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## AMERICAN “NEW JERUSALEMS” CA. 1690–1890

The conference at which this paper was presented opened, gratifyingly, at the seventeenth-century Monastery of New Jerusalem near Moscow (Fig. 1). A kindred site of differing character aptly introduces this written version. Probably designated during the early nineteenth century, the “Village of New Jerusalem” (Fig. 2) is a crossroads in Berks county, eastern Pennsylvania, United States. I say “probably” designated, because, alas, local historians and residents alike have lost track of the town's originating date and definition (or re-definition)<sup>1</sup>. Lacking that basic information, however, we still may conclude that the founders' intentions converged early American religious millennialism and civic determinism.

The eminent American author, Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864), and his most famous novel, *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), provide us with substantive entry to American perennial millennialism. Setting his narrative in conflicted seventeenth-century Massachusetts, Hawthorne twice used the phrase “New Jerusalem”. Both times he referred to New Jerusalem's gilded wealth — pavements, and coins<sup>2</sup>. A vision of Redemption as a city of gold where commerce was chaste, feels deeply Puritan. While doubtless that, historic American millennialism was much more besides.

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<sup>1</sup> The primary source is still *Montgomery Morton L.* History of Berks County in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Everts, Peck & Richards, 1886, 1013–1014. He dates a post-office in the village, a part of Rockland Township, to 1828, and construction of the principal church, Reformed Lutheran, to 1840, there instituted because members of a previous congregation of Christ Church wished to establish their own. See also *Montgomery*, Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania, Chicago, J. H. Beers, 1909, I, 49, 300. In the earlier citation, Montgomery traces the Lutheran Church at New Jerusalem to as early as 1744.

<sup>2</sup> *Byers J. R., Jr., and Owen James J.* A Concordance to the Five Novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne. New York and London, Garland, 1979, I, 406. See also: A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne / Ed. Nina M. Browne. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1905, for citations of Hawthorne's semi-satirical short story, “The Celestial Railroad,” first published in 1843. Invoking Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* by name, Hawthorne had the railway of his tale's title run between the City of Destruction and the Celestial City.

What more, is, or was formerly, suggested by a one-and-a-quarter by one-and-three-quarter-meter painting, entitled "*New Jerusalem*," by the American landscapist, George Inness, Sr. (1825–1894). The last image in a painted trilogy Inness called *The Triumph of the Cross*, the picture in question was completed and premiered with its pendants, "*Valley of the Shadow of Death*," and "*Vision of Faith*," in Manhattan in May 1867. Regrettably, only "*Valley of the Shadow of Death*" survives intact today, at the Vassar College Art Gallery in Poughkeepsie, New York. The "*Vision of Faith*" has disappeared, while the "*New Jerusalem*," damaged in a Manhattan building collapse in 1880 and afterward cut into fragments by the artist, was partially reconstituted at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, in 2004 (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> Elaborating Inness's own laconic remarks on the cycle in a printed leaflet, a New York journalist wrote in 1867 that in the "*New Jerusalem*" scene, an illuminated Cross in the sky disclosed "to our sight the city descending in the clouds; it floods with golden glory the towers and domes, which almost melt into the sky on the horizon's edge, meadow and forest and trees and river are bathed in this radiance"<sup>4</sup>. An illuminated Cross hovers over the Valley of the Shadow of Death in Inness's picture of that subject, as well. Another Manhattan reporter of the day remarked that in Inness's "*New Jerusalem*", "we have glimpses of unearthly architecture, which, by a sort of mirage effect, is repeated in the sky"<sup>5</sup>. We shall return to Inness and to his polyptych.

<sup>3</sup> The voluminous Inness bibliography continues to expand as older portions of it are also excavated. It begins with interviews the artist gave to reporters and lectures he read in public, and a published biography: *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness, Illustrated with Portraits and Many Reproductions of Paintings*, with an Introduction by Elliott Daingerfield. New York, Century, 1917, by his son, George Inness, Jr., also a painter; as well as numerous commentaries and, later, obituaries and post-facto assessments by his contemporaries. Modern references include LeRoy Ireland, preface by Donald B. Goodall, foreword by McIntyre Robert G. *The Works of George Inness: An Illustrated Catalogue Raisonné*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1965; Cikovsky N., Jr. *The Life and Work of George Inness* (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts). New York and London, Garland, 1977; *idem*, *George Inness*. New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1993; Quick M. and *Cikovsky N., Jr.* *George Inness*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art, et al., 1985; *Bell Adrienne Baxter/George Inness and the Visionary Landscape*, exh. cat., New York, National Academy of Design, et al., George. Braziller, 2003; *DeLue Rachael Ziady*. *George Inness and the Science of Landscape*. Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2004. See also below, n 39. The reconstitution of Inness's "*New Jerusalem*" from three dispersed fragments was proposed by Michael Quick, an Inness scholar and author of a new catalogue raisonné on the artist's works shortly (at this writing) to be published; see *DeLue* 2004 (above), 274–275 n1. The reconstruction was carried out by the Walters's head of conservation, Eric Gordon. I would like to thank Messrs. Quick and Gordon for their excellent assistance.

<sup>4</sup> No known copies of Inness's explanatory leaflet about the series are extant. However, two contemporary Manhattan newspapers, the *Evening Express*, 10 May 1867, 2; and *Evening Post*, 11 May 1867, 4, reprinted the leaflet, which discussed all three works, verbatim.

<sup>5</sup> *New York Evening Gazette*, 14 May 1867, 3.

What might Nathaniel Hawthorne, a native of Salem, Massachusetts, have meant by the phrase "New Jerusalem" at mid-century, within a re-creative historical-literary context of his own making? What might his readers, whom we may assume were vigilant, have thought he meant? And what messages might George Inness, born in Newburgh, New York, have hoped to express, starting in 1867, through large, linked allegorical paintings, which, in fact, were uncharacteristic of his work, and which, in their imagery and multiplicity, recalled several didactic series paintings of the 1830s and 1840s by the deceased, English-born American landscapist Thomas Cole (1801–1848)? Indeed, by the 1860s, many American art critics and artists alike regarded Cole's series paintings as obsolete.

As I will discuss in this paper, these questions implicate historical American beliefs about the actual city of Jerusalem, as well as the genesis, spread, associations, and limitations in America of the conceptual "New Jerusalem". Diverse, mutable, and often self-contradictory, those beliefs, or faiths, as Conrad Cherry, John Davis, Richard Hughes, and Annabel Wharton among others have lately discussed<sup>6</sup>, stemmed from colonial American confidence that North America was a new Israel, and, throughout the nineteenth century, from "the deep sensation which is ever produced by the solemn name of Jerusalem, associated as it ever has been with our [Americans'] greatest interests" (the words of a New York lecturer, in 1853)<sup>7</sup>. More narrowly, those beliefs encompassed nineteenth century American utopian projects in general; American Protestant theology, notably Swedenborgianism, Mormonism, and Quakerism; large and medium-scale studio paintings; touring architectural models, painted panoramas, and harder-to-categorize performances combining theater and theology; travel and archeology in the Near East by Europeans and by Americans; imported Italian opera; Anglo-American hymns; and the oft-reprinted Christian literary allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress* (first published 1678), by the English author and cleric John Bunyan (1628–1688).

I here propose to treat historical American "New Jerusalems" at once literally and metaphorically. Taking the phrase "New Jerusalem", as voiced

<sup>6</sup> Davis John. *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1996; *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny*; Revised and Updated Edition / Ed. Conrad Cherry Chapel Hill and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1998; *Hughes R. T. Myths America Lives By*. Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2003; *Wharton A. Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, and Theme Parks*. Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2006. See also *Hall David D. Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*. New York, Knopf, 1989; *Millennial Thought in America* / Ed. Bernd Engler, Joerg O. Fichte, Oliver Scheiding. Trier, Germany, WVT, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> The quotation is from the *New York Daily Tribune* report, 25 January 1853, 5, of a lecture on Jerusalem read in Manhattan by the Professor J. Wood Johns.

in English translation by the Saint John the Evangelist in the Book of Revelations, or phrases very near its essence, such as "celestial city" or "heavenly city", as my starting points, I will then follow their leads. Hence I diverge from the interesting analogical approaches of contemporaries such as Peter Preston and Paul Simpson-Housley, and Nancy Tenfelde Clasby<sup>8</sup>. My tilt will be toward American verbalizations and visualizations of the New Jerusalem from the 1840s to the early 1890s, in particular those orbiting the year 1867. That relatively narrow chronological spread, which saw seismic American cultural and population shifts from agrarian to industrial and urban settings — from Brook Farm to the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and "The City Beautiful" — permits us, as it did residents of the often fractious United States and its burgeoning territories of those decades, broad historical reach and interpretation. Americans of that period, especially those living in Northeastern and mid-Atlantic states, were as much, or almost as much, absorbed with their colonial heritage as they were with their evidently expansionist destiny. Geography, or a sense of geography, was key. The effect was strongest when, and where, sensory experiences of awe and uplift were robust. Numerous such sites were located throughout the United States and its territories, especially in the West, the Grand Canyon and the Rocky Mountains among them. We'll go there in a moment.

But first, let us alight at another visually robust place also inspiring to Anglo-Americans of the mid and late nineteenth century. I mean central Moscow. The Monastery of New Jerusalem near Moscow and the Village of New Jerusalem in Berks County, Pennsylvania, turn out to be more compatible than we might suppose. In 1858, the Kennett Square, Pennsylvania-born travel author and lecturer, Bayard Taylor (1825–1878), visited Greece and Russia, and in 1863 returned to St. Petersburg as a US diplomat. Meantime the lengthy letters he wrote from abroad to his employer, the New York *Tribune* newspaper, were repackaged as a book, in 1859<sup>9</sup>. Having already voyaged through the Near East, Taylor was impressed by St. Petersburg. But he was stunned by Moscow — the global diversity of the people, and especially the sprawling, collided architectural exoticism. "Another city so bizarre and so picturesque as Moscow does not exist", he enthused:

<sup>8</sup> Writing the City: Eden, Babylon, and the New Jerusalem / Eds. Peter Preston and Paul Simpson-Housley. London and New York, Routledge, 1994; *Clasby N. T.* New Jerusalem: Myth, Literature, and the Sacred. Scranton, Pennsylvania, University of Scranton Press, 2000.

<sup>9</sup> "Bayard Taylor in Northern Europe. No. LXVI. A Panoramic View of Moscow" // New York Daily Tribune, 25 August 1858, 6; idem, "No. LXVII. The Kremlin" // Ibid, 15 September 1858, 6; *Taylor, Travels in Greece and Russia; With an Excursion to Crete.* New York, Putnam's, 1859, 326–327. Taylor's book was republished line for line in 1889.

To call it Russian would be too narrow a distinction: it suggests the world... It is an immense show, gotten up for temporary effect, and you can scarcely believe that it may not be taken to pieces and removed as soon as its purpose has been attained. Whence this array of grass-green roofs, out of which rise hundreds of spires and towers stranger and more fantastic than ever were builded in a mad architect's dream? Whence these gilded and silvered domes, which blind your eyes with reflected suns, and seem to dance and totter in their own splendor, as you move? It can be no city of trade and government, of pleasure and scandal, of crime and religion, which you look upon; it was built when the Arabian Nights were true, and the Prince of the Hundred Islands reigns in its central palace.

Apropos the Kremlin, Taylor continued, "If Moscow is the Mecca of the Russians, the Kremlin is its Kaaba... Its very gates are protected by miracles, and the peasant from a distant province enters them with much the same feeling as a Jewish Pilgrim enters the long-lost City of Zion".

Travel writers read travel books. Doubtless Edward Dickey (1832–1911), then a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph* newspaper, perused Bayard Taylor's writings on Russia before he, Dickey, accompanied the Prince of Wales to Russia for a royal wedding in November 1866. Dickey's eloquent reporting to the *Daily Telegraph*, also rapidly compiled as a book, was selectively re-printed in the United States. Focusing on St. Petersburg, where the wedding took place, Dickey, too, was dazzled by Moscow. From nearby the Moscow Kremlin, he wrote, "there is not a house in this vast mass of buildings like anything on which you have looked before. The flat green iron roofs are interspersed with countless turrets and domes". As for the Kremlin itself,

all around you, there rise minarets and domes of gold... As long as you keep within the Kremlin, the glitter of enchantment hangs over you... [Inside the churches], the very walls are wrought with silver; the roof is of solid gold. The odd thing is, that all this gorgeous splendor harmonizes with itself. There is nothing tawdry, or gewgawish about it at all: the dim twilight in which the church is always sunk subdues the glare of its colours, and when at times, as I chanced to see it, a ray of the setting sun shines through the windows of the lofty cupola, golden beams shoot through the gloom, and are reflected back again by the burnished walls. I recollect a lady telling me once, that she found, in reading the Bible to the paupers in a workhouse, that the only parts which served to wake their languid interest were the stories of the new Jerusalem, with its golden gateways and jewelled thrones. And so, I fancy, to the poor,

half-clad peasants, who crowd day by day into th[is] sacred shrine, the glimpses of its glories must have a charm not altogether of the earth, earthy<sup>10</sup>.

For Anglo-Americans of the nineteenth century, the American West, although a big geographical jump from Moscow, was not that great an aesthetic jump. When the British-born American landscape painter Thomas Moran (1837–1926), unveiled his epic canvas, *Chasm of the Colorado* (Fig. 4), at his Newark, New Jersey, studio, in April 1874, a viewer close to the artist wrote about it ecstatically, and reverentially:

...The enchanted spectator saw towering, fantastic spires, turreted castles, the domes of majestic temples, and arched entrances to the palatial abodes of superior intelligences. These were all on a scale of such grandeur and magnitude, that to puny man, they were stamped with the seal of Divinity... Exquisite adornments were added. The perpendicular fronts of the castles, temples, and pinnacled cathedrals were chiseled and carved, as by the hand of the One who was the originator and inspirer of all true art. The brilliant hues of Heaven were also imparted. As the sun of Heaven shone upon the celestial architecture of the silent city, the buildings of everlasting rock, seemed to glitter in all the radiance and effulgence of crimson and gold... [And] in the distance (not dim) over a hundred miles beyond the foreground of this august panorama, there seemed the bright walls of another glorious city, and at some future day, this also may be spread before us<sup>11</sup>.

In other words, for susceptible American spectators of the day, Moran's *Chasm of the Colorado* suggested two American New Jerusalems: a terrestrial, present-day one within the gorge; and an atmospheric, prophetic one, dozens of miles distant.

Moran is interesting here. Within another year he saw firsthand and painted a large studio canvas of a summit in the Colorado Rockies, the *Mountain of the Holy Cross* (1875; Fig. 5). The earliest traveler whose account of the actual peak of that name was widely read, Samuel Bowles, Jr. (1826–1878), edited the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican* newspaper. Bowles's visit came in August 1868; a book followed in 1869. His verbal response, published first in Springfield on 11 November 1868, was reverential: "On one of the largest and finest snow fields lay... the form of an immense cross, and by

<sup>10</sup> Dicey Edward in the *London Daily Telegraph*, 23 November 1867, 5; *idem*, *A Month in Russia During the Marriage of the Czaretich*. London, Macmillan, 1867, 90–103. The *Daily Telegraph* letter was reprinted with Dicey's name under the headline, "Rambles About Moscow," by the *New York Leader*, 5 January 1867, 6.

<sup>11</sup> "A.I.G." in the *Newark (New Jersey) Advertiser*, 5 May 1874, 1.

this it is known in all the mountain views of the territory. It is as if God has set His sign, His seal, His Promise there — a beacon upon the very center and hight [sic] of the continent to all its people and all its generations"<sup>12</sup>. Bowles's words apply to Moran's painting, the upper portion of which, as did two of three scenes from Inness's *Triumph of the Cross*, recalls signature images by Thomas Cole of illuminated Crosses suspended in the sky<sup>13</sup>.

And by early 1882, Moran, an ardent admirer of the deceased English landscapist, J. M. W. Turner, contrived an imaginary (Fig. 6), one of two fanciful Easter greeting card designs he created that year for the popular Boston printing house of Louis Prang. The first modern references to and reproductions of both cards were published as recently as 2005, by Joni Kinsey<sup>14</sup>. Both Easter season creations by Moran responded to Turner's images of Venice. In this case, introduced by an angel and a choir of jolly cherubim, a weightless, glinting, pinnacled, domed, harbored New Jerusalem nearly blots out the sun. A writer for a Brooklyn, New York, newspaper was enchanted by Moran's "celestial city lifting its towers and domes into the soft sunlight, with an angel directing a 'choir of young-eyed cherubim' that float upon a bright cloud on the foreground"<sup>15</sup>. Overall, the scene also elaborates and mirrors one of Thomas Cole's signature images, "Youth," from Cole's four-scene allegorical series of paintings, *The Voyage of Life* (versions 1840, 1842). That's appropriate: Moran, and Cole, were born in the same English

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Bowles in the *Springfield* (Massachusetts) *Daily Republican*, 11 Nov 1868, 2. When Moran's painting traveled to Boston, an anonymous critic, possibly the artist William Morris Hunt, voiced disrespectful opinion in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 11 November 1875, 2.

<sup>13</sup> The paintings in question are, or were, Cole's *Angel Appearing to the Shepherds*, 1833–1834 (Norfolk, Virginia, Chrysler Museum), his lifetime largest work, and all five scenes of his unfinished (and unlocated) *Cross and the World* series, for which painted compositional studies survive at the Albany, New York, Institute of History and Art; Brooklyn Museum; Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.; and Edwin A. Ulrich Museum of Art, Wichita, Kansas, State University. Frederic Church, a former pupil of Cole, exhibited a related painting of small size, *The Star in the East* (1860–1861; Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, New York) at the National Academy of Design of New York, and elsewhere, in 1861–1862.

<sup>14</sup> Kinsey Joni L. *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste*. University Press of Kansas, 2005, 212. Kinsey's book also (126–136) contains a discussion of Moran's *Mountain of the Holy Cross*, as, at greater length, does her preceding book on Moran, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, Washington, D.C., and London, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992, 141–173. I thank Dr. Kinsey for her assistance.

<sup>15</sup> My dating of the cards to Easter 1882 is new to Moran scholarship. Most journalists who discussed Moran's Easter designs that year were more intrigued with his companion image, "Unto You that Fear my Name Shall the Sun of Righteousness Arise with Healing in the Wings". However, at least two reporters, one pseudonymed "Carlotta", "Easter in New York", *Newark* (New Jersey) *Daily Advertiser*, 11 April 1882, 1; and an anonymous writer, "Fine Arts. Easter Cards", *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 1 April 1882, 3, noticed the "New Jerusalem" scene. My text quotation is from the latter source.

city, Bolton, in Lancashire; and by early 1882 Moran was preparing to revisit his birthplace for the first time since 1862. Shall we therefore re-name our Anglo-American artist *Thomas Joseph Mallard William Thomas Giambattista* Moran?

What, we may now ask, was occurring with these varied American and Anglo-American images, verbal and visual?

I would say, first, that towers and domes stirred American imaginations toward the heavenly city of the New Testament. For additional examples, American writers of the 1850s and 1860s likened both the New York Crystal Palace (constructed 1853; burned 1858; Fig. 7), and a painting by the Hartford-Connecticut-born Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) of Damascus (painted in Rome, 1869; burned 1888; I here reproduce one of Church's related sketches, Fig. 8), to "New Jerusalem"<sup>16</sup>. That's correct: through American architecture and two-dimensional art, some American viewers were vicariously transported from the actual Manhattan, and from the actual Damascus as depicted in Rome by a compatriot, respectively, to the "New Jerusalem" of Revelations.

Secondly, American perceptions of self-identity, and of the American "experiment", as resident commentators continued to term it, remained unresolved both on the ground and as a proposition throughout the nineteenth century. The word "utopia" looms on the first full page of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*. Son of a Massachusetts city whose very name, Salem, vibrated with Biblical and with "new" Jerusalem associations, Hawthorne himself had lately delved a largely social utopian venture, the 1840s Brook Farm commune at West Roxbury, Massachusetts. After living at Brook Farm for about a year, he exhausted his savings and his devotion, then moved on. But Hawthorne's change of mind rescinded neither his specific nor his generic birthrights. For one thing, reminders of the historical Jerusalem were omnipresent in post-Revolutionary America, especially in northeastern, mid-Atlantic, and mid-western states. "Salem", a city name cited in Genesis XIV, is still among the most prevalent American urban designations with ancient connotations; "Jerusalem", once moderately prevalent, is now infrequent, and "New Jerusalem"

<sup>16</sup> An analogy between the New York Crystal Palace and "New Jerusalem" was made by the Rev H. H. Bellows in a sermon entitled "The Crystal Palace; or, The Moral Significance of the 'Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations'" of October 1853, reported by the *New York Daily Tribune*, 1 November 1853, 3. Church's *Damascus* was likened to "New Jerusalem" by a correspondent signing him- or her-self "A.B.", writing from Rome (where Church began and completed the canvas), in the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, 24 February 1869, 8; cited in my exhibition catalogue, *Frederic Edwin Church: In Search of the Promised Land*, New York, Berry-Hill Galleries, 2000, 95. The correspondent said that in Church's canvas, Damascus, the "culminating point" of the scene, "stands like a New Jerusalem in the right-hand corner of the picture".



rare. For another thing, New Englanders' pride in their heritage was intensifying at mid-century. Founded in 1840, the New-England Society, its members meeting annually in Manhattan, held that New England was the nexus of American creativity and politics<sup>17</sup>. By then, many New Englanders could trace their North American lineages two centuries or more.

A compelling difference between Southern and Northern American colonies, was that many Northern ones were spiritually more than they were economically motivated<sup>18</sup>. For many Americans living in New England during the late nineteenth century, historical Puritans looked, as they do to us today, morally dubious, theologically tight, and socially controlling. But from American perspectives of the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, Puritans also seemed personally visionary and phenomenal, and their writings were highly collectable. No one, then, knew how many books — by the 1870s said, with unintentional irony, to be "worth their weight in gold" — the verbally prolific preachers of the Mather family, especially Cotton Mather (1662–1728), and his father, Increase Mather (1639–1723), had written. What was clear was that, together, the Mathers had pivoted the New England of their day, and that Cotton Mather, having entered Harvard College at age eleven and graduated from it aged fifteen, was keenly precocious<sup>19</sup>.

Several Mather tracts invoked the chiliad "New Jerusalem" — meaning, for the authors, a new heavenly city supposedly soon destined for North America. We may cite Cotton Mather's printed *Theopolis Americana* (1709, 1710)<sup>20</sup>, and an undated manuscript by Increase Mather, entitled *A Discourse Concerning the Glorious State of the Church on Earth under the New Jerusalem*. Rediscovered three decades ago at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, Increase Mather's *Discourse* was published by the Society in 1977<sup>21</sup>. In these writings, the Mathers, as did their British and

<sup>17</sup> See especially reports of the fifteen annual gathering of the society in the *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 December 1855, 5; *ibid.*, 24 December 1855, 5.

<sup>18</sup> The 400th anniversary of Jamestown, Virginia, in 2007, has re-kindled interest in that colony and others in the South. The extant writings of a major historical character at Jamestown, Captain John Smith, and the title of James P. P. Horn's recent book, *A Land as God made it: Jamestown and the Birth of America*, New York, Basic Books, 2005, rightly suggest those colonists' spiritual intentions or justifications. One of the founding ships at Jamestown, lately reconstructed, was named *Godspeed*. Nevertheless the theological accent was stronger in northern colonies.

<sup>19</sup> A well-informed period reference is "The Mather Bibliography", *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 15 August 1870, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> The full title is *Theopolis Americana. An Essay on the Golden Street of the Holy City: Publishing, a Testimony Against the Corruptions of the Marketplace. With Some Good Hopes of Better Things to be Yet Seen in the American World. In a Sermon, to the General Assembly of the Massachuset, Province in New-England, 3d 9m 1709*, Boston, B. Green, 1710.

<sup>21</sup> Joyce W. L. and Hall M. G. Three Manuscripts of Increase Mather // *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. Worcester, Massachusetts, 86 (1976), 113–123; Increase

North American clerical predecessors and contemporaries, including the Quaker George Fox<sup>22</sup>, now and then referred to the Biblical Jerusalem and the envisioned New Jerusalem. They also repeatedly invoked "gold" as a visual metaphor of spiritual aspiration.

So did a close friend of the Mathers, Judge Samuel Sewall (1652–1730). Today Sewall is a prominent historical figure for two reasons: because his lengthy diary, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in the late nineteenth century, is a useful record of New England Colonial life; and because after having condemned nineteen persons at the Salem, Massachusetts, witch trials in 1692, he recanted through a printed apology in 1697. Also during 1697, re-issued with slight changes in 1727, Sewall published a book forecasting nineteenth century American notions of American Manifest Destiny. He entitled it, *Phaenomena quaedam apocalyptica ad aspectum novi orbis configurata, or, Some few lines towards a description of the new heaven as it makes to those who stand on the new earth*. The phrase "New Jerusalem" appears six times on the 1697 text's first full two pages. Two dozen pages later, having ruminated the apparent purposes, occupancy, and site of an earthly New Jerusalem, Sewall offered a prophecy for compatriots of future generations: "New-Jerusalem is not the same with Jerusalem: but as Jerusalem was to the westward of Babylon; so New-Jerusalem must be to the westward of Rome; to avoid disturbance in the Order of these Mysteries"<sup>23</sup>.

Colonial American millennialism backgrounds the next two major American "New Jerusalem" manifestations, as well as a third sizeable undercurrent. The first two overlapped and to a degree competed with one another. Many educated Americans of the 1850s and 1860s would have recognized, less with Hawthorne's "New Jerusalem" allusions in *The Scarlet Letter* and more with Inness's painting of that title, the legacy of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). Swedenborg was a Swedish Christian mystic who had died in London. Spurred by his tract, *New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine* (1758), a segment of his eight-volume *Arcana Coelestia*, Swedenborg's

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Mather's 'New Jerusalem': Millennialism in Late Seventeenth-Century New England // *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* / Eds. Mason I. Lowance, Jr., and David Waters Worcester. Massachusetts, 87 (1977), 343–408.

<sup>22</sup> See especially *G.F. (George Fox)*. Concerning the Antiquity of the People of God, Called Quakers, Their Worship, Their Mother, New and Heavenly Jerusalem; Their Faith, and Who is the Author and Finisher of it ... the Church of Christ's Prayer, and in What, Their Cross, and Their Baptism. London, 1689, chap. III, 4–5.

<sup>23</sup> *Sewall S. Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica ad Aspectum Novi Orbis Configurata, or, Some Few Lines Towards a Description of the New Heaven as it Makes to Those who Stand Upon the New Earth*. Boston, Bartholomew Green, John Allen, 1697. The 1727 edition had a new foreword. Sewall's book was discussed by *Sumner Charles* in his *Prophetic Voices Concerning America*. A Monograph. Boston and New York, Lee, Shephard, Dillingham, 1874, p. 27–32, especially p. 30.

American followers, starting slowly in the 1780s and picking up speed after 1800, published proselytizing writings and founded "New Jerusalem" (or, simply, "New") Churches or Societies, also occasionally bestowing the name "New Jerusalem" on streets and entire towns<sup>24</sup>. With comparatively few formal adherents, American Swedenborgians exercised disproportionate influence. The northeastern and mid-western United States throbbed with Swedenborgian "New Jerusalem" revivalism during the 18-teens, 1840s, and to a lesser extent during the 1860s. Compelling, complicated, and at times controversial, Swedenborgian sacred spaces emanated from their "New" churches. Those churches were both apart from, and part of, American Protestant spaces in general. By the 1870s, ministers at those churches at large US cities, their Sunday sermons now and then summarized in Monday newspapers, were societal participants more as individuals than as doctrinal representatives<sup>25</sup>. Intentionally self-effacing, few American Swedenborgian "New Jerusalem" churches made aesthetic impacts when they were built. At least one, however, did do so: the "First New Jerusalem Church" of Philadelphia, consecrated in March 1883, designed by a local architect of then-rising reputation, Theophilus P. Chandler (1845–1928). At the time, the building was "universally pronounced one of the most beautiful churches in the world"<sup>26</sup>. While not a Swedenborgian prerogative, the phrase "New Jerusalem" was, from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries in the United States and its territories, most often identified with Swedenborgianism.

American Swedenborgian proselytizers of the 1840s stirred opposition from secular — or more secular — compatriot utopianists who challenged the appellation "New Jerusalem" as an unattainable superlative<sup>27</sup>. By the 1860s, Swedenborg's United States followers faced a further test: growing frustration with and mistrust of their deceased founder. A reviewer of a biography of Swedenborg published in Chicago in 1867 declared that the book, authored by a Swedenborg Church official, left its human subject stranded between genius and madman<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Hindmarsh R. *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church in England and America, and Other Parts*. London, Hodson & Son, 1861, is still an impressive discussion of its subject. A useful, more recent reference is Margaret Block Beck, *The New Church in the New World*. New York, Holt, 1932.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., "Church of the New Jerusalem" // *New York Herald*, 18 January 1875, 8; "New Jerusalem Church" // *Boston Daily Globe*, 14 September 1875, 2.

<sup>26</sup> See especially "An Architect's Success. The First New Jerusalem Church" // *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 March 1883, 2; "Dedicated" // *ibid*, 12 March 1883, 2.

<sup>27</sup> The editors of the *Harbinger*, the Associationist journal published in New York during the 1840s, several times argued with Swedenborg proponents in this vein. See especially *Harbinger* 3 (28 November 1846), 393–394; *Harbinger* 8 (25 November 1848), 27–28.

<sup>28</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, 8 June 1867, 2. The book was Rudolph Leonard Tafel, *Emanuel Swedenborg as a Philosopher and Man of Science*, Chicago, E. B. Myers & Chandler, 1867.

By that date, however, few American writers, or their readers, held doubts about Joseph Smith (1805–1844), Brigham Young (1801–1877), and the New Jerusalem associations of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, or Mormons, founded by Smith in New York State during the 1830s. By 1857, as the Federal Government jostled for jurisdiction in Utah where Mormon leaders had settled in 1851, newspapers across the country and a new book on Mormonism by a former Mormon Church official were chorusing distaste with the movement<sup>29</sup>. Most US journalists continued their enmity, and their pleas for government regulation, with scant relent for years afterward<sup>30</sup>. By contrast, during a publicized overland trek to the west coast in 1859, the New York *Tribune*'s globally eminent editor, Horace Greeley (1811–1872), openly interviewed Brigham Young at Salt Lake City<sup>31</sup>. And in 1867, while theories linking the Lost Tribes of Israel with Native Americans proliferated in Britain and the United States<sup>32</sup>, Young and an associate, Franklin D. Richards, traveled to Paris as an ad hoc Mormon delegation to the International Exposition, and to make personal contact with waves of Continental and British Mormon converts then emigrating to the American West<sup>33</sup>. Nearly concurrently, William Hepworth Dixon (1821–1879), peripatetic editor of the influential London weekly, *The Athenaeum*, published *New America*, a two-volume eyewitness account of spiritualist propensities in post-Civil War America. There Dixon anthropologically emphasized Mormonism through

<sup>29</sup> The book was Hyde John, Jr. *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*. New York, Felbridge; Boston, Williams and Brown, 1857. Hyde was previously an Elder of the Mormon Church. See, e.g., the notice of Hyde's volume in the *Boston Daily Courier*, 8 August 1857, 2.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., "Purchase of Mormon Possessions" // *New York Journal of Commerce*, 5 May 1858, 1; "The Mormon Question" // *New York Sun*, 11 March 1867, 2.

<sup>31</sup> "H.G." (Horace Greeley). "Two Hours with Brigham Young" // *New York Daily Tribune*, 20 August 1859, 5–6; *Idem*, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859*. New York, Saxton, Barker; San Francisco, Bancroft, 1859; 209–218; reprint, ed. Charles T. Duncan, New York, Knopf, 1964, 176–185; facsimile reprint, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1966. Greeley followed up the interview letter with another entitled, "The Mormons and Mormonism." The discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858 was the main propellant of Greeley's and many Americans' western journeys in 1859. In a report published 1 July 1858, an anonymous correspondent for the *Tribune* had discussed the Mormons at length among topics in Colorado and Utah, hence in that regard Greeley was following in his own recent reporter's footsteps.

<sup>32</sup> "The Lost Tribes Found in America" // *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 7 June 1867, 2; reprinted *St. Louis Daily Missouri Republican*, 9 June 1867, 2. The conclusions voiced there were strengthened by an article, "Archaeology in North America," in the prestigious *Edinburgh Review* 125 (April 1867), 332–363; which itself prompted American discussion; e.g., *New York Albion*, 4 May 1867, 231.

<sup>33</sup> Young's and Richards's Paris visit was noted by *La Liberté* (Paris), 13 June 1867, 1. For Anglo-American response to the sense of predicament felt in Britain about British Mormon emigration to America, see, e.g., *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, 28 August 1867, 2, reprinting a recent article from the London *Morning Post*.

several chapters. He titled the lead chapter of that sequence "The New Jerusalem" — meaning, Salt Lake City, where he had lodged with Brigham Young. Issued in London, quickly reprinted in Philadelphia, and shortly thereafter published in Continental French and German translations, Dixon's book was discussed and excerpted on both sides of the Atlantic. Several reviewers used the phrase "New Jerusalem"<sup>34</sup>.

A seventeenth-century British hymn, its first line "O Mother Dear, Jerusalem", supplied the aforementioned undercurrent. An octavo book on the hymn's history by William Cowper Prime (1825–1905), an American who had traveled in and written about the Holy Land, went through at least four New York printings between 1865 and 1867<sup>35</sup>. Prime's approach combined antiquarianism and evangelicalism. Entitling the song "The New Jerusalem; or, The Soul's Breathing After Her Heavenly Country", he linked its essence with Christ's "assurances of ever-lasting life, and that life in the New Jerusalem", and with St. Augustine's exaltation of "the glory, and peace, and beauty, of the New Jerusalem". By the mid-nineteenth century, Prime said, having been sung in "hall and hovel" and having served Scottish martyrs (doubtless an indirect swipe at American Puritan excesses), kings, queens, nobles, and downtrodden poor alike, the hymn had "become the possession of the whole Christian world"<sup>36</sup>. He headed each opening of his text and appendices with the phrase "The New Jerusalem".

George Inness's conversion, or persuasion, to Swedenborgianism by the mid-1860s therefore had multiple contemporary and historical Anglo-American resonances. Other American artists renowned and lesser-known, among them the expatriate sculptor Hiram Powers (1805–1873), the well-traveled painters Miner Kellogg (1814–1889), a friend of Powers's, and William Page (1811–1885), a friend of Inness's, and, later, the painter Ralph Blakelock (1847–1919) and the architect Daniel Burnham (1846–1912), were Swedenborg adherents. American writers such as Hawthorne, Ralph

<sup>34</sup> Dixon W. H. *New America*. London, Hurst and Blackett, 2 vols.; Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1867, 1 vol. At least eight printings or editions of the book were issued in London by the end of 1867. For specimen English-language excerpts and reviews, see *London Morning Post*, 23 January 1867, 3; *London Times*, 28 January 1867, 4; *Manchester (England) Guardian*, 29 January 1867, 2; *Fortnightly* 7 (London), 1 March 1867, 290–302; *New York Times*, 17 February 1867, 2; 15 March 1867, 3; *Philadelphia Daily Bulletin*, 23 February 1867, 2; 19 March 1867, 8; *New York Daily Tribune*, 14 March 1867, 6; *New York Independent*, 4 April 1867, 2. The French and German editions were published, and reviewed, in France and Germany in 1868, before reprintings of the book in both countries during 1874.

<sup>35</sup> I use the enlarged edition of 1867, *Prime William C. O Mother Dear Jerusalem! The Old Hymn, Its Origin and Genealogy*. New York, Anson D. F. Randolph, 1867. A prior, sympathetic review is in the *New York World*, 6 March 1865, 5.

<sup>36</sup> The quotations are from Prime 1867, ix, xxii, xxv.

Waldo Emerson, and the elder and the younger Henry James, were swayed by Swedenborg, as well. Having developed an essay from a lecture on Swedenborg in the late 1840s, Emerson occasionally referred to Swedenborg through the 1860s, a period of reassessment of and nostalgia for earlier American utopianism, notably Brook Farm. In turn, Anglo-American commentators on Emerson during his lifetime sometimes paralleled him with Swedenborg<sup>37</sup>.

Inness is at once a singular and an intricate case in point. A dozen years ago Sally Promey discovered that in 1867 Inness had published a short essay on painting in the New York Swedenborgian newsletter, *The New Jerusalem Messenger*<sup>38</sup>. Her work, and subsequent scholarship by Michael Quick and Rachael DeLue<sup>39</sup>, have re-focused attention on Inness's Swedenborgianism. It has long been known that Inness's *Triumph of the Cross* series was inspired by Swedenborg and by John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Indeed, during 1867 Bunyan's enduringly popular allegory was re-energized through a revived American panorama on the subject first shown in 1850, a wholly new American panorama, and awakened interest the Northeast and, latterly, the Mid-West in Thomas Cole's unfinished Bunyanesque pictorial cycle, *The Cross and the World* (unlocated)<sup>40</sup>. Opened at "Bunyan Hall" (designated for

<sup>37</sup> Emerson's lecture/essay, "Swedenborg; or, the Mystic," was the third part of his series, *Representative Men*, first published in 1849. See now *Emerson, Representative Men: Seven Lectures*, Text Established by Douglas Emory Wilson, Introduction by Andrew Delbanco. Cambridge, Mass., and London, the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996; also *Cooke George Willis*, compiler. *A Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1908, 102–110. In May 1878 a writer for the London *Academy* periodical (as noted by the Springfield, MA, *Daily Republican*, 31 May 1878, 2) termed Emerson "a sort of Swedenborgian Larochefoucault [sic]."

<sup>38</sup> Promey S. The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church // *American Art Journal* 26 (1994), 44–65.

<sup>39</sup> DeLue, 2004 (above, n 3), 144–170. Michael Quick will present his findings in his forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Inness's works.

<sup>40</sup> For the Bunyan panoramas, see: *Carr Gerald*. Frederic Edwin Church: A Catalogue Raisonné of Works of Art at Olana State Historic Site. New York and Cambridge, England, 1994, I, 114–119; and *Avery K. J. and Hardiman T.* The Grand Panorama of "Pilgrim's Progress", exh. cat., Montclair, New Jersey, Montclair Art Museum, 1999. After a year-long build up, Cole's *Cross and the World* series was exhibited in New York at the end of 1867. Bunyan, meanwhile, had written of the New Jerusalem per se, in his *The Holy Citie, or, The New-Jerusalem: Wherein its Goodly Light Walls, Gates, Angels, and the Manner of Their Standing, are Expounded: Also, Her Length and Breadth, Together with the Golden Measuring-Reed, Explained, and the Glory of all Unfolded: As Also, the Numerousness of its Inhabitants, and What the Tree and Water of Life Are, by Which They are Sustained*, London, Francis Smith, 1669. In 1810s Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was adapted by American publishers under titles such as, *The Christian Pilgrim: Containing an Account of the Wonderful Adventures and Miraculous Escapes of a Christian, in his Travels from the Land of Destruction to the New Jerusalem*, Montpelier, Vermont, Wright & Sibley, 1812.

the purpose) in Manhattan during September 1867, the newer Bunyan production touted a "*grand finale*" "vastly superior to anything of the kind ever before presented", "showing the gates of pearl, and the shining ones"<sup>41</sup>. Complementing — and doubtless competing with — the Bunyan panoramas in the New York area was a shorter-lived theatrical/theological performance, weightily entitled "The Great Apocalypse. Book of Revelations. Unsealed the Visions of St. John", at the Brooklyn Atheneum. Having played in other American towns, and consisting of "fifty splendid moving tableaux scenes", the production's four-part libretto (re-printed in a Brooklyn newspaper) promised concluding "Visions" of "The New Jerusalem descending from Heaven", and "The Future Home of the Christian; A Street in the New Jerusalem; The River of Life and Tree of Life — Golden Pavements — Magnificent Palaces with Jeweled Columns and Gilded Dome"<sup>42</sup>. Public receptivity in Brooklyn toward the "Visions of St. John" is now difficult to gauge, but both "moral" Bunyan panoramas, endorsed by clerics and convoyed by advertisements and promotional reports in newspapers, generated long-running attendance in Manhattan, while the newer Bunyan production twice alighted in Brooklyn during 1868.

By comparison visually reticent, Inness's *Triumph of the Cross* paled against these opulent rivals. What we might call the artist's conceptual indecision posed another problem. A sympathetic newspaper preview published only a few weeks before the trilogy's debut, reported shuffled titles and sequencings within the series as a whole — there characterized as a "unity... intended to convey the idea of Heaven in the city of the New Jerusalem and the two gates by which the city is entered" — and a more severe-sounding iconography for the New Jerusalem scene per se. There that image was said to represent the first rather than final image of the series, and to depict "the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem descending out of Heaven"<sup>43</sup>.

Insufficient outreach was a further hindrance. Neither the galleries exhibiting it nor agents for the artist advertised the *Triumph of the Cross* in the press; evidently Inness didn't use agents. As a result, Inness's *Triumph of the Cross* dovetailed inconclusively not only with panorama and theater presentations, but also with showings of Cole's cycle paintings during and after Cole's lifetime, and with those of newer individual American landscapes such as Frederic Church's *Damascus*. Nor did Inness regard his own cycle's constituent canvases, each funded by a different patron, as wedded to one

<sup>41</sup> *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 December 1867, 2.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 September 1867, 3.

<sup>43</sup> "Fine Arts" // *New York Evening Post*, 9 March 1867, 2. The *Evening Post* report entitled the New Jerusalem scene by itself "The Triumph of the Cross." Three months earlier (13 December 1866, 1), the *Evening Post* had called the forthcoming series as a whole "The Principle of the Cross."

another. When the *Triumph of the Cross* traveled unaccompanied by press advertising to Boston in late 1867 after exposures at two successive Manhattan venues, only the "Valley of the Shadow of Death" and "New Jerusalem" made the trip<sup>44</sup>. Further, during 1867 Inness's *Triumph of the Cross* was ignored by several metropolitan journals that usually covered the fine arts, and was criticized as well praised by those journals that did notice it<sup>45</sup>. Most out-of-town notices of the series's New York and Boston displays were routine reprintings or digests of previously published metropolitan news reports<sup>46</sup>. All three paintings were reunited at a New York gallery during 1868. Starting in the 1870s, the series's components began making individual public appearances. During the spring of 1882, for instance, Inness's "Valley of the Shadow of Death," which, thanks to its owner was then becoming the cycle's best-known image, participated in a loan show at the lately instituted Metropolitan Museum of Art. At that juncture a local writer, unaware of its lineage from Thomas Cole, termed the scene (Gustave) "Doresque"<sup>47</sup>. Meantime in March 1873, "New Jerusalem's" owner lent that painting, solo, to a group display of the Palette Association, a recently organized New York artists' club. There, response was muted. Forgetting the picture's prior exposures and diverted by surrounding works by other artists, local journalists either disregarded Inness's "New Jerusalem" or thought it at once "monotonous," "pleasing," stylistically passé, and, pointedly, "better than its name." One writer, indifferent to visual allegory, declared that the depicted scene, "a broad and sunny landscape, spacious and broken by pleasant hills and streams, with suggestive walls and towers in the distance... might as well be called Arcadia or the Land of Cockayne as what the artist has named it"<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> The two-scene Boston display, reported by the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, 16 October 1867, 2, and from there reiterated elsewhere (e.g., *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, 24 October 1867, 2; I thank Merl M. Moore, Jr., for this reference), was independently discussed by "Walpole," a Boston correspondent of the *Providence (Rhode Island) Daily Journal*, 21 October 1867, 1.

<sup>45</sup> The Providence source just cited (above, n45), and that in the *New York Evening Gazette* (above, n5), were among those negatively assessing the picture. Anonymous New York critics writing for the *New York Albion*, 18 May 1867, 237, and *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 May 1867, 2 (in the latter case, probably Clarence Cook), respectively, voiced further unfavorable opinions. These four citations are new to modern literature on Inness. The editors, or art writers, or both, of the *New York Evening Post* (cited above, n4) were the most ardent partisans of Inness's *Triumph of the Cross* series.

<sup>46</sup> For example, *Utica Morning Herald*, 16 March 1867, 1 (a reprise of the *New York Evening Post*'s preview report [above, n44]); *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 19 May 1867, 8; *Springfield (Massachusetts) Daily Republican*, 30 October 1867, 2; *Chicago Tribune*, 2 June 1867, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 8 November 1867, 2.

<sup>47</sup> "Fine Arts. Metropolitan Museum," *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 1 June 1882, 4.

<sup>48</sup> *New York Times*, 9 March 1873, 3; *New York Daily Tribune*, 19 March 1873, 5. No. 32 in the Palette exhibit of March 1873, Inness's "New Jerusalem" reverberated poorly in New



Misunderstanding and disapproval of this sort dogged Inness for most of his career. In 1878, while he verbally dueled the New York *Tribune's* principal art critic, Clarence Chatham Cook (1828–1900), the painter was also — as probably he had previously — placing handwritten explanatory verbiage near or on his canvases at the National Academy of Design. That this facet of Inness's literary propensities has been until now unknown to modern Inness scholarship, is unsurprising: evidently the ephemera in question were otherwise unrecorded by the artist and were seldom noted by journalists (although exhibition spectators must have read them). The postings loosely remind of Turner's verbal addenda to his paintings displayed during his lifetime at London's Royal Academy of Art; Inness had just voiced largely negative opinions about Turner<sup>49</sup>. An Academy insider during his lifetime, Turner had had his comparatively secular musings, many culled from an unfinished epic poem by himself entitled "The Fallacies of Hope", printed in Academy exhibit catalogues. By contrast, Inness's discrete verbal addenda emphasized, albeit puzzlingly so, the supernatural. Declaring that the painter appeared "to have been affected by an extraordinary attack of mysticism, which renders his work as abstruse as mottoes he has affixed to them", a skeptical New York correspondent for a Boston newspaper usefully transcribed one such Inness rumination in 1878: "Spirit of the living, breathe to me thy promises, clothing the vision of my hopes in all thy varied hues, touch thou that chord of pity for this quivering flesh, which raises my soul, to give it abundance". The reporter added: "To attempt to understand works

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York the next year, as well. When a painting (unlocated) of "Christian" and "Hopeful" near the Celestial City, a scene from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, by William Holbrook Beard (1824–1900), an animal specialist who occasionally delved allegory, was offered for sale in Manhattan during February 1874, a writer for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* newspaper (20 February 1874, 3) noticed "the gates of the Celestial City, the domes and towers of which are faintly shadowed in the distant heavens. This subject was once painted by George Inness on a larger scale, but his interpretation was as meaningless as Mr. Beard's is brilliant." A more sympathetic but still somewhat distanced assessment of Inness was offered by *Chicago Times's* (anonymous) art critic, in an article entitled "Exposition Pictures," *Chicago Times*, 19 September 1875, 4. The write-up was part of a serialized overview of a fine arts display at an industrial exposition that year in Chicago. There the writer, after having discussed Inness's art at some length, noted that "Mr. Inness has painted quite a number of allegorical scenic pictures, something in the character of [Thomas] Cole's subjects, but they are somewhat vague and ideal. His 'Sign of Promise,' and 'A Vision of Faith,' although meritorious as landscapes, require the sympathetic soul of a poet to comprehend fully their meaning. His last works of this kind are the 'Apocalyptic Vision of the New Jerusalem' and 'River of Life.'"

<sup>49</sup> I refer to a portion of Inness's published interview, "A Painter on Painting," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 56 (February 1878), 459–60; reprinted in Quick and Cikovsky 1985 (above, n 3), 205–208. Well known to modern scholars, the piece was also renowned, or notorious, in Inness's day. See especially *New York Evening Post*, 15 January 1878, 2, 4; *Appleton's Journal* (New York) 4 (March 1878), 291–292.

composed under such influences would surely be a task for beings of other worlds than ours"<sup>50</sup>.

Audience problematics aside, I can now suggest that Inness unobtrusively infused his art with his Swedenborgian beliefs over an extended period, and, further, that his aesthetic expressions of spirituality mingled multiple inspirations — that he was, so to speak, a mixed metaphysician. By temperament both accessible and argumentative, Inness often said that there should be more to a painting than met the eye; in 1878 he declared that "the true use of art, is, first, to cultivate the artist's own spiritual nature"<sup>51</sup>. In 1865, two years prior to his *Triumph of the Cross* series, he completed a small canvas, *Over the River* (Fig. 9)<sup>52</sup>. The title evoked a meditative, then-exceptionally popular American poem, "Over the River," by Nancy Priest Wakefield (1836–1870). First published in 1857, the poem was frequently reprinted into the twentieth century; the opening stanza refers to "the gates of the city we could not see"<sup>53</sup>. Inness soon sold his picture to a Cincinnati, Ohio, collector, who shortly passed it to another Cincinnati owner. In 1868, an anonymous Cincinnati journalist with insider sensitivity to Inness's picture wrote about — we might say, revealed — the painting:

...The scene is a simple one-two persons, a man and a woman, are walking by the shore of a stream of water... Beyond the river, for a space, there is a stretch of forest, with possible hills and valley therein, but it is all in heavy shadow, obscure, mysterious, and doubt-

<sup>50</sup> W.W.N., "N.Y. Academy of Design," *Boston Post*, 12 April 1878, 4. The writer did not specify to which of the three paintings Inness showed that year at the annual (spring) exhibition of National Academy of Design the transcribed "motto" applied. Michael Quick informs me that only one of those canvases by Inness, *The Rainbow* (private collection), is traceable today.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g., a reference new to modern Inness bibliography, his lecture at the Boston Art Club in April 1875, transcribed by the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 12 April 1875, 4; and the aforementioned interview (above, n49), "A Painter on Painting," of 1878; my text quotation is from the latter source. Inness's proponents, e.g., the Cincinnati writer of 1875 (below, n52), also said that the artist painted "something more than the objective character[s]" of his chosen themes.

<sup>52</sup> Michael Quick provided me with essential assistance concerning the painting's present-day identity. Previously it had been known only through a historically recorded title, cited by Ireland in his catalogue raisonné of 1965 (above, n3). My text quotation is from "Fine Arts. Mr. Joseph Longworth's Collection [Third Article.]" // *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, 20 September 1868, 5.

<sup>53</sup> I learned of the poem and its former fame through an article, reprinted from a Cleveland journal, in the *Worcester (Mass.) Daily Spy*, 5 April 1882, 4. The writer of 1882, whose reporting was incomplete, rightly noted that the poem, originally printed by the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican* newspaper on 22 August 1857, "was extensively copied; probably none ever had a wider newspaper circulation." See especially N.A.W. (Priest) Wakefield, *Over the River and Other Poems*, Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1883; the volume was edited and compiled by the deceased author's mother.

ful. But past that [,] the heart finds the great city with its twelve gates and its streets of gold. Just hovering upon the horizon's edge, on the earth and in the clouds, faintly seen, but to the eye of faith forever there, in all its goodness and glory, appears the New Jerusalem. The heaven above is full of beauty, and is filled with clouds of purple and gold, with exquisite gradations and delicate hues, as could only come from the hand of inspiration.

Thirdly (finally), Nathaniel Hawthorne's verbal references to "New Jerusalem" in *The Scarlet Letter* and Inness's painted *New Jerusalems*, plural, redounded with modern visualizations on American soil of the actual Jerusalem. Among those I would cite three and highlight two: Giuseppe Verdi's (1813–1901) operas, especially *I Lombardi alla prima crociata*, which in 1847, as Hawthorne would have known, became the first Verdi opera performed in the United States<sup>54</sup>; Frederic Church's large-scale studio painting, *Jerusalem* (1870; exhibited 1871; Fig. 10), in preparation for which Church had visited Jerusalem in 1868; and William Wetmore Story's (1819–1895) sculpture, modeled and carved in Rome, *Jerusalem in her Desolation* (1870–1871; exhibited 1873; Fig. 11).

Church's painting and Story's sculpture bring us full circle. Both were conceived while the actual Jerusalem was being flooded with American tourists, and was undergoing serious archaeological probing by the British Palestine Exploration Fund, which William Hepworth Dixon had helped found. The Fund's widely read report was published in London in early 1871. Moreover, Church's and Story's works redounded with two blockbuster European envisionings of Jerusalem from the 1860s, brought during the 1870s to the United States as though to their land of destiny. They were Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Golgotha (It is Finished)* (1867; Fig. 12)<sup>55</sup>, and Henry Selous's paired paintings, *Jerusalem in her Grandeur* and *Jerusalem in her Fall* (both completed 1860; see Figs. 13, 14)<sup>56</sup>. Lost for part of the twentieth century, Gérôme's was re-

<sup>54</sup> I discussed the New York premier of Verdi's *I Lombardi*, and the accompanying stage scenery by Italian specialists depicting Jerusalem, in Carr 2000 (above, n17), 41–42.

<sup>55</sup> Previewed in 1867 by French press reports, some of which reached the USA, and premiered at the Paris Salon of 1868, Gérôme's painting was re-shown at the London's Royal Academy in 1870 before coming to the USA in late 1871. There, besides being acquired by a New York collector, it was widely discussed at and beyond its initial exhibition venues in Manhattan and Brooklyn (1873). A re-showing at the Union League Club of New York in January 1875, and another at American Centennial celebrations held in New York in mid-1876, again attracted considerable attention. In a commentary on the engraving of the picture, a writer for the *Brooklyn (New York) Daily Eagle*, 4 January 1872, 2, compared the scene to Church's *Jerusalem*. A recent reference to the work is *Marchesseau Daniel, et al.*, Pierre Loti: Fantômes d'Orient, exh. cat., Paris, Musée de la Vie Romantique, 2006, 92–93.

<sup>56</sup> Widely noticed at their exhibitions in New York, Boston, and Chicago, 1872–1874, Selous's pictures were accompanied by a descriptive pamphlet and further popularized by engrav-

cently recovered and acquired by the Musée d'Orsay. Selous's larger panorama-size canvases are still lost.

Church tried to be topographically faithful while evoking the optical allure of "Jerusalem the Golden" viewed at a distance — what American travelers of the day called "the most magnificent, unearthly vision which has ever passed before us", "the longed-for view", and "the great sight of all our lives"<sup>57</sup>. Contrastingly, Story's neo-Greco-Roman sculpture personified Jerusalem's recurring victimization, what another American initiate to the city called "the vision of a discrowned queen, sitting mute upon her sad throne of lonely limestone"<sup>58</sup>. The "desolation" of the statue's title was inflicted by King Nebuchchadnezzar in 586 B.C., as recounted in the Biblical *Lamentations* of Jeremiah. The figure was also meant to evoke what Anne Brewster (1819–1892), an articulate, frequent American visitor to Story's Rome studio in 1871, termed, alternately, "the whole anguish of nations" and "the grief of nations"<sup>59</sup> — subjugations of modern Rome itself and of modern Paris taking place at that moment, as well as historic Jerusalem's despoliation by the Emperor Titus in 70 A.D. "Story's Jerusalem," Brewster continued, "looks over the great desert of human wrong, divine judgment, and endless, endless grief!"<sup>60</sup>

Frederic Church knew about the ancient Roman desecration. In 1869–1871 with Church's help, his compatriot, George P. A. Healy, depicted Church and selected Americans then living in Rome, at the Arch of Titus in Rome (dated 1871; Fig. 15); the actual arch boasted Titus's plunder of Jerusalem<sup>61</sup>. In his picture of Jerusalem (Fig. 10), Church shrouds the valley beneath the city

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ings. My reproductions of the prints in Carr 2000 (above n 17), 94, were probably the first in modern times.

<sup>57</sup> "Randolph", "Oriental Sketches" // *New York Dispatch*, 21 May 1859, 2; "From the Holy Land" // *Springfield (Massachusetts) Daily Republican*, 1 June 1868, 2; Charles Dudley Warner, *In the Levant*, Boston, James R. Osgood, 1877, 24.

<sup>58</sup> *Appleton Th. G. Syrian Sunshine*. Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1877, 43.

<sup>59</sup> *Brewster Anne*. "Letter from Rome" // *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, 9 March 1871, 2; *Idem*, "Rome" // *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 31 March 1871, 2; *Idem*, "Rome" // *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 May 1871, 2. The basic modern reference to the marble sculpture (of which there is another, later version of 1879, on loan to the High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia), is *Gadzinski S. J. and Cunningham M. M., et al. American Sculpture in the Museum of American Art of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Philadelphia, Museum of American Art of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 1997, 51–52.*

<sup>60</sup> Brewster "Letter from Rome" (above, n 49).

<sup>61</sup> Besides Church, Healy's painting portrays Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and his daughter, Edith, beneath the arch, Healy bending over Church, and the painter Jervis McEntee, a former pupil of Church. The painting was a collaboration of all three artists depicted. McEntee presumably assisted with the Colosseum seen through the arch, and Church with arch itself and the sky seen through the arch. A previously unnoticed reference to the painting in its early stage is: "Letter from Rome," *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, 5 June 1869, 1.

in shadow while lifting the urban platform with an immense halo curtained by clouds on either side. According to a sympathetic New York writer, "[in the painting] the veiling of the west beyond the City with April clouds accords with the mystery of the future"<sup>62</sup>. Indeed, it *is* April, Easter, in Jerusalem. It was Easter in America, as well. The canvas was given its public premiere in New York from late March through April, roughly usual for debut displays of Church's major works, but I think significant. Church's image merged the downtrodden city with the enduring one, the earthly municipality with the "new" Jerusalem. The perceptive New York writer of 1871 just quoted, summarized the painting this way: "There is a mingling of sadness and glory that touches the time-worn city with prophetic sunlight, wherein Hope may appear above the crumbling walls [of] Jerusalem the Golden".

Джеральд Карр

АМЕРИКАНСКИЕ «НОВЫЕ ИЕРУСАЛИМЫ»  
В 1690–1890-Х ГОДАХ

Натаниель Готторн (1804–1864) в своем самом знаменитом романе «Алая буква» (1850) дважды употребил выражение «Новый Иерусалим» в отношении раздираемого конфликтами Массачусетса. Оба раза он упоминал позолоченные мостовые и монеты «Нового Иерусалима». На первый взгляд, цитаты из Готторна указывают на бросающуюся в глаза роскошь города и на необходимость поисков Искушения, однако возможно, что это не так, поскольку те же выражения использовались в других контекстах.

Что именно представляла картина четыре на шесть футов величиной, названная «Новый Иерусалим», исполненная американским пейзажистом Джорджем Иннесом Старшим (1825–1894)? Это было последнее полотно из триптиха, который Иннес назвал «Триумф креста»; в триптих входили также композиции «Долина смертных теней» и «Видение веры». Картина была завершена и показана публике в мае 1867 г. на Манхеттене, затем, прежде чем вернуть в Нью-Йорк для дальнейшего экспонирования, «Триумф креста» отправили на выставку в Бостон. К сожалению, до наших дней сохранилась только «Долина смертных теней», два других полотна исчезли. В пресс-релизе, опубликованном Иннесом к моменту демонстрации триптиха в Нью-Йорке,

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<sup>62</sup> "Fanchon", "Art and Artists. Church's Painting of Jerusalem" // *New York Independent*, 20 April 1871, 2. Working from New York City, the same writer supported Church on other occasions in reviews published before and after 1870 in New York and Chicago.

Что мог подразумевать под выражением «Новый Иерусалим» Натаниель Готторн, уроженец города Салема в Массачусетсе, в середине века, учитывая историко-литературный контекст его сочинения? Что могли думать об этом его читатели, которых он считал готовыми к пониманию? И каково было послание Джорджа Иннеса, уроженца Ньюбурга, штат Нью-Йорк, работавшего в 1867–1868 гг. над аллегорическими картинами, в целом не типичными для его творчества, своей образностью и усложненностью продолжавшими дидактическое направление в живописи, начатое в 1830–1840-х гг. рожденным в Англии американским художником Томасом Коулом (1801–1848)? При этом следует учитывать, что к 1860-м гг. большинство американских художественных критиков и художников уже рассматривали серии картин Коула как нечто устаревшее.

Как я показываю в данной работе, эти вопросы касаются представлений американцев о реальном Иерусалиме, а также происхождения, распространения, ассоциаций и границ концепции «Нового Иерусалима» в сознании жителей Соединенных Штатов. Разнообразные, изменчивые и, зачастую, внутренне противоречивые, эти представления или даже верования, разделяемые такими личностями, как Конрад Черри, Джон Дэвис или Аннабел Уортон, проистекали из убежденности американцев-колонистов, что Северная Америка — это Новый Израиль, а также из «глубокого чувства, вызываемого самим именем Иерусалима, поскольку этот город тесно связан с нашими величайшими интересами» (слова одного нью-йоркского лектора, произнесенные в 1853 г.). В более узком смысле эти верования направляли американские утопические проекты XIX в., в общей сложности к ним можно причислить и американское сведенборгианство, и мормонское движение; современное американское протестантское богословие и проповеди; станковую живопись; архитектурные модели и живописные панорамы; путешествия по Ближнему Востоку и археологию, которой занимались американцы и европейцы; импортированную в Штаты итальянскую оперу; часто переиздававшуюся христианскую аллегорическую поэму «Путь паломника» (впервые изданную в 1678 г.) английского писателя и духовного деятеля Джона Баннера (1628–1688) и ее визуализации понятия «Новый Иерусалим» в период с 1850-х по 1880-е гг. Пока

достаточно коротких ремарок. Во-первых, американское восприятие самоидентичности, американский «эксперимент», как его зачастую называют местные комментаторы, остался не завершенным на протяжении всего XIX в. Например, в «Алой букве» Готторн воссоздал неудачную историю американской квази-утопической общины, которой обязан существованием его родной город Салем, причем само название восходит к книге Бытия 14, слово это означает по-еврейски «мир» и читалось как Иеру-салим. Название «Салем» по сей день доминирует в американских урбанистических названиях, связанных с древними коннотациями; однако «Иерусалим» сегодня встречается не часто, а «Новый Иерусалим» и вовсе редко. Современные американские социальные рассуждения имеют отношение и к Готторну: слово «утопия» можно найти на первой странице «Алой буквы». Сам Готторн предпринял позднее масштабное, в большей мере общественное, чем богословское, утопическое начинание, основав в 1840-х гг. общину Брук Фарм в Вест Роксберри, Массачусетс. Он прожил в Брук Фарм около года, истратил все свои сбережения и утратил веру в идею, а затем в буквальном смысле бросил все это.

Во-вторых, многие образованные американцы в 1850–1860-х гг., несомненно, распознавали в аллюзии Готторна на «Новый Иерусалим» в «Алой букве», равно как и в картине Джорджа Иннеса, наследие Эмануэля Сведенборга (1688–1772), шведского христианского мистика, умершего в Лондоне. Его труд «Новый Иерусалим и его небесное учение» (1758) побуждал американских последователей Сведенбога, начиная с 1780-х гг. и во все большем масштабе после 1800 г., публиковать прозелитские писания и основывать Церкви или Общества «Нового Иерусалима» (или, попросту, Новые Церкви), так что имя «Новый Иерусалим» прижилось в названиях улиц и целых городов. При сравнительно небольшом количестве официальных приверженцев, американские сведенборгианцы имели непропорционально большое влияние: северо-восток и средний запад Соединенных Штатов пережили широкие волны увлечения сведенбогианским «Новым Иерусалимом» в 1800-х, 1840-х, а затем, в меньшей степени, в 1860-х гг. Привлекательные и в то же время противоречивые, священные пространства сведенборгианцев были продуктом деятельности «Новых церквей». Выражение «Новый Иерусалим» с конца XVIII в. и на протяжении всего XIX в. в США и на относящихся к ним территориях наиболее тесно было связано именно с движением сведенборгианцев. Джордж Иннес стал убежденным сведенбогианцем к 1860-м гг. Другие американские художники, известные и не очень, в частности, эмигрант скульптор Хирам Пауэрс (1805–1873), много путешествовавший по миру друг Пауэрса живописец Майнер Келлог (1814–1889), Уильям Пейдж (1811–1885),

друг Иннеса, а позднее и живописец Ральф Блейклок (1847–1919) тоже были сведенборгианцами.

В-третьих, вербальные упоминания «Нового Иерусалима» в «Алой букве» Готторна и в картине «Новый Иерусалим» Иннеса отражаются и в современных визуализациях реального Иерусалима на американской почве. Среди них я выделил бы три примера: оперы Джузеппе Верди (1813–1901), в особенности *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* («Ломбардцы в первом крестовом походе»), которая была показана в марте 1847 г. в оперном театре Пальмо в Нью-Йорке, о чем должен был знать и Готторн, это была первая опера Верди, поставленная в США; затем монументальная картина Фредерика Эдвина Чёрча 1870 г. «Иерусалим» (музей Нельсона-Аткинса в Канзас-сити, Миссури), при создании которой Чёрч посетил Иерусалим в 1868 г.; и, наконец, изготовленная в Риме скульптура Уильяма Уитмора Стори «Иерусалим заброшенный» (показана публике в 1873 г., выставлена в Высоком музее искусств, Атланта, Джорджия).





1. New Jerusalem Monastery near Moscow, June 2006 (photo: author)



2. Village of New Jerusalem, Berks County, Pennsylvania, February 2006 (photo: author).



3. *George Inness, Sr.*, “New Jerusalem”, from *The Triumph of the Cross*, 1867, oil on canvas. As reconstituted at Baltimore, Maryland, The Walters Art Gallery, May 2006 (photo: author).



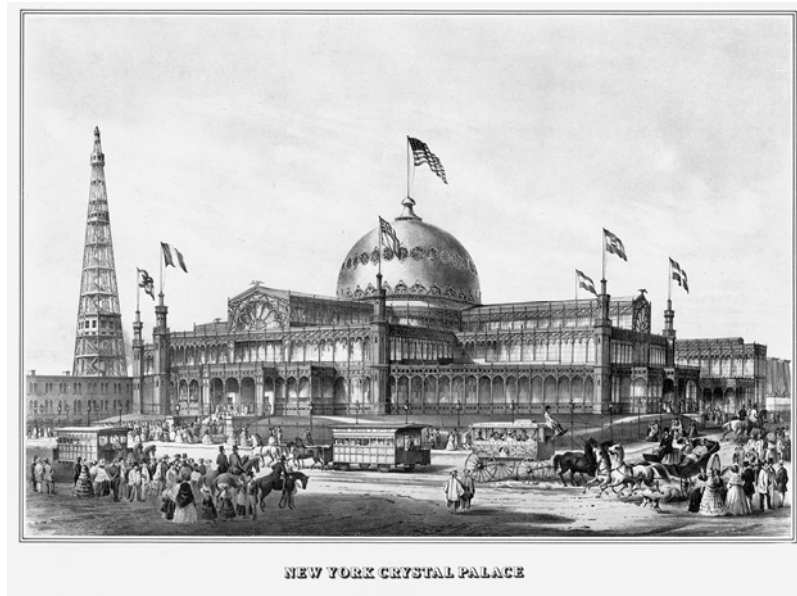
4. *Thomas Moran*, Chasm of the Colorado, 1874, oil on canvas. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of the Interior, on loan to Washington, D.C., Smithsonian American Art Museum



5. *Thomas Moran*, *Mountain of the Holy Cross*, 1875, oil on canvas. Los Angeles, Museum of the American West collection, Autry National Center



6. After *Thomas Moran*, “And I Beheld the New Jerusalem Coming Down from God Out of Heaven”, 1882, chromolithograph. Photo: author, by permission of the Division of Prints and Drawings, New York Public Library



7. New York Crystal Palace (constructed 1853; burned 1858), chromolithograph by Currier and Ives



8. *Frederic Edwin Church*, Oil study for “Damascus” (1869), 1868, oil on paper. Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York



9. *George Inness, Sr., Over the River, 1865, oil on canvas. Private collection*



10. *Frederic Edwin Church, Jerusalem 1870, oil on canvas. Kansas City, Missouri Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art*



11. *William Wetmore Story*, *Jerusalem in her Desolation*, 1870–1871, marble. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (photo: author)



12. *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, *Golgotha (It is Finished)*, 1867, oil on canvas. Paris, Musée d'Orsay

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13a, b. Engravings after *Henry Selous*, "Jerusalem in her Grandeur" and "Jerusalem in her Fall" (both completed 1860). London, British Museum



14. *George P. A. Healy, Frederic Edwin Church, and Jervis McEntee, The Arch of Titus, begun 1869, completed 1871, oil on canvas. Newark, New Jersey, Museum of Art*