'Rising Visions / Fragmentary Glimpses':

Framing Modernity in Madison Square, 1890-1920.

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Undergraduate Senior Thesis

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April 17th, 2020

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would not exist with the support of many people. I am eternally grateful for the ways they have enabled me to accomplish this project I have dreamed of for years, in ways I never would have imagined. I am a better person at the end of it all, and I have you to thank.

To Professor Elizabeth Blackmar, who always knew what I was thinking better than I did myself and whose honest enthusiasm inspired me when I was most overwhelmed. This thesis would be unrecognizable without her comments, insights, and pep talks. To walk into your office was to see the world open up suddenly and magnificently.

To Professor Hilary Hallet, for her unending patience and understanding throughout this long process, and her careful, thoughtful edits on so many harried drafts. I will return your book to you safely, one day!

To Professor Matthew Hart, who showed me the potentials of what modernism can be, and who after years of radio silence believed in me honestly and without question. You have taught me to allow things to breathe and exist in all their contradictions.

To Professor Gergely Baics, who first introduced me to archival maps and challenged me to believe in history for the sake of it.

To Josh Schwartz, whose assistance in locating sources on early twentieth century New York illustrators completely transformed this project.

To Professor Elizabeth Hutchins, whose courses first introduced me to the works of Alvin Langdon Coburn and Alfred Stieglitz, and whose perceptive insight brought their art to life.

To Nicholas Bierstedt Mayer, my American Studies graduate advisor, who has advised me on every aspect of my life. You have helped me see things clearly, and demand more of the world and for myself. I will always treasure our long talks over coffee in Nous. I am glad to consider you a friend.

To my friends; Hannah, Michelle, Sofia, Adam, Emily, and Emily; who always believe the best of me and inspire me to hold fast. To Konner and Micaiah, who have been with me from the beginning and always remind me how to live joyously. And, as always, to my mother and sister, who have listened to my stories for years.

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Map of Madison Square[1]

[1] Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. *Insurance Maps of the City of New York: Borough of Manhattan.* New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1908. New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Introduction

The places that we have known belong now only to the little world of space
on which we map them for our convenience. None of them was ever more than a
thin slice, held between contiguous impressions that composed our life at that time;
remembrance of a particular form is nothing but regret for a particular moment;
and houses, roads, avenues are as fugitive, alas, as the years.
Marcel Proust

History decays into images, not into stories.
Walter Benjamin

In 1911, the avant-garde photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn contended with the unique challenge early -twentieth century New York posed to his artistic practice. Returning after years in Europe to the city where he had begun his professional career, Coburn was "plunged into the rush and turmoil of New York," and there found that a new understanding of "the relation of time to art has been forced upon me."[2] It was in New York, wrote the exceptionally well-traveled Coburn, that "time and space are of more value than in any other part of our world." The streets themselves were energized by an "instantaneous, concentrated mental impulse" distinctly at odds with the "slow, gradual building up" that characterized the the nineteenth century. This impulse marked for Coburn "the essential difference" of the "modern," a difference which was "not so much a mechanical one . . . but rather a mental one," wherein novel spatiotemporal arrangements impressed new perceptions upon New York's inhabitants. This vital, inescapable connectivity between place and experience — a simultaneity of modernization and modernism — is what Marxist philosopher and urbanist Marshall Berman identified as "one of the pervasive facts of

[2] Alvin Langdon Coburn. "The Relation of Time to Art," in Camera Work, v.36. New York: A. Stieglitz, 1911. p. 72.

modern life: the interfusions of its material and spiritual forces, the intimate unity of the modern self and the modern environment."[3]

A new urban environment, reshaped dramatically by the forces of modernization, in turn reshaped the perceptions of those living within it. New dynamics of space and time introduced by modernization created a crisis of representation for the artists dedicated to defying the fine art institutions which traditionally excluded the city as subject. In turning their artistic gaze upon New York City, avant-gardists of the turn-of-the-century engaged with the spatiality and temporality of a modern city in flux. Even within Coburn's essay, which claims at the outset to be primarily concerned with time, the issues of temporality and spatiality are coupled. Art of "this age of steel," which must adapt to the quickening pace of modernity, is simultaneously "art that must live in skyscrapers." It was no longer possible to truthfully represent the city using the spatial and temporal strategies of the nineteenth century: "Just imagine anyone trying to paint at the corner of Thirty-fourth street, where Broadway and Sixth Avenue cross!"[4]

The work of avant-garde artists in New York between 1890 to 1920 offers a unique source with which to explore the spatial tensions of modernization. Painters and photographers of the period approached their work with a quasi-journalistic desire to depict the uniquely modern environment of New York City — as Coburn puts it, artists attempted to "record, translate . . . these visions . . . before they fade,":

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[3] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*, "III. Modernism in the Streets." New York: Penguin Books, 1988. p. 134. Key in Berman's work is a conception that "dualism [of modernism versus modernization], pervasive in contemporary culture, cuts us all off from" the past. Modernism, in this specific instance, refers to cultural responses to the phenomena of modernity.

[4] Alvin Langdon Coburn. "The Relation of Time to Art," p. 72.

> Now to me New York is a vision that rises out of the sea as I come up the harbor on my Atlantic liner, and which glimmers for awhile in the sun for the first of my stay amidst its pinnacles; but which vanishes, but for fragmentary glimpses, as I become one of the grey creatures that crawl about like ants, at the bottom of its gloomy caverns.[5]

New York's rapidly changing environment, subject to quickening rates and modernization upon an increasingly condensed island, made for a city where the tensions of changing time and space rose to the surface and became inescapable.

At the time Coburn's essay, "The Relation of Art to Time," was published, he had returned to New York after years abroad in Europe. It was then, from 1911 to 1912, that he took the last photographs of New York City, and of the United States, of his life. Soon after, the Massachusetts-born artist expatriated to England never to return. Many of these last photographs were taken in the neighborhood of Madison Square, and include his most famous landscape photograph, *The Octopus* (1911). Coburn's "unimaginable corner," at the crossing of Broadway and Sixth Avenue, is actually at the northern end of the larger Madison Square neighborhood which, stretched flexibly from Eighteenth Street to Thirty-fourth Street and from Eighth Avenue to First Avenue. Coburn had initially begun his professional career in this area. After a year of working as Gertrude Käsebier's assistant, he opened his first photographic studio a few blocks north of Madison Square Park in 1901.[6]

Over the next decade, far from the conservative art societies of Downtown, Madison Square attracted a number of avant-garde artists. The area became not only the subject of their work, but the location of their studios and homes. Since the 1890s, the "charming park known as

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[5] Alvin Langdon Coburn. "The Relation of Time to Art," p. 72.

[6] Alvin Langdon Coburn. ed. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim. *Alvin Langdon Coburn, Photographer: an Autobiography*. New York: Dover Publications, 1978. p. 18.

Madison Square" had been celebrated as "the heart of the city."[7] The area was a crossroads where disparate segments of New York society met upon the streets — it was in Madison Square that elite residences and tenements, commercial institutions and small shops, social clubs and leftist radicals, commercial traffic and manufacturing lofts, the leisure class and the homeless poor entered a single frame. Collision — between the rich and poor, the urban and the natural — was an intrinsic quality of the neighborhood at the turn-of-the-century, and would become a recurring trope within descriptions of the neighborhood. As a reporter for the *New-York Tribune* wrote in 1917:

> During the long afternoon people are coming and going between [the park's] avenues of green trees—the idlers, the workers, the rich and the poor brush by each other . . . The well dressed and the shabbily dressed loiter and wander.[8]

Even though the block fronts immediately facing Madison Square Park and Fifth Avenue largely remained home to higher-class occupants, the decades between 1890 and 1920 saw the area undergo significant spatial changes as green spaces, industrial yards, lofts, and skyscrapers came and went. Through it all, as the wider neighborhood shifted from a bourgeois residential area to a bustling commercial and industrial zone, Madison Square remained a symbol through which New Yorker's grappled with the rapid changes modernization wrought upon their urban environment. In depicting Madison Square, artists of the avant-garde were engaging in a discourse over the aesthetics of modernity.

In the summer of 1905, Edgar Saltus offered an “illustrated tour” of the newly incorporated city — a city which only seven years prior had consolidated all five boroughs into a

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[7] Marcus Benjamin. A historical sketch of Madison square. New York: Meriden Britannia Company, 1894. p. 11

[8] "Madison Square in Summer Time," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*, June 24, 1907. ProQuest. p. 9.

singular municipal district. Published in *Munsey's Magazine*, a monthly periodical which catered to New York's rising white-collar middle-class, Saltus's "New York from the Flatiron" identifies Madison Square as the "focal point" of the city. The illustrations, which sweep across the roofs of the immediate neighborhood and impossibly into the distant horizon, are views from the top floors of the Flatiron building (known even then by the colloquial name, rather than by its official 'Fuller building'[9]), located at Twenty-third Street between Broadway and Fifth Avenue in Madison Square. Location is a fact that Saltus stresses explicitly, again and again, and Madison Square, through Saltus's tour, is transformed into symbol not just of American modernization, but of human progress on evolutionary and mythic scales. New York is "The American Metropolis," the epitomous city of not just the Northeast Atlantic, but the entire American nation. Broadway and Fifth Avenue, "[America's] two most famous thoroughfares," are respectively claimed as the longest commercial stretch and richest residential stretch not locally or regionally, but globally. It is from this crossroads of culture and commerce, the "focal point" of the city, that Saltus's New York rises to look back upon itself and out across the world — a view Saltus names "the most extraordinary panorama in the world."[10]

Saltus's identifications of Madison Square as the heart of New York has its own implications. It was not for lack of alternatives. While considered a modern marvel for its daring sheerness, the Flatiron building was never the tallest skyscraper in Manhattan. That title was held by the Park Row building from its construction in 1899 until it was surpassed by the Singer

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[9] Built as the Fuller Building, after the name of the Fuller Company that built it, New Yorker's would continue calling the building the Flatiron, as they had referred to the block since at least the mid-eighteenth century. See: Alice Sparberg Alexiou. *The Flatiron: the New York Landmark and the Incomparable City that Arose with It.* New York: Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin's Griffin, 2013. p.60.

[10] Edgar Saltus. "New York from the Flatiron," in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. 33,: July. New York, N.Y. : Frank A. Munsey Co., 1905. p. 381

building in 1908. Curiously, the Park Row building, located far downtown, was situated similarly to the Flatiron: both rose high above the neighboring urban sprawl at the southern apexes of triangular parks. Taller, older, in the financial district, and next to City Hall itself, the Park Row building, for all of its geographic ties to institutional commerce and government, nonetheless appears as only a footnote hidden among the "skyscrapers of lower New York" within Saltus's tour. Instead, it is the Flatiron and its neighborhood which is named heir to (and, more importantly, usurper of) the ancient empires of the Egyptians and the Greeks. Greco-Roman gods become tourists along Saltus's tour, awestruck and overwhelmed by the modern splendors of Madison Square:

> In Fifth Avenue inns [the divinities of old] could get fairer fare than ambrosia, and behold women beside whom Venus would look provincial and Juno a frump. The spectacle of electricity tamed and domesticated would surprise them not a little, the Elevated quite as much, the Flatiron still more. At sight of the latter they would recall the Titans with whom once they warred, and slink to their sacred seas outfaced.[11]

Here again is emphasized Madison Square's unique status as a crossroads of the city where the hallmarks of modernization — entertainment, infrastructure, construction — intersect and in their collision transform into sublime spectacle.

Madison Square was not just a crossroad of the inanimate markers of modernization. Intrinsic to the area's character, to its standing as the symbolic heart of the symbolic American modern city, were the pedestrians who moved through the neighborhood. Literature on the area consistently emphasized these crowds and their temporal transformations:

> Always are there compact throngs, always are there streams of incarnated preoccupations, pouring from whence you cannot say, to where you cannot tell; human streams which the Flatiron cleaves indifferently, rearing its knifish [*sic*] face with the same disdain of the ephemeral that the Sphinx displays, knowing that

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[11] Edgar Saltus. "New York from the Flatiron," in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. 33,: July. New York, N.Y. : Frank A. Munsey Co., 1905. p. 389.

> she has all time as we all have our day.[12]

Saltus explicitly links this human element to the rushing impulse of modernity that pervades Madison Square: these crowds "hurry because everybody hurries, because haste is in the air . . . in the hammers of the ceaseless skyscrapers ceaselessly [*sic*] going up, in the ambient neurosis, in the scudding motors, in the unending noise, the pervading scramble, the metallic roar of the city."[13] In literary descriptions, and in artistic depictions, of the area crowds become mechanized and buildings become animate. In Madison Square, the movement and speed, transience and compression of turn-of-the-century modernity reached a fever pitch. In depicting Madison Square, then, what was at stake was not the simple image of a park situated within a neighborhood of the bourgeois leisure class, but rather the very creation of a new, modern city — the kind of city which could spawn a modern humanity that transcended the failings of the nineteenth century: "It is demonstrable that small rooms breed small thoughts. It will be demonstrable that as buildings ascend so do ideas. It is mental progress that skyscrapers engender. From these parturitions gods may really proceed."[14]

Madison Square, which been known in the late-nineteenth century as an idyllic, bourgeois residential district would by the 1920s become New York City's epicenter for loft manufacturing. This senior essay charts the neighborhood's transformation between 1890 and 1920 through insurance maps, city directories, and newspaper articles. Intrinsic to this analysis are the turn-of-the-century painters and photographers whose artistic depictions of Madison

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[12] Edgar Saltus. "New York from the Flatiron," in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. 33,: July. New York, N.Y. : Frank A. Munsey Co., 1905. p. 386.

[13] Ibid., p. 382.

[14] Ibid., p. 389.

Square contended with the challenge of depicting the modernity of an area with novel spatial and temporal organizations. The differing ways artists framed, layered, animated, and implicitly commented on modern urban space engaged in a larger discourse on the relation between built and natural environment in the city that was occurring across the arts, literature, and newspapers. This senior essay will proceed chronologically through the three decades between 1890 and 1920, analyzing shifts in Madison Square's built environment and crowd compositions before connecting these to depictions of spatial relationships in art of the period. Chapter one, "'The History of New York City Itself'," will address Madison Square's nineteenth century history, the naturalism of late nineteenth century landscape design, and the institutional siting of civic memory within Madison Square in the 1890s. Chapter two, "'The New York of Transition'," will address the emigration of the elite further uptown and subsequent immigration of avant-garde artists into new tenements, the blurring of the borders between natural and urban, and a spatial realignment towards futurity in the 1900s. Chapter three, "'The City's Babel'," addresses the massive displacement of residencies by newly constructed offices and manufacturing lofts, a formalist approach to landscape design that integrates the urban and the natural into a unified city plan, and the massive lunch hour crowds which intrinsically changed the function of the park in the 1910s. The epilogue, "'Grazing the Soul of Time'," concludes the senior essay with a reflection upon the tensions inherent to Madison Square's turn-of-the-century modernity and a consideration of Madison Square's heir, Times Square, and its own the mid-twentieth century modernity.

While many historical works have the modernization and modernity of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in New York City, few have dedicated sustained attention to

Madison Square, especially regarding the area's status as a unique site of modernization at the turn-of-the-century. Above all, this senior essay aims to connect street-level data to larger spatial and temporal theories of modernity. This research owes much of its cultural analysis to the works of Thomas Bender, William S. Taylor, Max Page, Rebecca Zurier, and Richard Dennis, all of whom connect cultural productions and the built environment seamlessly in their work. A historical understanding of spatialism, while influenced by the theories of de Certeau and Lefebvre, was inspired by Edward W. Soja's *Postmodern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* and Stephen Kern's *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. A framework for historicizing temporality was adopted from Reinhart Kosselleck's work on the "*neuzeit*" within *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, though I was also inspired by histories on literary modernism by Michael Levenson, Malcolm Bradbury, and Nico Israel. Walter Benjamin's, T.J. Clark's, and Tyrus Miller's theoretical works on twentieth century modernism and the arts were integral to the initial conception of this project.

Chapter One

'The History of New York City Itself': *Rus in urbe*-Civic Memory and Nineteenth-Century Spatiality, 1890-1900.

The materials of city planning are: sky, space, trees, steel and cement; in that order and that hierarchy.
Le Corbusier

In 1894, the amateur historian and professional editor Marcus Benjamin[15] joined many observers in placing Madison Square at the center of New York City:

> In the very heart of the metropolis of the New World is Madison Square; and in all New York there is no other one place so completely identified with the growth of the city as this beautiful pleasance. Even more than this may be said, for it is doubtful if there is any place in the world where the fin de siècle civilization in its fullest development can be seen to greater advantage than in this very Madison Square . . . The history of Madison Square is indeed the history of New York city [*sic*] itself.[16]

By the 1890s, the city blocks surrounding Madison Square had been highly developed: filled with residencies, businesses, and luxury manufacturing. Even so, the area retained an aura of its past. The development of the area, from rural to urban, ocurred within the span of only a few decades. As Madison Square careened towards modernity, bustling sidewalks were double-exposed over open fields in the living memories of New Yorkers:

> Sixty years ago few buildings, except rural ones, stood north of Union Square, and the area now called Madison Square was an open tract some ten acres in extent, in the centre of which stood a House of Refuge for unruly boys—an altogether neglected and unsightly tract, of which the only useful feature was a little pond used for skating in the winter.[17]

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[15] Marcus Benjamin worked professionally on a number of encyclopedias and dictionaries — Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, the Standard Dictionary, the Universal Cyclopædia, the New International Encyclopædia, the Appleton's New Practical Cyclopædia — and in 1896 became the publications editor of the United States National Museum, a branch of the Smithsonian Institution.

[16] Marcus Benjamin. *A historical sketch of Madison square*. New York: Meriden Britannia Company, 1894.

[17] Mariana Griswold Schuyler Van Rensselaer. ed. David Gebhard. "Proposed Plan for Madison Square, New York City" from *Garden and Forest*, vol. 9 (April 8, 1896: 142-144), in *Accents as Well as Broad Effects: Writings on Architecture, Landscape, and the Environment, 1876-1925*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1996. p 300.

Before the mid-nineteenth century wave of development hit, the former village of Bull's Head had remained farmland, a stop among many on the journey down Broadway into Manhattan, whose dense cluster of buildings sprang up south of Fourteenth Street.[18] Though the Commissioner's Plan of 1811 had long since marked laid out the grid that would stretch over the entire island, Manhattan's creep north of Fourteenth Street was the work decades. As Madison Square developed, the bourgeois neighborhood was associated with an idyllic, rural past in a number of contemporary literature which emphasized the area's rural ties to colonial Dutch and British landowners whose descendants came to inhabit the brownstones lining Madison Square Park. It was only as these elites abandoned the area, moving north into midtown and Harlem in the 1900s and 1910s, that the accompanying nineteenth century spatial hierarchies of segregation were replaced with a modern spatialism of integration,[19] imbued with Coburn's "instantaneous, concentrated mental impulse."

The area that became Madison Square had previously served as a cattle-mart, a potter's field, arsenal, and as a House of Refuge for juvenile delinquents throughout the early half of the nineteenth century. Though the Commissioner's Plan of 1811 had originally imagined the area as a 'Grand Parade' for military drilling, stretching the 275 acres between Twenty-third Street to Thirty-third Street from Third Avenue (the old Eastern Post Road) to Seventh Avenue (past the

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[18] Marcus Benjamin. *A historical sketch of Madison square*. New York: Meriden Britannia Company, 1894.

[19] For an interpretation of modern urban spatialism in England (though New York City is mentioned) at the turn-of-the-century that similarly marks a movement towards integration, qualifying the shift as a change from the panoptic to the synoptic, see Richard Dennis. *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space,1840-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

old Bloomingdale Road),[20] in 1847 Madison Square Park was established with drastically reduced final boundaries, within the 6.84 acres from Twenty-third Street to Twenty-Sixth Street between Fifth Avenue and Madison Avenue.[21] After the park's opening, the area increasingly became the subject of artistic works. Early etchings of the mid-nineteenth century showcased the bourgeois residential neighborhood being built in the formally rural area (see fig. 1).[22] Within

them, the hard geometricity of the city's grid are set against the meandering, tree-lined paths of the park and distinctly segregated by the streets which demarcate the two spaces.

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[20] Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. "Plan of Manhattan Island" The New York Public Library Digital Collections. 1811.

[21] Arthur Bartlett Maurice. *Fifth Avenue: The Leisure Class in America.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1918. p. 89

[22] **Fig. 1**: The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library. "Madison Square [East side]" *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*. 1801 - 1886.

By 1854, a passenger station and train depot had been established on the corner of Twenty-sixth Street and Madison Avenue servicing the New York and Harlem street railways (which took commuters between Harlem and downtown Manhattan) and the New York, New Haven, and Hartford railroad (which connected most of the Northeast Atlantic).[23] Madison Square served as the central node from which the greater Northeast came into Manhattan, and from which New Yorkers traveled throughout the island: the Madison Square depot connected the city "from the Astor House, along the Park, through Park Row, Centre and Broome Streets, Bowery and Fourth Avenue to Twenty-seventh Street; from there, with large cars, to Harlem River."[24] In 1859, the Fifth Avenue Hotel, the first hotel with a passenger elevator, was built on the West side of the park on the former site of Madison Cottage, a stagecoach stop, tavern, and inn through which travelers had entered the city from the North.

The area became increasingly developed even as the trains moved north to the newly built Grand Central terminal on Forty-second Street in 1973 — in the 1870s the park was re-landscaped by the recently created Department of Public Parks[25] and P.T. Barnum established the entertainment venue which in 1879 became Madison Square Garden on the site of the former depots.[26] In June of 1890, a newly constructed Madison Square Garden re-opened to a crowd of seventeen-thousand as "the largest building in America devoted entirely to amusements."[27]

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[23] William Perris. *Maps of the City of New-York, surveyed under directions of insurance companies of said city*. vol. 6. New York: William Perris, 1854. in the Columbia University *Avery Classics Collection*.

[24] Marcus Benjamin. *A historical sketch of Madison square*. New York: Meriden Britannia Company, 1894. p. 34

[25] Ibid., p. 40

[26] Ibid., p. 35

[27] Ibid., p. 36

Through the decade, such immense crowds became the norm for Madison Square as New Yorkers and tourists alike flocked to the wide variety of cultural, political, and civic events were held there. Madison Square had become a burgeoning upscale commercial and entertainment district.[28]

As elites relocated uptown in the later decades of the nineteenth century, Madison Square Park increasingly became a vessel for the city's historic memory.[29] A number of monuments to elite New Yorkers had been installed within the park since the 1870s — the William Seward statue (1876), the Admiral Farragut statue (1881), the Roscoe Conkling statue (1893) — placing the city's civic past directly in conversation with its rural past. Within Madison Square Park, the civic merged with a "timeless" nature, and was there shielded from the city's rushing modernity.[30] Literature and art of this decade repeatedly framed the park as not part of the city, but as an escape from the city: envisioning that "on a summer afternoon, viewed from different positions, some places in Madison Square resemble quiet retreats in an ancient forest."[31] This created a *rus in urbe* effect — Latin for "country in city," *rus in urbe* is known in architecture as

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[28] G.W. Bromley & Co. *Atlas of the city of New York, Manhattan Island: From actual surveys and official plans.* Philadelphia: G.W. Bromley, 1891. *Avery Classics Collection,* Columbia University.

[29] For extensive discussion on the discourses of memory/memorials in New York City and the emergence of historic preservation in Manhattan at the turn of the twentieth century, of which the parks movement was a part, see Mason, Randall. *Memory Infrastructure: Preservation, "Improvement" and Landscape in New York City, 1898-1925*. Columbia: Dissertation. 1999.

[30] For a discussion on politics of destruction and rebuilding at the core of modern urbanism in early-twentieth-century New York City, see: Max Page. *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940*. Chicago (Ill.): The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

[31] "Madison Square in Summer Time," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*, June 24, 1907. ProQuest. p. 9.

the cultivated illusion of natural space within an urban environment.[32] An integral part of the layering of genteel Arcadia and historic past within Madison Square Park's *rus in urbe* landscape was the cultivation of spaces with hard borders. The American architectural critic Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer[33] in 1896 criticized Madison Square Park's design as ineffectively pursuing a "truly naturalistic scheme," a strategy "not as appropriate as others when the architectural surroundings of the pleasure-ground are of an obtrusively urban sort," as was the case in Madison Square.[34] To achieve a naturalistic*, rus in urbe* effect in New York City's parks, despite the crowd of surrounding city blocks, Van Rensselaer advocated for landscape design which "treat[ed] the entire park as a unity."[35] This unitary approach, which conceived as the park and the city as discrete spaces, would return to Madison Square Park its "charm of mystery" deprived by the "lack of shrubs [which] permits the surrounding houses to reveal themselves too clearly from all points of view."[36] Artistic depictions of Madison Square made in the 1890s reflected the unitary approach by clearly demarcating discrete park and city spaces. The urban and the natural are depicted within the 1890s as exclusive territories, the mechanization of the city at odds with the idyl Arcadia of the park. This *rus in urbe* segregation between park and city

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[32] For discussion on how the cultural representation of social spaces in nineteenth century American literature participated in the reformist, Utopian project of the park movement, see: John Evelev. "Rus-Urban Imaginings: Literature of the American Park Movement and Representations of Social Space in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Early American Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter 2014), pp. 174-201. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24474850>

[33] Van Rensselaer in her work as an architectural critic and journalist was a frequent contributor to popular and professional architectural periodicals like the *American Art Review, Century Magazine*, and *Garden and Forest*. She was also an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects and the American Society of Landscape Architects. See: Judith K. Major. *Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer: a Landscape Critic in the Gilded Age*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013.

[34] Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer. "Proposed Plan for Madison Square, New York City," p. 301.

[35] Ibid., 302.

[36] Ibid., 301.

configures the two as singular, distinct, separate — homogenous spaces whose borders may brush, but are never blurred.

The *rus in urbe* tension between natural and urban space took a central role in Childe Hassam's paintings of Madison Square. Hassam was an American painter from Boston. After studying in Paris, he returned to the United States in 1889. He spent most of the 1890s in New York City, one of a number of artists who rejected the mainstream conservatism of the National Academy of Design[37] and the Society of American Artists,[38] both of which were hostile to the experimentalism of modern art, and instead formed alternative exhibition networks.[39] This experimentalism challenged the conceptualization of space upon which the institutionalized Western fine art of the nineteenth century relied. As cultural and intellectual historian Stephen Kern writes:

> When the Impressionists left their studios and went outside to paint, they discovered a new variety of points of view as well as shades of color and light . . . They moved in and out of the scene, and the frame ceased to be the proscenium of a cubed section of space that it had traditionally been . . . With these new points of view the Impressionists abandoned the scenographic conception of space.[40]

Impressionism is often considered the first modern artistic movement for its radical break from Renaissance conventions.[41] In seceding from the National Academy of Design, Hassam particularly took issue with conventional art's inadequacy and inability to faithfully capture

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[37] The National Academy of Design is a professional honorary association of American artists. It was founded in New York City in 1825 by professional artists seceding from the older American Academy of Fine Arts, which had included in their ranks businessmen and collectors.

[38] The Society of American Artists formed as a succession from the National Academy of Design in 1877 and sought to exhibit artists rejected by the National Academy's conservative juries. In 1906 the Society would re-merge with the National Academy.

[39] H. Barbara Weinberg. *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

[40] Stephen Kern. *Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*, "The Nature of Space". 141.

[41] Ibid., 140.

modern life. Writing to the American art critic William Howe Downes in 1892, Hassam insisted that "an artist should paint *his own time* and treat nature *as he feels it*, not repeat the same stupidities of his predecessors, for mechanical exactitude becomes stupid in art and tiresome."[42]

The *rus in urbe* "ancient forest" of "quiet retreats" that Madison Square Park was framed as in the 1890s would be on full display in Hassam's 1890 painting *Spring Morning in the Heart of the City*, [43] the bright, unfettered greens of foliage in Madison Square Park slashing across the somber mauves of the surrounding cityscape (see fig. 2). The park's meandering paths are obscured, only the barest hint at smudgy pedestrians discernible. Set off in the foreground by the unsettling, empty flatness of Fifth Avenue and crowded by the dark, looming heights of the area's early high-rises, the park's expanse delineates a space at odds with the bustling, desaturated city it is caught within. Madison Square Park is a bubble of the Arcadian, an escape from the grim chaos of the urban for the faceless crowds which surge across Madison Square's streets. This sense is exacerbated by Hassam's crowding of verticals upon the left side of the canvas — in the columns of the Fifth Avenue Hotel's greco-revival portico, the Hotel's two gas lamps and free-standing clock, the two high-rises that book-end the north end of the park — set off against the languid horizontals and negative space of Madison Square Park and Fifth Avenue stretching across most of the canvas. This creates a sense of unbalance as the urban, frenetic claustrophobia stands at odds with the more sedate, idyllic, spacious expanse of the park.

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[42] Childe Hassam as quoted in: H. Barbara Weinberg. "Hassam in Paris, 1886-1889," in *Childe Hassam: American Impressionist.* p. 82. [Italics added.]

[43] **Fig. 2**: Childe Hassam. *Spring Morning in the Heart of the City*, Oil on canvas, 1890; reworked 1895-99. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

While *Spring Morning* features an icon of an older New York — the gothic revival spires of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church above the park's tree-line, constructed in 1854. It was one of New York's oldest and most famous churches at the time of its eventual demolition in 1906, when it was bought out by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to make way for new offices.[44] While only forty years old, the church was symbolic of an older New York, a city of

[44] "Demolishing one of New York's most famous churches," in *Leslie's Weekly*, August 2nd 1906. New York Public Library Photographs Collection. Captioned: "Steeplejacks at the dizzy height of nearly 300 feet tearing down the tower of Rev. Dr. Parkhurst's old church near Madison Square Park, one of the oldest in the city."

wood-frame buildings and church spires, that was increasingly disappearing by the end of the nineteenth century. Fading and blurred, the church has been superseded in Hassam's painting by the high-rise buildings at the north end of Madison Square Park. Everything in the composition leads to these buildings — the crowded vertical lines, the park's paths, the pedestrians and streaming street traffic, the horizontals of the park and Fifth Avenue. The high-rise building facing the north end of the park is the Brunswick Hotel, a residential hotel built in the 1870s.[45] It was one of several residential hotels established in the Madison Square neighborhood in the nineteenth century, among them the Fifth Avenue hotel (whose Greek portico is visible on the left of the painting), the Albemarle Hotel, and the Hoffman House. The building replaced a number of residential brownstones on Twenty-sixth Street. These were the former homes of some of Manhattan's elite — Dr. John Franklin Gray, Manhattan's leading homeopathic doctor; Frank Work, a Wall Street banker; the Schieffelins, of W.H. Schieffelin & Co.; and Benjamin H. Field, of the American Museum of Natural History. These residential hotels were especially popular with international visitors and wealthy young men, and became host to a number of elite amateur and social clubs. Within *Spring Morning*, the Brunswick looms over Madison Square Park — an icon of the urban, commercial elite at odds with the city's *rus in urbe*, civic memory.

In a street-level sketch completed by Childe Hassam in 1892 called *Madison Square*,[46] the focus shifts to the crowds Madison Square was famous for (see fig. 3). In the 1890s, while tourists were known to visit the neighborhood for the entertainment and commerce that lined

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[45] G.W. Bromley & Co. *Atlas of the city of New York, Manhattan Island: From actual surveys and official plans.* Philadelphia: G.W. Bromley, 1891. *Avery Classics Collection*, Columbia University.

[46] **Fig. 3**: Childe Hassam. *Madison Square*, etching (proof from cancelled plate), 1892. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Broadway, the "majority of those who enjoy [Madison Square Park] are the persons who have the habit of frequenting the [park] day by day, or who pass it perforce in their daily round to and from their places of business, or whose windows look out upon it."[47] Hassam's *Madison Square* is filled by the straggling figures of a bustling crowd whose dark blur merges into the surrounding building façades. A flat, empty street cuts across the foreground at an angle, its bottom-heavy negative space once again achieving an off-kilter, disorienting effect. All parallel

lines in the picture plan lead to the trees of Madison Square Park, their spindly elegance a marked difference from the bulky, indefinite masses of the crowds and buildings, accentuating a

[47] Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer. "Proposed Plan for Madison Square, New York City (1896)," 302.

momentum that pushes the viewer uncomfortably close through the crowds and into a dense grouping of trees. The composition marks the park and the city street as distinct, opposed spaces.

The figures in the sketch are ambiguously rendered, though far clearer than in *Spring Morning*. Visible, a woman walks towards the trees and four men loiter on the sidewalk. The woman's outfit is pointedly elite — a long, tailored coat and a shapely hat mark her as a woman of significant means. The men are less clear — the coats and hats point away from lower class, but loitering so close to the carriage stands makes a distinction between coachmen and middle-class impossible to determine. Even though both of Hassam's paintings feature in much sharper focus crowds of the bourgeois, the elite who lived in the brownstones facing Madison Square Park were not the only people that walked its paths. Newspaper accounts from the 1890s record that the park was also frequented by middle-class professionals and the working class. The professionals reported living further uptown, in the West Forties[48] and Fifties,[49] while the working class visitors lived just south of the park, on East Twenty-first Street.[50] [51] The park was also a favored venue for outdoor meetings, prior to the enforcement of park permits in the late 1890s, and spontaneous meetings were known to gain sizable crowds. Meeting in the southwest corner of the park in 1894, evangelists were able to gather a crowd of three-hundred pedestrians, among them the "great ranks of the unemployed", "workmen," and "well-to-do business men."[52]

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[48] "Helpless in Madison Square Park," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*; July 28, 1900; ProQuest p.3.

[49] "A Dentist's Queer Charge," in *New-York Tribune (1866-1899)*; July 14, 1899; ProQuest p.3.

[50] "A Runaway's Mad Career," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*; April 2, 1900; ProQuest p.5.

[51] "A Dentist's Queer Charge," in *New-York Tribune (1866-1899)*; July 14, 1899; ProQuest p.3.

[52] "Revival in the Open Air," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; March 7, 1894; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.8.

Literature of the 1890s, if not art, was enthralled by the ranks of the unemployed who made Madison Square Park's benches home in the. Collected in 1893, journalist John Flavel Mines had written quasi-ethnographic "tours" of New York's streets in newspapers for years. In Madison Square, Mines was particularly struck that though "Fashion [*sic*] enjoys the lovely little park," the city's leisure class "little recks [*sic*] that it owes its pleasant shade to the tramps and the criminals whose bones lie moldering beneath the grass and flowers."[53] "Tramps,"[54] "benchers,"[55] "lodgers,"[56] "park philosophers,"[57] "the great ranks of the unemployed"[58] — whatever the sobriquet, the tumultuous financial markets of the 1890s[59] filled Madison Square Park's benches with the city's homeless for years. The visibility of these benchers is ambiguous in the visual evidence that remains. While newspaper accounts attest to the ubiquity of Madison Square's benchers, so did they also attest to the difficulty of identifying many. While some benchers were regulars known to the neighborhood, others possessed "all the spruceness of celluloid collar and cuffs but newly washed in the park fountain . . . a light felt hat shading alert eyes."[60] In a 1900

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[53] John Flavel Mines. *A Tour Around New York, and My Summer Acre: Being the Recreations of Mr. Felix Oldboy*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893. p 41.

[54] "Parrot's Fun With Police," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 15, 1900; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.5.

[55] "Clearing out the Parks," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; September 9, 1900; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.26.

[56] "Lodgers in the Dewey Arch," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 15, 1900; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.5.

[57] "Psyche Does a Good Turn: Citizen Train Releases a Feathered Jail Bird," in *San Francisco Chronicle*; Sep 18, 1892; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: San Francisco Chronicle.

[58] "Revival in the Open Air," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; March 7, 1894; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.8.

[59] M.H. Dunlop. *Gilded City: Scandal and Sensation in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. New York: First Perennial, 2001.

[60] "Clearing Out the Parks," *New York Times (1857-1922)*; September 9, 1900; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.26.

city-mandated effort to clear the parks of benchers, police in Madison Square Park faced claims by many that they lived only a few blocks away. Nevertheless, "they were simply driven out. It was work, however, that had to be done over and over again. One side cleared and the officer across the park met a fresh influx . . . And so it went the night through." Benchers were obscured, not only by their dress, but by Madison Square's naturalistic, *rus in urbe* design. Police complained that Madison Square was such "a hard place to clear" because "the many trees thickly set afford an appreciated shadow for the park benches."[61] Incidentally, the *rus in urbe* landscape design, whose attempt at naturalistic unity shielded its paths from the speeding streets beyond its borders, offered in its shade harbor to both the displaced working-poor and the displaced memories of the city's civic past.

Outside of Madison Square Park and off the streets where working class people congregated and commuted, the core of Madison Square remained a stronghold of New York's elite in the 1890s. Even as brownstones were increasingly abandoned for new neighborhoods further uptown, the institutions of Madison Square remained markedly upper-class. Madison Square Garden, at the corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street opposite the park, was known for hosting events for the elite — home to a permanent collection of wild animals and gardens, the venue hosted a variety of society balls, conventions, amateur clubs, fairs, orchestral concerts. It was perhaps most famous in this decade for its annual horse show and auction — it was then that "the big area at Madison Square Garden looked more like a meeting ground for the members of New-York society . . . than it did like the show ground for a lot of horses."[62]

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[61] "Clearing Out the Parks," *New York Times (1857-1922)*; September 9, 1900; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.26.

[62] "E.D. Morgan's Horses Sold: High-Class Stock Fetch Excellent Prices," *New York Times (1857-1922)*; May 9, 1894; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.3.

Madison Square's semi-residential hotels — the Fifth Avenue Hotel, the Brunswick Hotel, the Hoffman House, the Cumberland Hotel, among many — and restaurants — Delmonico's, being the most famous — played host to social clubs, political meetings, and the leisure crowds.

In an 1890 etching by Charles Frederick William Mielatz, *A Rainy Night, Madison Square*,[63] these last refuges of the elite become uncanny in the night, lent a sublime modernity by the reflections of artificial light off dark pavers (see fig. 4). Madison Square's crowds have become obscured in this etching, felt in the lit windows of buildings and railcars, more than seen. Mielatz was a German-born American artist and teacher at the National Academy of Design. Through visual strategies of the nineteenth century, Mielatz accommodates Madison Square's

[63] **Fig. 4**: Charles Frederick William Mielatz. *A Rainy Night, Madison Square*, etching and aquatint, 1890. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

drastically new modernity into American traditions of the naturalistic sublime.

Facing south at the intersection of Fifth Avenue, Broadway, and Twenty-third Street, *A Rainy Night, Madison Square* depicts icons of Madison Square's leisure class looming out of a storm, barely visible in the night but for the electric lights that stream from the Cumberland Hotel and the Flatiron's projections. While electric lighting was increasingly installed in commercial areas of the city in the late nineteenth-century, older gas lighting was favored in residential areas. In 1880, only two years after the first public installation of electricity in Paris, the first electric street lighting in Manhattan was installed along Broadway from Fourteenth Street to Twenty-sixth Street by the Brush Electric Light and Power Company. As part of this project, Madison Square Park became the first green-space in the city to be lit with electric lights. Madison Square continued to be the focus of lighting infrastructure projects into the 1890s — in 1892, the Gas Commission met in the Mayor's office to arrange for the permanent lighting of Fifth Avenue with "handsome electric lights. They will be 100 lamps in all, each of about 1,000 candle power [*sic*]. There will be one at every cross street, suspended from a cast-iron pole twenty feet in height."[64] These were the first ornamental light posts in Manhattan. The installation of electric lamps in Madison Square Park and on Fifth Avenue mark the area's transition from upper-class residencies to commercial districts.

A clear mark of commercialization are the advertisements visible on the side of the Cumberland Hotel in Mielatz's etching. Below the Cumberland, projected upon a canvas panel, is emblazoned, "The Center of the United States: Here." This canvas was part of Amos Eno's Madison Square advertising scheme. Amos Eno, one of the first developers in Madison Square,

[64] "For Electric Lights in Fifth-Ave," in *New-York Tribune (1866-1899)*; September 1, 1892; ProQuest p.9.

owned the triangular block between Twenty-third and Twenty-second Streets on Broadway and Fifth Avenue. The commercial buildings Eno built, which stretched to a triangular point, were referred to colloquially in the nineteenth century as "Eno's flatiron," after its awkward shape — a

colloquialism which long survived Eno and the buildings themselves.[65] Eno's canvas was popularly rented by newspapers, like the *Times* and the *New York Tribune* for the projection of news bulletins and advertisements.

On election nights, Eno's canvas showcased by-the-minute election results from the newspapers while bands played in Madison Square. It was then that Mielatz's empty streets filled with tens of thousands of New Yorkers as spectacle and civic engagement combined. Election night announcements became popular throughout New York in the nineteenth century, and took place across the city — Madison Square, City Hall Park, Bowling Green, and Herald Square. While things would change in the new millennium, in the 1890s Madison Square was "something of a political headquarters"[66] and its election nights received the largest crowds of the entire city. These crowds stretched out far from the center of activities in Madison Square Park. Writing in 1908, the artist John Sloan would describe the crowds that filled the streets for blocks in every direction: "Outside on 23rd St. the din of the

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[65] Alice Sparberg Alexiou. *The Flatiron: the New York Landmark and the Incomparable City that Arose with It.* New York: Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin's Griffin, 2013.

[66] Marcus Benjamin. *A historical sketch of Madison square*. New York: Meriden Britannia Company, 1894. p. 39

thoughtless, celebrating “Election Night” filled the air and penetrated our walls. H. and I walked out a few moments to buy cigarettes for Mrs. H. and saw Sixth Avenue was as bad as 23rd St. and of course Broadway must be awful."[67] Even as, crowds converged on Madison Square for a night of sensational civic engagement, the election results were carefully monitored on Broadway by New York's elite from the Fifth Avenue Hotel on Twenty-third Street and the Hoffman House on Twenty-fourth Street, each the headquarters of the city's Republican and Democratic parties respectively.[68] *Rainy Night*, then, uses artistic idioms of romanticism, of the natural and sublime, to accommodate an astoundingly modern site, unique across the whole of the city, to nineteenth century conceptions of space.

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[67] John Sloan. "November 3, 1908," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[68] Marcus Benjamin. *A historical sketch of Madison square*. New York: Meriden Britannia Company, 1894. p. 39

Chapter Two

'The New York of Transition': the Avant-garde Enters and a Turn to the Future, 1900-1910.

> *Unlike Rome, New York has never learned the art of growing old by playing on all its pasts. Its present invents itself, from hour to hour, in the act of throwing away its previous accomplishments and challenging the future.*
> Michel de Certeau

The residential character of Madison Square had faded by the turn-of-the-century. By 1899, former residential blocks were increasingly taken over by commercial and administrative entities. Edgar Saltus, in 1905, reflected upon the drastic transition that had overtaken the neighborhood in such a short amount of time:

> A bedlam of business and traffic, but which within the memory of the present writer was a sedate residential quarter, girdled with balconied houses bursting in the eager spring. The peace that was there survives still in New York, but only in Gramercy Park and lower Fifth Avenue, which the latter, fusing at Fourteenth Street with the general pandemonium, knows no respite until it reaches the auriferous precincts above the St. Regis and the Plaza, where the newer plutocracy resides.[69]

Along Broadway and Fifth Avenue, leisure and entertainment still thrived: within the Eden Musee, Delmonico's Restaurant, Proctor's Theatre, The Music Hall, H. Mallard's Chocolates, and the Union Club. Early commercial department stores — the Leboutillier Bros., Best and Co., Jason McCreary and Co., and H. O'Neil Dry Goods — flourished to the west of Madison Square Park. Facing the park on all sides, and in the blocks to the immediate east, institutional headquarters and offices replaced the brownstones of the elite, transforming the area into an office district. Among these were the Appellate Division Supreme Court, the Second National Bank, the Bank for Savings, the Young Men's Christian Association, the United Charities

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[69] Edgar Saltus. "New York from the Flatiron," in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. 33,: July. New York, N.Y. : Frank A. Munsey Co., 1905. p 390

Building, the Sommer Building, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Church Mission House, and the Knickerbocker Trust Company.[70]

Gone was the idyllic, bourgeois escape from Downtown's bustling commerce. In the 1890s, Madison Square's blocks had retained a spacious quality — open lots, open shafts, and open spaces between buildings abounded. By the end of the decade, these spaces had been filled with wood-frame additions and sheds, commerce and density crowding out "sedate" "peace" of Saltus's memory. Through the first decade of the twentieth century, light manufacturing, which in the 1890s had specialized in luxury goods and remained five blocks away from Madison Square Park to the north and and west, multiplied and moved towards the neighborhood's core. Directly to the east along Second and First Avenue, blocks were taken over by more noxious manufacturing — the Mineral Water Manufactory, a guttapercha works, a wallpaper factory, Cameron's Pump Works, a brass foundry, a fire brick factory, the Manhattan Rolling Mill, lime sheds, and coal yards. To the north of Madison Square Park, from Twenty-fifth to Thirtieth Streets, stables, lumberyards, iron works, coal yards, breweries, furniture factories, saw mills, and brass foundries flourished. To the south, between Twenty-third and Nineteenth Streets, table, factories, marble works, cigar factories, stables, and inns filled the blocks between Madison Square and Gramercy Park. To the west, from Sixth Avenue on, were the Metropolitan Printing Company, the Novelty Corset Works, the West Side Brewery, coal yards, stables, and wall paper manufactories.[71]

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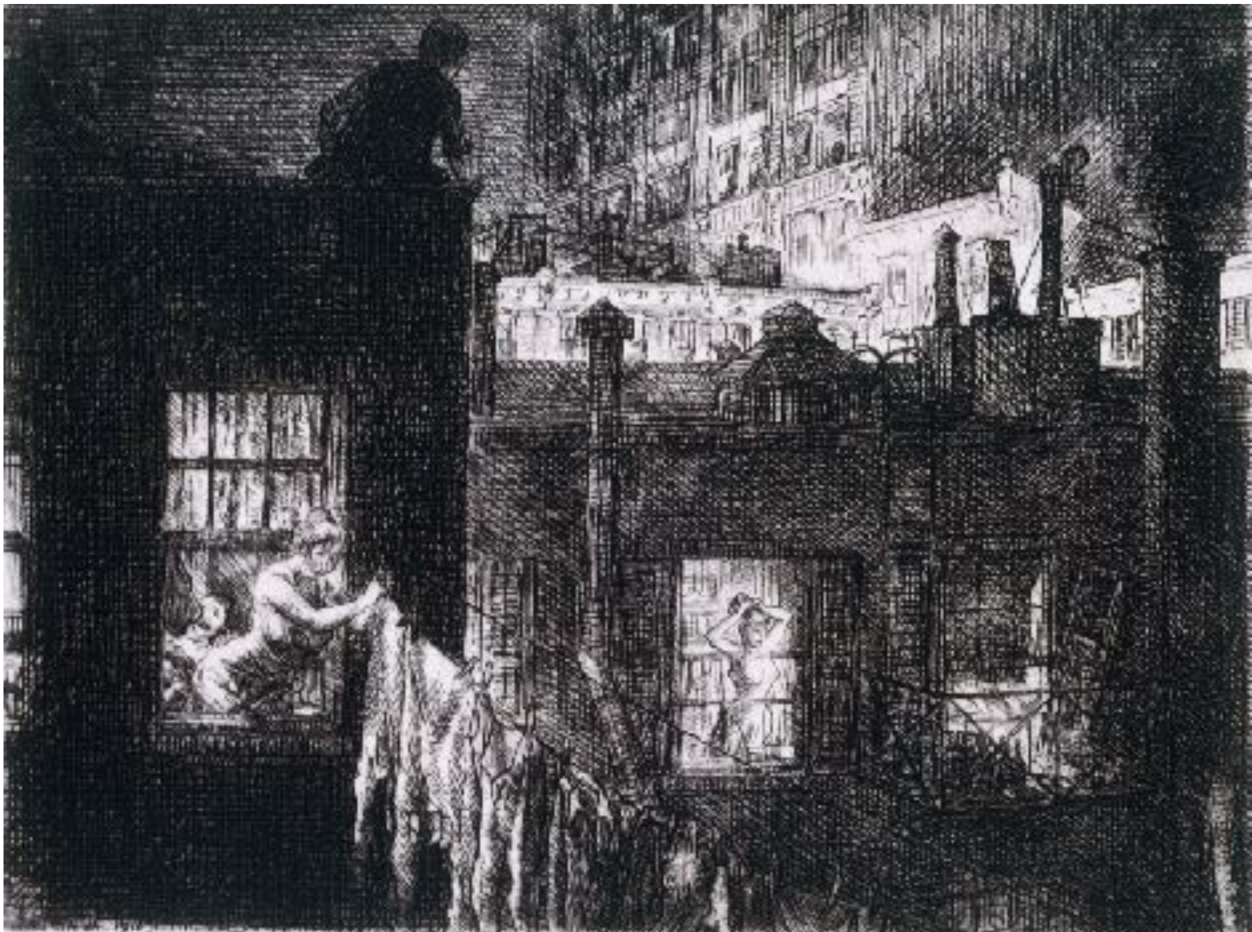
[70] G.W. Bromley & Co. *Atlas of the city of New York, Borough of Manhattan: From actual surveys and official plans.* Philadelphia: G.W. Bromley, 1899. *Avery Classics Collection*, Columbia University.

[71] G.W. Bromley & Co. *Atlas of the city of New York, borough of Manhattan: from actual surveys and official plans.* Philadelphia: G.W. Bromley, 1908. *Avery Classics Collection*, Columbia University.

The introduction of so many offices and factories to Madison Square's streets contributed to the area's increase in foot and vehicular traffic in the first decade of the century. Like clockwork, crowds moved through Madison Square's streets, coming and going in every direction: "early workers hurry and scurry from north to south and from east to west, and the



hum of traffic begins its busy song in the streets."[72] These crowds were composed not only of the white-collar clerks who filled Madison Square's new office buildings, but also of factory workers who labored in the local manufacturing. Newspapers from the decade record an influx of local foot traffic through Madison Square Park. Working class and poor laborers who lived in the

[72] "Madison Square in Summer Time," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*, June 24, 1907. ProQuest. p. 9.

tenements of the Thirties,[73] Teens,[74] [75] [76] Second Avenue,[77] Sixth Avenue,[78] [79] and Eighth Avenue[80] [81] frequented the park, whether while commuting or enjoying the public concerts held throughout the summers. During the 1900s, it was in Madison Square Park that there "may be found people of all nations enjoying respite from the heat . . . for hours and hours there may be heard a murmur of tongues of all nations."[82] The influx of working class pedestrians did not go unnoticed by the area's remaining bourgeois residents. In defending the attempted privatization of Madison Square Park's benches in 1901, Veteran Sergeant Kenney of the Park Police proposed privatization as a solution to the challenges that social mixing posed to the bourgeois: "when the music plays up here there are people of a certain nationality who send their children or relatives in here early in the day, with their lunch, that they may get the choicest seats near the band stand and keep them."[83] Images of the Madison Square tenements survive in the work of John Sloan,

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[73] "Complaint of an Actress," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; May 8, 1902; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.2.

[74] "Loves Music, Not Mischief," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 17, 1904; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.7.

[75] "Runaway Hurts Five," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*; February 13, 1906; ProQuest p.8.

[76]"Park Chair Licenses will be Revoked," in *New York Times (1857-1922);* July 10, 1901; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.1.

[77] "After Loungers in Parks," in *New York Times (1857-1922);* May 3, 1901; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.2.

[78] "Benchers to the Rescue," in *New York Times (1857-1922);* March 28, 1905; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.18.

[79] "Runaway Hurts Five," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*; February 13, 1906; ProQuest p.8.

[80] "Dies in Madison Square Seeking Open-Air Cure," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 22, 1906; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.7.

[81] "Scharf's Death Puzzles Coroner," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; October 25, 1907; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York times with Index, p.20.

[82] "Madison Square in Summer Time," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*, June 24, 1907. ProQuest. p. 9.

[83] "Fun with the Easy Chairs in the Parks," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 5, 1901; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.5.

who often painted scenes of the roofs, fire escapes, and rear windows he saw from his apartment at 425 West Twenty-third Street (see fig. 5 and fig. 6).[84] [85]

As the blocks surrounding Madison Square Park turned over to working class tenements, an influx of avant-garde artists moved to the area. Removed from the conservative artists' societies and galleries located further downtown, these artists lived, worked, and exhibited in Madison Square, often organizing their own shows divorced from the National Academy of Design.[86] These artists — Alvin Langdon Coburn, Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Steichen, Gertrude Käsebier, Jerome Myers, Edward Penfield, and John Sloan — lived in Madison Square and depicted the neighborhood extensively in their work during the early twentieth century. In their art is a record of neighborhood's changing spatial dynamics over the course of the turn-of-the-century. In a letter to the artist and critic Hamilton Easter Field in 1920

[84] **Fig 5**: John Sloan. *Night Windows*, etching, 1910. *The Rosenwald Collection*, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

[85] **Fig 6**: John Sloan. *Roofs, Summer Night*, etching, 1906. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

[86] The most famous, though far from the only or the first, of these alternative exhibitions became known as the Armory Show of 1913. It was held one block west side of Madison Square Park, at Lexington Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street, in the 69th Regiment Armory. See: Christine I. Oaklander."Clara Davidge's Madison Art Gallery: Sowing The Seed for The Armory Show" in *Archives of American Art Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 3/4 (1996), pp. 20-37.

concerning a career retrospective, Stieglitz emphasized the centrality of Madison Square's transformation to his artistic practice: "My New York is the New York of transition.—The old gradually passing into the New. —You never saw the Series I did—beginning in 1892 and through 1915."[87]

Between 1899 and 1900, Stieglitz took a number of photographs in Madison Square. While he would not move to the area himself until 1905, his close friend and frequent collaborator the photographer Getrude Käsebier ran her studio out of 273 Fifth Avenue, only three blocks north of the park on Twenty-ninth Street.[88] Throughout the next two decades, Madison Square was a recurring subject within Stieglitz's work. In 1905, he established the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession at 291 Fifth Avenue, four blocks north of Madison Square Park, taking the lease over from the photographer Edward Stieglitz who had lived in the apartment for years.[89] [90] As the American cultural historian Alan Trachtenberg puts it, the Little Galleries formed "a center, a focal point of modernism in the New York art world"[91] and "of a movement which sought to produce a new American art and culture, a movement openly critical of the

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[87] Trachtenberg, Alan. "Camera Work/Social Work," in *Reading American photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989. p.177

[88] Barbara L. Michaels. "Getrude Käsebier," in *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists.* ed. Delia Gaze. London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001. p. 399.

[89] Malcolm Daniel. "Edward J. Steichen (1879–1973): The Photo-Secession Years," in *Heilbrunn: Timeline of Art History*. November 2010. New York: The Metropolitan Museum.

[90] In the 1910s, consumed by the work of organizing 291 and the project's publication, *Camera Work*, Stiegltiz woul largely neglect his own photographic practice. When he did pick up his camera again, Stieglitz turned out the back window of of 291, taking a host of photographs of his Madison Square block. See: Joshua Chuang. “From the Back Window at ‘291’.” In Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg, eds. *Object:Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949. An Online Project of The Museum of Modern Art*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2014.

[91] Trachtenberg, Alan. "Camera Work/Social Work," in *Reading American photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989. p.173

aggressive commercialism, hypocritical moralism, and empty conventionality of the reigning culture."[92] In 1912, Stieglitz described the Little Galleries, by then known simply as 291, as "a reflection of the social unrest which pervades the whole country. People are getting tired of the shibboleth, 'Because this always has been it always should be.' There is nothing so wrong as accepting a thing merely because men who have done things say it should be so."[93] The project of 291, of creating a new center for modern artistic processes far from the conservatism of Downtown, was one that was self-consciously connected to the social and technological transformations modernizing Madison Square.

A photogravure taken in 1900 by Stieglitz, *Spring Showers—The Street-Cleaners*[94] looks south on the intersection of Broadway and Fifth

[92] Trachtenberg, Alan. "Camera Work/Social Work," in *Reading American photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989. p.167

[93] Trachtenberg, Alan. "Camera Work/Social Work," in *Reading American photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989. p.168

[94] **Fig 7**: Alfred Stieglitz. *Spring Showers—The Street Cleaner*, photogravure, 1900-1901, printed 1903-04. *Alfred Stieglitz Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Avenue (see fig. 7). The image exhibits a doubling and reversal of urban and natural that renders the border between the park and the city porous. The bare-limbed tree of the park, the only point of the frame fully in focus, is caged by a black-iron fence. Through the haze of the wet streets, the curb of the street is indistinct, obscuring the border between the *rus in urbe* park and the modern city. The fog renders the street into a blur, leaving the Cumberland Hotel and carriages barely visible and ghostly. The composition destabilizes the dialectic between the natural and the urban, by naturalizing the urban and urbanizing the natural. The city bleeds into the park, and the park bleeds into the city. The hard delineation between the two which abounded in art of the nineteenth century is disrupted.

The photographs of Raoul Froger-Doudement, taken in the early 1900s, continue the vexation of the border between park and city. Photographed in 1902 after the completion of the Flatiron building, *Madison Square Park, New York*[95] is set within the park, looking out towards the city (see fig. 8). Froger-Doudement was a French feminist, pacifist, and socialist whose turn-of-the-century photographs of New York are held jointly by the Brooklyn Museum of Art and the Brooklyn Public Library. Looking southwest across the lawns, down a weaving path in high summer, pedestrians are visible crowding on the benches in the shade. Surrounding storefronts are visible peeking through the trees, notably without their rooflines breaking the tree-line — the architecture and foliage integrated into a singular texture. This interplay of park and city continues in the rhythmic patterning between the Flatiron and elements of the park. Froger-Doudement positions the Flatiron as part of a series of trees whose even spacing leads the eye to

[95] **Fig 8**: Raoul Froger-Doudement. *Madison Square Park, New York*, photographic print: black & white, gelatin silver, ca. 1900. *Raoul Froger-Doudement photograph collection*, Brooklyn Museum/Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn.

the Admiral David Glasgow Farragut monument to the left of the composition. The rectangular mass and angle of the pediment is mirrored by that of the Flatiron across the horizontal axis of the central tree, their angles balanced in contrast. Even as Froger-Doudement figures the Flatiron as part of the park, he sets up a discourse between the statue's civic memory and the skyscraper's modern futurity. The two spaces are not disparate, but rather interwoven — the park is part of the city, and the city is part of the park.

Visible in *Madison Square Park, New York* are the park benches which line the inner paths of the park. Men crowd the benches as a woman walks by them. Only a year earlier, in

1901, Madison Square Park's benches had served as the catalyst of a citywide struggle wherein crowds of pedestrians forcefully took control of the public parks. Early in 1901, the city had

signed a five-year contract with Oscar F. Spate to commodify seating in the city's parks. Cushioned rocking chairs available for rent were placed in shaded areas while existing benches were moved into the sun or altogether removed. When a heatwave struck the first week of July, a riot involving an estimated thousand broke out in Madison Square Park. Over a period of days, participants repeatedly chased chair attendants out of the park and destroyed pay chairs in protest. As tensions mounted, park police were ordered not to interfere with protestors and to halt arrests. During the protests, the strict borders which usually dictated park etiquette, a code of conduct enforced through policing, dissolved as crowds took over the public space. The city's crowds, regardless of class, swept into the parks unabated. The cultivated illusion of the *rus in urbe* park, of the idyll Arcadian refuge from the city, was shattered:

> Scenes were witnessed which were seldom, if ever, before seen in the public recreation grounds of this city. The lawns and woods were overrun with men, women, and children. It was no uncommon thing to see a baby carriage being lifted over a fence so that its owner could make a short cut over some piece of carefully kept lawn. The children had hilarious sport chasing each other through parts of the Park that usually are denied to them. There were as many police as usual in the Park, but they kept their whistles in their pockets and let the public have full sway everywhere.[96]

Though similar protests broke out in New York's other parks, from Union Square to Central Park, Madison Square's protests remained the most frequent and the most given to brawls. When the city finally annulled the Spate contract on July 11, 1901 a celebration complete with bands and fireworks was held in Madison Square Park and attended by an estimated ten-thousand New Yorkers.

The chair riots of 1901 were a manifestation of tensions that had simmered in Madison Square for years between the bourgeois, leisure class and the working-poor residents of the

[96] "Keep Off the Grass Now Ignored," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, July 8, 1901. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.10.

neighborhood. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Veteran Sergeant Kenney of the Park Police explained that the free park benches had been "removed some time ago at the request of the residents of the neighborhood, who complained of the language and actions of the nightly frequenters of this portion of the park."[97] Spate himself was insistent upon the utility of pay chairs in serving "a certain class of people . . . that is, the people of means and refinement," who balked at the prospect of "sit[ting] herded in with a lot of people whom they do not know, and with whom they do not wish to associate."[98] Spate's "experiment" had been designed to rid the park of undesirables, both "people of a certain nationality" and the "roughs and the deadbeats that are around [Madison Square]."[99]

Raoul Froger-Doudement photographed these "roughs and deadbeats" upon his return to Madison Square Park in *Rev. Dr. Parkhurst Presbyterian Church, Madison Square, New York* (see fig. 9).[100] The photograph looks across a lawn towards Madison Avenue. Benches line the path that cuts across the horizon of the image, filled with pedestrians milling about and resting. Most are men, though women are scattered throughout the crowd. A number of men in ill-fitted clothes sprawl across the benches closest to the foreground — just some of the "roughs and deadbeats" Spate and his supporters took such issue to. While there was widespread disdain among certain people for the working-poor and unemployed who filled Madison Square Park's benches — as Veteran Sergeant Kenney had said, "Anyway, who wants to sit on a bench that a

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[97] "Fun with the Easy Chairs in the Parks," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 5, 1901; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.5.

[98] "Spate Muses and Loses," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*; July 10, 1901; ProQuest p.1.

[99] Ibid.

[100] **Fig 9**: Raoul Froger-Doudement. *Rev. Dr. Parkhurst Presbyterian Church, Madison Square, New York*, photographic print: black & white, gelatin silver, ca. 1900. *Raoul Froger-Doudement photograph collection*, Brooklyn Museum/Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn.

dirty, unwashed old bum has been sitting and sleeping on?"[101] — there was also widespread sympathy. In 1903, Patrolman John Geary attempted to arrest James Whalin. Whalin, a seventy-year old man who "[had] no home and . . . [slept] in lodging houses,"[102] had been loitering in the park late at night. As Geary arrested Whalin, a "crowd of a couple of hundred people hissed" the patrolman all the way to the Thirtieth Street station, and there "charg[ed] him with dragging James Whalin . . . across the grass and otherwise ill-treating him"[103]

Within the *Rev. Dr. Parkhurst Presbyterian Church*, the park-goers face the city, not the park. They are arranged not unlike the audience of a theater, mirroring the spectators located just across the park in Madison Square Garden. They are spectators of a changing city with stratified

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[101] "Fun with the Easy Chairs in the Parks," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; July 5, 1901; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index p.5.

[102] "Mob Threatens Police," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, July 28, 1903. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.5.

[103] Ibid.

sediments. The spire of the gothic church is a remnant of the old New York — a city of church towers, a city whose landmarks, as much as they reached for the divine, were built on a human scale. The dark church is ensconced within an encroaching mass of white, mansard-roofed high-rises of super-human scales. Visibly, a modern city of towering skyscrapers consumes and subsumes the old city, puncturing the border between city and park.

In the *The Flatiron*,[104] photographed by Stieglitz in 1903, the natural and the urban once again converge, the distance between the two flattened into obscurity (see fig. 10). The Flatiron takes up most of the image, the sharp angle of its cornice energetically counterposed by the negative space between a tree's boughs. The tree overwhelms the image, stretching from the extreme foreground and exploding out of the top of the frame, matching the Flatiron's sheer verticality. The Flatiron was a poignant symbol of

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[104] **Fig. 10**: Alfred Stieglitz. *The Flatiron*, photogravure, 1903, printed in or before 1910. *Alfred Stieglitz Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

modernity and the possibilities of the future in the 1900s: "Indifferently on these things the Flatiron stares. Its front is lifted to the future. On the past its back is turned. Of what has gone before it is American in its unconcern. Monstrous yet infantile, it is a recent issue of the gigantic upheaval that is transforming the whole city."[105] The rhyme between tree and skyscraper places the park within the futurity of the Flatiron, aligning the natural with not memory, but rather a utopic vision of modernity.

A year later in 1904 a close collaborator of Alfred Stieglitz, Edward J. Steichen,

photographed his own version of Stieglitz's iconic image, *The Flatiron* (see fig. 11).[106] The gum bichromate platinum print was included within 291's opening exhibition on November 25, 1905. Within the nighttime scene, electric lights glimmer off wet streets facing south on the intersection of Broadway and Fifth Avenue. A line of carriages cuts across the foreground and a dark figure to the left huddles under

[105] Edgar Saltus. "New York from the Flatiron," in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. 33,: July. New York, N.Y. : Frank A. Munsey Co., 1905. p.390

[106] **Fig. 11**: Edward Steichen. *The Flatiron*, gum bichromate over platinum print, 1904, printed 1909. *Alfred Stieglitz Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

a coat from the rain. The darkness makes it unclear where the border between the park and city street lies, with the carriages seeming to weave through the trees lining the sidewalk. Above, tree limbs reach across the composition, encircling the Flatiron which rises ghostly in the distance. Through these tree limbs, Madison Square Park has been incorporated into Steichen's image of the technological sublime. The natural and the urban are interwoven, integrated into a single image wherein the borders between the two spaces are erased, and the natural is inseparable from modernity's night lights.

In *Madison Square, Snow,*[107] Brooklyn-born architect and artist Allen Tucker turns his canvas northwest across the Madison Square Park of 1904 (see fig. 12). From the window of a tall building, looking towards the original Madison Square Garden, the work is painted in delicate pastels and dappled lights that give the details of its mansard roofs and urban façades a sense of abstraction. This implication of abstraction is especially notable in the canvas's foreground, where the geometricity of the rooftops are severe even in the hazy shadows, its flat plains and stark edges pushing distinctly against the tangle of trees figured across the center of the canvas. The strip of rhythmic, blue trees is enveloped between the buildings of the foreground and background. Even though they stretch past both horizontal ends of the canvas, the darker terra-cotta of the buildings above and below the park on both ends give a sense of containment. The darker copses of trees on each end which offset a small clearing in the center of the canvas, mirroring the snowy roofs above and below, furthers the sense that the park is well-nestled within its urban environment. This is not a space bursting at the seems — instead, the park is very much bounded. Even so, the park is integrated within, not set apart from, the

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[107] **Fig. 12**: Allen Tucker. *Madison Square, Snow*, oil on canvas, 1904. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

larger cityscape through color composition which rhymes the natural and urban elements of the composition. Both the park and the surrounding buildings are painted in the same palette. Even its most distinct elements are integrated across every level of the painting — the erratic interplays of shadow and light across jumbled façades rhymes with the erratic rhythm of shadow and light within the park itself. The rich terra-cotta of the buildings is visible in the mid-tones of the park's tangled boughs, while the vivid indigo of the trees are mirrored in the vertical thrust of Madison Square Garden's towering marquee. The park is integrated into the city, a cog in a larger machine, no longer a disparate entity.

Though Madison Square Garden was an important neighborhood landmark throughout the nineteenth century, in the 1900s it encountered a number of financial difficulties. As Madison Square's elite residencies migrated uptown to the newer bourgeois developments of Herald Square and Forty-second Street, the Garden fell on increasingly hard times. By 1897, it was on the edge of bankruptcy and under threat of foreclosure. The *New York Times* reported that "during only two years of the seven that have elapsed since the opening [in 1890] of the [new] Garden has the company been able to meet the interest on its bonds, taxes, insurance, and running expenses."[108] Only the arena, where boxing matches attended by the working class were held, was profitable. The sections of the building oriented towards upper class leisure were failing — "the theatre is conducted at a loss, the restaurant has never been rented, and the large hall intended for balls, concerts, &c., is rarely used."[109] Though the Garden would survive in the neighborhood until its demolition and relocation uptown in 1926, its financial troubles persisted through the 1900s as the neighborhood became increasingly mixed-class. It was not until the mid-1910s that Madison Square Garden's theatre and hall began to host more working class-oriented events — like the Paterson Strike Pageant in 1913 and meetings of "international socialists" in 1916.[110]

Though American artist John Sloan had lived in Madison Square for most of the first decade of the twentieth century, it was not until 1909 that he entered Madison Square Garden "for the first time," among a crowd of "about 3,000 which is a mere forlorn handful in the great

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[108] "To Save Madison Square Garden," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*, March 26 1897. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.6.

[109] Ibid.

[110] "Soldiers and Sailors Fight Reds in New York," in *The Hartford Courant (1887-1922)*, November 26, 1918. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Hartford Courant. p.1.

auditorium of the Garden."[111] Sloan had moved to New York City in 1904, where he worked as a freelance illustrator and teacher.[112] From 1904 to 1912 Sloan lived in Madison Square, at 425 W Twenty-third Street, less than two blocks away from Madison Square Park and the Flatiron.[113] The Sloans' apartment-cum-studio was a unit in a former brownstone which had been converted into tenements over the course of the late 1890s. In his diaries, which record the years between 1906 and 1913, Sloan recorded some of the many walks he took throughout Madison Square. Sloan had a "usual walk around to Broadway for the Sunday Papers,"[114] though he often walked south to Washington Square and east to the East River. These walks often "stopped in Madison Square to watch the people and soak up a little sunlight."[115] Many of these Madison Square Park observations were recorded and translated into the paintings he made in this period of his life.[116]

Dust Storm, Fifth Avenue,[117] painted in 1906, depicts a street scene two blocks east of Sloan's apartment on Twenty-third Street (see fig. 13). Constructed in 1902, the Flatiron building

[111] John Sloan. "January 7, 1909," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[112] For extensive discussion of the context of Sloan's work within the changing visual landscape of early twentieth century New York, see: Rebecca Zurier. *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. For extensive discussion of Sloan's freelance career, his integral work for the Socialist magazine *The Masses*, and a view of the general political engagements of major New York avant-garde artists of the period, see: Rebecca Zurier. *Art for the Masses: a Radical Magazine and its Graphics, 1911-1917*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

[113] Heather Campbell Coyle. *An American Journey: The Art of John Sloan*. Wilmington, Delaware: Delaware Art Museum, 2017. p.19.

[114] John Sloan. "September 23, 1906" in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[115] John Sloan. "April 21, 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[116] John Sloan's walks into Madison Square were an integral facet of his artistic practice and, in a complicated way, tied into his larger political engagements. See: Michael Lobel. *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

[117] **Fig. 13**: John Sloan. *Dust Storm, Fifth Avenue*, oil on canvas, 1906. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

was Chicago architect Daniel Burnham's first New York skyscraper and the first skyscraper built north of 14th street.[118] Due to its placement at the diagonal intersection of Broadway and Fifth Avenue before the open expanse of Madison Square Park, and exacerbated by the building's height and triangular shape, its construction contributed to the creation of massive wind-tunnels

[118] For a discussion of the tensions between the horizontal civic and vertical commercial in modern aesthetics in turn-of-the-century New York City architecture, see: Bender, Thomas and William R. Taylor. "Culture and Architecture: Some Aesthetic Tensions in the Shaping of Modern New York City," in *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.

in the area.[119] The winds could be unpredictable, leading to scenes like those Sloan recorded in his diary in 1907:

> A high wind this morning and the pranks of the gusts about the Flatiron Building at Fifth Avenue and 23rd St. were interesting to watch. Women's skirts flapped over their heads; ankles and more were to be seen. And a funny thing, a policeman to keep men from loitering about the corner. His position is much sought, I suppose.[120]

In *Dust Storm,* these high winds kick up the dirt of unpaved Manhattan streets, sending pedestrians rushing towards the Greek portico of the Fifth Avenue Hotel for cover. Even though by the 1900s much of Madison Square had been converted to tenement blocks and light manufactory, a turn "up Fifth Avenue [ended] midst the apparently opulent on foot and awheel [*sic*]."[121] The pedestrians running across the street, women and children dressed in white and ribbons, are members of the leisure class who continued to frequent Madison Square's hotels and park paths.

The bourgeois crowd is running out of Madison Square Park, which looms to the left of the canvas, boughs whipping violently in wind. Its dark mass mirrors the dark, flat mass of the descending storm above. Caught between these two elements of the natural sublime is the Flatiron building, its stark vertical linking the park and the storm, becoming an element of the natural sublime itself. Sloan figures the building itself as a central element of the natural disaster, through its central placement and through the stark unimpeded lines of its geometry that sets it apart from the multi-tiered surfaces of surrounding blocks. Above them, "indifferently, the

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[119] Alice Sparberg Alexiou. *The Flatiron: the New York Landmark and the Incomparable City that Arose with It.* New York: Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin's Griffin, 2013.

[120] John Sloan. "April 17, 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[121] John Sloan. "April 25, 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

Flatiron looms. Semi-animate as the motor is, superhuman, vibrant with a life of its own, from its hundred eyes it stares. Below is Madison Square, circled with hotels, clubs, apartment houses, office-buildings, and a church."[122] The Flatiron rises out of the indistinct haze of the dust, as dark and imposing as both the park and storm, the severe angle of its towering heights threatening to break past the top of the frame. In *Dust Storm* the natural and sublime take over Fifth Avenue, sending elite running for safety as a storm descends on Madison Square.

In March of 1907, Sloan wrote, "I started on a memory of the paths of Madison Square."[123] That same year Sloan painted *Throbbing Fountain Madison Square* (see fig. 14).[124] *Throbbing Fountain* is an image saturated in the bourgeois leisure class for which Madison Square was originally constructed, and those families which resided in the high-class residencies of its immediate perimeter: children, their nannies, baby carriages, dog, and a young couple. Sloan's close focus on the fountain, the slightly elevated perspective, and deep shadowing of the lawns leaves the scene in almost complete isolation. The major element of dissonance, which hints to the dense midday urban traffic hidden beyond frame is the crush of benchers that crowd the park's benches, partly obscured by the spray of the fountain. Sloan often counted himself among this crowd of rougher figures, and his diaries are full of accounts of the many hours he spent sitting among the idle in Madison Square Park: "Sat in Madison Square and watched the children at play. Two young nurse girls playing ball — watched by 'bums,' self and others —

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[122] Edgar Saltus. "New York from the Flatiron," in *Munsey's Magazine*, vol. 33,: July. New York, N.Y. : Frank A. Munsey Co., 1905. p.389

[123] John Sloan. "March 25, 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[124] **Fig. 14**: John Sloan. *Throbbing Fountain, Madison Square,* oil on canvas, 1907. Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

varying reasons."[125] The urban was unavoidable, even nestled deep among the boughs of Madison Square Park.

Madison Square Park's fountain, "a fountain, throwing up its water, which rises high in the air like a slender, white spirit, gamboling and dancing and mocking at the laughing trees," stood in the heart of the park, from which its "six walks branch off in six directions to the city."[126] *The Octopus*,[127] Alvin Langdon Coburn's 1912 photograph, looks down upon Madison

[125] John Sloan. "March 25 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[126] "Madison Square in Summer Time," in *New-York Tribune (1900-1910)*, June 24, 1907. ProQuest. p. 9.

[127] **Fig. 15**: Alvin Langdon Coburn. *The Octopus*, platinum print, 1912. Ford Motor Company Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Square Park and its fountain in winter from the heights of the neighboring Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Tower (see fig. 15). Coburn had begun his professional career in Madison Square a decade prior — in 1901 he became Gertrude Käsebier's studio assistant at 273 Fifth Avenue and ended the year opening his own Fifth Avenue studio just north of Madison Square Park.[128] Coburn was a early member of Stieglitz's Photo Secession at 291 and trained under Steichen while in Europe. In 1907 he had even met John Sloan while doing freelance work for the *New York Times*.[129] In 1912 he returned to New York after years abroad in Europe to photograph the city one last time.

The Octopus was taken from from the upper observatory of the recently completed Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Tower. The building on which the campanile-esque tower rested was an extension to the Metropolitan Life offices which had been headquartered in Madison Square since the 1890s.[130] In 1906, after years of negotiations, the Reverend Dr. Parkhurst Presbyterian Church was demolished, making way for new construction. Completed in 1909, the tower was the tallest building in the world until 1913, when it was surpassed by the Woolworth Building. The tower was designed with four clock faces, four bells, and a lighted

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[128] Alvin Langdon Coburn. *Alvin Langdon Coburn, Photographer: An Autobiography*. eds. Helmut & Alison Gernsheim. New York: F.A. Praeger, 1966. p. 18.

[129] John Sloan. "June 6, 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[130] For a discussion on the civic horizontalism of the Metropolitan Tower's initial campanile design and a short history of its construction in Madison Square in context with the Beaux Arts versus Modernist architectural debates of the period, see: Bender, Thomas and William R. Taylor. "Culture and Architecture: Some Aesthetic Tensions in the Shaping of Modern New York City," in *Visions of the Modern City: Essays in History, Art, and Literature.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987.

beacon. For decades, it was the clock by which New Yorker's set their watches.[131] Within Coburn's photograph, the tower's shadow stretches across the barren, snowy park, breaking the frame of the street and bleeding into the city itself. The parks paths are figured as the axis upon which the city turns.

Even so, Madison Square's star was fading. Sitting in Madison Square Park not long after the Metropolitan Tower's completion, John Sloan would overhear "a mother explaining to her little son (about six years) the vastness of the Metropolitan Insurance Bldg. tower. He was not apparently impressed; hardly considered it big.

[131] For extended discussion of unique the temporality of the Metropolitan Tower which, as the city's official timekeeper and a symbol of civilization, played a central role in science-fiction visions of apocalypse and futurity in the early twentieth century, see: Max Page. *The Creative Destruction of Manhattan, 1900-1940.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

He would have thought an elephant much bigger, or a Great Dane dog."[132] Modernity was on the move. The end of the decade saw the emigration of the avant-garde artists from Madison Square. Alvin Langdon Coburn never returned to the United States after 1912. By 1913, John Sloan had vacated his West Twenty-third Street studio-apartment, relocating to 61 Perry Street in Greenwich Village.[133] Though Alfred Stieglitz had long since moved his studio uptown, the United States' declaration of war on Germany would force him the final closure of 291 in June of 1917.

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[132] John Sloan. "May 26, 1909," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[133] John Sloan. "Jan. 4, 1913," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

Chapter Three

'The City's Babel': Formalist Spatiality and Surging Crowds in the Loft District, 1910-1920.

> *The two elements the traveler first captures*
> *in the big city are extra human architecture*
> *and furious rhythm. Geometry and anguish.*
> Federico Garcia Lorca

Madison Square had changed drastically in two decades. Once a site of determined *rus in urbe* naturalism and civic memory, by the 1910s Madison Square turned towards a formalism that brought the city into the park. The urban and the natural both would be integrated into an overarching sense of urban planning that conceived of the parks, streets, and blocks as units of a larger, functioning urban system. In 1912, a new design for Madison Square Park was proposed by the Park Board. Though the plan was never executed, its acceptance of the urban into the bounds of the park is telling of how intrinsically the area had changed:

> In explaining the new design, Mr. Lay [Charles Downing Lay, landscape architect of the Park Board] said when the park was laid out, in 1871, it was in the heart of a residential district. "The dominance of *so much architecture* around it at the present time," he added, "now demands *formal* treatment."[134]

Madison Square was no longer an elite residential escape, nor was it even the bourgeois entertainment zone it had become at the end of the nineteenth century. Though "in the accurate terms of the City Directory it is called Madison Square; certain philosophers who frequent Greenwich Village refer to it as the City's Babel; but those who visit the spot in quest of wisdom or amusement have more appropriately named it Bughouse Row."[135] The development of bourgeois neighborhoods further uptown and the entrenchment of light manufacturing and tenements within the neighborhood had transformed the area.

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[134] "Urges New Park Design," in *New-York Tribune (1911-1922)*, November 20, 1912. ProQuest. p.11. [italics added]

[135] Ray H. Leek. "Speech is Free; a Soap Box Costs Ten Cents," in *New-York Tribune (1911-1922)*; November 19, 1916; ProQuest, p. D8.

Madison Square witnessed the establishment of an increasing number of hotel and manufacturing lofts throughout the second decade of the twentieth century. In many cases, residential units were displaced completely in city blocks throughout the neighborhood. By 1912, Madison Square south of Twenty-fourth Street was heavily populated with high-rise office buildings — the Fuller building, the Mills and Gibbs building, the Mercantile building, the Metropolitan Life building, the 334 Fourth Avenue building, the Townsend building, the St. James building, the Fifth Avenue building, the Mohawk building, the Presbyterian building, the Kennedy building, the Ashland building, the Beach building, and the Lexington building. To the east of Madison Avenue stretched an industrial zone filled with new manufacturing lofts. East of Third Avenue between Nineteenth Street and Twenty-seventh Street were the Demilt Dispensary, the H.M. Norton Ice Cream Company, the Kranich and Bach Piano factory, a table manufactory, two unspecified factories, and a proliferation of wood-frame sheds. Newly constructed office buildings — the Hebrew Charity building, the Schlegel building, the E.W. Bliss building, and the J.J. Little building — rose within this new industrial zone. North of Twenty-Sixth Street, an area that in the 1890s had erred towards factories and wood-frame sheds, new high-rise offices extended to Thirty-second Street — the Droisig building, the Astor offices, the Codgan building, the Princess building, the Everall building, the Revelion building, the Bandcroft building, and the Browning building [*sic*]. Blocks west of Sixth Avenue were dominated by tenements, factories, and wood-frame sheds.[136]

Over the next decade, manufacturing migrated east of Seventh Avenue and into the core of Madison Square. While Broadway was still host to lingering bourgeois hotels and theaters, the

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[136] G.W. Bromley & Co. *Atlas of the Borough of Manhattan: From actual surveys and official plans*. New York: G.W. Bromley, 1912. *Avery Classics Collection*, Columbia University.

major thoroughfares of Madison Avenue, Fifth Avenue, and Fifth Avenue had become populated by large industrial lofts. Even the former bourgeois, commercial heart of the neighborhood, between Broadway and Fifth Avenue south of Twenty-fourth Street, was filled with industrial lofts which replaced the hotels and department stores of the 1890s and 1900s. Though some residencies remained in the neighborhood, they were largely displaced as city blocks became dense with lofts and office buildings. By 1922, the only major residential blocks near Madison Square were located west of Eighth Avenue.[137]

The displacement of residencies, if anything, increased the sheer number of pedestrians in the area. Created in 1916 by Edward Penfield, a Brooklyn-born artist and one of Sloan's former neighbors on West Twenty-third Street in Madison Square,[138] *The Windy Corner, Flatiron*

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[137] G.W. Bromley & Co. *Atlas of the city of New York, borough of Manhattan: From actual surveys and official plans*. Philadelphia : G.W. Bromley, 1920-22. *Avery Classics Collection*, Columbia University.

[138] John Sloan. "December 4, 1906," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

Building, Madison Square, New York[139] depicts the Madison Square's crowds as they cross Broadway (see fig. 16). While the expanse of the park's greenery is a distinct element within the illustration, it functions not so much as a contained space but rather as singular unit within the composition's larger pattern of rectangular, horizontal forms — from the body of the double-decker car, to the glittering storefront, to the distant trolley. Even the storefront's scalloped cornice is mirrored by the scalloping of the park's crowning boughs. The horizontal staggering of these rectangular forms across the foreground and mid-ground offsets the heavy, vertical blocks of skyscrapers that rise in the background. As such, the park is a part of the larger intricacies of the cityscape within Penfield's illustration, a shift which gives an impression of integrated urban planning. A sense of urban planning is meant here to refer to a cumulative sense that each unit in Penfield's composition functions as part of a larger, rationalized system. Madison Square Park is no longer depicted as an Arcadian haven of the genteel within a gritty, commercial city, but rather as part of that very city.

The Windy Corner is full of pedestrian figures, extending towards Madison Square Park. During the 1910s, Madison Square was notorious for the massive crowds which swamped Twenty-third Street and Fifth Avenue. With the "arrival of the noonday sunshine and the lunch-hour crowds,"[140] the streets became full of factory workers from nearby lofts and the "long-haired men and short-haired women, physical culturists [*sic*], lecturers on white slave traffic,

[139] **Fig. 16**: Edward Penfield. *The Windy Corner, Flatiron Building, Madison Square, New York,* lithograph, ca. 1916. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[140] Ray H. Leek. "Speech is Free; a Soap Box Costs Ten Cents," in *New-York Tribune (1911-1922)*; November 19, 1916; ProQuest, p. D8.

phrenologists, mathematicians, infidels, atheists, and plain cranks"[141] who came to Madison Square's soapboxes.[142]

> At about the time of the beginning of the Great War, back in 1914, these emissaries of discontent were driven from Union Square.[143] With the natural trend of things they moved uptown and took up quarters at Madison Square, appropriating about a block of cobblestones and sidewalk, and here they have been established and have flourished undisturbed ever since, making both day and night truly hideous and almost unlivable in open weather for the residents and merchants of the neighborhood and for the peaceable passers by. The doctrines proclaimed range from birth control to plain anarchy and Bolshevism.[144]

Madison Square had long since lost its standing as the modern heart of the city, but it remained a major crossroads for political, cultural, and civic conversations. Though, much to the *New-York Tribune*'s frustration, "no psychologist has been able to explain just why," it was clear to contemporaries that "the city, by common consent, has selected [Madison Square] rather than City Hall Square, Battery Park or any one of the numerous other seemingly favorable spots upon which to locate its greatest public forum."[145] As early as 1911, soapboxes had been placed along the park — in August of that year, John Sloan had "walked over to Madison Square where I

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[141] "Agitators' Spring Drive," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; March 3, 1918; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p. 26.

[142] For extended discussion on the transformative spatiality of soapboxing and the laws and attitudes surrounding street speeches in New York in the early twentieth century, see: Mary Anne Trasciatti. "Athens or Anarchy? Soapbox Oratory and the Early Twentieth-Century American City" in *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring 2013), pp. 43-68.

[143] As a center of street discourse, though soapbox corners were far from rare in Manhattan, literature of the period keeps Madison Square in constant conversation with its neighboring square only six blocks south. For a discussion on Union Square's soapbox politics, see: Joanna Merwood-Salisbury. "Patriotism and Protest: Union Square as Public Space, 1832-1932," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 68, no. 4 (December 2009), pp. 540-559. Berkley: University of California Press.

[144] "Agitators' Spring Drive," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; March 3, 1918; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p. 26.

[145] Ray H. Leek. "Speech is Free; a Soap Box Costs Ten Cents," in *New-York Tribune (1911-1922)*; November 19, 1916; ProQuest, p. D8.

found Chas. Solomon[146] waiting for the platform to begin his speech. Finally it arrived and was put up following a Bible Society meeting at the Park side of the street. Solomon talked on patriotism and what it meant to the working class . . . Socialism looks good in him."[147] As early as 1909, with or without a soapbox, street speeches had been a common occurrence in Madison

Square along Broadway — "Jerome Myers and I [John Sloan] took a short walk on Broadway — rich color and throng after theatre beyond any words of mine. Irish Socialist's street speech. In Spokane they are putting them 'in the pen' for this!!!"[148] Though Madison Square's career as the city's open forum only reached its peak after 1914, its crowds of both factory workers and the

[146] Charles Solomon, a good friend of John Sloan's, was a Socialist politician elected to the New York State Assembly in 1919. On the first day of the legislative session, he was among the five Socialist representatives expelled by the Republican majority from the House under charges of disloyalty as part of the First Red Scare.

[147] John Sloan. "Aug. 17, 1911," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[148] John Sloan. "Nov. 13, 1909," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

bourgeois had long been long been spectators and participants of street politics.

Jerome Myers, Sloan's neighbor on West Twenty-third Street[149] who had accompanied him to the Irish Socialist's speech, portrayed the more bourgeois members of these crowds in his 1918 sketch *Madison Square Bench* (see fig. 17).[150] The scene is grounded in perpendicular horizontals and verticals, especially the solid horizontal of the bench which occupies the scene's foreground. Four figures are arranged across it, three women conversing closely and a man sitting further apart, while an older man walks the park's path. Within Myers's composition, the low-angle and strong horizontal of both the bench and figures throws verticals into sharp relief, emphasizing their height. These verticals, the electric lamppost to the left and the tree to the right, tower over the scene and mirror each other, creating a unity between the natural and the urban. A break in the foliage between the two, visible through the boughs of the tree, reveals not the sky, but the sharp geometry of distant skyscrapers whose own horizontals mirror those of the bench below. Myers places his park scene distinctly within the cityscape, the urban and the natural intermixing throughout the composition. This is a far cry from the distinct and counterposed entities of the park and the city as they were figured in naturalistic, nineteenth-century depictions.

Madison Square became especially crowded during the midday. As factories and offices alike let out for lunch, workers crowded the neighborhood's sidewalks and cafes. On Twenty-third Street, the soapboxes "offered free amusement for those workers who do not care to spend

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[149] John Sloan. "Feb. 22, 1907," in *New York Scene: 1906-1913*. ed. Bruce St. John. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

[150] **Fig. 17**: Jerome Myers. *Madison Square Bench*, charcoal on paper, 1918. The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn.

their entire lunch hour consuming 'coffee and' from a one-arm chair."[151] Midday crowds were massive, and "during the warm weather . . . sometimes number 5,000 or 6,000 and cover several blocks."[152] This was not without backlash. In 1915, the Chelsea Neighborhood Association organized for brass bands to play in Madison Square Park during midday to "relieve the congestion in the avenue between Fourteenth and Twenty-seventh Streets, where factory employees out for luncheon block the street and sidewalks."[153] The bands would be "cheerfully paid by the merchants who lose business because of the Fifth Avenue jam."[154] Madison Square Park, once a bourgeois haven from the city's rush, was now meant to keep working class crowds out of sight of the elite who patronized Broadway and Fifth Avenue. Though the plan was put into effect, the crowds could not be abated. By 1917, three-hundred "residents and business men of the vicinity" of Madison Square had signed a new petition "objecting to this nuisance and praying that the speakers and crowds be dispersed"[155] by city officials.

The sidewalks of Madison Square are almost completely obscured by the crowds of pedestrians in Samuel Halpert's *The Flatiron Building* (see fig.18).[156] Painted in 1919, *The Flatiron Building* retains some sense of the naturalized city, but this is overwhelmed by the

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[151] Ray H. Leek. "Speech is Free; a Soap Box Costs Ten Cents," in *New-York Tribune (1911-1922)*; November 19, 1916; ProQuest, p. D8.

[152] "Agitators' Spring Drive," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; March 3, 1918; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p. 26.

[153] "Music to Clear Fifth Av.," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; February 9, 1915; ProQuest Hitorical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p. 6.

[154] Ibid.

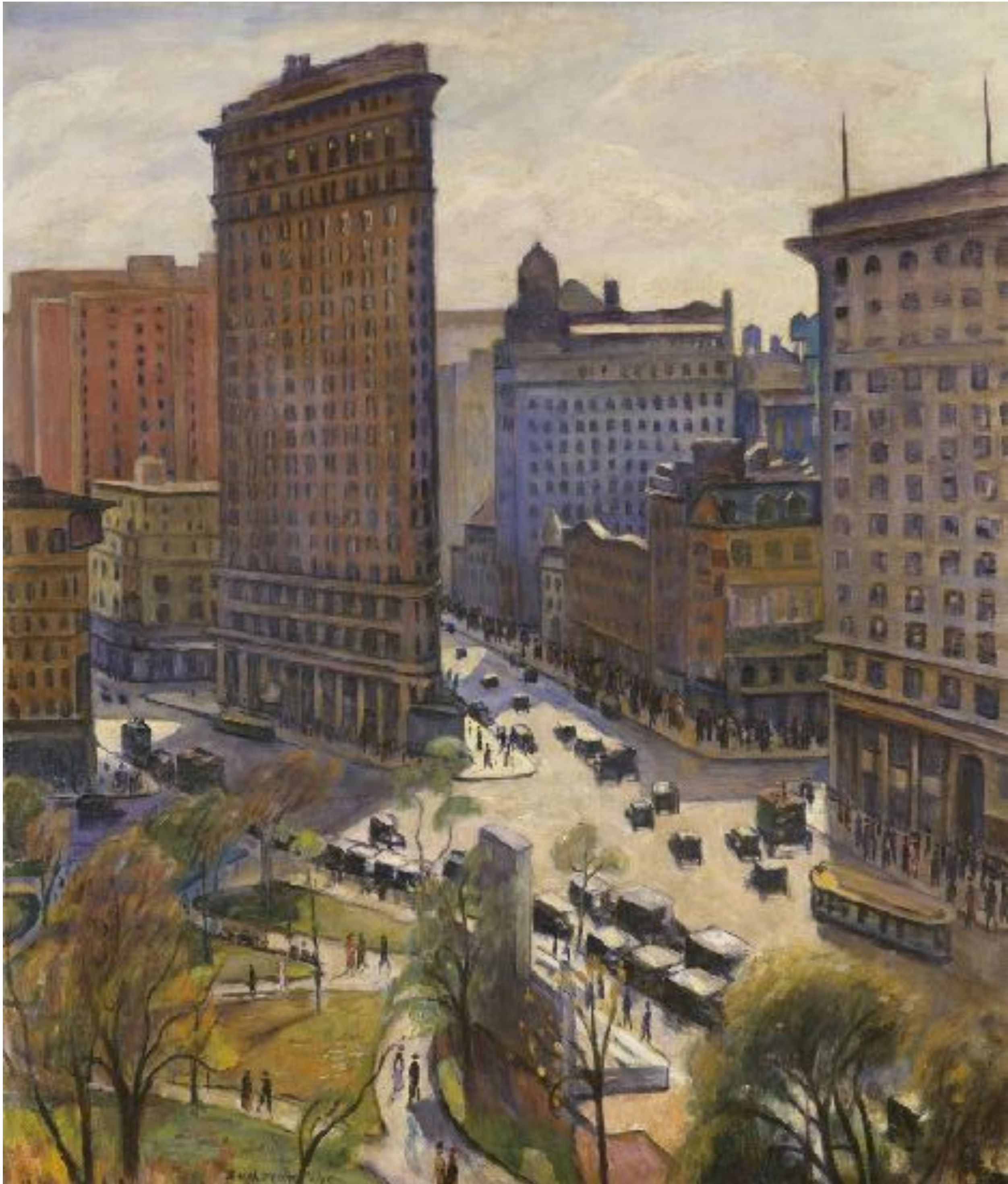
[155] "Agitators' Spring Drive," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; March 3, 1918; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p. 26.

[156] **Fig. 18**: Samuel Halpert. *The Flatiron Building*, oil on canvas, 1919. The Metropolitan Museum, New York.

formalism of the composition. Halpert had been a close friend of Sloan's and a close collaborator of Stieglitz's upon 291's opening in 1905. Rather than an extension of the natural into the urban, Halpert's painting depicts an intermixing of the park and city. In *The Flatiron Building*, the natural and the urban bleed into each other, the boundaries between the two blurring into the haze of Halpert's loose brushwork. Each building is painted in colors found within elements of the park and in tones just as vivid — from the ochre soil, to the yellow foliage, to the indigo shadows, the surrounding skyscrapers are painted in an explosion of delicate colors. The balance of color and brushwork create a cityscape just as lively as its neighboring park. Even further, the verticals arising out of the groupings of the park's trees align with strongest verticals of the neighboring skyscrapers, a towering visual unity which bridges the gap between natural and urban. In Halpert's cityscape both the natural and the urban are joined in an energetic thrust skywards and into the future.

The high-angle of Halpert's composition gives a unique perspective from which to observe this architecture, allowing a view of multiple cross-streets and intersections looking south and west of the park. The tilt to the west sets the orientation of the painting off of New York City's grid. This tilt gives the linear streets a visual curvature which mirrors the curving paths of the park. The two merge, no longer geometrically opposed, pedestrian traffic flowing between them seamlessly. The borders of the park's lawns and the city's blocks are distinctly visible, but they mirror each other in their composition and form, a joint archipelago of divvied land crossing the great straits of Broadway and Fifth Avenue.

Throughout the 1920s, Madison Square Park was integrated into New York City's urban grid. Even without the Park Board's 1912 formalist re-landscaping, the park was conceived in



increasingly formalist terms by New Yorkers. This is reflected by the avant-garde artists who sought to depict Madison Square whose art exhibits a spatiality that figures the park as part and parcel of the city's larger urban plan. The urbanization of the park makes the the plan of the park

legible, integrating it into the city's wider gridded urban plan. In critiquing Madison Square Park's landscape design in 1896, Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer had extensively noted the nineteenth century park's lack of planning sense:

> When studied on paper the plan of Madison Square shows the working of design, not of accident; yet its treatment is so petty and monotonous, so wanting . . . in effective variety and in conspicuous points of interest, that, we believe, few New Yorkers realize that it has any plan at all.[157]

It is a mark of how intrinsically the neighborhood had changed in the three decades since that no such accusation could be leveled at the Madison Square Park of Halpert's *The Flatiron Building*. The integration of park into city was so thorough, that after the dismantling of the Victory Arch on Broadway in 1920, portions of the park which had been temporarily incorporated into the street were not restored for over a year.[158] The erosion of the nineteenth century antagonism between city and park was complete.

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[157] Proposed Plan for Madison Square, New York City (1896), by Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer; originally published in *Garden and Forest*, issues 9 (April 8, 1896): pp 300-301.

[158] "Loss to Madison Square Park," in *New York Times (1857-1922)*; June 21, 1920; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index, p.13.

Conclusion

'Grazing the Soul of Time': Madison Square Recedes, Times Square Rises.

A hundred times have I thought New York is a
catastrophe, and fifty times: It is a beautiful catastrophe.
Le Corbusier

In 1933, Miriam Kaplan's poem, "In Madison Square," was published in *Poetry*, the Chicago publication most famous for launching the careers of American modernists like Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot, as part of the magazine's "City Scenes" section:

> The hour struck, immense, omnipotent.
> It hurled a pounding sound upon the street,
> Released a whirlwind rush of flying feet.
> It scratched the surface of the sky and bent
> Its face to graze the soul of time. It blent
> Unspoken agony with sterile heat,
> And pallor tinged the beggar in his seat.[159]

Within the poem, Kaplan captures the modernity of early twentieth century Madison Square. The rushing mass of crowds, the eerie sublimity of the Metropolitan Life Tower's beacon, the bencher quietly harbored within Madison Square Park, combine to form a poignant image of the neighborhood. It was a modernity formed through double-exposure of contradictions — bourgeois, working class; segregated, integrated; urban, natural.

During the turn-of-the-century, Madison Square was the "heart" of the city, where the forces of modernization collided. In the thirty years between 1890 and 1920, Madison Square was transformed from the residential Arcadia of New York's elite to the city's predominant loft manufacturing district. As hippodromes, hotels, and tenements came and went, Madison Square played host to avant-garde artists escaping the conservatism of Downtown, engaged in an

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[159] Miriam Kaplan. "In Madison Square," in *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, vol. XLI, no. V, February 1933. ed. Harriet Monroe. Chicago: [publisher not identified].

aesthetic struggle to faithfully depict the turn-of-the-century modern city. Over the decades, the once strict border between urban and natural was vexed and blurred, turning Madison Square Park from civic memory to utopic futurity.

By 1920, the star of Madison Square's ascendancy had dimmed. Since the mid-1890s, New York's elites and their investment money had been steadily migrating uptown. In the first half of

the twentieth century, the city's heart moved uptown to Times Square, on Forty-second Street (fig. 19).[160] Another angular crossing of avenues, Broadway and Seventh, oriented towards a

[160] **Fig. 19**: Howard Thain. *The Great White Way-Times Square, New York City*, oil on canvas, 1925. *Luce Center*, The New-York Historical Society, New York.

triangular skyscraper on a tiny footprint, Times Square's geography mirrored Madison Square's. Notably, there is no park on Forty-second Street. Times Square was, and remains, a commercial and entertainment district saturated in marquees and bright lights; a place with none of Madison Square's pretensions towards the historic or the civic. Times Square would become the site of a new modernity for a new age.

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