed as daguerreotypists in the city directory but only 10 in 1860. Ambrotypists, by comparison, increased from 15 in 1859 to 29 in 1860, of which 25 had not been listed in 1859.

A similar rate of changeover occurred with those identifying themselves as photographers, which at that time usually meant those making collodion glass plate negatives to print on albumen paper. Some of these camera workers described themselves as photographers to distinguish themselves from ambrotypists and daguerreotypists.⁹ Of course, many of these photographers produced work using more than one process, including ferrotypes, to satisfy customer preferences.

This mobility of photographers was noted by Seely on July 15, 1860. After analyzing the 1860 city directory, he quipped, “The New York Directory for 1860 [for the year 1860–1861] gives the addresses of 120 photographic establishments; to that number at least ten more should be added. Probably three-fourths of the addresses are not to be found in the Directory of last year. It appears that photographers are of a decidedly migratory character. They change their residences as often as methodist [sic] preachers.”¹⁰

The increase in the total number of photographers listed in 1860, as well as those identifying themselves that way rather than as daguerreotypists or ambrotypists, was not the result of the growing popularity of carte de visite, which did not develop demand until the end of the year. The carte de visite, under variant names such as “visiting card photograph” and “card photograph,” was not regularly mentioned in ads by New York photographers until the highly publicized visit of the eighteen-year-old Prince of Wales in October.¹¹ In August, vendors anticipating the market for souvenirs, were selling imported cartes de visite of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and all their children published by the London Stereoscopic Company. By November 11, Jeremiah Gurney, who traveled to Boston to photograph the royal visitor, advertised a “carte de visit” [sic] of the Prince.¹²

By December 1860, New Yorkers were patronizing photo galleries to have their portraits made as cartes de visite to exchange with family and friends as gifts for the holidays, and to keep in albums imported from Europe.¹³ The advent of cartes de visite in 1860 led to albums with hollow pages, as the earlier albums akin to scrapbooks were more suitable for unmounted photographs.¹⁴ Once the public purchased albums, they wanted more cartes de visite to fill them up, including portraits of celebrities. The demand quickly spread across the United States. Bookseller James S. Waters of Baltimore had 500 cartes de visite of celebrities for sale by March 1861.¹⁵ After the Civil War started on April 13, 1861, cartes de visite of Major Robert Anderson, who surrendered Fort Sumter, were marketed immediately.¹⁶ The term “cardomania” was coined in 1861 to describe the craze of collecting cartes de visite of family members, friends, and celebrities such as politicians, royalty, military officers, and entertainers.¹⁷ “Cartomania” is now more commonly used to describe this social phenomenon.¹⁸

As discussed below, the first cartes de visite in New York could date from the end of 1859 but I have not found any advertisements for them from that year.¹⁹ As Ronald S. Coddington made manifest in *The Daguerreian Annual 2023*, various photographers in the 1850s produced variants of card photographs, a term for cartes de visite especially popular in the United States.²⁰ Unlike Disdéri’s patented carte de visite, these proto-cartes de visite did not always have the photographer’s imprint at the bottom or on the back, and the sizes of the cards and proportions of the photo to the entire card were not standardized. But the idea of card portraits gradually gained traction. For example, in 1858, American photographers could have read that Herbert Watkins, a young photographer in London, England, was doing a good business among the “fashionables” selling visiting cards with a small oval portrait “smaller than a ten cent piece.” Watkins’ proto-cartes de visite with minuscule portraits were on very thin flexible cards less than half the size of size of what we know today as cartes de visite.²¹

In December 1859, New York photographer Silas A. Holmes advertised, “The London Style. Your Photograph on a Visiting Card. The price was an astonishing low 25 for one dollar.”²² But

were these true cartes de visite? Holmes may have been referring to the smaller business cards with tiny photos that had been produced in London by Watkins. By September 27, 1860, he claimed to be making 1,000 “photograph card portraits” per day, presumably including duplicates.²³ As far as I could determine, Holmes did not use the term, “cartes visites,” [sic] until March 1861, when he offered them for the very low price of 24 for a dollar.²⁴ Even if his early offerings were not true cartes de visite, Holmes was a pioneer American promoter of card photographs.

The issue of identifying early cartes de visite is complicated by photographers reprinting earlier negatives in the carte de visite format. Consider that, in about 1858, Mathew Brady did a portrait of Secretary of War J. B. Floyd, later a Confederate General. In 1860 or 1861, E. & H. T. Anthony of New York published a carte de visite copy with credit to Brady.²⁵ Another source of uncertainty arises from misleading dates added to cartes de visite at a later time. For example, in 2024, an eBay seller offered an early carte de visite of a woman by George G. Rockwood of New York on a page from a typical carte de visite album on which was written her name, her husband’s name, and the year 1858. Since these albums were not available before 1860 (more about albums below), the annotation was clearly made at a later time and probably referred to the year of the woman’s marriage.²⁶ While it is unlikely that Rockwood made that carte de visite in 1858, he may have been the first to produce this format in New York City, although a claim for priority also has been made for Charles D. Fredricks.

George G. Rockwood (April 12, 1832 – July 10, 1911)

Literature about Rockwood is inconsistent regarding his first carte de visite. Rockwood was born in Troy, New York, where his father Elihu R. Rockwood was a hotel keeper according to the 1850 U.S. Census and then became owner of the Alhambra restaurant. An ambitious and intelligent youth, George read the very first issue of the *New York Times* in 1851.²⁷ Soon he joined the editorial staff of the *Troy Daily Times* and became a skilled and prolific writer.²⁸ As University of South Carolina Professor David S. Shields commented, “The photographic journals of the late 19th century abounded with his meditations, from discussions on “Prices and How to Get Them” to technical disquisitions on how to create embossed photographs with ‘A Bas-Relief Process.’”²⁹ Occasionally, Rockwood published information about his career. In 1897, for example, in an article advocating portraiture without accessories, he commented that he had sold more than half a million copies each of at least four genre scenes.³⁰ Rockwood, generous in sharing his knowledge, presented lectures on photography, donated instructional pamphlets, and mentored photographers who worked for him, some of whom then opened their own galleries.³¹ But he did not write a detailed account of his first carte de visite and most publications about this event are from second-hand accounts.

After his father’s sudden death in 1853, Rockwood took over the management of the Alhambra for about two years and then transitioned to photography.³² He credited his new career to a “three days’ apprenticeship” with William A. Tomlinson (circa 1819 – circa 1862).³³ Tomlinson operated a daguerreian gallery in Troy from 1850 to 1856.³⁴ With instruction from Tomlinson and no doubt learning on his own, Rockwood launched his own studio in St. Louis.³⁵ The *Weekly Saint Louis Pilot* reported on January 7, 1856, that he had recently opened an ambrotype gallery on N. 4th Street, so it is probable that he began this business late in 1855 or early January 1856.³⁶ He was listed in the St. Louis city directory in 1857 as a daguerreotypist at 78 N. 8th Street, competing with J. H. Fitzgibbon, Thomas Easterly, and others in the “Gateway to the West.” In early 1857, Rockwood returned briefly to Troy, where he became managing editor of the *Troy Daily Post* but was soon back at his St. Louis gallery.³⁷ Also very active as a musical director at churches and a tenor for decades, Rockwood sang in St. Louis at a benefit for the economically disadvantaged in December 1857.³⁸

Rockwood went on to a long and successful career as a photographer in New York City after his arrival in 1859 and was known to personally pose many thousands of customers for portraits. In the early 1860s, he excelled in landscape photography using “Rockwood’s Photographic Van or Traveling Car.”³⁹ In 1876, after his second New York gallery at 845 Broadway was burned out by a disastrous fire, he bought Benjamin Gurney’s at 17 Union Square, one of the foremost in New York.⁴⁰

Although past his heyday, Rockwood was still active at the age of 68, when according to the 1900 U.S. Census, he was living in Manhattan at 259 W. 88th Street with his wife of 46 years, Araminta, 70, daughter Mary A. (Mrs. J. Augustus) Randel, 46, son George H. Rockwood, 42, also a photographer, and two servants.⁴¹ By the time of Rockwood’s death in 1911, according to obituaries, his records documented about 350,000 sittings, probably including those made at branch galleries.⁴²

By 1873, if not earlier, statements were published that Rockwood had originated the *carte de visite* in New York. In that year, Richard Walzl, editor of the newsletter, *The Photographer’s Friend*, reprinted his article from the *Phrenological Journal* that stated, “He was the first to introduce the *Carte-de-visite* in this country.”⁴³ Walzl did not identify the subject of Rockwood’s first *carte de visite* but other writers did in the following decade.

Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin in May 1881 featured a portrait of Rockwood as a frontispiece with a profile by the editor that brought up his introduction of the *carte de visite* in New York in 1859 and that the first sitter was Baron Rothschild, followed by Mrs. August Belmont, of whom Rockwood made the first vignettted *carte de visite*.⁴⁴ (More about these illustrious sitters below.) This is likely the earliest published reference to who posed for Rockwood’s first *cartes de visite*.⁴⁵

A subsequent article about Rockwood provided details on when he opened his New York gallery. In 1889, *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* published another tribute to Rockwood as he approached the thirtieth anniversary of his New York business. According to this source, Rockwood arrived in the city at age 27 “about the end of April” in 1859 and visited the store of E. & H. T. Anthony, the major supplier of photographic materials. Rockwood said that he had earlier been a reporter for the *Troy Daily Times* “but for the past three years had been in photography. He declared that he had a capital of \$250, with which he proposed to start, in a moderate way, a gallery at 839 Broadway.” The Anthony firm gave him encouragement and credit.⁴⁶ This article does not reference *cartes de visite*.

In 1890, English photographer John Werge published *The Evolution of Photography*, one of the few nineteenth-century books on the history of photography, and included two mentions of Rockwood, one written for the book and the other an abridged reprint of his journal article from 1866.⁴⁷ Traveling after a fire in January 1860 that destroyed his business in Glasgow, Werge visited London and Paris. In London he noted that the *carte de visite* was not exhibiting much “vitality,” but in Paris “it was becoming to be popular.” Werge arrived in New York in April 1860. He visited the major galleries on Broadway, such as Fredricks’, as well as others, and found that only one, that of George Rockwood, was making *cartes de visite* and doing a very good business for three dollars a dozen. Werge bought a half interest in Meade Brothers and began offering four *cartes de visite* for a dollar, implying that Rockwood and Meade Brothers were the only galleries in New York offering the new style of photograph.⁴⁸

Since there were more than one hundred galleries in New York City, it is very unlikely that Werge visited all of them, so his opinion that Rockwood was the only *carte de visite* maker in New York in April 1860 is not very reliable. In his reprinted journal article, he stated that the big Broadway galleries “held aloof” from the new format, unlike Rockwood, a recently established

competitor who embraced the innovation. That assertion could well be true. Werge did not recount that Rockwood or another photographer had introduced the carte de visite to New York. Since Werge was in Europe when that occurred, he did not have first-hand knowledge of that landmark event and did not provide a date for it.

Later in life, Rockwood asseverated that he initiated the carte de visite in New York but did not say when. In an article published in 1901, he recalled, "Soon after the introduction of the collodion process a young and active element appeared in Sarony, Kurtz, Mora, myself and others, who gave photography a strong impetus in the way both of novelty and artistic development. At this time the carte de visite was introduced, and the craze or fashion of friendly exchanges and family albums were established. The first carte de visite made in this country was of Baron Rothschild by myself, and the first lady to make an appointment for such a sitting was Mrs. August Belmont," née Caroline Slidell Perry (1829–1892), the daughter of Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry, who married Belmont in 1849.⁴⁹

Which Baron Rothschild was the sitter? There were multiple Baron Rothschilds in that era, all members of the same renowned private banking family. August Belmont (1813–1890), the agent in New York for the Rothschilds in Europe, covering the firm's East Coast business, could have been the subject, as Rockwood may have considered him to be a "Baron Rothschild." However, I did not find evidence that he called himself Baron and New York newspapers referred to Belmont by his name, not "Baron Rothschild."

More likely, Rockwood made the portrait of one of the tourists named Baron Rothschild in New York in that period. A "Baron E. Rothschild from Germany" visited New York in August 1859.⁵⁰ But a more probable candidate for the portrait was Baron Salomon James de Rothschild (1835–1864), who had incurred his father's wrath by losing a million francs at the Bourse, the old Paris Stock Exchange. This young bachelor, son of Baron James Mayer de Rothschild (1792–1868), the head of the Rothschild financial empire based in Paris, resided in the United States from 1859 to 1861.⁵¹ He arrived on the *Persia* from Liverpool on December 9, 1859.⁵² After his disembarkation, Salomon socialized with his friend August Belmont.⁵³ From a base in New York, sometimes accompanied by an entourage of ten, he visited Lake George, Newport, Niagara Falls, Washington, DC, and other destinations. He met influential politicians, financial leaders and others that he included in articulate letters home in which he often mentioned Belmont. In New York in June 1860, he joined Belmont in a delegation that greeted the immense passenger ship, SS *Great Eastern*, when it docked in Hoboken after its maiden voyage on June 29. Unfortunately for the history of photography, his published letters do not mention Rockwood or cartes de visite.⁵⁴

Consistent with Rockwood's 1901 article, *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* in 1902 reiterated that Rockwood made the first carte de visite in the United States and that the subject was a Baron Rothschild. *Wilson's* gave 1859 as the date when Rockwell opened in New York. It further explained that the Baron had brought examples of cartes de visite from France made by the Parisian photographer Le Jeune (a.k.a. Lejeune), but did not state in what year Rockwood's first carte de visite was made.⁵⁵ Since Baron Salomon Rothschild came to the United States in December 1859, it seems quite plausible that he brought the Le Jeune cartes de visite with him and was the Baron photographed by Rockwood. Le Jeune had patronage from the highest echelons of French society. He likely was sympathetic to the regime of Emperor Napoléon III, who in 1870 paid him the large sum of 3,000 francs.⁵⁶ Salomon's father, Baron James Mayer de Rothschild, the most important banker in France, and Napoléon knew each other well.⁵⁷

This 1902 *Wilson's* article, written when Rockwood was still active, provides persuasive evidence that Rockwood's first carte de visite was made in New York, in December 1859 or soon thereafter, not earlier in St. Louis as claimed in other sources discussed below. Another

1902 article explained that Baron Rothschild took photography lessons from Rockwood and, while experimenting at his boarding house, spilled a “silver bath tub,” causing \$3,000 in damages to the ceiling, wallpaper, and carpets below.⁵⁸

Rockwood filed for bankruptcy in 1908 and the deaths of his wife Araminta in 1907, brother Elihu in 1908, and son George H. early in 1911 took a toll on him.⁵⁹ He died on July 10, 1911, at his country home in Lakeville, Connecticut. As discussed by Coddington, some of Rockwood’s obituaries credited him for introducing the carte de visite to New York.⁶⁰ The obituaries agreed that Rockwood was born in Troy and began his photographic career in St. Louis but disagreed on the year.⁶¹ At least three stated that he achieved the milestone of the first carte de visite in the United States in 1853, contradicting earlier sources that point to late 1855 or January 1856 as a starting date for his St. Louis gallery.⁶² An obituary in *Wilson’s Photographic Magazine* stated that Rockwood partnered with his brother Elihu when he opened the New York gallery, while other articles recounted that Elihu joined George after his Civil War service. Elihu was living in Montague, Massachusetts, when he enlisted in the 10th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry.⁶³ Perhaps Elihu worked with his brother George for a short period before the war and rejoined him after it.

Obituaries usually included that Rockwood made his first cartes de visite of Baron Rothschild and Mrs. August Belmont but some claimed that he achieved this accomplishment in St. Louis, which is very doubtful because the Belmonts lived in New York and Baron Salomon de Rothschild visited them there.⁶⁴ The *Washington Post* obituary stated that he made the first cartes de visite of Baron Rothschild and Mrs. Belmont in 1858 but that is too early, especially if Salomon de Rothschild, who arrived in December 1859, was the subject. Because the 1889 article discussed above in *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* was so specific about Rockwood’s arrival in New York “about at the end of April” in 1859, it seems more likely that he made his first carte de visite in December of that year or early in 1860, not in 1858.⁶⁵

Rockwood first makes an appearance in the New York city directory issued May 1, 1859, as a partner in Rintoul & Rockwood, with John A. Rintoul.⁶⁶ But it is possible that Rockwood started on his own, as implied by the account in *Anthony’s* related above, assisted by his younger brother Elihu as included in some accounts.⁶⁷ Some of his earliest cartes de visite are on plain cards with square corners, no border lines, and a very small imprint in a plain font at the bottom of the back that reads “Rockwood, Photographer, No. 839 Broadway, N.Y.” Other early cartes de visite from his gallery have a similar imprint but read “Rintoul & Rockwood, 839 Broadway, N.Y.” Rintoul was not involved for long. Subsequent Rockwood cartes de visite have the small imprint at the bottom of the verso, “Geo. G. Rockwood & Co., Photographers” and the address. These cartes de visite have two gold border lines around the image, with a thicker outer line.

In 1861–1862, Rockwood changed his imprint. It now appeared in the middle of the verso with his name in an ornate font arranged on an arc, while on front the image was framed with a thicker gold line outside a thin one, with a variant of a very thick outer line. Subsequently, he added a note at the bottom of the back that additional copies could be ordered.⁶⁸ After he moved his gallery to 845 Broadway between 1869 and 1870, the front of his cards had a single thin line around the image and, on the verso, a graphic depicting a camera and palette. Cartes de visite from his third gallery at 17 Union Square beginning in 1876 have been found with Rockwood’s name and address below the photo, in a style similar to contemporary cabinet cards. About that time, he began using a graphic of a cherub painting a sign with his name on it. He featured this design on the versos of cartes de visite and some cabinet cards until at least 1895, after he had moved to the Holland Building at 1440 Broadway in March 1891.⁶⁹

Charles D. Fredricks (December 11, 1823 – May 25, 1894)

Charles DeForest Fredericks certainly was in a position to introduce the carte de visite in New York. William C. Darrah, whose collection of more than 64,000 cartes de visite is now at Penn State University, declared that aside from the proto-cartes de visite discussed above, either Rockwood or Fredricks introduced the carte de visite in New York in the late summer of 1859, noting the conflicting claims for priority.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the sources Darrah cited do not provide a basis for his assertion of the late summer of 1859 date.⁷¹

Fredricks began his daguerreian career in the 1840s. After employment as a case maker in New York City, from 1843 to 1851 he worked as a daguerreotypist in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, St. Vincent, Tobago, and Uruguay.⁷² He then had a gallery in Paris before returning in 1853 to New York, where he partnered with Jeremiah Gurney before opening “Fredericks’ Temple of Photographic Art” on Broadway in 1856, with a branch in Havana that began in 1855.⁷³ Note that Fredricks’ time in Paris preceded Disdéri’s carte-de-visite patent in 1854 but he retained French connections and would have been apprised of photographic news from Paris, perhaps through the eight French artists he brought with him when he returned to New York. There he introduced enlarging photographs onto canvas and painting over them.⁷⁴ In 1858, he had sixteen artists working for him in oil, watercolor, pastel and India ink.⁷⁵ That year, he was advertising “photographs, Hallotypes, Daguerreotypes and Ambrotypes in every style,” but did not specifically mention cartes de visite.⁷⁶ Reproductions of portraits by Fredricks as woodcuts appeared regularly in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*.⁷⁷

In the early 1860s, Fredricks became one of the largest producers of cartes de visite and in 1861 he acquired the patent rights of F. R. Grumel to the photograph album with pockets for card photographs. While at least fifteen patents for these albums were recorded in the years 1861–1865, Grumel’s of May 14, 1861, was the first and included the now familiar pocket pages with slots at the bottom to insert the cartes de visite or, optionally, tintypes.⁷⁸ But these albums were available earlier. At least two New York City vendors advertised them for holiday presents in December 1860, imported from France.⁷⁹

Fredricks had a very impressive five-story gallery at 585-587 Broadway. In 1866, Werge wrote that it was the “largest of all the large galleries on Broadway” and had been expanded in 1860.⁸⁰ On the facade of the building was a huge arched sign, “Fredricks Photographic Temple of Art,” below a huge camera under a bird with outstretched wings.⁸¹ As common at other galleries, there were outdoor display cases with samples of the studio’s work. Describing the interior in detail, *The Union-Sketch Book* in 1861 noted that the building was 100 feet deep, 25 feet in width, and was very well lit with gaslight. Passing through the glass front door, the visitor entered the main picture gallery with life-sized portraits of celebrities, such as Winfield Scott and other Civil War generals, the Captain General of Cuba (Francisco Serrano y Domínguez, duke de la Torre), and many others, interspersed with smaller portraits and landscapes. (Cartes de visite are not discussed.) A staircase led to the second floor with five artists’ studios and a ladies’ parlor in the front of the building, with an adjoining promenade affording a view of the passersby on Broadway. The third floor held the room for taking photographs, lit by one of the largest skylights in the United States, 22 feet high by 12 feet wide. Adjoining this space were the photo processing rooms and three studios for the artists working in oil, pastel, watercolor, and India ink to color photographs. The fourth floor was devoted to the daguerreotype studio and adjoining darkrooms for preparing and processing the plates. The fifth floor had a repository with 20,000 glass negatives and the printing room. The basement was allocated for storage of cases and frames, and two large water heaters. To help run this very substantial business, Fredricks had twelve photographers, daguerreotypists, and printers; ten artists for finishing photos; and eleven other assistants.⁸² If the first American carte de visite was made at his gallery, did Fredricks take the photograph?

Rebuilding in New York after an 1886 fire, Fredricks then had perhaps the largest photography studio in the United States.⁸³ He retired with some health issues in the 1880s but his firm continued in business.⁸⁴ After residing in Woodbridge and Summit, New Jersey, Fredricks' last home, to which he moved in 1882, was in Newark, where he died after a four-month decline on May 25, 1894, of Bright's disease and heart problems. He was buried in Woodbridge.⁸⁵ A long obituary in the *Photographic Times* credited him for introducing "life-size heads" but gave no recognition for the first cartes de visite in New York.⁸⁶

As Coddington explained, the earliest reference in a history of photography to Fredricks as the originator of the carte de visite in New York appeared in Marcus Aurelius Root's, *The Camera and the Pencil* (1864).⁸⁷ Root (1808–1888) declared, "The French were its originators, and gave it the name of Carte de Visite. Messrs. C.D. Fredericks [sic] & Co., Broadway, New York, with their characteristic enterprise and energy, introduced the making of portraits and views, of this class, into the United States."⁸⁸

As a prominent daguerreotypist in Philadelphia, New York, and other cities, Root personally knew other renowned daguerreotypists. In 1851–1852, he was one of several prominent experts, including Samuel F. B. Morse, Jeremiah Gurney, William A. Tomlinson, and John A. Whipple, to visit Levi Hill to see if his claimed invention of color photography, the Hillotype, was a reality or a hoax.⁸⁹ Root began writing his book in 1856 and did not complete the text until 1863, the critical period during which the carte de visite made its appearance in America. Given his experience and reputation, his statement should be taken seriously.

On the other hand, it should be considered that Root became physically disabled in 1856 as a result of a railroad accident in which one of his legs was broken above the knee and at the ankle; subsequently, his movements were quite limited until his death.⁹⁰ Root did not explain how he knew about the first carte de visite in New York. Possibly, he got this information from his brother-in-law, daguerreotypist Robert Henry Furman, who worked for Fredricks from 1857 to 1866.⁹¹

Of course, to conduct his research, Root did not have access to digitized photographic periodicals and newspapers.⁹² What can these sources tell us about when Fredricks & Co. first produced cartes de visite? Unfortunately, not much, and the absence of references to Fredricks and the first carte de visite in New York lends credence to Rockwood's claim of priority.

Photographic periodicals profiled Fredricks occasionally during his lifetime and after he died. Most of these focused on his early adventurous career and his impressive large galleries in New York but none that I found credited him for introducing the carte de visite to America.⁹³ The earliest published reference to Fredricks and cartes de visite I located is an announcement in the *New York Times* on March 15, 1861, *after* he had been producing them for some time: "Messrs. CHARLES D. FREDRICKS & Co. would respectfully inform their friends and patrons that they have just introduced from Paris a new and beautiful process for the production of their fashionable 'Cartes de Visite.' The immense patronage which they have been honored with in this particular branch of the Photographic Art, has warranted them in obtaining, at a great expense, the latest Parisian improvements, and they flatter themselves that they are now enabled to present to the New York public the 'ne plus ultra carte de visite,' equal in every respect to the best Parisian 'Cartes.'"⁹⁴

What constituted this improvement is an opportunity for future research. Except for the unusual width of his early cartes de visite, 2 5/8 inches, instead of the standard 2 1/2 inches or less, Fredricks' early cartes de visite seem to have the same physical characteristics as those by his contemporaries.⁹⁵ The wider cartes de visite would not fit into the slots in the popular albums

and Fredricks eventually conformed to the narrower width already in use by most other photographers.⁹⁶

Considering that Fredricks in March 1861 was claiming a high volume of patronage for cartes de visite, I find it surprising not to have found more earlier ads by him that mentions them. In February 1859, he regularly ran ads in the *Morning Courier* (New York) that listed several types of photographs but not cartes de visite. He did offer “Life-Size Photographs” and “Miniature Photographs” that were housed in “Silk Velvet Cases, Locketts, or brooches.”⁹⁷ Perhaps Werge was right that the big gallery operators like Brady, Fredricks, and Gurney, were slow to adopt the new format, probably because they were enjoying satisfactory profit margins on daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and larger photographs. Perhaps the first offer for them by Fredericks [sic] was on December 24, 1859, when he published an ad, including “The Only Visiting Cards Used In Paris And London.”⁹⁸ Note that Fredricks had been in Paris earlier that year, so he likely had seen cartes de visite on his trip.⁹⁹

The early Fredricks’ cartes de visite, presumably from late 1859 to about 1864, have square corners and either no border lines, as is the case for cartes de visite of celebrities with an 1861 or 1862 copyright notice under the image, or a double line border in red, blue, or gold.¹⁰⁰ The lines are of equal width and 1/32 inch apart. The heights are slightly variable, from 4 1/16 to 4 3/16 inches. The earliest ones, 2 5/8 inches in width, are often found trimmed on the sides so that they would fit into an album. Sometimes the top and/or bottom are also trimmed. On the verso of his early cartes de visite, Fredricks’ imprint for his main gallery reads in the center, in very small print, “Charles D. Fredricks & Co., ‘Specialité,’ 587 Broadway, New York.” For his branch gallery at 179 Broadway, likely under the management of his brother Linson D. Fredricks, “Charles D.” is omitted. Fredricks continued to use the two lines of equal diameter around the image after other photographers adopted the double line border with the outer line thicker than the inner line by 1863.¹⁰¹

By the mid-1860s, Charles D. Fredricks was producing cartes de visite with three addresses: 587 Broadway and locations in Paris and Havana. These cartes de visite have one visible line around the image, sometimes with Fredricks’ name under the photo. The imprint on the verso is inside an ovoid shape, often surrounded by a geometric pattern. Within the ovoid, the earlier ones, likely from 1864–1865, have a patriotic motif, either an eagle or a shield with stripes and stars. Subsequently, this graphic was replaced with a logo including “Et Facta Est Lux” in a circle.¹⁰² These backs were produced in a number of different colors and Fredricks also presented this verso design on his early cabinet cards.¹⁰³

In the early 1870s, Fredricks introduced cartes de visite with rounded corners and versos that retained the logo with motto but without the ovoid shape. Some of these have both “C.D. Fredericks” and “H. O’Neil” imprinted on the versos.¹⁰⁴ Cartes de visite from the Havana branch from around 1875 have a fancy large logo with intertwined initials of the partners, Fredricks and Daries, with the Havana address above those of Paris and New York. Cartes de visite from his gallery at 770 Broadway, opened in 1879, have a large centered monogram on the back with “C.D. Fredricks & Co.” above it and the address below. Beginning in 1881 to at least 1894, Fredricks’ cartes de visite and cabinet card backs produced in New York have his “Knickerbocker” design featuring a man in antiquated Dutch attire with a camera and a palette on which is an 1881 copyright notice.

More research is needed, in such sources as newspapers still available only on microfilm, to determine when Fredricks began producing cartes de visite. Rockwood probably did not make his of Baron Rothschild before December 1859 but it could have been later, likely in any case by April 1860, when he was visited by Werge, who clearly implied that Fredricks was not making cartes de visite at that time. Holmes is not a serious contender as his early visiting

cards in the “London style” were probably little round or oval photos on smaller business cards, not the cartes de visite in the French style. Marcus Aurelius Root’s identification of Fredricks as the originator of the carte de visite in New York was not corroborated by other nineteenth-century writers, including Fredricks, who unlike Rockwood, did not publish autobiographical articles. Pending the discovery of persuasive evidence that supports the priority of Fredricks or another photographer, Rockwood has the edge for producing the first carte de visite in New York City.

Comments and corrections below by Terry Alphonse on the above article as published with illustrations in *The Daguerreian Annual* 2025. One correction was to the text and I have made the change, as explained in end note 40. The other two regarded captions to illustrations. Alphonse’s letter was published in the *Daguerreian Quarterly*, 37:1 (January–March 2025), page 14. End notes for my article follow Alphonse’s text.

Corrections to Gary D. Saretzky’s Article...in the 2024 Daguerreian Annual

I had the opportunity to skim through the 2024 Daguerreian Annual this morning and saw your article about early CDVs. I recently read Gary D. Saretzky’s article “Rockwood, Fredricks, and Early Cartes de Visite in the United States” in the 2024 Daguerreian Annual.

I am a collector and scholar of all things Jeremiah and Benjamin Gurney (J. Gurney & Son).

Based on my research and collection, I would like to offer a few corrections, of which about things that have confused many collectors of early albumen images from the studios of George G. Rockwood.

The partnership of Jeremiah and Benjamin Gurney ended in the spring of 1874, when Benjamin announced he would open his own gallery at 872 Broadway. This endeavor ended after one year and he then opened a studio at 17 Union Square in 1875. His photo business and finances did not improve however, requiring him to take on a financial partner — J. H. Goldsmid.

In 1876, Benjamin went bankrupt and sold the 17 Union Square studio to George G. Rockwood, and it appears the deal included the entire catalogue of glass negatives from Gurney’s previous studios on Broadway and at 108 5th Avenue.

The view of author Bret Harte on page 32 was taken in 1870/71 at the joint studio of Jeremiah and Benjamin at 108 5th Avenue -, when the entire collection of The Heathen Chinee images were taken (. link here <https://alphonsegallery.zenfolio.com/p569221842> (a. Again on figure 5 — the 17 Union Square studio was operated by Benjamin -, not Jeremiah.)

Figure 15 of humorist Josh Billings was also taken by Jeremiah and Benjamin at their 5th Avenue studio. (<https://alphonsegallery.zenfolio.com/p696764653>).

I have several images in my studio that were published at the time of their capture (by Gurney) then by Rockwood after 1876. I even have images that Rockwood published that had Gurney’s name scratched into the glass plate negative (. <https://alphonsegallery.zenfolio.com/p963792778/h232fc4b4#hf42a04a0>).

This confusion has already been met by collectors of Walt Whitman images - originally taken by Gurney and later published by Rockwood.

The later claims that Rockwood took the most images in the the city (350,000) could not be possible on his own, without the immense catalogue of Gurney glass plates he acquired in 1876.

This Gurney / Rockwood cross over images is a a story in itself.

My You can view my Gurney collection at

<https://alphonsegallery.zenfolio.com/gurney>

Best Regards.

Terry Alphonse Alphonse

Alphonse Gallery

The Gurney Guy

¹ *American Journal of Photography* (New Series) 3:17 (February 1, 1861), 272. Seely published this journal from 1855 to 1867. His New Series, renumbered as Volume 1, No. 1, began June 1, 1858. Previous issues are not readily available.

² John Towler, *The Silver Sunbeam* (New York: J.H. Ladd, 1864), 218.

³ Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography, 1850–1880: The Age of Collodion* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 1988), 189. Others who claimed or have been credited with the invention included E. Delessert and Count Aguado in 1854; the Duke of Parma, who had his portrait mounted on cards in 1857; Ferrier of Nice in 1857; and T. Bullock of Macclesfield, England, in 1857.

⁴ William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839–1900, A Documentary History* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), 143.

⁵ Gernsheim, 193. Paul Frecker, *Cartomania: Photography and Celebrity in the Nineteenth Century* (2024), 105, reproduces four of the Mayall cartes de visite. See also the Mayall carte de visite in “The Queen Victoria & Prince Consort,” Figure 5 in Rachel Teukolsky, “Cartomania: Sensation, Celebrity, and the Democratized Portrait,” *Victorian Studies* 57:3 (Spring 2015), 471. https://as.vanderbilt.edu/photos/english/files/Cartomania_Victorian_Studies.pdf.

⁶ William and Estelle Marder, *Anthony, the Man, the Company, the Cameras* (np: Pine Ridge Publishing, 1982), 87; “Card Photographs of the Royal Family of England,” E. Anthony, *New York Times* (October 20, 1860), 3; “Carte de Visite Photographs of Celebrities,” E. Anthony, *Evening Post* (New York, December 17, 1861), 2, and *New York Times* (December 25, 1861), 5; “Photographic Albums. Price Reduced for the Holidays,” J.K. Tilton & Co., *New York Times* (December 25, 1861), 5.

⁷ *American Journal of Photography* (New Series) 3:18 (February 15, 1861), 287.

⁸ Beaumont Newhall, “The Broadway Daguerreian Galleries,” *Image* 5:2 (February 1956), 27–37.

⁹ No ferrotypists or melainotypists, making what are now known as tintypes, were listed in either 1859 or 1860.

¹⁰ *American Journal of Photography* (New Series) 3:4 (July 15, 1860), 64. As per the list accompanying this article, which includes those with home addresses only, there were many more than 120 photographers in New York City in 1860, since some worked for other photographers.

¹¹ The Prince of Wales's Royal Visit, 1860. <https://civilwartalk.com/threads/the-prince-of-wales-royal-visit-1860.143481>. The early 1860 ads by Silas W. Holmes for "photographic cards" and similar descriptions is discussed below.

¹² Gurney's cartes de visite and other photos of the Prince of Wales, *New York Daily Herald* (November 11, 1860), 5. For a Gurney portrait of the Prince of Wales, see Christian A. Peterson, *Chaining the Sun: Portraits by Jeremiah Gurney* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1999), 67. Earlier, Edward Anthony sold imported card photographs of the Prince of Wales and Giuseppe Garibaldi, *New-York Tribune* (August 9, 1860), 1. Paul & Curtis, Agents, advertised card photographs of British royalty, likely imported, in the *New York Daily Herald* (August 25, 1860), 7, and *New York Daily Herald* (December 16, 1860), 5.

¹³ Goupil's, the print and art dealer, advertised to "Holiday Gift Seekers" photograph albums and cartes de visite in *New York Times* (December 19, 1860), 5. "Meade Bros. offered "Cartes de Visite, Funnygraphs, Sensation Photographic Card for New Years," *New York Daily Herald* (December 25, 1860), 5. Edward Anthony offered photographic albums and "carte de visite photographs of celebrities," *New York Times* (December 25, 1861), 5.

¹⁴ Gustavo Lozano, "History and Conservation of Albums and Photographically Illustrated Books," George Eastman House, May 2007, 16. https://www.academia.edu/17368690/History_and_Conservation_of_Albums_and_Photographically_Illustrated_Books?email_work_card=view-paper.

¹⁵ *Baltimore Sun* (March 1, 1861), 2.

¹⁶ Ads for Major Anderson cartes de visite by D. Appleton & Co., *New York Daily Tribune* (April 13, 1861), 1; *New York Daily Herald* (April 22, 1865), 5.

¹⁷ Teukolsky, 465. "Cardomania" appeared in *Photographic News* 5 (1861), 538, quoted by Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography From 1839 to the Present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964), 50, 202. (Also in Newhall's 1982 edition.) In his first edition of *The History of Photography*, Newhall termed the phenomenon "photomania." (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949), 62. See also Frecker, op. cit.

¹⁸ "Cartomania," which since the 19th century also has referred to obsessive collecting of sports and other types of cards, was used in 1969 in reference to cartes de visite by Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography, 1685–1914, From the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era* (New York, et al.: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 296, as did Alan Thomas, who read Gernsheim, in his detailed analysis of the carte de visite craze in *Time in a Frame: Photography and the Nineteenth-Century Mind* (New York: Schocken, 1977), 84. Dan D'Imperio employed it in his syndicated column, "Flea Market Finds," e.g. *Galveston Daily News* (May 1, 1977), 2D, which gave "cartomania" more extensive public exposure. More recent authors of history of photography survey textbooks such as Michel Frizot, Robert Hirsch, and Mary Warner Marien, do not refer to "cardomania" or "cartomania."

¹⁹ In his ads in *Trow's New York City Directory*, R. A. Lewis promoted his photographs, daguerreotypes, and ambrotypes in 1859, 1860, and 1861. Not until 1862 did he include, "Cartes de Visite á la Française, \$2.00 per dozen." The other photographers with first-time ads for cartes de visite in the 1862 directory were Charles K. Bill, George W. Loud, and George H. Morand. Each of these directories was published for the following year ending May 1. Ads for photographers were published in separately paginated commercial directories in the back. Published 1859: 7; 1860: 44–45; 1861: 35; 1862: 41. Online copies are often misidentified with the wrong year; checking the title page is required.

²⁰ Ronald S. Coddington, "Cardomania Comes to America: Utility, Social Media, and Artistry in the 1850s and 1860s," *The Daguerreian Annual 2023* (Cecil, PA: 2023), 6–45. Coddington provides a detailed analysis of the various names for cartes de visite, 14–15.

²¹ *Daily Courier and Advertiser* (Jersey City, July 9, 1858), 2. This article called Watkins "Henry" but his given name was Herbert. It also described the photos as round but a published example is oval. In addition to Watkins's name and address, the back imprint includes "Photographic Visiting Cards, A. Marion & Co." Watkins was located at 215 Regent Street, London, England, from 1858 to 1873. Paul Frecker, *Cartomania: Photography & Celebrity in the Nineteenth Century* (n.p.: September Publishing, 2024), 33–35; Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers, 1841–1908* (Watford, England: PhotoResearch, 1994), 117.

²² *New York Saturday Press*, December 24, 1859 2:52, n2. Also in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, January 7, 1860, 95. Holmes dropped the price a few weeks later to 25 to 40 cents per card, according to William C. Darrah, *Cartes de Visite in Nineteenth Century Photography* (Gettysburg: William C. Darrah, 1981), 6. However, between March 15, 1860, and March 20, 1861, his price was 24 for one dollar in ads in the *New York Herald*. Holmes' addresses changed: December 24, 1859 and January 7, 1860: 317 Broadway; March 15, 1860, 315 Broadway; April 24, 1860, to at least March 20, 1861, 395 Broadway. After January 7, 1860, and later that year, his ads alluded to cards for visiting, card photographs, card portraits, etc., or omitted what type of photograph one could buy at the 24 for a dollar price.

²³ *New York Daily Herald*, September 27, 1860, 7.

²⁴ *New York Daily Herald*, March 20, 1861, 5, still with the very low price of 24 for one dollar, as well as albums, at 839 Broadway. I could not locate an example of a Holmes carte de visite from 1860.

²⁵ Figures 43 (recto) and 88 (verso) in Darrah, *Cartes de Visite*, 27, 44. Original Floyd portrait: William C. Darrah Collection, Eberly Family Special Collections, Library, Penn State University, carte de visite #61534.

²⁶ The inscription on the album page reads, "Mary Keese Lawrence Black 1858 wife of Chas. Newbold Black Esq. of N.Y. C. [?] of Richard Lawrence Esq." The verso of the card has the imprint, "Rockwood, Photographer, 839 Broadway, N.Y." The image is a small vignette head, a style that Rockwood innovated in his first carte de visite of a woman, as discussed elsewhere in this article. Rockwood's first gallery in New York was at this address. He became partners in 1860 with John A. Rintoul at the same address.

²⁷ Rockwood recalled reading the first issue of the *New York Times* in a letter to the editor, *New York Times* (January 29, 1905), 6.

²⁸ "Our Illustration," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin* 12 (May 1881), 159. The author extends his appreciation to David Mattison for providing a copy of this article.

²⁹ David S. Shields, "Broadway Photographs. George Gardner Rockwood." <https://broadway.library.sc.edu/content/george-gardner-rockwood.html>. For an example of Rockwood's technical writing, see his article, "Ivorytypes," *Scientific American*, July 15, 1893, 43.

³⁰ "The Vandyke Style in Portraiture," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, Volume 28 (1897), 290. Rockwood's popular story-telling scenes, probably reproduced as photomechanical reproductions, were "A Possible President," "Fine Feathers Make Fine Birds," "Sunshine and Shadow," and "Two of a Kind."

³¹ For example, Rockwood was a speaker in a lecture series at the Brooklyn Institute of Art. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (November 14, 1894), 12. See also news of his proposed lecture series, *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* 37:525 (September 1900), 432. Among Rockwood's employees who subsequently had their own galleries were Francis C. ("Frank") Langhorne in Plainfield, NJ, and Mrs. M. Louise ("Minnie") Greene in Summit, NJ. Dan Murphy worked as a photographer for Rockwood from 1859 to at least 1892 and Rockwood's son, George H., also became a photographer at Rockwood's and on his own. In part, "Studios of New York [Fredricks and Rockwood], *Photographic Times* 22:48 (March 18, 1892), 144.

³² Announcement of Elihu R. Rockwood's "sudden death" recounted that he was the proprietor of the Alhambra. *Plattsburgh Republican* (March 12, 1853), 2. See also July 21, 1854, notice by his Executor, Martha Rockwood in *Troy Daily Times* (August 4, 1854), 1. Ad for the Alhambra at 197 River Street under the direction of Elihu R. Rockwood may be found in the *Troy Daily Times* (1852), and under George G. Rockwood, Proprietor, in the *Troy Daily Whig* (February 8, 1855). In the latter, the ad includes a long menu with prices. Among the offerings were Oysters, Lobster, Welch [sic] Rarebit, Lamb Fries, Turtle Steak, and Fried Frogs, with venison and trout in season. See also paragraph about Rockwood, "Oyster Stews," *Troy Daily Whig* (January 15, 1855). On the second floor above the restaurant was the "Ladies Saloon and Ordinary." *Troy Daily Times* (February 1, 1854). The Young Men's Association met on the third floor at that time. *Troy Daily Whig* (December 13, 1865). Rockwood also operated the Branch Hotel and Restaurant at 830 River Street and the Alhambra Ice Cream Rooms at 197 River Street.

³³ "Our Illustration," op. cit. This article states that Rockwood went to New York to study with Tomlinson but it is more likely that Rockwood learned from him in Troy. Tomlinson became a daguerreian in the 1840s and worked in New York, New Haven, Baltimore, and Troy, before operating in Jersey City, 1855–1856, when he was also listed in New York as Tomlinson & Co., in partnership with Charles L. Dick. In 1859, Tomlinson sued Charles D. Fredricks in U.S. Circuit Court for infringement of the Cutting patents for sealing ambrotypes and use of bromide of potassium in combination with collodion; he dropped the complaint after Fredricks produced affidavits from William Langenheim, Frederick DeBourg Richards, and two others that the procedures were in use prior to the issuing of the patent. "The Cutting Patents in Court: Tomlinson vs. Fredricks," *American Journal of Photography* (New Series) 2:3 (July 1, 1859), 40–42.

³⁴ John Craig, "Tomlinson, William Augur," *Craig's Daguerreian Registry*. https://craigcamera.com/dag/ti_table.htm.

³⁵ "Our Illustration," op cit.

³⁶ "Rockwood's Ambrotypes," *Weekly Saint Louis Pilot*, January 12, 1856, 3.

³⁷ Shields, "George G. Rockwood."

³⁸ *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 11, 1857, 2.

³⁹ “Rockwood’s Photographic Van or Travelling [sic] Car,” *Philadelphia Photographer* 2:20 (August 1865): 130–132. Rockwood was praised for his large landscape photographs by Richard Walzl, *The Photographer’s Friend* 3:1 (January 1873), 15–16. Rockwood’s large format views were published in a number of books, including Donald Grant Mitchell, *Pictures of Edgewood* [New Jersey] *in a series of photographs by Rockwood* (NY: C. Scribner & Co, 1869), and his views were reproduced regularly as woodcuts in *Harper’s Weekly*, as listed in William S. Johnson, *Nineteenth-Century Photography: An Annotated Bibliography, 1839–1879* (Boston: G.K Hall & Co., 1990), 522–526. He also issued stereographic views from the 1860s to the 1880s. William C. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettysburg, PA: W.C. Darrah, 1977), 208, 230.

⁴⁰ *New York Herald Tribune* (November 28, 1876), 4. Rockwood’s notice about his purchase listed his prices for Imperial Cards (i.e. cabinet cards), \$6 per dozen, and Cartes De Visite, \$3 per dozen. Subsequent to publication of my article, Terry Alphonse, pointed out that the gallery was sold to Rockwood by Benjamin Gurney, not his father Jeremiah, as I had originally written. I have made the correction in the text above.

⁴¹ Mary A. Randel (1854–1918) is listed with 5 of 9 children living. Her husband was Jonah Augustus Randel (1851–1925). I did not find him in the 1900 U.S. Census. They are both interred at Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx. findagrave.com. In 1900, the Rockwood’s two live-in servants were Susan Coughlin, 26, and Rose Cerr, 22, both recent immigrants from Ireland.

⁴² Several obituaries provided the total, e.g., *The Sun* (New York, NY, July 12, 1911), 7. Rockwood’s impressive musical career is outside the scope of this article; see obituaries for details. Some of the portraits at Rockwood’s were made by his brother Elihu and son George, among other camera operators.

⁴³ Walzl, 15–16. Walzl stated that “for the past ten years he has had no rival as a landscape photographer,” a claim that could be disputed. Walzl did not provide a date for the *Phrenological Journal*. In an earlier article, Walzl made the same statement about Rockwood’s landscape photography but did not mention cartes de visite. *The Photographer’s Friend* 3:3 (May 1873), 71.

⁴⁴ “Our Illustration,” op. cit. I have not located copies of the cartes de visites of Rothschild and Mrs. Belmont. This piece also recalled that Rockwood was among the first photographers to switch from collodion wet plate to George Eastman’s dry plate negatives and that by the middle of May 1881, he had had 113,000 sittings.

⁴⁵ Based on this source, photo historian William Welling concluded that Rockwood made the first carte de visite in 1859 of Baron Rothschild and the first carte de visite of a woman, in the vignette style, of Mrs. August Belmont. William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years, 1839–1900: A Documentary History* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978), 288, citing “Our Illustration,” *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* 12 (May 1881), 159.

⁴⁶ *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* 20:4 (February 23, 1889), 250-251.

⁴⁷ John Werge, *The Evolution of Photography* (London: Piper & Carter, 1890, reprint, Arno Press, 1973), 70–74, 200. The relevant New York section of Werge’s original serialized article, “Rambles Among the Studios of America,” about Werge’s second visit to America, appeared in *The Photographic News* 10:397 (April 13, 1866), 171–173, available via Google Books. It is not listed in Werge’s extensive bibliography in his *The Evolution of Photography*. Merry A. Foresta and John Wood, *Secrets of the Dark Chamber: The Art of the American Daguerreotype* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, 1995) assigned the “Rambles” title to a different excerpt from Werge’s book that begins on page 48 about Werge’s first trip to the United States.

⁴⁸ Unlike Werge, most other early books on the history of photography did not discuss the introduction of the carte de visite in the United States, e.g., W. Jerome Harrison, *A History of Photography* (London: Trubner & Co., 1888); Gaston Tissandier, *A History and Handbook of Photography* (New York: Scoville, 1877); and D. Van Monckhoven, *A Popular Treatise on Photography*, translated by W. H. Thornthwaite (London: Virtue Brothers, 1863). The earliest ad by Meade Brothers for cartes de visite that I found was in the *New York Daily Herald* (December 17, 1861), 7.

⁴⁹ “Progress in Photography,” in section, “The Pioneers,” *The Sun* (New York, NY), May 19, 1901. The photographers Rockwood referenced were Napoleon Sarony (1821–1896), William Kurtz (1833–1904), and José Maria Mora (1847–1926). None of these men had galleries when the carte de visite was introduced in New York. The marriage of financier August Belmont (1813–1890, born Aaron Schönberg) to Caroline Slidell Perry may have influenced his appointment a few years later as American Ambassador to The Hague, 1853–1857.

⁵⁰ *Utica Morning Herald* (August 27, 1859). Sources examined did not provide a likely identification for this E. Rothschild. The closest match would be Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934), son of Baron James Mayer de Rothschild of Paris, but he seems too young and was not from Germany. Edmond’s older brother, Alphonse, had visited the United States in 1848, too early to have been the sitter for Rockwood’s first carte de visite. Rothschild Family Archive, <https://family.rothschildarchive.org/people>; Niall Ferguson, *The House of Rothschild: The World’s Banker, 1849–1899* (New York: Viking, 1999), 118.

⁵¹ After his colossal loss, Salomon’s father sent him to work as a clerk in the Frankfurt office for two years and then to the United States for another two. He departed from the United States at the outbreak of the U.S. Civil War in April 1861. Ferguson, 161, 228–229. It is quite clear that it was Salomon, not his father, who visited the United States. His father James went to Liverpool to say good-bye to his son when he was leaving for New York. *New York Times* (December 20, 1859), 5.

⁵² *New York Times* (December 9, 1859), 9.

⁵³ *New York Times* (December 9, 1859), 8.

⁵⁴ Sigmund Diamond, translator and editor, *A Casual View of America: The Home Letters of Salomon de Rothschild, 1859–1861* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961). Reference to Lake George and Rothschild’s entourage of ten in *New York Times* (August 1, 1860), 4. This article observed that the Baron “of Paris” had an income of 16,000,000 francs per year and was visiting “watering places.” Meeting the *Great Eastern*, the largest ship built to that time, in *New York Daily Tribune* (June 29, 1860), 7. Earlier that month, Salomon “from France” was reported residing at the New York Hotel, 717 Broadway, close to Rockwood’s gallery at 839 Broadway. *New York Daily Herald* (June 20, 1860), 4.

⁵⁵ “Threescore Years and Ten,” *Wilson’s Photographic Magazine* 39 (1902), 140–141. The Getty Museum has a number of Le Jeune cartes de visite on its webpage, some of which appear to be quite early. Getty Museum Collection. Augustin Aimé Joseph le jeune. <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/person/104RYF>.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985), 238, n54. McCauley wrote that Napoléon III’s payment to Le Jeune was the only record she found of a payment by the emperor to a photographer and that it must have been for a large order of photographs.

⁵⁷ Baron James Mayer de Rothschild had been made a Baron by the Emperor of Austria in 1822 and appointed consul-general of the Austrian Empire, which gave him diplomatic status to represent Austria in an official capacity to Napoléon III. One newspaper commented with some exaggeration, “The most intimate friend of Napoléon III is said to be Baron Rothschild, whom Napoléon intends making King of Jerusalem.” *Gazette and Sentinel* (Plaquemine, LA, August 25, 1860), 3. One indicator of the Baron’s prominence in France is that the French government printed a set of postage stamps in eight different denominations for his exclusive use, an honor not accorded to anyone else.

⁵⁸ *New York Daily Tribune*, April 13, 1902, 5; *The Argus* (Albany, New York), April 20, 1902, 11. The *Argus* alleged that Rockwood learned photography as a teenager in Troy, an assertion unique to this source. If true, Rockwood’s apprenticeship with William A. Tomlinson may have predated his father’s death.

⁵⁹ Bankruptcy, *New York Daily Tribune* (June 5, 1908), 11; *Washington Star* (Washington, DC, June 5, 1908), 14; *New-York Tribune* (June 5, 1908), 12. Reports vary in details. Rockwood owed more than \$20,000. George Rockwood’s brother Elihu was born in about 1842. In the 1870 U.S. Census for New York City, he was listed as a photographer, 28, living with wife Ellen, 29, and children Emma, 6, Minnie, 5, and Warren, 3.

⁶⁰ Among the obituaries, the *Gazette and Courier* (Greenfield, MA, July 15, 1911), 4, recalled that Rockwood, a native of Troy, had lived on Prospect Street in Greenfield as a young man and had photographed scenes there but did not provide the date. Rockwood had an uncle who lived in Greenfield. Presumably, his sojourn in Greenfield was before or after his years in St. Louis. Rockwood is not listed among the professional photographers in Ron Polito, ed., *A Directory of Massachusetts Photographers, 1839–1900* (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1993).

⁶¹ John Craig, *Craig’s Daguerreian Registry*, <https://craigcamera.com/dag>, citing *Wilson’s Photographic Magazine* 39 (1902), 140–141, and 48 (1911), 383. Regarding these two citations, the former states that Rockwood was turning 70 with 47 years’ experience since beginning his photographic career in St. Louis in the summer of 1855. The latter is a one-page obituary that erroneously gives Rockwood’s start in business as 1853 and declares that was when he produced the first carte de visite in St. Louis. The subject of this carte de visite is not provided in this flawed source. It also states that Rockwood came to New York in 1857 [sic], went into partnership with his brother Elihu, had an honorary Ph.D. from Columbia University, and claimed to have photographed “more prominent Americans than any other photographer.” Other obituaries stated that Rockwood’s Ph.D. was awarded by “Chicago University.” *Troy Times* (July 12, 1911), 2; *Washington Post* (July 12, 1911), 3. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* (July 12, 1911) opined that it was from “the old Chicago university.” In 1890, “The Old University of Chicago” was designated as the legal name for the defunct school previously known as the “University of Chicago” that closed in 1886 after a fire. The doctorate was remarked upon during Rockwood’s lifetime in *The Argus* (Albany, NY, April 20, 1902), 11, without specifying the awarding institution.

⁶² Rockwood is not listed in the 1854 St. Louis city directory, providing further evidence that he did not open a gallery there until 1855 or January 1856. Obituaries with the doubtful date of 1853 include *Washington Post* (July 12, 1911), 3; *Wilson's Photographic Magazine*, 48 (1911), 382; and *The Sun*, July 12, 1911, 7. The *Photographic Times* 43 (1911), 315, did not provide a date when he opened in St. Louis but gave a very questionable 1855 date for when he made the first carte de visite of Baron Rothschild. Possibly, Rockwood first went to St. Louis in 1853 and stayed briefly until his father's unexpected death brought him back to Troy.

⁶³ *Wilson's Photographic Magazine* 48 (1911), 382. According to this flawed source, George and Elihu opened the gallery in 1857 in New York and Elihu left the partnership to enlist and became a colonel during the U.S. Civil War. Elihu's obituary in *The Evening Post* (New York, NY, March 31, 1908), 4, also stated that he was photographing with his brother George on Broadway when the war started. But the *New-York Tribune* (March 31, 1908), 8, recounted that Elihu began working for his brother George *after* he was discharged from the army (on June 17, 1865). Elihu had enlisted in Massachusetts on May 18, 1861, and did rise to colonel. He was a photographer with his brother at 239 Broadway when he died at work on March 30, 1908. Another obituary in the *Atlanta Journal* (March 31, 1908), 7, recounted that Elihu had been a New York photographer for forty years and had claimed to have captured the famous Confederate Col. John S. Mosby three times during the Civil War and let him escape after playing poker with him. In response to this tale, which appeared in newspapers nationwide, Mosby denied that he had ever been captured and averred that he had never played poker. *Duluth News Tribune* (June 12, 1908), 6. The Yankee Volunteer, "Elihu R. Rockwood." <https://dmorinsite.wordpress.com/elihu-r-rockwood> reproduces a carte de visite of Elihu in uniform by Rockwood & Co., 839 Broadway, circa 1863–1864.

⁶⁴ After beginning his career in Europe working for the Rothschild banking family, August Belmont initially was employed by them when he came to New York in 1837 but then started his own firm in which he acted as agent for the Rothschilds. He was related to the Rothschilds through his grandmother. "August Belmont Is Dead," *New York Times*, November 25, 1890. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1890/11/25/103280974.pdf>. His ads in the *New York Times* offered "letters of credit to travelers, available in all parts of the world, through the Messrs. Rothschild, of Paris, London, Frankfort, Vienna, Naples and their correspondents," e.g., *New York Times* (March 14, 1860), 7.

⁶⁵ Rockwood is not listed in *Trow's New York City Directory for the year ending May 1, 1859*, which was compiled in the spring of 1858. Rockwell's statement reported in the article in *Anthony's*, discussed above, that he had been a photographer for three years fits with the 1859 date of his arrival in New York.

⁶⁶ Little information about Rintoul is available other than his brief partnership with Rockwood. Closest match found in the 1860 U.S. Census for New York City: John Rintoul, 43, clerk, born in Scotland, personal estate \$1,000. John Rintoul of Edinburgh won fourth prize in a rifle shooting contest, reported in *Scottish American Journal* (October 1, 1864), 6.

⁶⁷ John Craig concluded that George Rockwood opened a gallery with his brother Elihu at Broadway and 13th Street, likely in 1857 (doubtful) or 1859, before forming the partnership with Rintoul at 839-841 Broadway, the same geographic location, where he had five artists coloring photographs and one photographer for outdoor work. As discussed elsewhere in this article, Craig's source for Elihu working with his brother before the Civil War contains obvious errors, casting doubt on its veracity concerning Elihu. *Craig's Daguerreian Registry*, <https://craigcamera.com/dag>.

⁶⁸ Darrah advised that photographers included the note about duplicates from 1861 to 1866. Darrah, *Cartes de Visite*, 194.

⁶⁹ *New-York Tribune*, March 31, 1891, 12. Some ads after his move continued to list his 17 Union Square address.

⁷⁰ William C. Darrah, *Cartes de Visite*, 5.

⁷¹ Darrah footnoted M. A. Root's book, discussed below, Werge, and *Anthony's Bulletin* 12 (May 1880, 159, which does not reference either Fredricks or Rockwood but includes a letter to the editor from I. B. Heyl, enclosing two deteriorated cartes de visite that he had owned since 1860.

⁷² Carlos G. Vertanessian, "A Daguerreotype and History by the 'Carlos De Forest Fredricks & Ca.' Studio," *The Daguerreian Annual 1997* (Pittsburgh, PA: 1998), 27–31; Vertanessian, "Member's Portfolio — South American Daguerreotypes, Part Two," *Daguerreian Society Quarterly* 27:2 (April–June 2015), 6–12; *Alexander B. Weeks: A Daguerreotypists's Journal. Brooklyn, Recife, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Toledo, Detroit* (Mt. Pleasant, MI: Catherine A. Murray, 2014). Weeks was Fredricks' partner in South America.

⁷³ In part, "Fredricks, Charles D.," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Volume 2 (NY: James T. White, 1921), 398–399. In the 1850s, Fredricks' Havana gallery was operated for several years by Fredricks himself in the winters. Various partners were listed by name until 1862, when he initiated C. D. Fredricks & Co. in November 1862. In 1865, his employee Augusto Daries became a partner and the gallery's name changed to C. D. Fredericks y Daries. With Daries in charge, the gallery continued into the 1880s. In the 1860s, Fredricks also had a branch in Paris. In part, Miguel Angel Cuarterolo, "Charles DeForest Fredricks: A Latin American Adventure," *The Daguerreian Annual 2002–2003* (Pittsburgh: The Daguerreian Society, 2004), 298–314. See also Robert M. Levine, "American Influence in Cuba," *History of Photography* 13:1 (January–March 1989), 5–7, with two cartes de visite of Fredricks, one with the Cuban Photographic Society, and the other a self-portrait.

⁷⁴ The artists are named in Lisa E. Bloom, "Charles DeForest Fredricks: 19th Century Entrepreneur in the Photography Industry," unpublished, Visual Studies Workshop, Spring 1983, 22. <https://www.lisaebloom.com/charles-deforest-fredricks-nineteenth-century-entrepreneur-in-the-photography-industry>.

⁷⁵ Bloom, 12.

⁷⁶ *New-York Tribune* (May 31, 1858), 7. Hallotypes were patented by John B. Hall on January 20, 1857. The patent described placing a semi-transparent picture over another one. In practice, they were similar to ambrotypes. Fredricks' Hallotypes included Hall's patent notice on the brass mat.

⁷⁷ William S. Johnson, 236–240.

⁷⁸ Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839–1889* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 141. Thirteen of these patents for albums, as well as later ones, are included in Janice G. Schimmelman, *American Photographic Patents: The Daguerreotype & Wet Plate Era, 1840–1880* (Nevada City, CA: Carl Mautz, 2002). For photograph album construction, see Abigail Slawik, *How A Book Moves: Photograph Album Structures in the Department of Photographs*. <https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/conservation-and-scientific-research/photograph-conservation/research-projects/photograph-album-structures>.

⁷⁹ Goupil's offered a variety of holiday gifts including photograph albums and cartes de visite, *New York Daily Herald* (December 16, 1860), 5, and *New York Times* (December 19, 1860), 5. W. Schaus offered art supplies and "Albums for cartes de visite," *New York Times* (December 20, 1860), 6.

⁸⁰ Werge, "Rambles Among the Studios of America—New York," *The Photographic News* 10:397 (April 13, 1866), 172. Werge's comments about Fredricks were not included in his abridged version published in *The Evolution of Photography* in 1890. Fredricks gallery at 585-587 Broadway burned in 1879 and he reopened at 770 Broadway as "Knickerbocker Portrait Gallery." *Photographic Times* 9: 107 (November 1879), 260.

⁸¹ A salt print depicting the exterior of the gallery is in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. <https://art.nelson-atkins.org/objects/47094/fredricks-photographic-temple-of-art-broadway-new-york;jsessionid=8CE41D51BC21BFE2F05E39C0F235D9E7>.

⁸² NY: Rudd & Carleton, 1861, 50–54.

⁸³ Welling, 358.

⁸⁴ In 1893, Fredricks & Co. was chosen as senior class photographers by Rutgers College in New Brunswick. *Daily Times* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, March 15, 1893), 1. In his later years, Fredricks had health problems. In an 1892 ad, he endorsed Allcock's Porona Plasters, which he had taken for twenty years, declaring, "when placed on the small of the back Allcock's Plasters fill the body with nervous energy, and thus [cure] our fatigue, brain exhaustion, debility, and kidney difficulties. For women and children I have found them invaluable. They never irritate the skin or cause the slightest pain, but cure sore throats, coughs, colds, pains in side, back or chest, indigestion and bowel complaints." *Camden* (New Jersey) *Courier-Post* (June 6, 1892), 2.

⁸⁵ Death record, New Jersey State Archives. Fredricks was survived by his wife, two sons, and two daughters. He married Maria (or Mariah) Louise Barron (January 19, 1839 – February 25, 1918) on October 29, 1857. The family is listed in the 1860 and 1880 censuses on a farm in Woodbridge, New Jersey. 1860: Charles Fredricks, photographer, 37 years old, born NY, and wife Mariah L., 21, in family of John H. Campbell, farmer, 34, born NJ, and his wife, Frances M., 26; Hannah Tooker, 78, and Sarah A. Lawrence, 56, a laborer and a domestic. Fredricks owns real estate valued at \$2K and other assets of \$10K. Campbell has real estate worth \$10K and \$1K other assets. Hannah Tooker has assets of \$8K. 1880: Charles Fredricks, 55 years old, photographer, married, born NY to father born NJ and mother born NY, living with his family in residence of Frances M. Campbell, widow, 46, born NJ to father born NJ and mother born NY; Maria L. (wife of Charles), 40, born NJ to father born NJ and mother born NY; Alfred D., photographer, 20, born NJ; Louise B., 16, born NJ [she married James Price Merrick of Glassboro on June 5, 1889, in Newark]; and Gertrude V., 15; also two servants and a laborer. In the 1870 U.S. Census, Fredricks is listed in Summit, NJ: Charles Fredericks, photographer, 46, born NY, \$25K real estate, \$2K personal estate, living with wife Maria L., 30, born NJ, and daughters Louisa, 6, and Gertrude, 5, both born NJ.

⁸⁶ Washington Irving Adams, "The Late Charles D. Fredricks," *The Photographic Times* 24:664 (June 8, 1894), 355–356. Shorter obituaries, without discussion of cartes de visite: *New-York Tribune*, May 28, 1894), 9; *The Sun* (New York, May 28, 1894), 3.

⁸⁷ Coddington, 9.

⁸⁸ *The Camera and the Pencil* (Philadelphia: M. A. Root, 1864, reprint, Pawlet, VT: Helios, 1971), 381.

⁸⁹ Welling, 86; Craig, “Tomlinson.”

⁹⁰ Welling, 174; “The Railway Collision in Ohio,” *New York Times* (December 10, 1856), 1.

⁹¹ Craig, “Fredricks, Charles DeForest,” *Craig’s Daguerreian Registry*, <https://craigcamera.com/dag>. Furman worked for daguerreian Marcus’s brother Samuel Root before he worked for Fredricks.

⁹² Resources for this article included Digital Public Library of America, Internet Archive, HathiTrust, Chronicling America (Library of Congress), Newspapers.com, Fultonhistory.com, Genealogybank, Google Books, et al.

⁹³ Lengthy profiles of Fredricks include “Sketch of Charles D. Fredricks, Esq.,” *Humphrey’s Journal of Photography and the Allied Arts and Sciences* (20:27 (November 15, 1869), 429-431, reprinted in *Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin* 12:4 (April 1881), 110-112; “C.D. Fredericks [sic] and His Work,” *Anthony’s Bulletin of Photography* 17:1 (January 9, 1886), 4.

⁹⁴ “Important to the Fashionable Community. PHOTOGRAPHIC CARTES DE VISITE,” *New York Times* (March 15, 1861), 5. Fredricks also mentions herein that he has available albums and frames for these cartes de visite that he had made for him in Paris. In September 1861, he advertised, “Card Photographs. This beautiful and very popular picture we make a specialty in the business” and offered an assortment of albums for housing them. *The Sun* (New York, September 5, 1861), 2.

⁹⁵ The typical widths of cartes de visite vary, including 2 5/16, 2 3/8, 2 7/16, and 2 1/2 inches.

⁹⁶ Another producer of the 2 5/8 inch-wide cartes de visite in New York was Hallett & Brother, 134 & 136 Bowery. An example in the author’s collection has an unusual triple line blue border around the image, with a thick line in the middle and two thin lines on either side. Some Halletts in the Darrah Collection at Penn State University are in this style but with red lines. The triple line border and wide cartes de visite are not included in the carte de visite dating guide in Darrah, *Cartes de Visite*, 194–196.

⁹⁷ Jeremiah Gurney, his former partner and competitor, advertised cartes de visite as early as June 1860. Gurney appealed to women to visit his gallery at 707 Broadway and examine “photographic visiting cards ... the same as now used by the upper circle of society, and in the mode in Paris and London.” *New York Daily Herald* (June 11 1860), 5.

⁹⁸ *New York Saturday Press*, December 24, 1859, 2. Repeated the following week on December 31. The author thanks Marcel Safier for finding this ad and bringing it to his attention.

⁹⁹ Fredricks reported banking in Paris, *New York Times*, August 8, 1859, 3. Fredricks reported arriving back in New York on the Arago from Le Havre and Southampton, *New York Daily Herald*, September 7, 1859, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Subjects of Fredricks’ cartes de visite with the 1861 copyright notice include Union generals Ambrose E. Burnside and General George B. McClellan, and entertainers Barney & Maria Williams. Fredricks’ cartes de visite of Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard, who started the Civil War by firing on Fort Sumter, was copyrighted in 1862.

¹⁰¹ Fredricks' brother, Linson D. Fredricks, had his own galleries in the 1860s, for a time with partner John O'Neil, and his cartes de visite have a different design than those by Charles. In 1862, at least some of his imprints read, "Fredricks & Co., 249 Broadway, 179 Fifth Avenue, New York." Linson and S.J. Hallett had a partnership operating as Fredricks & Co. that was dissolved on March 9, 1862; subsequently Linson and his brother Charles Fredricks continued under this name at 249 Broadway and 179 Fifth Ave. *New York Daily Tribune* (April 3, 1862), 2, which probably has a typo reading 949 Broadway, instead of 249. Cartes de visite from this studio are usually found with just the 179 Fifth Avenue address. Later 1860s cartes de visite from this gallery have a thick single red line around the photo, "Fredericks & Co." and "Fifth Avenue" under the image, with a reverse featuring an ovoid shape, within which is a graphic of a palette with brushes and beneath, "159 Fifth Avenue, Madison Square."

¹⁰² Literally, "and light was made," an abbreviated version of the Biblical quotation from Genesis, "dixitque Deus fiat lux et facta est," (And God said let there be light, and there was light.)

¹⁰³ Darrah dated such artwork to 1864–1870, and in his book reproduced an example by Fredricks that he dated 1866. Darrah, *Cartes de Visite*, 176. Another example of this style has been seen with a revenue stamp, dating it from 1864 to 1866. Some Fredricks cartes de visite of celebrities, such as Horace Greeley, have overprints on the versos with the names of resellers.

¹⁰⁴ In 1867, Hugh O'Neill, who had worked for Fredricks, purchased Fredricks' "old established galleries," as reported in "Editor's Table," *Philadelphia Photographer* 4:47 (November 1867), 366. This is likely a reference to the galleries at 159 Fifth Avenue and 949 Broadway. O'Neill continued operating under the Fredricks name and then was sued successfully by Linson D. Fredricks to desist. New York Supreme Court proceedings, *Legislative Acts/Legal Proceedings* 34:10 (January 10, 1869); *Home News* (New York, January 9, 1869), 8. O'Neill is described as "one of the best photographers which this country has ever produced" in a profile of Fredricks in *Humphrey's Journal of Photography, and the Allied Arts and Sciences* 20:27 (November 15, 1869), 429–431. This profile does not credit Fredricks for the first cdv in New York.