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Deconstructing a Scrapbook House

BY JEANNE SOLENSKY

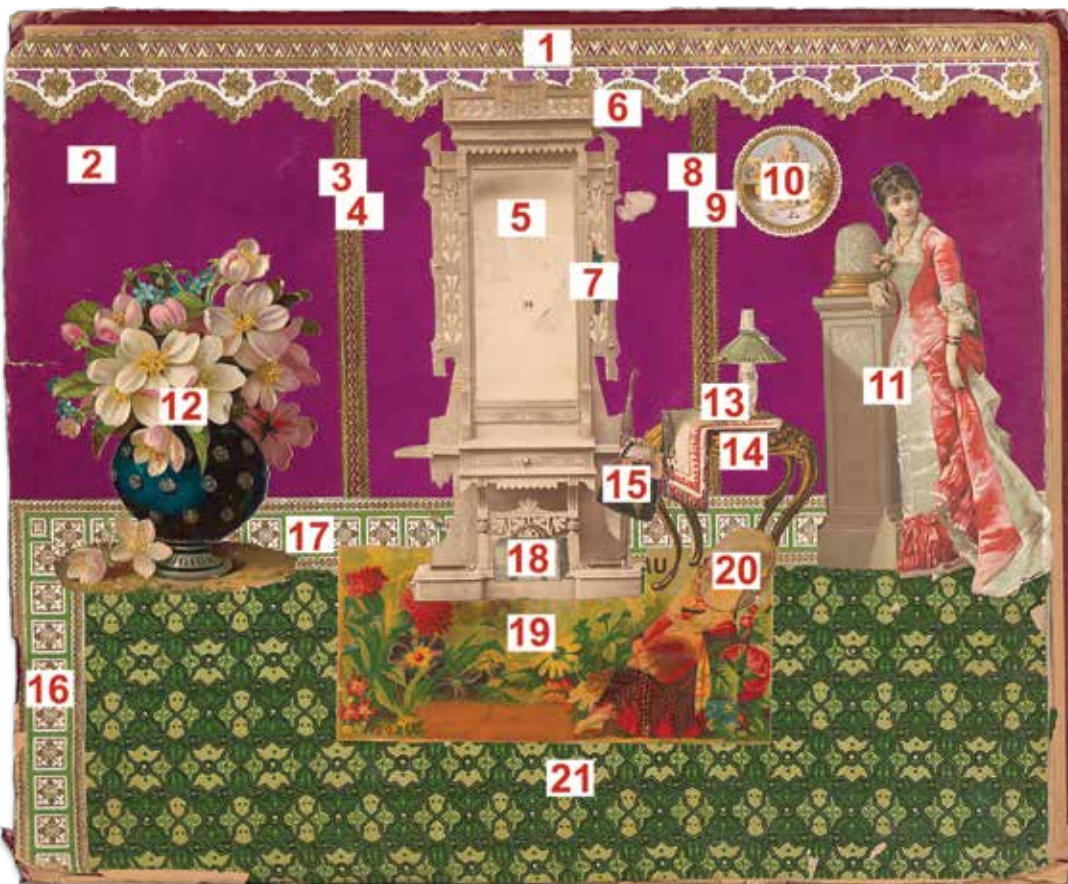
“Materials Required: A large blank book with a stiff cover, and preferably with unruled pages, A number of old magazines, Some pieces of wall paper the size of the book’s pages, Several pieces of lace or other fancy paper, A tube of paste, Scissors.”¹

With such common, everyday materials, and a healthy dose of imagination, children created book houses for their delicate paper dolls who were “always floating about the nursery in the most lonesome sort of way, and getting under people’s feet and having their clothes torn.”² Book houses or paper doll houses, a subgenre of scrapbooking that rose in popularity in the last decades of the

19th century, were designed by arranging scraps into domestic interior scenes. Touted as an antidote for ennui during inclement weather, this activity occupied children for seemingly endless stretches of time. [Figure 1]

Basic instruction on structure and assemblage that still allowed much autonomy in the design process was provided in books and articles in contemporaneous women’s newspapers and magazines such as *Godey’s Lady Book* and *Harper’s Bazaar*. Cost and availability of materials were first considered by encouraging children to use and re-use items on hand. If a new scrapbook

proved too expensive or difficult to obtain, an old ledger, phone book, or city directory could easily double as a foundation. Children scoured available magazines, newspapers, books, and store catalogs chock-full of illustrations for appropriate pieces, and after exhausting these could request more catalogs from department stores. Once materials were assembled, children then constructed room settings by positioning pieces before adhering them to the page. Directions sometimes called for an exterior or doorway as the first page; otherwise a hall followed by a parlor, a dining room, a kitchen, and bedrooms to simulate one’s experience of moving through a house, and gardens and outdoor spaces at the end if desired. Double page spreads designed as one room added more dimensionality



A collaged room setting with 21 items identified and analyzed. (Technical Study of a Victorian Scrapbook House)

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Well. When I wrote the intro letter for the January issue of this, our Journal, none of us had a clue that by the time Spring of 2020 began we would all be living in a profoundly changed country and world. This immediate COVID-19 crisis will eventually pass one way or another, but our culture will most certainly be altered in ways which will not be ephemeral. Though we cannot yet know in detail what sorts of permanent changes to our day-to-day lives will come, we know that they will. This is a time of dis-orientation, uncertainty, and insecurity (Joyce Meyer).

May you and yours, one and all, weather this medical and economic storm intact.

When it comes to self-isolation at home, hobbyists—including ephemerists of course—do have an advantage over much of the public...we can simply continue with things we would be doing anyhow: organizing, restoring, researching, writing, enjoying material. Likewise for museum and organizational professionals in the field, to the extent that they are able find ways to do much of their work from home. The hardest hit of our comrades are likely our dealers, who all of a sudden and for who knows how long have far fewer ways to make their livings. They can offer material online, but only time will tell whether a public suddenly out of work and with diminished investments and retirement funds will be willing to part with much disposable income again anytime soon. Organizational endowments have taken significant hits, which are likely to bring reductions to their acquisitions budgets.

The situation brings some insecurity to your Society as well. Our membership is our lifeblood, figuratively and literally. The dues and other support that comes from our loyal and generous members is what has allowed the Ephemera Society to exist and grow for 40 years. We enjoy a membership camaraderie which sets us apart from many other organizations. In this year of turmoil, we very much need the continuing support of each and every member. Ironically, we had just recently launched and re-invigorated our website and our social media accounts, and as a result have been attracting new eyes and new members.

Your Board of Directors recently took immediate action to balance our annual budget, in light of the losses incurred because the annual conference and fair having to be postponed to 2021, and in light of economic uncertainties. This year we now plan to publish two issues of this Journal rather than the usual three, and we voted to cease paying for social media posting services until 2021. Both measures were distasteful, but unavoidable. But on a positive note, we now are hoping that the year might be able to proceed as originally planned. Many members converted their conference and banquet fees into donations to help the cause, and others are generously responding to our recent appeal for supplemental support. This is very encouraging, and if it keeps up we may be able to publish three issues in 2020 after all. We shall see. Additionally, our web and social media professional, Gary Horsman, has most generously volunteered to continue his services feeding fresh material into our several social media accounts throughout the rest of the year, gratis. Gary has also joined ESA as a member.

Though now we must deal with the ongoing significant changes to America's cultural environment, ESA's goals remain constant and we plan to exist, and to expand our family, for decades to come. Your help will help, whatever you might be able to spare, whatever time you might have available to assist, whatever exhibits or articles you could put together for us to post on the website.

Perhaps a nationwide group project might be initiated, to assemble an archive of 2020 pandemic ephemera...? Perhaps in conjunction



Continued on next page

2020 Philip Jones Fellowship

Kelly Morgan is the 2020 recipient of The Philip Jones Fellowship. A Doctoral Candidate in History and Culture, and a Caspersen Fellow at Drew University, Madison NJ, Kelly's project is centered on trade cards. She plans to map storefront locations in New York City based on advertised addresses on the cards, and to use census data, towards discovering possible recipients and consumers. Her dissertation will be based on this work, but she also plans a digital humanities-driven website where audiences of all ages could interact with late-nineteenth century New York City consumer culture.



Obituary

Sally de Beaumont (1948-2020), the former Sarah Anne Banning of Pittsburgh and Vicomtesse Sarah du Boscq de Beaumont of Paris, was twice the founder of an Ephemera Society. In 1975 she helped Maurice Rickards build the foundations of the British Society. In 1979, at a Sotheby's on-site auction in New Hampshire, she helped plan our American Society with Calvin P. Otto, William Frost Mobley and Emily Davis Mobley. She was a keen supporter of both Societies throughout her life.

Sally began collecting ephemera while living in France where pieces from her collection were loaned for the 2008 exhibition, "Images en couleur" at the Musée de l'imprimerie, in Lyon. She was particularly fond of American trade cards, but her discerning and playful eye was attracted by a wide range of material.

One of her lasting contributions to our field was as an editor, with Michael Twyman, of the *Encyclopedia of Ephemera* (Routledge 2000), reviewing every entry. In London, she served on the board of the Ephemera Society both before and after a term as Chairman, and she helped organize the first visit of the American Society to London in 2005.

A generous hostess and sparkling conversationalist, she could take you to a hole-in-the-wall club, or entertain you at an English tea. For many of us, Sally was the welcoming face of London. She will be greatly missed.



Sally de Beaumont in 2015 on the piazza of the Liberal Club, Whitehall, at the banquet celebrating the 40th anniversary of The Ephemera Society.

President's Message (continued)

with one or more of our member institutions and organizations serving as a repository? It will be a bit challenging, both because our individual mobility is so limited at the moment, and because so much material that once would have been printed is now created and delivered digitally. But keep an eye on your (disinfected) mail stream, examine bulletin boards, spot posters on telephone poles. When you find yourself out and about, sharpen your hunter-gatherer instincts, see what you can bring home to our tribe! In addition some of us could begin to assemble an archival digital collection of related ephemeral materials.

Meanwhile, you hold in your hands another fine edition of *The Ephemera Journal*. Enjoy!

Dick

Richard Sheaff, President

In this Issue...

Over the last 40 years of its life, The Ephemera Society of America has broadened the definition of what constitutes ephemera — and this issue delves into material not often considered.

Bruce Shyer makes the case, for **Malcolm Whyte's** Rembrandt etching, that such relatively inexpensive images of ordinary folk were a form of 17th century popular culture.

Periodicals that provided lithographed images in the late 19th century were another way that images reached a broad audience. In homage to our 2020 mid-year meeting in Portland, Oregon, **Craig Clinton** presents several published views of the Northwest masterfully produced by Alfred Burr.

Picture postcards were at their most popular during World War I, and **William Moskoff** shows how a close reading of comic images on French cards reveals the contempt of the ordinary Frenchman for the German Kaiser.

As **John Okolowicz** points out, employee magazines were rarely saved and both their content and production values helps us understand the culture of the workplace in the 20th century.

Scrapbook houses are well appreciated by both private and institutional collectors, but **Jeanne Solensky's** approach to analyzing the provenance of particular scraps, and then analyzing chemical properties of the inks, is novel.

—Diane DeBlois, editor



Figure 1. Photograph of girls “planning a book house.” The Child’s Rainy Day Book by Mary White 1905 (Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection)

House That Glue Built”.³ These books featured pre-made room settings with uncut sheets of figures and furnishings, the latter numbered to correspond to a diagram for perfect placement. [Figure 2] The finished pages undoubtedly produced a much more polished effect over handmade albums, but certainly robbed children of the thrill of the hunt and the freedom of choice.

Approximately a dozen scrapbook houses, also cataloged as “collage albums,” are in the Winterthur Library’s Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera. Designed for play rather than posterity, they rarely include information on provenance or production dates. Only two albums have full names inscribed inside the covers. Whether these are the names of the owner or the creator of the collaged pages is unknown. For example, May Durgin, who marked her volume with a date of 1887, may have only *owned* the 1875 geography textbook that features one collaged dining room scene. As Durgin’s book illustrates, dates are extremely tricky to assign; these scrapbooks may have been created well after the production of their gently used elements. Repurposed published or secondhand materials, like an 1894 calendar pasted on a volume’s cover, recognizable pieces of commercially available merchandise or illustrations of 1876 Centennial Exhibition buildings can supply a “circa” date for some albums. Instructional articles published between 1880 and 1910,⁴ establish a range of roughly three decades for the activity, with a 1906 author already lamenting that her

to albums when propped open for play. Paper dolls could be glued onto pages, inserted into slits cut into scraps, or kept loose inside for greater mobility among rooms.

Besides curing idleness, crafting these houses offered numerous benefits. Children learned principles of interior design, most notably in perspective and proportion, practiced patience and persistence, and honed their creativity. However, the pastime was a victim of its own success. Publishers cashed in on the craze in the early 1900s with activity books like “The



Figure 2. Page of nursery furnishings, some with numbers. Note the room diagram in the lower right corner. The House That Glue Built (Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection)

childhood pastime was “rather old, perhaps out of fashion among the little girls. It may be the mothers have forgotten to tell the modern children about them!”⁵

The Winterthur albums have been examined by scholars researching children’s amusements, amateur interior decorating and the private spaces of Victorian homes such as bedrooms, nurseries, and servants’ quarters, which were rarely photographed. Although they do provide context for several research topics, the lack of creator identifications and definitive dates have hindered further scholarship.

In the spring of 2019, the Winterthur Library became the setting for a fortuitous collaboration. Research fellow Christina Michelin returned to work on a book evolving from her dissertation on “printcraft,” her term for the 19th century practice of repurposing mass-produced images from printed sources into artistic collages, decoupages, and scrapbooks.⁶ She had studied the library’s most elaborately decorated scrapbook house in the John and Carolyn Grossman Collection. Hoping to discover more about its contents, I had proposed the same album earlier that year for a technical study by Yan Ling Choi, a library and archives major in the Winterthur/University of Delaware Program in Art Conservation (WUDPAC). The three of us gathered together to share current findings and discuss further avenues of research. This combination of visual and technical analysis proved most effective in deconstructing the album.

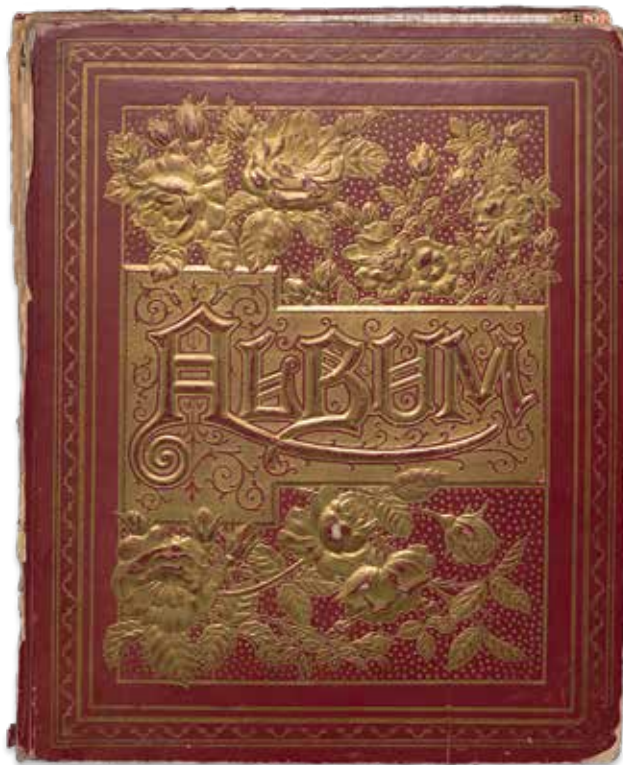


Figure 3. Front cover of Helen’s scrapbook house. (Winterthur Library, John and Carolyn Grossman Collection)



Figure 4. Inside front cover of Helen’s scrapbook house. (Winterthur Library, John and Carolyn Grossman Collection)

Helen’s Scrapbook House

The exterior architecture of the scrapbook house consists of an album measuring 15 inches high by 12 inches wide with red covers and 12 leaves. A pattern of roses nearly encompassing the entire front cover surrounds the word “Album” embossed in large gilt letters. [Figure 3] Inside the front cover colorful letters spell “HELEN,” the name of its likely creator or owner; for the purpose of this article, Helen will be referred to as the album’s creator. [Figure 4]

While Helen could have repurposed an old volume as many articles suggest, she chose to purchase a new album to create her fancy scrapbook house. Searching dozens of stationers’ trade catalogs in the Winterthur Library’s collection, I found a similar album in an 1891 catalog retailing for \$7.00 per dozen, or approximately 58 cents each.⁷ This album was sold in black with a slightly different floral pattern, but the lettering of the title “Album,” its overall measurements, and the number of leaves are the same. The close comparison to Helen’s album helped to identify its production date.

Upon opening the album, one is immediately struck by how completely the pages are covered with meticulous, artistic arrangements of chromolithographed scraps. The first two pages show exterior scenes with many illustrations of imposing structures, one fortress-like and European in nature, that symbolize the aspirational quality of these albums. Birds, most likely sourced from natural history textbooks, appear on both pages and



Figure 5. Collaged page of Helen's scrapbook house with two scraps from Peter Henderson & Co.'s seed catalogs. (Winterthur Library, John and Carolyn Grossman Collection)

several figures enjoy the lush lawns and gardens in the second scene. While researching her dissertation chapter on scrapbook houses, Christina identified the image of a young girl mowing a lawn near a cluster of giant flowers [Figure 5] as the cover of Peter Henderson and Co.'s 1889 seed catalog.⁸ [Figure 6] With this as a starting point, I searched several dozen seed catalogs in the library's collection and the Biodiversity Heritage Library's digital collections for matches of other floral scraps. Between the years 1887 and 1895, colorful chromolithographed illustrations were featured prominently on the covers and interior pages of trade catalogues until they were replaced by photomechanical images near the end of the century. Fortunately, an image of a seated child and dog adjacent to the previously identified one appeared on the cover of an 1890 catalog from the same firm. [Figure 7] A page titled "Henderson's Garden Gems" from the same catalog supplied five other floral pieces in two bedroom scenes.⁹

[Figures 8, 9, 10] Although scraps of large hyacinths, tulips, and irises in the same two scenes most likely also originated in seed catalogs, I was unable to identify them from this search. Can these two Peter Henderson catalogs provide a clue to where Helen lived? Peter Henderson and Co. of New York City began operation in the 1840s, continuing beyond its founder's death in 1890. As the firm managed a huge mail order business for many decades, it is impossible to tell whether Helen lived nearby in the greater New York City area or simply received her seed catalogues in the mail.

Helen next guides us through a progression of rooms, bypassing a front doorway as recommended, and dutifully moving from public to private spaces by first presenting a reception area with a hall tree and mirror, then living areas, a dining room, bedrooms, and a kitchen. Several rooms seem to serve similar purposes, but she failed to identify them as did some creators with an inscription on the back of the page. Helen carefully arranged the scraps before fixing them to the pages, another suggestion found in how-to articles. Furnishings in rooms appear to be taken from the same trade catalogs. Plain and decorative papers and needlework patterns act as wall and floor

coverings with Dresden trim for valances, frames, wall decorations, and curtain trimmings. Curtains of tissue paper edged with lace are placed at an angle to suggest a slight breeze coming through the window. Seated and standing figures, mostly women and children, at play or at rest populate several rooms. One woman cans fruit in the kitchen. A lone boy playing with a cat suggests that Helen may have had a young brother in real life as in her imaginary one. Most of the figures are glued into place with three inserted behind beds and a bassinet. With some rooms devoid of figures, Helen may have also played with loose paper dolls that were moved between rooms.

Despite all materials except for tissue paper being printed, no visible brand names offer further clues to sources or dates. However, several intriguing pieces warrant further investigations. Two pages have framed portrait photos on the walls. Were these cut from printed materials or could these have been personal photos glued

into the album? One set of window curtains is constructed from tissue paper with Chinese characters and colorful patterns reminiscent of ads for the Asian importing company, A.A. Vantine, based in New York City. While the material does not match two ads found in Winterthur Library's collection, additional research into advertising ephemera for Vantine and similar importing firms may pin down its source.

With the exception of a few oversize pieces and some mounted askew, the young album creator demonstrates that she had gained an awareness of proportion. As Marion Dudley Richards, writes in her 1902 article, "Fun with Paper Dolls," "the training in perspective is excellent...sense of proportion is developed by constant handling of the paper furnishings and people."¹⁰ The rooms are thoughtfully decorated, with artwork on the walls, figurines and vases deliberately placed on tables, mantels, and étagères, and identical wall and floor coverings linking rooms in double page spreads. Overall, one is left with the distinct impression the album was expressly purchased for a scrapbook house and methodically planned and curated.

Technical Analysis

For her semester-long independent study, Yan used instrumental techniques to reveal information about this album and its contents.¹¹ Since the art conservation graduate program is an interdisciplinary one, Yan first undertook a literature review and a visual analysis before selecting two pages for testing. She consulted both contemporaneous and secondary sources on scrapbook houses for



Figure 6. Cover of Peter Henderson & Co.'s Manual of Everything for the Garden, 1889 used for the scrapbook house. (Biodiversity Heritage Library Digital Collections)



Figure 7. Cover of Peter Henderson & Co.'s Manual of Everything for the Garden, 1890 used for the scrapbook house. (Biodiversity Heritage Library Digital Collections)

historical context, and scientific and conservation literature on chromolithography, coated papers, and pigment analysis for a materiality foundation. An article discussing pigment-coated papers yielded one notable fact about titanium dioxide which was first introduced as a material for coating paper in 1906 that could potentially assist with an end date.¹²

Yan's visual analysis began with the album itself and an embossed stamp reading "PAT. MARCH 1876" on the back cover. Research led to Patent No. 175,327 issued to Bernard J. Beck of Brooklyn, New York on March 28, 1876 for an "Improvement in Scrap-books" that led to more efficient manufacture and stronger bindings.¹³ Unfortunately, the album is missing its spine and sewing structure so no evidence of Beck's innovative concertina guards remains. But the 1876 date serves as a more definitive beginning date, placing this volume before the discovery of the similar 1891 scrapbook. Inside the album, Yan chose one scrap of a woman wearing a two-piece pink and white dress with a matching bodice and bustle skirt for more



Figure 8. Page 85 showing “Henderson’s Garden Gems” from Peter Henderson & Co.’s Manual of Everything for the Garden, 1890. Several flower were cut out and glued into collaged pages of Helen’s album. (Biodiversity Heritage Library Digital Collections)

evaluation. She consulted with Winterthur’s Associate Conservator of Textiles and Head of Textile Lab Laura Mina, who supplied a date range of 1870-1890 for the dress style and details, noting they were characteristic of a reception dress for a woman of a higher social class. This type of dress is appropriate for the reception area setting in which the scrap is found.

Two adjacent pages early in the album, depicting a reception area and a library or office, were chosen for scientific testing for their variety of materials and colorants. [Cover illustration & Figure 12] Several instruments were utilized in this study: ultraviolet light illumination for characterization of possible organic coatings and dyes; x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) for elemental composition on selected colorants; Raman spectroscopy for compound identification of colorants; Fourier-transform infrared (FT-IR) spectroscopy for organic material classification; and scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy

(SEM-EDS) for elemental analysis of cross-sections. In summary, the 57 items tested on the two pages show a mix of lithographs and chromolithographs on pigment-coated or uncoated papers, photographic prints, intaglio prints, and embossed and die-cut papers. Dates of production could not be established for items since all were likely mass-produced and widely available for several decades in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Further testing focused on three specific items and uncovered useful information on molecular and elemental compositions. XRF, SEM-EDS, and cross-section analysis on several pieces of gold Dresden trim used as wall accents revealed its three layers of a paper substrate, a warm color ground of iron, aluminum, and silicon in between, and a top metallic surface. Due to the thinness of this top surface, even high magnification examination could not determine if the metal, composed of zinc and copper and not gold, was a foil or a powder. The green, white, and gold embossed trim found on both pages underwent Raman spectroscopy, cross-section analysis, and SEM-EDS testing that also revealed three layers of a paper base topped with a white ground layer and partially covered by a metal with green paint on top forming a geometric and embossed pattern. The metal composition of zinc and copper is similar to that of the Dresden trim. As confirmed with Raman spectroscopy, the green colorant was made from a mixture of Prussian blue, first synthesized in

1704, and chrome yellow, first available in the early 1800s. The third piece tested was the green patterned paper used as a floor covering in the hall setting. FTIR testing could not determine the coating on the paper; however, XRF analysis showed copper, lead and arsenic, with minor peaks for chromium, manganese, and iron. Lead detected in this area and many others on the two pages is likely present as lead white pigment.

The combined detection of copper and arsenic in the green paper suggests the presence of a toxic emerald green, later confirmed by compound identification with Raman spectroscopy. [Figure 13] Detection of this pigment is not surprising given its ubiquitous use in many 19th century wallpapers, paints, fabrics, and other common items. XRF analysis was also able to exclude the presence of titanium white, the synthetic white pigment first introduced in 1906. Therefore, while technical analysis could not verify more definitive dates, manufacture of the album scraps, at least, could be assumed to be before that date.



Figure 9. Collaged bedroom scene with cut “Henderson’s Garden Gems” of *Ipomoea Limbata*, *Calliopsis*, and *Poppy Shirley* in bottom right. Scrap of girl inserted behind bassinet. (Winterthur Library, John and Carolyn Grossman Collection)



Figure 10. Collaged bedroom scene with cut “Henderson’s Garden Gems” of *Poppy Mikado* and *Dianthus Laciniatus* on bottom left. (Winterthur Library, John and Carolyn Grossman Collection)

Conclusions

While Yan’s visual and technical analysis provided an approximate date range of 1876-1906, the new working date range has been narrowed to the early 1890s, predicated on the comparable 1891 album and the two identified scraps from 1889 and 1890 seed catalogs. This is also supported by the furnishing styles and the general popularity of the activity.

In comparison with more scrapbook houses in the Winterthur Library, it is evident that Helen had access to more high-end source material than did other creators. With the pieces all originating in printed sources, with a noticeable lack of handmade material, and with a commercially made album bought solely for this activity, she was most likely from the upper middle class.

Recommendations for Further Research

Analyzing the materials in other pages of the album may uncover more data on the papers, processes, and pigments used. A note of caution: the pigments chrome yellow, emerald green and, likely, lead white, present in the scrapbook are known to be harmful if ingested in dry powder form. What is less understood is their toxicity when bound within paper, paints and coatings. Until more is known about the danger of these materials in these forms,

it is strongly recommended that researchers avoid contact with suspect areas by wearing gloves and washing hands after handling. Fully encapsulate any loose items in mylar. Do not place any food or drink nearby when handling to eliminate the chance of cross-contamination.¹⁴

Continuing the search for source materials will also help with dating the album. With the overwhelming number of items, a pragmatic approach would be to focus first on analyzing the dress styles of the remaining figures. Second, one can search published trade catalogs for dates on the furniture scraps.



Figure 12. Second collage room setting with identification of 36 analyzed items. (Technical Study of a Victorian Scrapbook House)

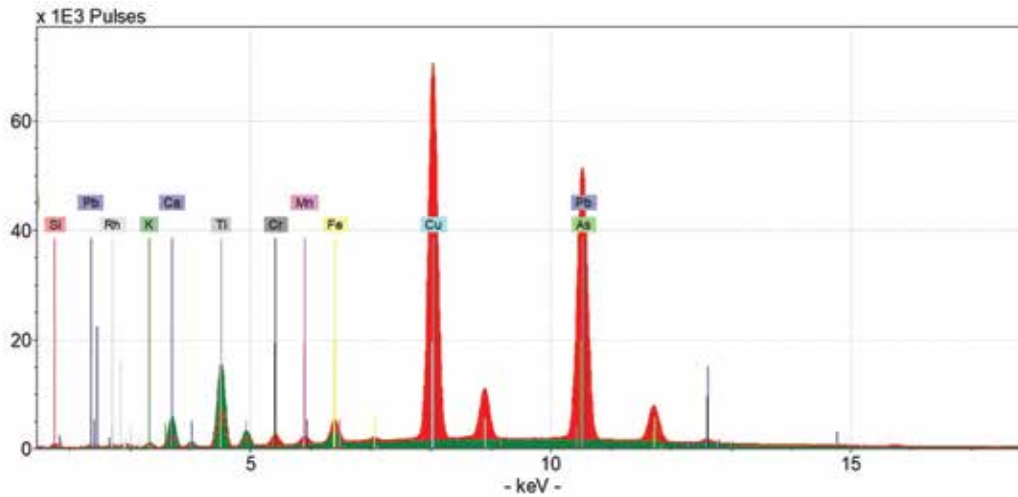


Figure 13. XRF analysis spectrum showing strong peaks at copper, lead, and arsenic and small peaks at chromium, manganese, and iron. (Technical Study of a Victorian Scrapbook House)

With its dialogue between librarians, researchers, conservators, and interested parties from other disciplines, this productive collaboration serves as an excellent model for future research.

View Helen's scrapbook house and others in the Winterthur Library's collection at: <http://contentdm.winterthur.org/digital/collection/collage>

Further Reading

- E. Richard McKinstry, "Papered Dream Houses Offer Clues to Imagined Lives," *Ephemera News* 22, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 1, 13-16.
- Beverly Gordon, "The Paper Doll House," in *The Saturated World; Aesthetic Meaning, Intimate Objects, Women's Lives, 1890-1940* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2006): 37-61.
- Rodris Roth, "Scrapbook Houses: A Late Nineteenth-Century Children's View of the American Home," in *The American Home: Material Culture, Domestic Space, and Family Life* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1998): 301-323.

Endnotes

- ¹ Mary White, *The Child's Rainy Day Book* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1905), 10.
- ² Carolyn Sherwin Bailey, "A Doll's House," *Harper's Bazaar* 44, no. 7 (July 1910): 474.
- ³ Clara Andrew Williams, *The House that Glue Built* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, ca. 1905).
- ⁴ In addition to the aforementioned publications, several others were consulted. In chronological order: Jessie E. Ringwalt, "The Paper-doll's House-No. 20," *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine*, 101, no. 602 (August 1880): 160-162; "A Scrap-Book House," *New York Evangelist*, 68: no. 46 (November 18, 1897): 29; Carolyn Wells, "A Paper Doll's House," *The Puritan*, 9, no. 2 (November 1900): 273-275; Marion Dudley Richards, "Fun with Paper Dolls," *Ladies' Home Journal*, 19, no. 10 (September 1902): 41; Emily Hoffman, "Homes for Paper Dolls," *Harper's Bazaar*, 38, no. 1 (January 1904): 84-87; *The Good Housekeeping Discovery Book no. 1* (Springfield, Mass.; New York: The Phelps Pub. Co., 1905), 78-79; and "A Paper Doll House," *The Modern Priscilla* 19, no. 1 (January 1906): 20.
- ⁵ "A Paper Doll House," 20.
- ⁶ Christina Michelon, "Interior Impressions: Printed Material in the Nineteenth-Century American Home" (PhD diss.,

University of Michigan, 2018). I thank Christina for several observations used in this article.

- ⁷ John L. Boland Book & Stationery Company, *Trade Catalogue of Miscellaneous Publications, Juvenile Books, Bibles, Testaments, Albums and Stationers' Fancy Goods* (St. Louis, Mo.: The Company, 1891), 90.
- ⁸ Peter Henderson & Co., *Manual of Everything for the Garden: 1889* (New York: The Company, 1889), accessed summer 2019 on the Biodiversity Heritage Library's website, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/67018#/summary>.
- ⁹ Peter Henderson & Co., *Manual of Everything for the Garden: 1890* (New York: The Company, 1890), accessed summer 2019 on the Biodiversity Heritage Library's website, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/129477#/summary>.
- ¹⁰ Richards, "Fun with Paper Dolls," 41.
- ¹¹ Yan Ling Choi, "Technical Study of a Victorian Scrapbook House," May 2019, on deposit in the Winterthur Library. I thank scientist Catherine Matsen for her assistance in summarizing Yan's report.
- ¹² Dianne L. van der Reyden, Erika M. Mosier, and Mary T. Baker, "Pigment-Coated Papers I: History and Technology," *Preprints for the ICOM Committee for Conservation, 10th Triennial Meeting, Washington, DC, 22-27 August 1993, 2 (August 1993): 491-498*.
- ¹³ United States Patent and Trademark Office, "Patent No. 175,327," Issue date March 28, 1876, accessed spring 2019, <https://www.uspto.gov/patent>.
- ¹⁴ Recent research and analytical testing by Dr. Melissa Tedone, Winterthur's Associate Conservator/Lab Head for Books & Library Materials have focused on emerald green bookcloth in mid 19th century bindings. Handling recommendations for this project, developed in consultations with University of Delaware's Department of Environmental Health & Safety have informed the ones stated here for ephemera. To read more on the Poison Book Project, see: http://wiki.winterthur.org/wiki/Poison_Book_Project.

Jeanne Solensky is the Andrew W. Mellon Librarian for the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera at the Winterthur Library. She incorporates ephemera into teaching sessions with students and visitors groups to demonstrate the research value of every piece.

The Peasant and The Copper

BY MALCOLM WHYTE

I love paper. As a child in Milwaukee I made toys out of paper, toilet paper tubes, empty boxes, crayons, and paste. I collected and traded playing cards, firecracker labels, and comic books. As a young adult I learned to make prints on paper: linocuts, woodblock prints, serigraphs and limestone lithographs.

My first professional job was at a box factory where I designed three chipboard six-packs for candy bars: one design each for mint humps, cherry humps, and assorted humps. Of course, once the customer got to the candy inside, my artwork on the ephemeral packaging was normally thrown away, but I'll never forget the powerful impression of going into the press room to see the little boxes running through the rollers at 50,000 copies per hump.

Job Printers

The box factory career was interrupted by three and a half years in the U.S. Navy before settling in California, getting married, and co-founding Troubador Press where we designed and sold greeting cards, and did job printing. Our biggest jobs were for Lawrence Ferlinghetti's City Lights Publishing, printing the works of Allan Watts, Bob Kaufman, Norman Mailer, Allen Ginsberg, and Ferlinghetti himself. Our most memorable assignment was, at Ferlinghetti's direction, putting the "dirty words" back in a revised edition of Ginsberg's *HOWL and Other Poems* and printing it. The anthology had endured an obscenity trial based on words that weren't even there! The "bad" words had been replaced with ellipses — one asterisk for each offending letter in the word. After testimony by dozens of literary witnesses, the judge declared *HOWL* not obscene and Troubador Press helped City Lights publish a new, uncensored edition of a literary classic.

After a couple of years, my partner re-joined the Navy while I continued Troubador Press with greeting cards. After that we published children's art, games, and cook books for the next thirty years until I sold the company.

Master Printers

All through the years my wife Karen and I collected contemporary paintings and graphic arts, cookbooks, children's books, original children's book art, and original cartoon art. As I edged up on the winter years of life, I yielded to a long-held temptation to collect master prints. After all, the children were all on their own, the company was sold, and the house and car paid for so, why not give it a shot?

My source for this adventure was Jan Slavid. Jan is the "daughter" in "R.E. Lewis & Daughter," who is carrying on the business founded by her internationally famous father, selling master prints. My first purchase from her



Figure 1. Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn, Dutch, 1606–1669. A Peasant in a High Cap, Standing Leaning on a Stick, 1639. Etching. Photo credits: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; courtesy of the Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.

was a masterful lifetime¹ engraving by Albrecht Dürer, *Virgin and Child with the Pear*, dated 1511. Every detail is incredibly crisp, having been carved into the copperplate with a sharp burin.

Next, Jan sold me *Student at a Table by Candlelight* by Rembrandt van Rijn. This 1642 etching is a striking example of the artist's use of chiaroscuro. Through a deft series of extremely dense hatchings with the etching needle scratching through the acid-resistant ground (a protective layer of wax) on the plate, Rembrandt created a dramatic gradation of light from the bright flame of the candle to the student's face, and on to the pitch-black room that surrounds the figure. The effect is similar to the brilliance emerging from

continued on page 12



Figure 2. Copper etching plate for Figure 1.

shadow in Rembrandt's oil painting, *Man in the Golden Helmet* (1650).

A major hallmark of Rembrandt's art is the life that emanates from his subjects: each exhibits a distinct personality. For instance, with hand to forehead in a gesture of contemplation, the student is clearly absorbed in his studies.

The Old Peasant

Much as I prize the Student print, I told Jan of my long-held admiration for Rembrandt's genre scenes and caricature-like etchings of peasants, beggars, and vagrants; perhaps she could find an example. Several months later Jan called to announce that she had something. Seated in her office, my eyes widened at a very fine little print of an old beggar man. Supported by a cane, he tentatively holds out his left hand for alms. A comically tall hat totters over his shaggy head. Jan reported that *A Peasant in a High Cap*, *Standing Leaning on a Stick* is a lifetime impression in very good condition from 1639. Written on the back in brown ink was "P. Mariette, 1647," indicating early provenance.

"Jan, this is wonderful...just what I was looking for!" I exclaimed.

"It is nice, isn't it? Perhaps you'll like this, too," she said over my shoulder, as she laid a small tissue-wrapped item in front of me.

Slowly I peeled away the layers of wrapping, one by one, until the last tissue unveiled a miracle. There lay the original copperplate that Rembrandt had used to reproduce "Peasant in a High Cap." Rembrandt's own hand had held the sharp engraving tools that had incised the beggar into the virgin plate, cutting his name in reverse so that it would read correctly when the image was printed. I could see that the metal was in excellent shape considering its antiquity: no nicks, scrapes, or areas of wear.

I was so excited I could hardly speak. It took a bit of time to gather my thoughts while Jan sat opposite with a quiet, patient smile. When I was finally able to ask if it was for sale she replied, "Of course."

Jan explained that this 3 1/16" x 1 3/4" (7.8 cm x 4.5 cm) plate was one of a few Rembrandt copperplates to survive without having been reworked or "rebiten." While Rembrandt's prints are still sold as "original," some may have been reproduced from worn plates or even plates worked over by other "artists" who re-etched or re-engraved them in the hopes of making the prints salable again. We settled on a price for both the print and the plate, and I drove home to share my prize with Karen.

It only took a few days before buyer's remorse set in. The Rembrandt purchase was the most expensive I ever made for anything other than our house. How did I know the plate was genuine? The print looked good, but the plate was so rare. While a highly respected dealer like Jan would never sell anything suspect, even experts can be fooled. I've seen how art can be reproduced on metal—photographed, then photo-mechanically burned onto a plate. Even Mariette's inked name could have been copied by a skilled forger.

Fortunately, Franklin W. Robinson, Director of the Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell, was on one of his occasional goodwill tours in the Bay Area. After having lunch at our house I showed him the *Peasant in a High Cap* print and plate, expressing my doubts about their authenticity. Frank is a scholar of 17th Century Dutch genre paintings and drawing as well as Rembrandt prints. When after his initial thrill at seeing the works he reassured me that they were the real thing, I shook his hand vigorously, secretly dabbing away a tear of relief.

Back at Cornell, Frank recounted our visit to colleague Andrew C. Weislogel, curator of Early American and European art and co-expert on Rembrandt's prints. Andy seconded Frank's assessment of the plate and print's authenticity, adding, "I think you need not worry about the plate being false. There is not much money in faking Rembrandt etching plates, as in the main they do not bring as much on the market as fine impressions from the plates."² He also led me to more reassuring research on the plate's provenance from which I compiled the following summary of the scholarly writings by Erik Hinterding, curator of prints, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Rembrandt's Copperplates

Rembrandt created just over 300 etchings in his lifetime.³ At his death in 1669 there were 150 plates made for these works in circulation, others having been sold and lost or destroyed. Typically, plates for a portrait print were also kept by the subject. The plates were made from cold-hammered vs. rolled copper. Cold-hammered copper is harder than rolled, and the plates last longer under repeated pressings.

Today 100 of Rembrandt's copperplates are known to survive, about 80 of which are well documented. Here is a digest journey of the Whyte impression and copperplate for Rembrandt's *Peasant in a High Cap, Standing Leaning on a Stick*, 1639, as first collected by Pierre Mariette in 1647.

- 1647 Whyte impression of the Peasant owned by Pierre Mariette, signed on back
- 1679 Peasant plate likely in the estate inventory of print seller Clement de Jonghe, Amsterdam ca. 1700
Unknown owner of the plate adds two tiny dots at the upper left
- 1769 Pierre Fouquet Jr. bought 75 Rembrandt plates at auction from estate of Pieter de Haen (including the Peasant plate)
- 1770 Peasant and other plates owned by Claude Watelet
- 1786 Peasant and other plates bought by Pierre-Francois Basan
- 1810 Peasant and other plates acquired by Auguste Jean
- 1846 Publisher-engraver Auguste Bernard acquired various plates, including Peasant
- 1906 Bernard sold 85 plates to Alvin-Beaumont, including Peasant
- 1916 These plates inked and varnished and placed in ten leather mounts
- 1921 Plates stored by Alvin-Beaumont in Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam for seven years
- 1930 Plates shown at Fearon Galleries, New York
- 1937 British Museum tried to buy this group of plates, but 600,000 francs too costly
- 1938 bought by Alvin-Beaumont's friend, American Robert Lee Humber, for one-half sale price who placed the plates on permanent loan to the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, N.C., that held one exhibition, "Rembrandt and His Pupils," 1956
- 1970 Humber dies, plates stored in bank vault until...
- 1993 Approximately 85 plates, including Peasant, sold via London dealer Artemis early 1990s Peasant print and plate bought by Susan Schulman for her daughter, Adria Schulman-Eyink
- 2010 Peasant print and plate bought by M.K. Whyte through Jan Slavid (R.E. Lewis & Daughter)

With all these assurances of authenticity, the Peasant impression and plate deserved a proper setting. I designed a matting so the print and the plate could be seen together, side by side. Mounted in a gilded wooden frame, under ultra-violet proof plexiglass, it was a great pleasure to finally sit back and study the excellence of Rembrandt's work.

Rembrandt's drawing on the metal is remarkable. Short, but fluid lines perfectly shape the peasant's rumpled coat



Figure 3. Cornell WIRE (Watermark Identification in Rembrandt's Etchings) project student Riley Henderson '18 points out a detail of a new watermark discovered on the Johnson Museum's impression of Rembrandt Self-Portrait with Plumed Cap and Lowered Saber. Photography courtesy of Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.

and pants. These animating strokes are cannily contrasted with the straight, strong lines of his stick. Although his high hat lends a clownish touch, the old man's furrowed brow and almost-apologetic demeanor underscore Rembrandt's sensitive regard for his doleful subject.

Johnson Museum Print Room Curatorial Assistant Brittany Rubin observes "...the plate shows Rembrandt's ability to create a multitude of textures: feathery strokes are lightly etched to capture the texture of the cap's warm fur, while voluminous folds in the peasant's baggy clothes are more deeply bitten. Most poignantly, Rembrandt bored two minuscule, yet deep, holes to serve as the peasant's eyes. These holes held pools of black ink, giving the subject an air of pain and sadness"⁴

All of these nuances were deftly transferred to an eagerly sought, but unknown number of prints that carried Rembrandt's art down through the centuries.

In A Class by Itself

James A. Ganz was curator of the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco from 2008 to 2018. In late summer 2012, I learned that he was holding a series of morning lectures on Rembrandt at the Legion of Honor museum. As an owner



Figure 4. Cornell WIRE project students Katarina Martucci '20, Nina Simpkins '19, Margaret Canfield '20, and Katrina Ferreira '20 look closely for details in Rembrandt's *Descent from the Cross* by Torchlight that indicate changes made to the printing plate.

of two Rembrandt prints, I thought the classes would be an ideal opportunity to learn more about the artist. Titled "Rembrandt's Century," Ganz based the lectures on his catalogue for an eponymous exhibition to be mounted at the De Young Museum in Golden Gate Park, in 2013. The exhibit would cover the work of Rembrandt as well as his contemporaries.

After the second class, I asked Jim if he had an original Rembrandt copperplate in the Achenbach Collection for the show.

"No, I don't. Do *you* have one?"

"Yes," I replied.

"Which one?!"

"Peasant in a High Cap."

He enthusiastically asked if he could show it in his class. I agreed, but only to show it anonymously. We arranged to meet the next Saturday at the Legion's security entrance an hour before class. After proper check-in, we traversed the museum's back halls to arrive at the Achenbach Collection rooms. While Jim set up "Peasant" and plate for the class, I went out the glass front doors before the class began, then re-entered with the rest of the students at a little before ten o'clock. "Peasant," shown with dozens of other classic Rembrandt prints, caused no particular stir. But after everyone had left, Jim said that he wanted to include the

print-plate duo in his exhibition's catalogue, adding, "It might be too late, but I'll talk to the publication committee."

Jim must have been very persuasive. *A Peasant in High Cap*, *Standing Leaning on a Stick* and accompanying copperplate *did* appear in Rembrandt's Century and can be found on page 75 of the catalogue. The originals had their own space in the exhibition on the endcap of a display facing Johannes Vermeer's hypnotic *Girl with A Pearl Earring*.

Cross Country

Sometime in 2017, Andy Weislogel checked in with exciting news and a request: Could the loan of "Peasant" please be extended for another exhibition and catalog? The exhibition, *Lines of Inquiry: Learning from Rembrandt's Etchings*, would open at Cornell's Johnson Museum in September 2017, then be on view at Oberlin College's Allen Memorial Art Museum through May 2018.

I couldn't refuse Andy's invitation to have Rembrandt's "Peasant" join the holdings of Cornell and Oberlin, along with other works borrowed from Yale, Princeton, Harvard, Syracuse, University of Kansas, the Morgan Library and other private collections. While it was an honor to be a lender, I also recognized the value of exposing these two works as a unique teaching tool, so off went the Peasant plate and print for a two-year loan. Following the two exhibitions, the plate and print went back to the Johnson for in-depth studies under the scholarly initiative titled *WIRE: Watermark Identification in Rembrandt's Etchings*.

Co-curators of the exhibition, Andy and Andaleeb Badiee Banta, then of the Allen Museum, also co-authored the richly illustrated catalog. Chapters covering the early collecting of Rembrandt prints by prominent individuals and academic institutions; the saga of transporting some 487 Rembrandt prints from New York's Morgan Library to Oberlin's Museum of Art in the midwest for safe keeping during World War II; detecting, through the WIRE project, the origins of the many types of paper Rembrandt used for his etchings; and detailed presentation and analysis of scores of Rembrandt's images, make the catalog a fount of fresh, fascinating insights into the import of the great artist's graphic marvels. Among the many images so strikingly reproduced in the catalog are, on page 109, "Peasant in a High Cap" and the bright copperplate that made him.

The WIRE project is a collaboration between the Johnson Museum and Cornell's School of Electrical and Computer Engineering where students observe methods of printmaking and papermaking techniques, and participate in sessions on computer-based image forensics data collection and analysis. This is a program of international scope, vital to the methodology and authenticity of the master's printmaking.

Home Again...Gone Again

Towards the end of 2018 the "Peasant" and plate returned to our home gallery wall, replacing the photos that had been tacked up in their absence. It was moving, indeed, to see them again and to realize with awe that they were made directly by the master's hand.

Rembrandt as an Ephemeraist

The standard seduction line, “Would you like to come up and see my etchings?” would have taken on an entirely different meaning had it been invoked by Rembrandt. One would have been invited to engage in a Herculean task. There are at least sixteen catalogues raisonnés of Rembrandt’s prints and his etchings are the most catalogued works of art in the world.

In the adjacent article, publisher and collector extraordinaire, Malcolm Whyte, recounts his experiences acquiring a rare Rembrandt print and its original copperplate. While ephemeraists primarily collect printed paper there is an argument for classifying this metal plate as ephemera. In the 17th century this plate would have been regarded as a disposable byproduct of the printmaking process. Although some of Rembrandt’s plates were saved and reused, this plate, in its original un-reworked state, is a remarkable survivor. Examining the incised lines of the plate brings one intimately close to Rembrandt’s creative process and allows one to envision the hands of the master at work. Malcolm’s rare find aligns with an oft-cited reason for collecting ephemera — the association of an item with its source.

The answer to a recent crossword puzzle clue, “medium of Rembrandt,” was “oil painting.” During his life, however, Rembrandt’s fame was primarily derived from his printmaking. Etchings and engravings served as the “mass communication” of the 17th century as they were relatively inexpensive and widely available. Mass-produced prints along with broadsides and book illustrations helped to satisfy the public’s curiosity about distant places and foreign people, much like photography in the latter 19th century through the present. In a sense, Rembrandt might be considered a disseminator of “educational” ephemera at a very high aesthetic level. His prints, like most ephemera, reflect the culture of their time and can be studied as primary evidence of history.

During his lifetime, Rembrandt’s prints appealed to avid collectors. These prints, although certainly not intended as throwaways, had three qualities often associated with ephemera. First, they utilized a medium (etching/engraving), that was reproductive. Second, they were often small in scale, many being of postcard size or smaller. One of the smallest, his *Little Pollander* is only three-quarters of an inch wide and two and one-quarter inches high. Many types of today’s ephemera such as labels, poster stamps, and tradecards share this trait. Three, contemporary collectors were eager to obtain the same print in various states: the *Juno* with and without the crown, the *Joseph* with the light head and with the dark head. The collecting of “variants” by ephemeraists continues today, engendering both joy and frustration.

Rembrandt’s warmth toward the common folk and their way of life, a frequent subject, is an expression of his humanity. His printmaking is unparalleled. We are honored to view the work of this Master of Ephemera through the lens of Malcolm’s remarkable discovery.
— Bruce Shyer



Karen and Malcolm Whyte

Although the copperplates were only a means to an end (the print) in Rembrandt’s time, unlike original cartoon art, pre-1950s children’s book illustrations or six-packs for chocolate humps, they were never fully ephemeral. Once the cartoon or the kid’s book was printed, or the candy sold, the original art was discarded. But in the seventeenth century, copperplate was very dear. Each plate was cut from a larger, master sheet as close to size as necessary to contain the intended image. Once the artist felt his original design had run its course, plates could be reused for a new image. And when the original artist had no further use for the plate, he could sell it for someone else who might rework the original image or cut a new one.

As we’ve seen from the “Peasant” copperplate history, the few that survived after Rembrandt’s death in 1669 were valued enough to be preserved and have endured through three-and-a-half-centuries. Some are now in institutions including The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; National Gallery of Scotland; Harvard, Yale, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Morgan Library; a very few are in private hands.

Karen and I have been extraordinarily fortunate to live with *Peasant in a High Cap* and its copperplate: a glorious spark to the imagination.

Now in the “exit line” (but not yet out the door), we have donated the little Rembrandt treasures to the Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell. With its many Rembrandt exhibits and publications, and its WIRE project, the University has become a major hub for the Master Printer’s research. It is the perfect home for the little old Peasant — and his “copper” — to continue to teach and inspire.

Endnotes

- ¹ Meaning that the impression was made during the life of the artist.
- ² Andrew Weislogel, personal email, 9 July 2010.
- ³ Frank Robinson, *Rembrandt Etchings catalog*, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 2006.
- ⁴ Andrew C. Weislogel and Andaleeb Badiie Banta, *Lines of Inquiry, Learning from Rembrandt’s Etchings*. Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, 2017, 106.

Alfred Burr's "West Shore" Lithographs: 1882-1891

BY CRAIG CLINTON

J. D. Cleaver, in his *Oregon Historical Quarterly* essay of 1993, wrote of a pioneer Oregon "booster" magazine, the *West Shore*, first published in Portland in 1875. His research centered on the magazine's founder, a German immigrant named Leopold Samuel. Samuel arrived in New York City in 1859 and by 1871 had migrated west, married and settled in Portland, Oregon, determined to pursue a career in publishing. Samuel's initial efforts involved modest *Traveler's Guides* and more substantial *City Directories* but led, ultimately, to the inaugural issue of a publication that would occupy the next 17 years of his life, the ever-evolving *West Shore* magazine¹ featuring illustrations by a number of talented artists including the subject of this article, Alfred Burr.

Burr was born in Compo near Westport, Connecticut, in 1854. His obituary, published in the Sunday *Oregonian* of December 6, 1942, identifies him as a "descendant of Aaron Burr, third vice-president of the United States" who for seventeen years "was an artist on the Portland Oregonian (newspaper). During

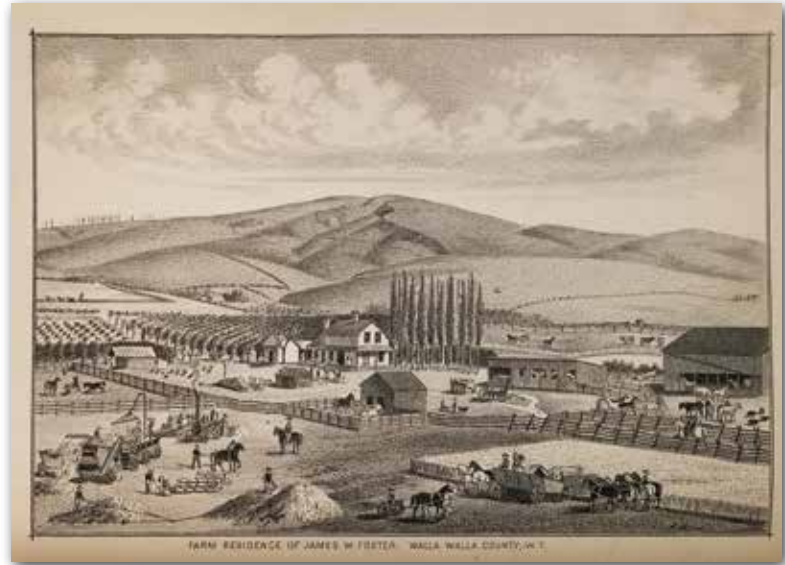


Figure 1.

his active years many of his paintings received national recognition."²

Burr began his career working as an engraver in San Francisco between 1871 and 1882. The latter was a pivotal



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

year for him as he was responsible for all the illustrations in a massive volume published that year titled *“Historic Sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties, Washington Territory”* (all four counties are located in the southeast corner of today’s state of Washington). The 447-page tome, evidently self-published by its author, Frank T. Gilbert in Portland, Oregon, includes an “Index of Contents” followed by a 66-page “Appendix.”

Illustrated throughout with grey-toned lithographs signed by Burr, the volume features numerous views of the region’s communities, its agricultural resources and distinctive scenery. The illustrations, likely sketched “on location,” are bird’s-eye views or ‘territorial’ (wider than tall) in format, rendered with great skill on single pages or double-page spreads. (Figure 1) Burr’s work on the lengthy *“Historic Sketches”* clearly represented a time-consuming and exacting undertaking. Burr’s ongoing illustrations for the *West Shore* began the following year, 1883, and continued until the journal’s demise in 1891.

The images that follow offer representative work by Burr and, on occasion, his collaborative efforts with other staff artists between 1883 and 1891. The last Burr illustration included in this essay is drawn from an April 1892 issue of *Northwest Magazine*, head-quartered in St. Paul, Minnesota. That monthly published several works by Burr following the collapse of the *West Shore*.

According to Cleaver, German-born Henry Epting appears to have been the *West Shore*’s first full-time artist; his signed illustrations were first published in the July 1881 issue. Approximately two years later, the June 1883 issue featured a lengthy profile of Astoria, Oregon, with eight pages of illustrations, several jointly signed by Epting and Burr, including a two-page, 12 x 18 inch centerfold depicting the town viewed from two distinct vantage points. (Figure 2)

In September 1883, the magazine published four lithographed views of Portland on an enlarged sheet measuring 11¾ by 9 inches. On the illustration titled “First Street, South from Alder,” Epting’s name appears in the right-hand corner while in the left corner is the signature “A. Burr.” The two following city views are unsigned. The last view, “Yamhill St. Looking West from First,” contains just one signature, positioned outside the image itself: “A. Burr.”

The front cover of this issue declares, in bold lettering, “Portland the Metropolis of the Pacific Northwest.” Below is an image of Portland’s City Hall with the regal Portland

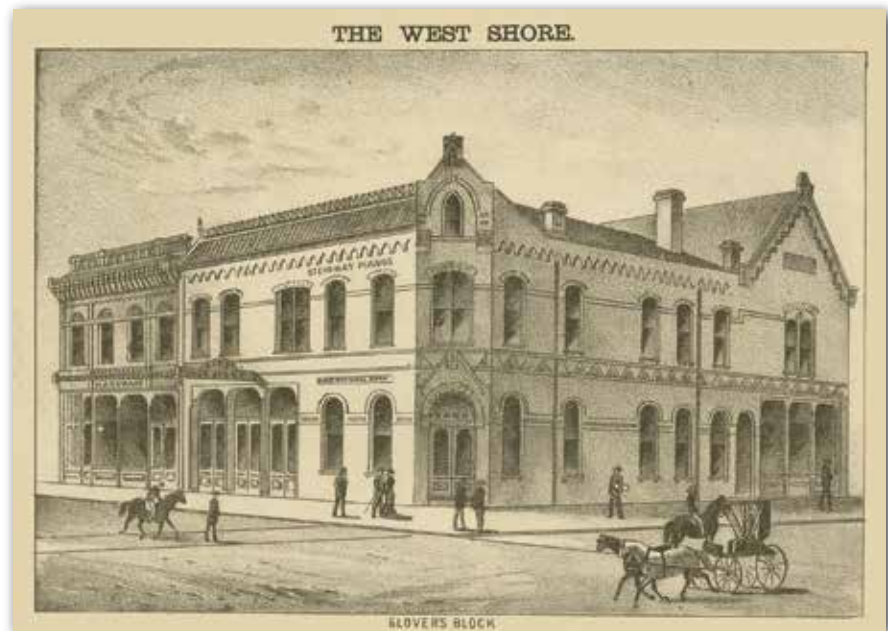


Figure 4.

Hotel, under construction at that time, in the background. Construction took seven years and the hotel didn’t open until 1890. The anticipatory lithograph of 1883 is signed “A. Burr.” (Figure 3)

The two monthly magazines discussed above likely represent Burr’s earliest illustrations for the *West Shore*.

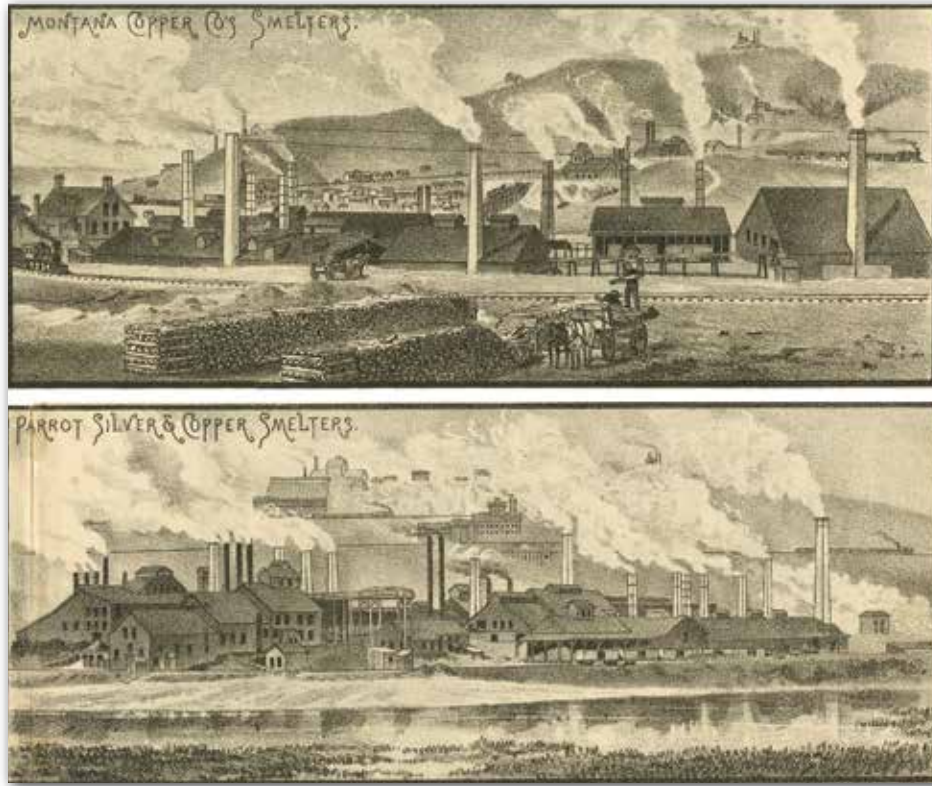


Figure 5.

Issues of the 1884 *West Shore*, retaining the 11¼ x 9-inch format, continued to feature examples of Burr's craftsmanship. The April issue focused on "Spokane Falls, W.T." with six lithographed pages devoted to the city, several of which featured illustrations signed by Epting or Burr or occasionally, both. The unnumbered page 109 features three striking images of Spokane; a stately residence at the top, an imposing bank building at center

(see Figure 4) and a bird's-eye view of a busy lumber mill at the bottom, the last bearing Burr's signature.

The following year Burr produced another distinctive illustration. The topic on this occasion was mining activity in Butte, Montana. Three narrow horizontal images, each measuring 3½ inches tall by 16 inches wide were printed across two pages. The scene at the top is an overview of the community focused on two large-scale smelters, the Montana Copper Company's smelters and the Parrot Silver and Copper Smelters. (Figure 5) The middle image depicts the outcroppings of numerous mine claims. A bird's-eye view at the bottom illustrates the residential district with, in the distance, an expansive range of magnificent mountains.

Burr's signature appears on the middle panel, while on the verso of the double-wide view are two single-page illustrations, both signed by Burr and Epting. These black and white illustrations depict the inner workings of the Lexington Mine, one of the city's largest operations.

The January 1887 *West Shore* contained an uncommon and striking fold-out view crafted by Burr. Measuring 9¾ x 19¾ inches when unfolded, the sepia-toned lithograph

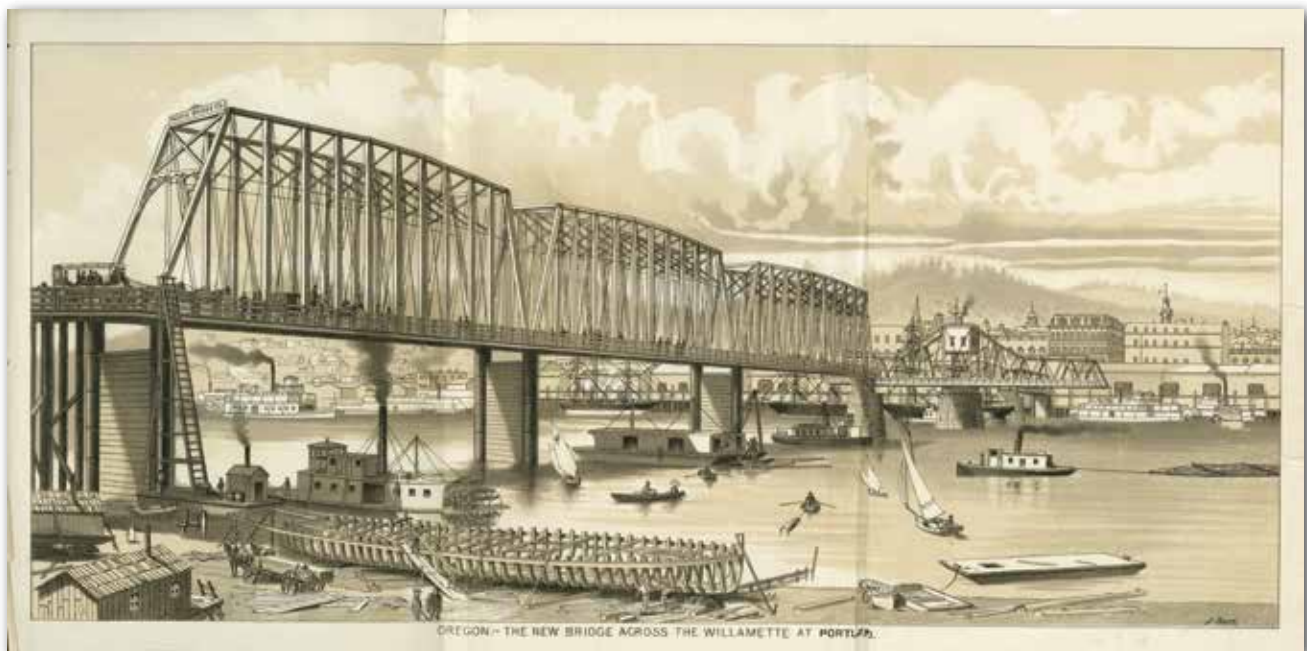


Figure 6.

is titled “The New Bridge Across the Willamette at Portland.” In the foreground on the east bank of the river appears the skeletal frame of a large boat under construction while the bridge itself, consisting of three rigid spans and a fourth span that swings on its axis to allow for the passage of large vessels, is shown in operation. The city proper is seen in the background, while the west hills rise imposingly in the distance. (Figure 6) The costly bridge is depicted by Burr in a completed state, while text pointedly observes that the bridge’s eventual completion would prove a boon to East Portland, paving the way for the introduction of street railways. These would intersect with those currently in operation on the west side of the river and spur east side growth. This remarkable image of the new bridge is one of Burr’s most satisfying illustrations.

The October 1888 edition of the *West Shore* includes one of the publication’s largest supplements, a folded sheet 15¾ high x 21½ inches long illustrating eight views of Oswego, a city roughly 10 miles south of Portland. The sheet, inserted loose in the magazine, is titled “Mines and Works of the Oregon Iron and Steel Co. at Oswego, Oregon.” Illustrated are the firm’s Blast Furnace Plant, a close-up of the Blast Furnace itself, the Pipe Works, the Crane in the Pipe Works, the firm’s newly-operative Mine showing rail tracks supporting haulage wagons at the entrance to the shaft, plus, in a small inset, the Old Mine’s entrance. Surprisingly, the magazine includes no



Figure 7.

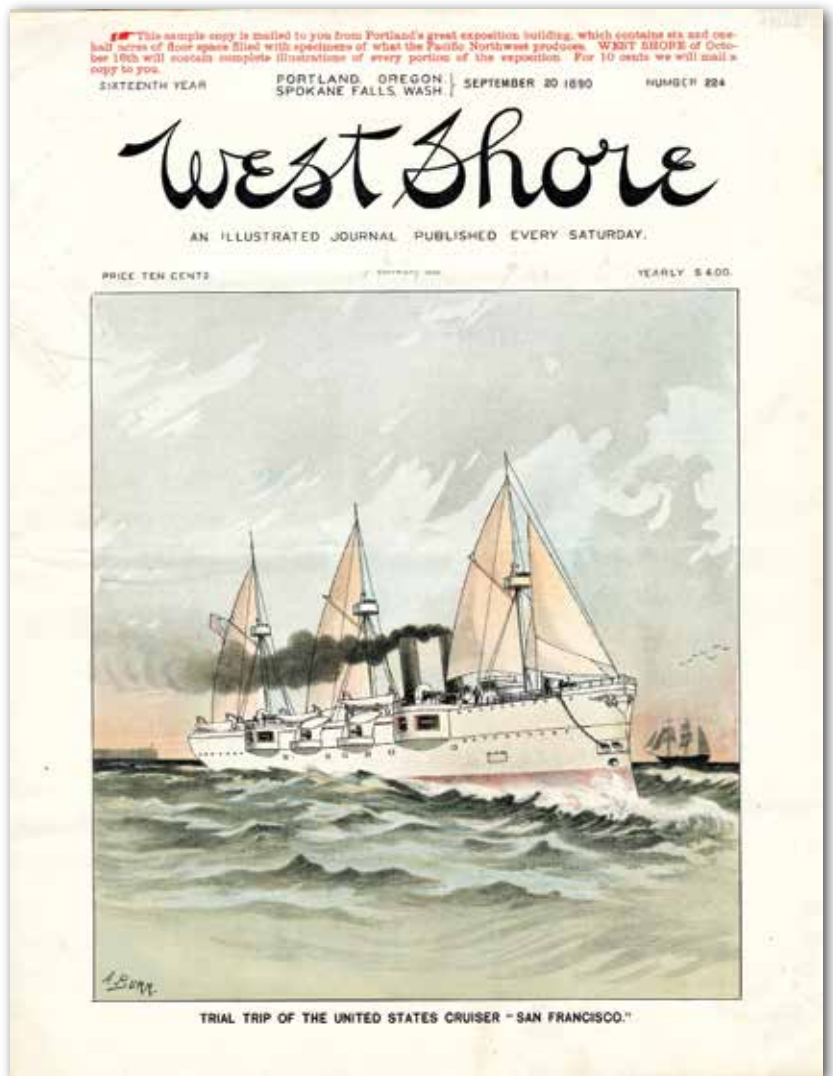


Figure 8.

written coverage of the company itself; presumably the illustrations provide all that was needed. In the lower left corner of the sheet can be found “A. Burr – Del.” This uncommon and visually compelling document chronicles an important heavy industry in what is now a bedroom community south of Portland.

The front cover of the December 7, 1889 *West Shore* titled “Opening the Columbia—Building the Jetty” depicts a view of the jetty under construction. Powerful waves pummel the jetty while boulders are hauled in on a transport flatcar and deployed to gird the structure against the waves’ impact. (Figure 7) The image is signed with Burr’s initials, “A.B.”

According to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers website, “The Mouth of the Columbia River’s jetty system was constructed between 1885 and 1939.... The jetties minimize navigation channel maintenance and make passage safer for vessels transiting between the Pacific Ocean and the Columbia River. They are regularly pounded by Pacific Ocean waves between 10 and 20 feet high with winter storms bringing extreme waves in excess of 30 feet.”³

Cleaver writes that the “*West Shore* under Samuel underwent its final format change, a radical one, on September 14, 1889, when it finally became a



Figure 9. (left)



Figure 10.



Figure 11. (left)

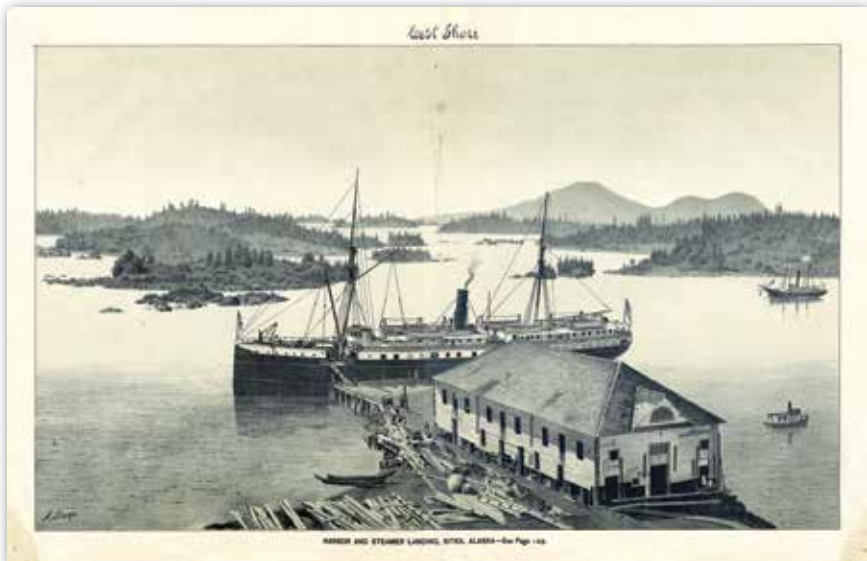


Figure 12. (left)

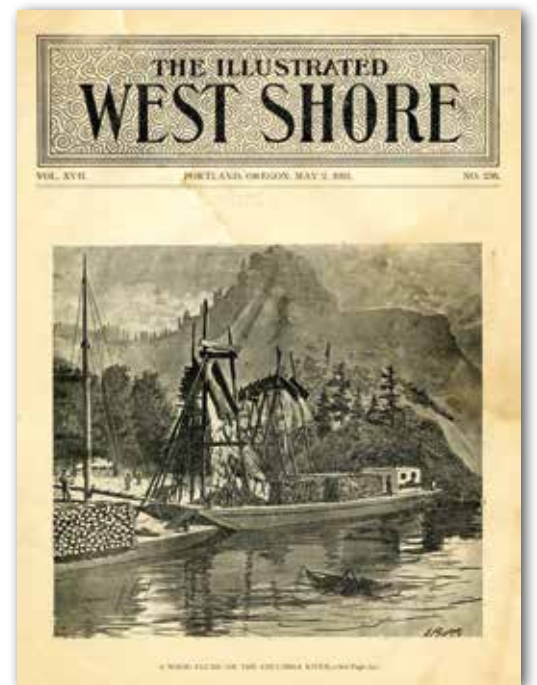


Figure 13.

weekly ‘illustrated journal’ with no regional or literary pretensions.” Eleven months later, “On August 16, 1890, Samuel made his last format change, enlarging the size of the page.⁴ The larger format *West Shore* of September 20, 1890, now 13½ x 10½ inches, features a stunning full-color cover illustration by Burr titled “Trial Trip of the United States Cruiser ‘San Francisco’.” The magazine’s coverage of the new steel vessel declared it “in the front rank of swift cruisers.... There is no reason why iron and steel vessels could not be constructed with equal success on the Columbia River and Puget Sound.” (Figure 8)

Prior to the August format change, a striking but smaller Burr illustration was featured in the *West Shore*. Approximately 11 x 8¾ inches, the image is titled “Alaska—The Whaling Fleet in the Arctic Ocean.” It is a finely rendered image with great attention given to the rigging of the whaling ship in the foreground. (Figure 9)

Another late 1890 issue in the *West Shore*’s new format features a double-page view titled “Manufactories at Oregon’s Great Water Port—Oregon City.” The unfolded sheet measures 13¾ x 21 inches and shows bustling factory districts on both sides of the Willamette River and in the background, the vitally important Falls. The image is signed by Burr in the lower right corner; it is clearly one of his finest views of industry in operation. (Figure 10)

The beginning months of 1891 suggested a promising year for Burr with several of his large illustrations featured in the magazine. Two double-page views, 13¾ x 21 inches each, are particularly compelling. The first is the “The Dekum” published January 3rd, depicting a yet-to-be-completed building in central Portland with construction scheduled for 1891 through 1892. (Figure 11) The second is a similar-sized view published February 21, 1891, “Harbor and Steamer Landing, Sitka Alaska”; it is one of Burr’s most striking productions. (Figure 12)

However, by the time the February issue was published, it had become clear that things were not going well at the *West Shore*. Cleaver writes “On September 13 (1890) the West Shore Publishing Company was reorganized: Samuel remained as president and manager, but he was now to share much of the decision making with a new board comprised of several Portland businessmen....” Then “suddenly, without warning, the issue of February 7, 1891, announced that (editor) L. Samuel had retired, and the new management promised ‘extensive improvements’.... (T)he magazine limped along only until May 2, 1891. It then ceased entirely.”⁶ The final issue of May 2nd was largely illustrated with photographs. There was, however, one illustration on the front cover. It was titled “A Wood Flume on the Columbia River” and it was signed “A. Burr.” (Figure 13)

Following the demise of the magazine, Burr worked sporadically as an illustrator, providing illustrations for *Northwest Magazine*, headquartered in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1891 and 1892. (Figure 14)

Burr passed away in San Francisco on September 4, 1942 at the age of eighty-eight. The *Oregonian*, which



Figure 14.

published his obituary, noted that Burr headed that newspaper’s art department for 17 years. But as we can see from his lengthy career with the *West Shore*, Alfred Burr produced a number of remarkable works—illustrations that, when viewed in the current century, afford for the viewer a unique point of entry into a vanished era.

Endnotes

1. J.D. Cleaver. “L. Samuel and the ‘West Shore’: Images of a Changing Pacific Northwest.” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Volume 94, No. 2/3 (Fall/Summer 1993). pp. 167-169.
2. “Artist Dies in California.” *Sunday Oregonian*: September 6, 1942, p. 5.
3. <https://www.nwp.usace.army.mil/jetties/>
4. Cleaver p. 216.

Craig Clinton is Professor Emeritus, Reed College, Portland, Oregon. His other articles on pictorial mapmakers include the “Hysterical” (vs. “Historical”) comic maps of iconic National Parks produced initially in the 1930s by the Lindgren Brothers of Spokane, Washington. Clinton’s articles that focus on 1930s pictorial mapmakers include a series of illustrated color lithographic “Story Maps,” chiefly of European nations, produced by Colortext of Chicago between 1935 and 1940, and colorful pictorial maps of the Pacific Northwest and California created by Fred Routledge for Chambers of Commerce, newspapers and American railroads between 1896 and 1930. Images courtesy of oldimprints.com.



Employee Magazines

BY JOHN OKOLOWICZ

Employee magazines (sometimes called “house journals” or “house organs”) were printed by a company to inform its employees about company policies and new products. They also included news of births, marriages, weddings, anniversaries, and retirements, as well as reports on the company sports league and the latest company picnic, social matters that helped build a sense of community among employees.

Krishna Subramanyam, in his book *Scientific and Technical Information Resources*, considers the *NCR Factory News*, launched in 1887 by John H. Patterson, president of the National Cash Register Company, the first employee magazine in America. But James Ford, author of *Magazines for the Millions* considers the first house journal to be *The Lowell Offering*, a magazine published between 1840 and 1845 by and for the female workers of the Lowell Textile Mill in Massachusetts.

In 1974 there were estimated to be 17,000 house journals published in the United States, 10,000

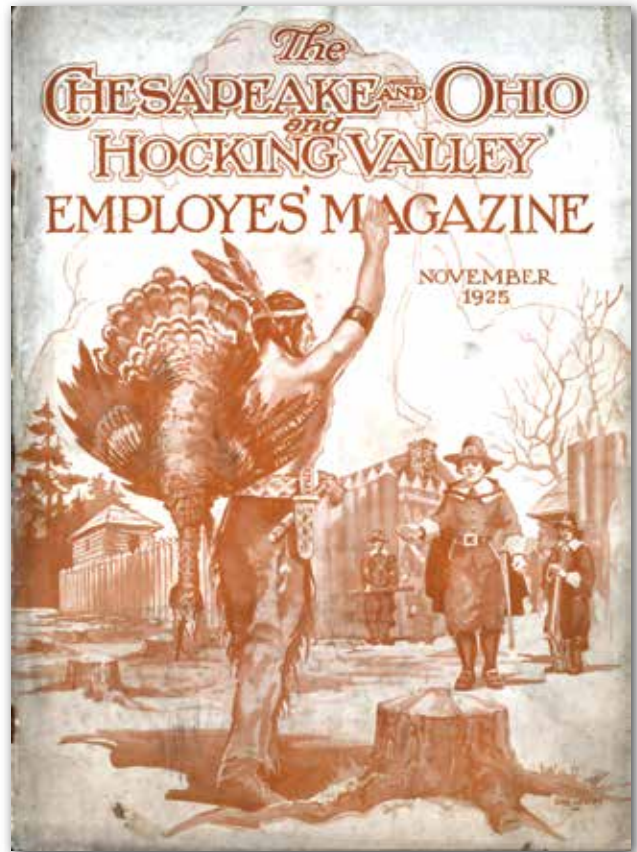


Figure 2. Chesapeake, & Ohio & Hocking Valley employees' magazine, November 1925.



Figure 1. Monroe Micrometer, July 1929.

in Europe, and 6,000 in Japan, according to the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*. Sadly, only a fraction of these have survived. Like Rodney Dangerfield, once perused, house journals did not get much respect. Most wound up in the trash shortly after a cursory read – a life expectancy modestly longer than that of a chewing gum wrapper.

Years ago, I serendipitously acquired a large number of Philco employee magazines which, until recently had been lying in a pile undisturbed and unread for most of 30 years. My curiosity revived, I decided to purchase a few magazines put out by other companies to see how they compared.

The magazine naming process is an interesting study. Humdrum names such as the *B&O Magazine* or *Philco News*, are typical. Nabisco took this to the extreme. Their magazine is simply titled, *Nabisco*; the word “magazine” was apparently too much baggage to add. Some are rather puzzling: the Dr. Pepper Company published the *Clock Dial*. I’m not sure what clocks or dials have to do with soda. However, some monikers are ingenious. The following were found online: *Krumb's* (The Tastykake Baking Company), *Budcaster*



Figure 3. Red Barrel, July 1948

(Anheuser Busch Brewing Company), *Pan Am Clipper*, *The Brush Off* (Fuller Brush Co.), *The Atom* (Los Alamos Laboratory), and the *Muzak Newzak*.

In the 1920s cover art typically served as an eye-catcher with little relevance to the magazine's content. These attractive covers were often the work of commercial artists. Harvey Ragsdale (1899-1989) created the cute toddler (Figure 1) on the cover of the June 1929 issue of the *Micrometer*, (Monroe Calculating Company's magazine). Henry Day Lowry's (1891-1976) illustration of America's first Thanksgiving feast (Figure 2) adorned the cover of *The Chesapeake and Ohio and Hocking Valley Employes'* (sic) *Magazine* of November 1925.

The Red Barrel, Coca Cola's magazine, snagged some of America's greatest illustrators for their advertising artwork. These included Haddon Sundblom (1899-1976), Hayden Hayden (1885-1955), and Andrew Loomis (1892-1959). Most of these covers featured exquisite renderings of women, invariably holding a bottle of Coke (Figure 3). Since these magazines were circulated to distributors outside the company, their covers served as a promotional tool. Unlike other company magazines, issues of *The Red Barrel* frequently appear (and just as frequently disappear) in online auctions.

As the medium of photography matured it became more cost effective to replace hand-drawn cover artwork with a photograph, often submitted by a company employee. This personalized the cover and reinforced

the "one big happy company" zeitgeist. When a suitable employee photo was not available, editors looked outside the company for generic photos to fill the gap. The Elgin Watch company used a stock photo by freelance photographer H. Armstrong Roberts (1883-1947) for the cover of their 1930 issue of *The Watch Word* (Figure 4).

After *Life* magazine burst onto the scene in 1936, photo quality standards rose for all magazines. *Life's* covers featured the work of now-iconic photojournalists who made use of newer techniques such as the close-up, and whose images of heavy industry were as compelling as their portraits or their images of nature. In the wake of its success, other magazines including house journals copied *Life's* style. This influence can be seen reflected in the photo-montages of company magazines (Figure 5).

For historians these magazines contain unique information about culture, technology, and internal politics that cannot be found elsewhere. Genealogical researchers, can use these publications to trace an individual's employment history. With considerable luck, an old company magazine might yield pictures of a long-lost friend or relative. And these publications can suggest other research subjects such as corporate history in America. It is not uncommon to find editorials touting the wonders of capitalism and the evils of big government. Occasional exhortations to work harder were embedded in cartoons.

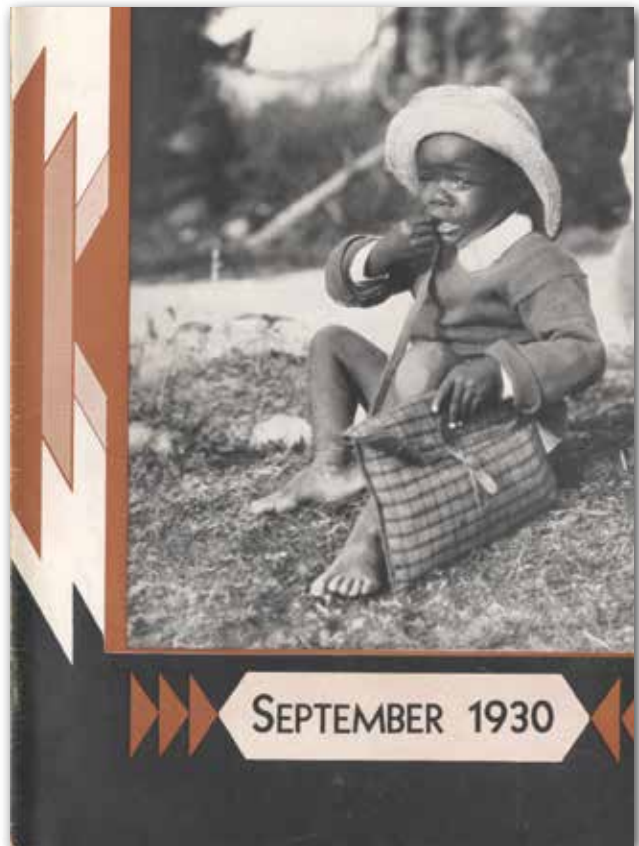
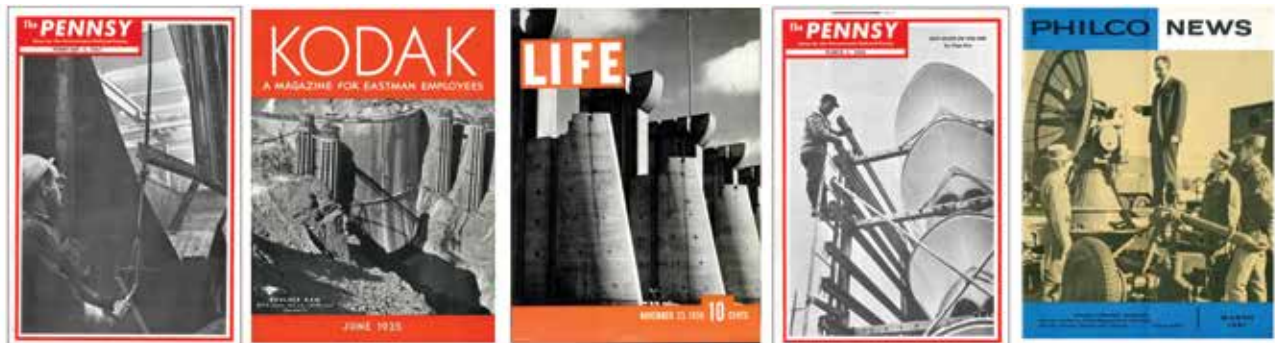


Figure 4. Elgin Watch Word, September 1930.



While casually paging through, here are some interesting tidbits that caught my eye:

The Clock Dial, Dr. Pepper's employee magazine, July/August 1963 contains a short editorial titled, "Study fails to connect cavities to sweets." Not surprising.

Railway Clerk (published by the railway workers' union) had this to say:

"Financial Experts Say: Railroads Are in Good Competitive Position" (7/15/1960)

"Good Location, Budget Spending Makes Reading Railroad Sound, Says President" (9/15/1960)

"On-the-Take Executives Wheel it Away. An estimated \$5 billion a year is being skimmed from corporate treasuries in the country by on-the-take executives, according to Dun & Bradstreet." (4/1/1968)

"300 mph Train on Drawing Boards" (5/15/1969)
[Note: the Reading Railroad filed for bankruptcy 3 years later.]

Philco News had a few short pro-business and pro-USA stories tucked inside such as:

"Look who's a capitalist: America is the only nation in which the average man can own and operate an automobile." (2/1950) [Note: This was a bit unfair. It is only five years since WW2 ended and the rest of the world is still rebuilding.]

"We Americans have 7-1/2 billion headaches a year – an average of 50/year/person. It may be a headache to you but it means jobs to people who make aspirin." (3/1950) [Note: A positive way to look at migraines!]

"Help for Harried housewives" . . . "Reliable domestic workers to do housework and take care of children during the day may be obtained by calling. . . the PA State Employment Service Domestic Office. This free employment service, designed to aid the working women of the city, is available . . . Orders may be placed in advance or a worker will be sent to the home the same day as the call." (4/1950) [Where did this service go? Here is something many women could use today!]

"The Cavemen Discovered It: the Origination of 'Capitol Formation'" (8/1955)

The Watch Word (Elgin Watch Company) in September 1930 had an editorial titled: "Singing in the Rain," which was an attempt to lift their employees' spirits near the end of the first year of what would become the Great Depression. The "pep talk" ends with "we should carry on in spite of any disappointments that may overtake us."

The **Nabisco** magazine announced new births by employees' family under the title "New Buyers."

Timken Trading Post (Timken Bearing Company) had the following line appear at the bottom of every page: "the right to work shall not be abridged or made impotent." [Note: They were trying to nurture favoritism towards "right to work" laws.]

The Pioneer (US Borax Company) May 1965 contained an editorial titled "200 Years of Free Enterprise." The article ended with a variation on JFK's famous speech: "no need to ask what Free Enterprise does for us. Let us now, 200 years after the Stamp Act, ask what we can do for Free Enterprise." [Note: This was their way of not-so-subtly encouraging employees to write to government officials to tell them to loosen any government regulations that interfere with business.]

The limited distribution and proprietary content of these magazines made it rare to find them in libraries. Nevertheless, here are a few exceptions:

Westinghouse Magazine. The Senator John Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh has a near complete collection. Fortunately, Westinghouse, which was headquartered in Pittsburgh, had an archives department and when the company folded the archives were rescued by the Heinz History Center Museum Library. They are not digitally scanned, but are available for reading at the museum. (heinzhistorycenter.org)

Kodak published a few specialized employee magazines with various names. Separate magazines were published for the US and Canada. The Rush Rhees Library at the University of Rochester has a collection and the website, mcnygenealogy.com has posted 30 issues online in pdf format. Ryerson University's archives in Toronto, Canada has many of the Canadian issues.

Dupont's **Better Living** magazine. 146 issues are accessible online through the Hagley Museum Library's website covering the years 1946-1972.

Philco News, the Philco Corporation's employee magazine, is also being hosted on the Hagley Museum Library's web site. 140 issues of this magazine spanning the years 1945-1962 are available.

The 3M Corporation's employee magazines are available at the Minnesota History Center's Gale Family Library in St. Paul, MN (libguides.mnhs.org).

The B&O Railroad's **Baltimore & Ohio Magazine** can be viewed at the Hays T. Watkins Research Library located in the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Museum, Baltimore, MD.

Life magazine's sales started declining in the 1960s. Its last issue as a weekly came out in December

Figure 5 (previous page). *Life* magazine's influence on cover themes: (a) women: Philco News July 1949; Dupont Better Living July/August 1957; Life July 9, 1945; Dr. Pepper Clock Dial October 1964; Dupont Better Living Jan/Feb 1952; (b) children: Dupont Better Living Jan/Feb 1954; Kodak October 1941; Life May 10, 1937; The Timken Trading Post May 1949; Philco News April 1955; (c) fun couples: Philco News April 1958; Nabisco Jan/Feb 1957; Life January 8, 1940; Kodak August 1946; Dupont Better Living Jan/Feb 1953; (d) animals: Railway Clerk September 15, 1960; Kodak January 1946; Life March 22, 1954; Philco News April 1956; Kodak July 1946; (e) industry: Pennsy February 1, 1967; Kodak June 1935; Life November 23, 1936; Pennsy March 1, 1966; Philco News March 1961.

1972, coinciding with America's final Apollo 17 moon landing. Technology was largely to blame – as more people watched the news come to life on their televisions, the static image on the page became less engaging.

Employee magazines kept chugging along well into the 1990s, but they would not be immune to the ravages of technology. A comparison of two random magazines from different eras illustrates the point. In 1925 *The Chesapeake and Ohio and Hocking Valley Employes'* (sic) *Magazine* had 80 pages and was as filled with ads for commercial products as any newsstand magazine. Contrast that with the 1960 edition of the *Philco News*, which had only 12 pages and no ads.

Although the developing internet may have been the most direct cause of the employee magazine's demise, like the fate of company pensions and the notion of "lifetime employment," its days were already numbered. In today's world where short term low wage service jobs are the norm, and labor unions have been crushed to near extinction, the need for an employee magazine has become moot.

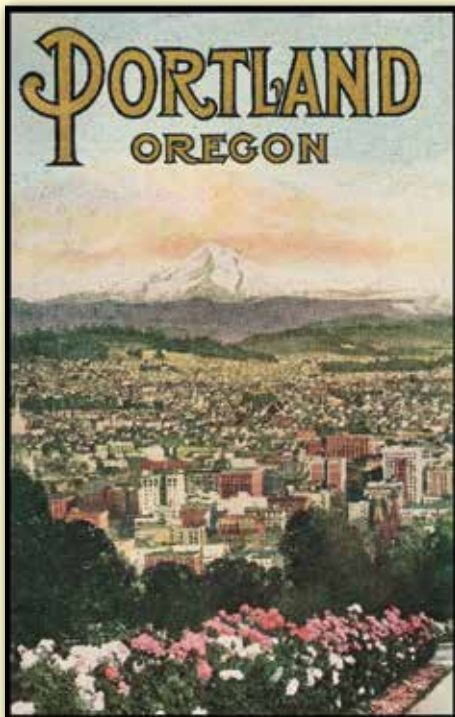
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- ⁴ Albert Walker, House Journals, *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, Marcel Dekker, 1974, vol. 11, pp. 61-74.
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- ⁶ Association of National Advertisers, *Magazine Circulation and Rate Trends 1940-1969*.
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John Okolowicz is fascinated by the artistry of old magazine ads as they relate to consumer technology. He is a retired Honeywell engineer after working there 29 years. His articles have appeared in *Radio Age* (newsletter of the Mid-Atlantic Radio Club), *Antique Radio Classified*, the *AWA Journal* (newsletter of the Antique Wireless Association), and *Deco Echoes*.



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Contempt for the Kaiser: *French Satirical Postcards from World War I*

BY WILLIAM VELVEL MOSKOFF AND CAROL GAYLE

France fought a bitter and bloody war with Germany for more than four years, starting in early August 1914 and ending with the signing of the Armistice on November 11, 1918. In all, the French suffered 1.4 million military deaths and the Germans, 2 million. For Germany these losses amounted to 3.82 percent of its population while for France, which had a smaller population, the loss was 4.29 percent. France fought the war on many battlefields. A propaganda campaign against Germany and its Kaiser began soon after the commencement of hostilities. French satirical postcards attacked Germany by belittling and humiliating Kaiser Wilhelm II. Many were unabashedly scatological, associating the Kaiser with the baser aspects of bodily function, and using double entendres and puns in idiomatic French to convey their anti-German sentiments.

The earliest cards conveyed optimism for an early French triumph. Figure 1 is one of a set of six postcards commemorating several battles of 1914. A crucial day during the First Battle of the Marne, fought between September 6 and 12, was September 11. The Germans had advanced to within 30 miles of Paris and seemed poised to achieve a swift and complete victory on the Western front. But the taxis of Paris came to the rescue, ferrying reserve troops to the front and halting the German advance in what came to be called “the miracle on the Marne.”

Figure 2 is a 1914 postcard, titled, “Imperial Nerves.” The Kaiser, the points of his mustache mimicking the spike atop his pickelhaube, pokes his head through a small opening in a door. The female attendant tries to calm him with the words, “Stay a while, Sire!!! We always hear the French cannons!!!” The scene is an outhouse and the black marks on the floor signify that the fearful Kaiser has lost control of



Figure 2. The frightened Kaiser in an outhouse.

his bowels. The attendant’s words can also be read as a play on the expression, “rester dans sa merde,” meaning to be stuck in the very problems you have created.

Figure 3, which features a cow and a bust of the Kaiser, is titled, “L’esprit de Guillaumbosch II.” The word “bosch,” a scornful French street expression for the Germans, is appended to the Kaiser’s name. The text translates as follows:

“Ah! These French people whom I detest,
I cannot be the mother...of them...
But I confirm without dispute
That a cow and I ...we are a pair!”

Wilhelm rejects the people of France but declares that he and the cow are alike. The verse contains the pun, “mère... d’eux (a mother of them) which sounds like “merdeux,” meaning “shitty.”



Figure 1. Celebrating the First Battle of the Marne. The figure on the left is Marshal Joseph Joffre, Commander-in-Chief of the French military forces on the Western Front until late 1916; Kaiser Wilhelm II, the supreme ruler of Germany receives the punch. Edition Lorraine.



Figure 3. The Kaiser and the Cow.

Another association of the Kaiser with defecation is found in the card in Figure 4. In the caption Wilhelm says: “They tell me this is the only ‘throne’ they have reserved for me,” referring to the seat over the chamber pot. The title of the card, “Bitter Reflections,” may be another play on words with “amères” recalling the word “merde,” meaning “shit.” It should be noted that a crow, a scavenger and symbol of death, is perched on the chair.

Figure 5 also from 1914, is titled, “To the Wolves.” We see the Kaiser hanged outside a city with two crows perched on the gibbet in conversation. The first says, “What a lovely meal!” The second responds: “Oh, no....that’s very bad carrion.” So distasteful is the Kaiser that his corrupt flesh is unsavory even to scavengers. On the post hangs a list of his crimes: “Unholy, Assassin, Thief, Perjurer, Liar, Blackguard, Traitor, Criminal.”

The next postcard has a response to food shortages, and probably dates to the winter of 1915-1916 when the harvest was poor and there was hunger in both France and Germany. It is filled with rage against the Kaiser and the German industrial establishment. The Kaiser, sitting on a throne labelled “William the God,” is depicted as a devil, his spindly limbs casting evil into the world as he sends off his subjects, the poor to the slaughterhouse and the rich to comfortable lives abroad. The caption reads: “To counter the scarcity of potatoes, the Kaiser decides to reduce the number of consumers.” The sarcasm of this bitter remark is made more vivid by the illustration of pigs being sent to the abattoir. A chubby child in an army helmet, a caricature of a German soldier, is seen waving a handkerchief and bidding adieu to the pigs and the potential meat they represent. In fact, in 1915, because of the food shortages and the imposition of rationing, 5 million pigs, who competed with humans for

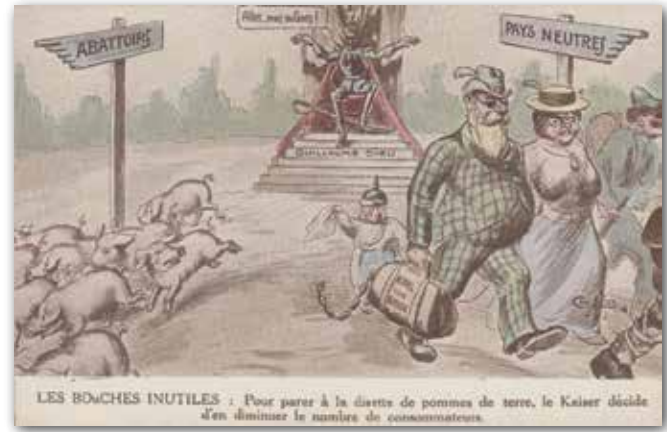


Figure 6. *Inconvenient mouths*. G. Mathière, 34, rue de Charonne, Paris.

potatoes and grain, were slaughtered in Germany during the so-called Schweinemord. In contrast the wealthy and well-fed, like Karl von Bosch and his wife, can afford to go to neutral countries to live out the war in comfort. Bosch was an essential contributor to the German arms industry as the number two person in the chemical giant BASF, which was able to synthesize a chemical substitute for saltpeter, one of the major components in the manufacture of gunpowder.

Themes of scatology and the Kaiser’s humiliation continue in the next example, Figure 7. An Alsatian woman, identified by her headdress, empties her chamber pot over the Kaiser’s head exclaiming, “You need a shampoo.” The satchel under his arm bears a travel sticker for ALSACE with only the last four letters visible. Alsace, a border region between France and Germany was annexed by Germany in 1871 along with the neighboring province of Lorraine. The

French government refused to accept the loss. Enduring anti-German sentiment in the region surfaced during the war. Thousands of French sympathizers were imprisoned for their pro-French activities which ranged from singing the Marseillaise to offering intelligence to the French army. The return of Alsace and Lorraine was one of France’s key goals during the war. It was finally realized at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920.

In the next card (Figure 8), the Kaiser is depicted as a portly drunkard being given the heave-ho by a pair of young French zouaves, light infantry soldiers in the French army. While the phrase on the card, “Une charogne encombrante,” translates literally as “A bulky carrion,” the real meaning here is that



Figure 4. *The Kaiser’s chamber pot throne*. Humoristic Edition L G.



Figure 5. *The Hanged Kaiser*. A. Tantot, Paris.



Figure 7. Alsace woman gives the Kaiser a shampoo.



Figure 9. The Kaiser's Navy blockaded. Provençale, Quai du Canal, Marseille.



Figure 10. The Triumph of the French over the German Army. Les Cartes du Soldat, 19 rue Lafayette, Paris.

he is a “fat bastard” who will soon be dead and rotting, like a piece of carrion.

The last two postcards convey optimism for French triumph. In Figure 9, a French sailor holds aloft a bottle containing the tiny Kaiser wearing an Admiral's uniform. With great pleasure the sailor says: “Hello! Wilhelm, I do believe you've been bottled up.” From the beginning of the war a blockade had kept the German navy, the Kaiser's favorite branch of the military, bottled up in the North and Baltic Seas. The French sailor belittles the Kaiser not only literally but by addressing him without respect, by his first name.

The final card (figure 10) depicts “The Benefactor of Humanity,” a giant French soldier wielding his rifle to scatter German soldiers as they are trod underfoot. It is the ultimate expression of hostility towards Germany and a fantasy of overwhelming and decisive victory.



Figure 8. The Kaiser as a helpless old bastard. E. Dèley, Boulevard de Sébastopol, Paris.

These ten postcards are a window into French attitudes toward the enemy during World War I and a powerful example of propaganda as a way for civilians to fight a war.

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