

The Sail Before the Trail or Have We Missed the Boat?

Latter-day Saint Maritime Immigration to America in the 19th Century

BY FRED E. WOODS

“I left the home of my birth to gather. . . . The company with which I was to sail was all strangers to me. When I arrived at Liverpool and saw the ocean that would soon roll between me and all I loved, my heart almost failed me. But I had laid my idols all upon the altar. There was no turning back. . . . So I thus alone set out for the reward of everlasting life, trusting in God.”¹

This inspiring account reflects the spirit of thousands of foreign Latter-day Saint converts who crossed the oceans to gather to an American Zion in the nineteenth century. Between 1840 and 1890 about 90,000 Saints immigrated to America on over 500 known chartered voyages. While the story of Mormon pioneers crossing the Plains has received much notice, this maritime portion of their rousing story is often neglected and therefore raises the question “Have we missed the boat?”²

The primary port of departure for most Saints in the nineteenth century was Liverpool. By 1840, it was the most active international port of emigration in the world. This was due to its prime location for rail connections in the British Isles and also its excellent navigable channels in the Mersey River.³

Another reason why Liverpool was the major launching point for the Saints was that it was where the Latter-day Saint British Mission office was located.

Over 80% of the Latter-day Saint immigrants who gathered to America in the nineteenth century embarked from Liverpool. These Saints were mostly converts from Great Britain. The second largest group was Scandinavian proselytes who generally began the first portion of their maritime travels from Copenhagen.

Continued on Page 4



Figure 1. The promise at the end of the journey: an 1878 painting by Carl Christian Anton Christensen (1831-1912) depicts immigrants from England arriving in Salt Lake City by wagon to greet friends and loved ones. Christensen himself was converted in Denmark and sailed for America from Liverpool on the Westmoreland in 1857. Courtesy the International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

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"Ephemera" has gone mainstream!

Not long ago the word "ephemera" was little known, which was fine with those of us who delight in the pursuit of the obscure. A Google search for "ephemera" in 2012 would have yielded but a handful of results. Though I did absolutely nothing to optimize search results, my personal website with that word in its name came up for years at or near the top of the first search page, mostly because it was one of the few places using the word. Searching today, I find that my site does not appear until page 13! "Ephemera" has become commonplace. Nowadays, stamp and postal history dealers make a point of also offering ephemera, as do book dealers and antiques dealers. It would seem that our time has come!

An article currently posted on the website of the Digital Marketing Institute entitled "Ephemeral Content: What It Means For Your Brand" starts off: *The evolving nature of social media brings about a constant stream of buzzwords and trends. One of the latest buzz phrases is ephemeral content.* The article goes on to discuss the importance of active participation in social media.

Which brings me to the subject of our Ephemera Society. That same Google search nicely positions a link to our ESA website third from the top, but also bears the prominent warning that our site is "not mobile-friendly." In a world where an overwhelming majority of users access the web on a mobile device, it is the kiss of death. That is about to change. Your Society—thanks to the generosity of supporters led by Jay Last further bolstered by Ward & Diane Zumsteg, Susan Paine, Stuart Kaplan, Lisa Baskin and some fifteen others—has begun the process of creating a new, up-to-date website which will work nicely on smartphones and tablets, as well as on a desktop. Stay tuned.

But we also need something else...an active and lively presence on social media. We need regular (ideally, daily) postings of ephemera on our Twitter, Facebook and YouTube pages. We need members and interested others to do the same on their personal accounts including Instagram and Snapchat, with links to the ESA accounts and website whenever appropriate. We need to generate ephemera buzz and ESA buzz! Our active Treasurer Henry Voigt is already doing this, and his regular postings attract thousands of followers. We would love more of the same from everybody out there who can snap and post a smartphone image, who can link to and from our social media and website pages. The more folks doing it constantly, the better. ESA will become better known, we will stay positioned in the center of the conversation, and we will gain needed membership. A larger membership will provide more resources, which will enable us to provide additional member benefits.

We also are in need of a dedicated person to serve as our official Media Content Provider (we'll provide a business card and even a modest amount of compensation!). If you are fluent in social media and willing to post and link for us on a weekly or even daily basis, week in and week out throughout the year, please contact me! We need you badly.

Our 2019 conference and fair in Greenwich was very successful this year, according to the feedback received. Our topic, "Coming to America / The Immigrant Experience," could not have been more timely. The nine presenters delivered rich content, and every dealer I spoke with expressed great satisfaction with sales activity, with a couple reporting their best show ever. There was a strong buzz throughout the show as a result of the excellent shopper turnout. Show promoter *par excellence* Marvin Getman did his usual fine job, and then some.

Though not yet 100% certain, it looks as though our mid-year meeting will be held in Ann Arbor, Michigan this year, in mid-October. Your Board will meet, and as usual several behind-the-scenes visits to archives and personal collections will be featured. All ESA members are warmly invited and encouraged to join in on the several field trips. A side visit to a book and paper show in Lansing may also be in the offing. Details to follow...

Dick

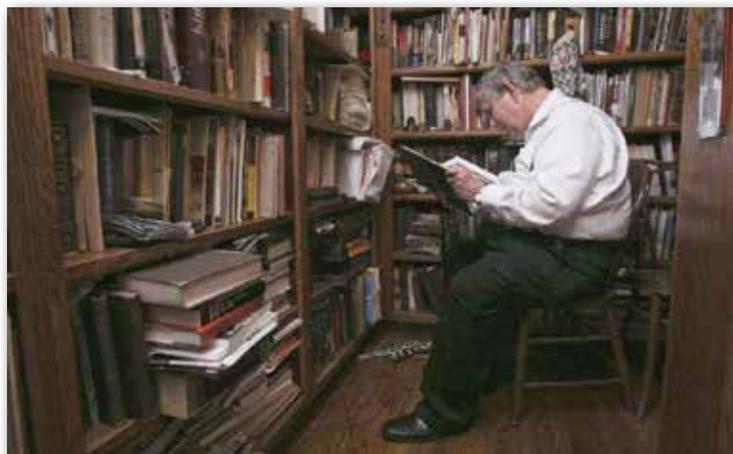
Richard Sheaff, President

Remembering Two of Our Most Dedicated Members

The Society lost two of its most dedicated promoters this winter. **Molly F. Harris** served two terms on our Board of Directors, contributed articles to our publications (the most recent: “Pageants, Palaces, and Parades: St. Paul’s Winter Festival” *The Ephemera Journal* January 2019), supported the eNews each month, and attended far-flung ephemera events. Molly worked closely with her local historical societies in Minnesota, and often gave presentations illustrated with ephemera - where she would always promote the Ephemera Society. She and her late husband Leo John Harris parlayed their love of ephemera into a publishing business, Pogo Press, and created many books out of their own collecting interests. Molly’s quiet demeanor belied her sharp mind - she held a Ph.D. in art history from the University of Minnesota.



Robert (Bob) Chandler was senior historian of Wells Fargo Bank for decades, responsible for their museum in San Francisco and a die-hard supporter of Bank President Anderson’s ‘no trade’ policy of items within their collection. Bob was passionate about western history, and wrote widely about the mining industry, Levi’s (see his article “Levi’s Letterhead Logo Wars” *The Ephemera Journal* January 2016), G. T. Brown, and printers Britton & Rey. He was president of the Book Club of California. In retirement he took to the road with what he called his ‘dog and pony show’ to educate with ephemera (see “Ephemera Meant to be Handled” *The Ephemera Journal* September 2016). Bob’s wit and casual appearance belied his academic training (Ph.D. in history - his dissertation on California’s Civil War journalism, see his article “The Civil War West” *The Ephemera Journal*, September 2013). Friend and colleague Fred Holabird remembers the top hat and red vest that Bob wore at Wells Fargo - “he was so well known that local comic strip writers often included his persona in the comics of the *Examiner*.”



In this Issue...

Crossing borders always entails risk.

19th century immigrants to America faced difficulties arranging travel, on the sea voyage itself, at customs and other legal roadblocks, and then suffered a whole host of trouble finding their way to a livelihood. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints — colloquially, the Mormons — understood that to safeguard European converts crossing the several borders to Salt Lake City they needed to sponsor helpers at every turn. **Professor Fred Woods** explains the sophisticated “hand-holding” that was developed.

Once under the protection of the Church, these immigrants prospered. The story for Chinese immigrants was quite different - fraught with draconian regulation and racial discrimination. **Professor Sheng-mei Ma** uses a thematic approach to ponder the strange persistence of the trope of the Chinese laundryman in American culture.

These two articles are based on presentations at the ESA 39 conference. **Carina Broman** came from Sweden to be at the event — traveling the farthest of any attendee — and braving the linguistic border, as she does here with an exploration of swimming ephemera from Stockholm’s national library.

Carol Mobley offers her tattooed ancestor as the first in what we hope is a series on genealogical ephemera research.

And **Mandy Ross**, a new member who specializes in scrapbooks, introduces another ongoing project — to have collectors describe the process of their researching or interpreting items.

—Diane DeBlois, editor

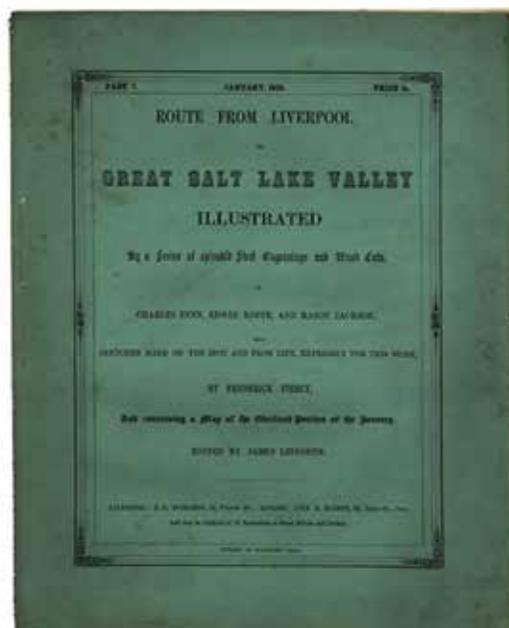


Figure 2. 1853 sketch of St. Louis by Frederick Piercy (1830-1891). St. Louis was the main inland port for the Latter-day Saints from 1849-1855. Piercy immigrated from Liverpool on the ship *Jersey* in 1853, bound for New Orleans. His illustrated travels, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, was published in 15 parts, July 1854 to September 1855, to encourage British Mormons to emigrate to Utah.

Commencing with the first group of Saints who gathered in Liverpool before embarking on the *Britannia* in June of 1840, these converts were assisted by elders (ecclesiastical leaders) who worked at the Liverpool mission office. Hugh Moon recalled as he stepped aboard the *Britannia* that “We found Elders Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball aboard. They had stretched a curtain across our cabin and commenced blessing the company.”⁴

In addition to such counsel, Church leaders and returning missionaries were appointed at Liverpool to preside over the sea-going Saints. Ecclesiastical units were organized and leaders made certain that members adhered to daily and weekly schedules which included daily prayers, Church meetings and made sure that general good order and proper hygiene was maintained.

Blessings from Church leaders were supplemented by apostolic counsel on immigration to America. In April of 1841 the “Epistle of the Twelve” in the *Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* was published with the following advice:

We have found that there are so many ‘pick pockets,’ and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as the agent of the church, to superintend the fitting out of the Saints from Liverpool to America. . . . It is also a great saving to go in companies, instead of going individually. First, a company can charter a vessel, so as to make the passage much cheaper than otherwise. Secondly, provisions can be purchased at wholesale for a company much cheaper than otherwise. Thirdly, this

will avoid bad company on the passage. Fourthly, when a company arrives in New Orleans they can charter a steam-boat so as to reduce the passage near one-half. This measure will save some hundreds of pounds on each ship load. Fifthly, a man of experience can go as leader of each company, who will know how to avoid rogues and knaves.⁵

Decades later, the Saints found a shipping company and agent they could trust in which over forty thousand Latter-day Saint converts crossed the Atlantic Ocean to gather in Utah upon a dozen steam vessels owned and operated by the Guion Line, a British shipping company.⁶ This esteemed shipping line could readily be identified by the fact that most of the line’s vessels were named after American states, though the ships were British by law.⁷ The vessels themselves were known to be sea-worthy, but perhaps their greatest asset was their main shipping agent, Mr. George N. Ramsden. Though he was not a Latter-day Saint, he was a man of great principle and had a reputation of utmost integrity.

The beginning of Ramsden’s warm relationship with the Saints began on May 13, 1869 when he met with Latter-day Saint British Mission President Albert Carrington, in Liverpool. Here, an arrangement was made for the Trans-Atlantic conveyance of a company of Latter-day Saint converts aboard the *Minnesota*.⁸ According to their plan, the Saints boarded the *Minnesota* in Liverpool on June 1, 1869. The “British Mission Manuscript History” records, “On their arrival on board they were provided with tea, and everything was done by the manager, Mr.

G. Ramsden, for the comfort of the Saints. They had the best part of the steamer entirely for themselves and could use the aft part of the ship in common with the cabin passengers.”⁹

Five years later, Latter-day Saint European Mission President Joseph F. Smith found he could secure a better financial deal with a different shipping firm. In response, Ramsden, whom Smith defined as “a very shrewd, keen man, with both eyes open to business,”¹⁰ quickly made a counteroffer to keep the Latter-day Saints’ business. This proposal affected the entire shipping conference cartel, which decided to permit the Guion Line to lower the rates of Latter-day Saint passengers only.¹¹

The extraordinary relationship between George Ramsden and the Latter-day Saints was not only kept alive, but lasted for a quarter of a century. In praise of the trust he enjoyed with the Saints, British Mission President Anthon H. Lund noted that Ramsden worked for decades with the Church in absence of a written contract.¹² Furthermore, by 1880, the entire maritime industry held the Guion Line in great esteem inasmuch as it had “never lost a life” during its shipping years.¹³ Not only did the sea-going Saints receive exceptional service, but they could travel in peace, confident of the Guion’s impeccable safety record. In addition, the successful conversion from sail to steam on the journey westward significantly reduced travel time to America.¹⁴ Ramsden’s trusted leadership, paired with the timely and safe voyage the Guion Line offered to Saints, created a truly thriving partnership and business.

Within this relationship, the Saints also found support and protection against those who wished to do them harm.



Figure 4. 1859 passport giving U.S. citizen and Mormon missionary John Van Cott rights and privileges to travel in Europe, hence the certificate printed in French, signed in London by the American consul. Courtesy The Church History Library, Salt Lake City.



Figure 3. A ticket contracted in 1856 for steerage passage from Liverpool to Boston on the ship Enoch Train for four adults, apparently a father, Ames Anderson age 52, and three sons, Archibald, John and James age 20, 15 and 13. Courtesy The Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

For example, in 1879, U.S. Secretary of State William M. Evarts tried to campaign against the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy by sending a circular to a number of European countries, ultimately hoping to halt their immigration to America. “Several of Mr. Ramsden’s friends engaged in the shipping business warned him of the risk he ran of having our people sent back should he attempt to land them in America; but this did not deter him from booking them. He saw how unjust this measure was, and knew that it had its origin in prejudice and religious intolerance.”¹⁵

According to Anthon H. Lund, just as a consul put up posters announcing Latter-day Saints could not land in American ports, Ramsden came aboard a Guion ship and

P. E. FUND, EMIGRATION, 1869.							
No.	NAME	AGE	Sex	Prof.	RESIDES	No. of	DATE
12	Anderson John	27			100	Scandinavian	
14	Anderson Mattie	28			18 00	Company	
15	Anderson Maria	23			10 25		
29	Anderson Alfred	33			13 65		
30	Anderson Mattie	32			22 00		
63	Anderson Maria	27			22 68		
11	Anderson M. W.	26			15 70		
					166 45		
87	Anderson Samuel	59			53 00	Scandinavian	
					Company		
99	Anderson M.	28			65 00	Scandinavian	
126	Anderson Henry				10 00		
127	Anderson John	17			16 20		
					114 70		
136	Anderson George	21			35 00	Scandinavian	

Figure 5. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was established in 1849 to subsidize 8,000 poor refugees from Nauvoo, Illinois, wishing to go to Utah. Here, in 1869, a ledger page documents outlays to Saints whose last names began with A. Seven are part of a Scandinavian Company, one a Colorado Company, one a Manhattan Company, and three were emigrants from states in the union. Courtesy The Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

that they would receive three quarts of water every day, “with as much provisions as they can eat, which are all of the best quality, and which are examined and put on board under the inspection of Her Majesty’s Emigration Officers, and cooked and served out by the company’s servants.” Breakfast was to be served at 8:00 a.m., dinner at 1:00 p.m. and supper at 6:00 p.m. As far as sleeping arrangements were concerned, the Guion Guide stipulated that “married couples are berthed together. Single females are placed in the room by themselves, under charge of the stewardess.”¹⁷

The Guion Line treated the Saints a cut above other emigrants. One Latter-day Saint convert named Alma Ash explained:

At the Guion Office we were told that it was too late to go aboard and they would find us lodgings for the night for a reasonable sum. It was evident to us that the agents were looking more after the money they could get out of the emigrant than his comfort and well-being. We informed them that we wanted to find the docks and go aboard that night if possible and asked them to direct us to 42 Islington, the office of the church in Liverpool, and which the Guion company were very familiar with. Just as soon as we mentioned 42 Islington they changed their tune and treated us very politely and directed us where to go.¹⁸

A number of accounts and letters published in the *Star* further attest to the excellent service Ramsden consistently gave to the Trans-Atlantic bound Saints. For instance, the statistics were compiled for the emigration report of 1874 noted, “It is very gratifying to us to state that the kind and agreeable arrangements as made by Mr. Ramsden,

took charge: “In a towering rage [Ramsden] commanded the Consul to pull down the notice. The latter said he was acting [on] order from the government. Ramsden replied that the government had nothing to do with his ships, and that he did not ask a passenger what his religion was. His strong stand saved our emigration from being stopped.”¹⁶

Steerage passengers were informed that upon arrival at New York, they would “[land] at the Government Depot, Castle Garden, where they will receive every information respecting the departure of trains, steamboats.” Furthermore, all passengers were told

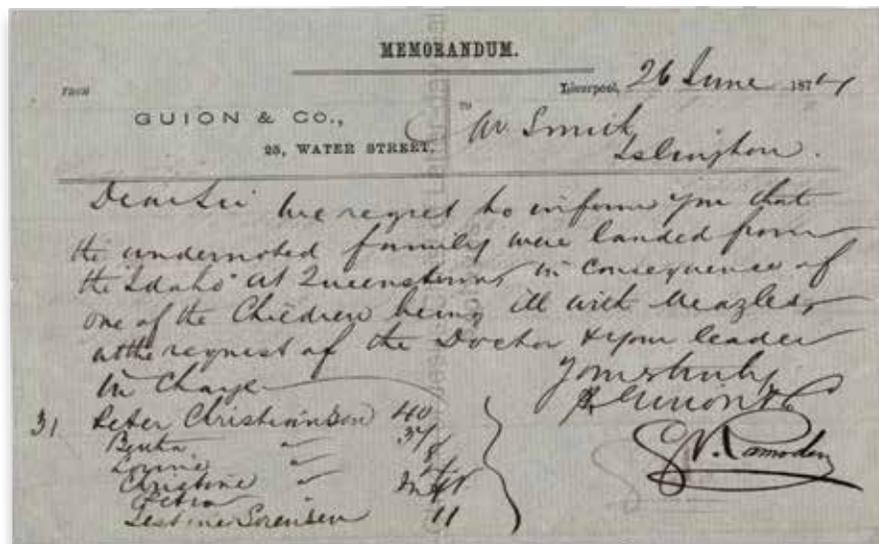


Figure 6. Memorandum, June 26 1874, from the Guion Line’s chief passenger agent George Ramsden to Joseph F. Smith informing him that the Peter Christensen family of six had to disembark the steamship Idaho at Queenstown, Ireland, en route to America, as one of the children was ill with measles. At this time, Smith was in charge of emigration from Latter-day Saint mission headquarters at 42 Islington Street in Liverpool. Courtesy The Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

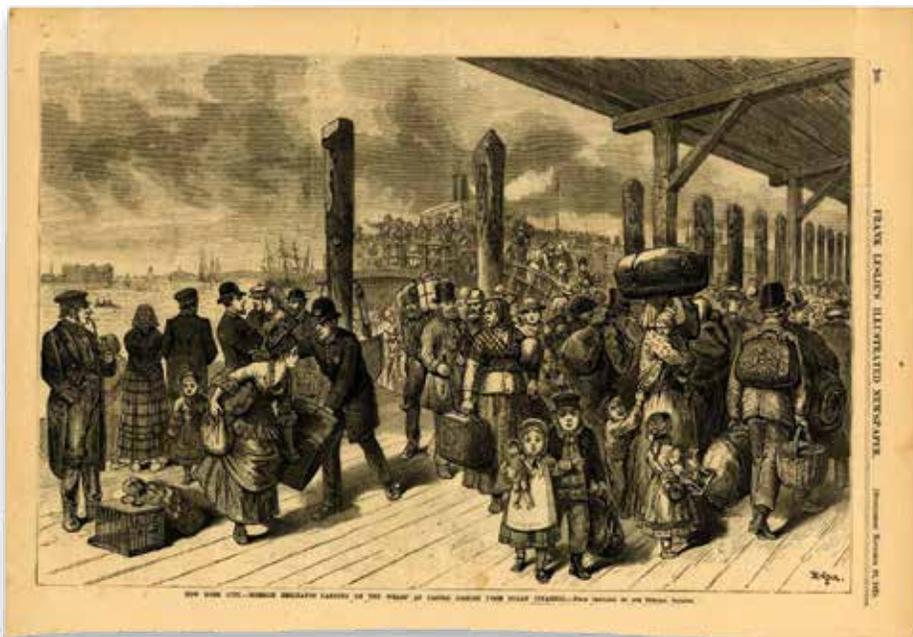


Figure 7. “New York City — Scene in Castle Garden on the Arrival of Mormon Converts from Europe” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, November 23, 1878.

General Passenger Agent and Manager . . . have been in every respect satisfactory.” The report also mentioned the “courtesy and gentlemanly good feelings extended by [the] Captains.”¹⁹

The following year, C. C. Larsen and others wrote, “In Hull we were met by Mr. G. Ramsden, of Liverpool, . . . a gentleman of first class business tact, whom we found ready and on hand to make all arrangements necessary for the comfort and convenience of forwarding our company.”²⁰ Additionally, in a letter to European Mission President, Albert Carrington, Junius F. Wells wrote, “Please remember me to all of the brethren, and to Mr. Ramsden.”²¹

An 1877 telegram published in the *Millennial Star* attests to the attention Ramsden continued to show to his Latter-day Saint clients after their voyage had ended: “By courtesy of G. Ramsden, Esq., of Guion & Co., we are informed that the S. S. *Wisconsin* arrived in New York at 4 a.m. on the 7th inst. All well.”²² In another notice titled “Departure,” the writer noted, “Mr. Ramsden, of Guion & Co., met the company at Hull, and by his irrepressible force and indefatigable labor, aided materially in bringing them safely to Liverpool.”²³

Furthermore, in preparation for an 1879 voyage on the *Wyoming*, it was said that Ramsden was unrelenting in his labors for making “all necessary arrangements for the comfort of the Saints, and in this he was highly successful. The portion of the vessel assigned to the company was fitted up in a manner highly commendable to his ability to render the situation as pleasant as possible.”²⁴

Later that same year, two other articles noted Ramsden’s painstaking labor and commitment to provide excellent service to the Saints: “As usual, Mr. Ramsden and his aides were indefatigable in their efforts to provide for the well-being of the passengers, and the company were in fine spirits.”²⁵ Further, “As usual, Mr. Ramsden, assisted

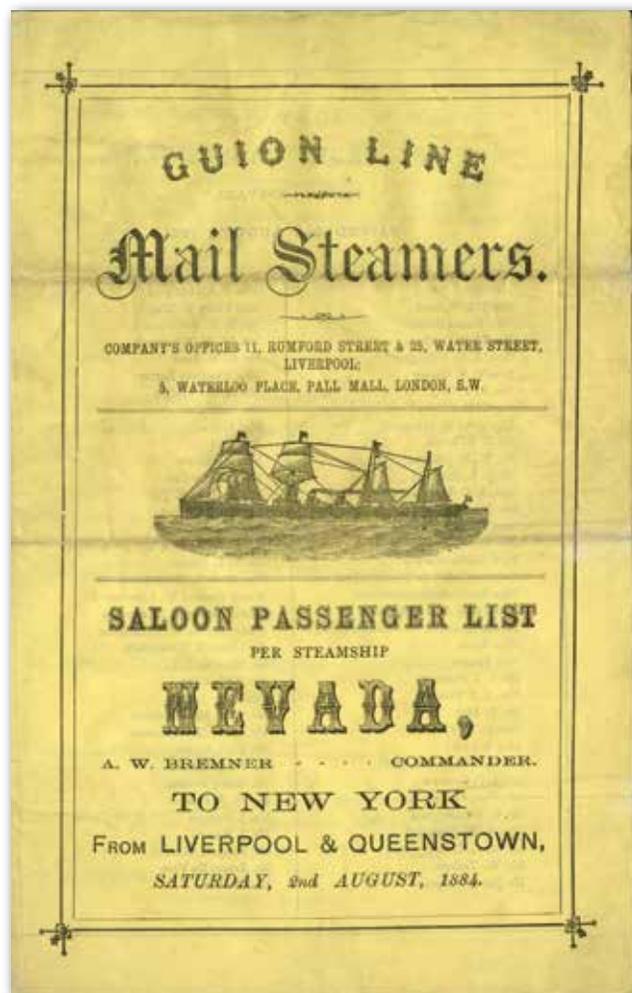


Figure 8. 1884 passenger list for the Guion Line Nevada, at the height of Guion’s catering to Latter-day Saint immigrants. Courtesy The Church History Library, Salt Lake City.



Figure 9. A group of Latter-day Saint missionaries from mission headquarters in Liverpool posed on board the Guion Line Wisconsin in 1889. They would ensure the safety and comfort of the Mormon immigrant passengers. Courtesy The Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

by his aides, was on the alert to make matters agreeable and comfortable as possible on shipboard. His part in connection with seeing to the well-being of the people is always well and willingly performed.”²⁶

Nearly a decade later, the *Millennial Star* provided a composite testimony of the excellent treatment the Saints had received on their many Trans-Atlantic voyages with Mr. Ramsden and the Guion Line:

The Guion Company, whose steamships have carried our people across the ocean, have secured many eulogies from the companies of Saints emigrating for the uniform kindness, care and consideration they have received at the hands of George Ramsden, Esq., their agent, and the officers of their excellent line of steamships. It would be impossible for emigrants to be treated with greater consideration, and they have freely expressed verbally and in writing to the captains and officers their appreciation of the treatment received.²⁷

However, once its fleet became outdated, the Guion Line simply could not compete with other shipping companies, although it managed to hold on until the Guion Line Corporation was finally liquidated in 1894. The outdated fleet was not the only problem that spelled financial disaster for the business. In that same year, the Latter-day Saint Church hierarchy counseled that foreign converts “‘should not be encouraged to emigrate until they are firmly grounded in the religion by labor and experience,’ and that those who were earning good wages and were in relatively favourable circumstances should not be encouraged to emigrate to this place, where labor is so scarce.”²⁸ This statement led to an even steeper decline in Latter-day Saint immigration, which had already

significantly subsided in the early 1890s, factors that certainly affected the decline in the Guion Line’s revenue.

Two years later, on May 26, 1896, the reputable Christian businessman George Ramsden died at the age of sixty-five.²⁹ The *Liverpool Daily Post* praised Ramsden as “a man of great integrity, ability and determination [and] . . . successful in securing and retaining for many years for his shipping company a contract with the Mormon elders for the conveyance of their emigrant proselytes, large numbers of whom were sent across the Atlantic. Brigham Young’s converts were then a flourishing source of revenue for this port.”³⁰

Praiseworthy remarks were also made by Anthon H. Lund at the time of Ramsden’s death, noted in the *Millennial Star* under the title “A Good Friend Gone.” Publicly, he wrote to his readers that with the death of Ramsden, “Latter-day Saints lose one of their best friends, . . . a man of integrity and honor.” Lund added, although Ramsden “did not share the religious views of the Latter-day Saints, . . . his business connections with them for so many years had convinced him of their honesty and integrity, qualities which he highly treasured, possessing them as he did in so high a degree.”³¹

Besides having such a trustworthy connection in Ramsden and a good fleet of vessels in the Guion Line, the Saints felt they were aided by informed Church leadership and heavenly power. In fact, several immigrant accounts mention divine intervention.³² It is an impressive point that all Latter-day Saint voyages crossing the Atlantic, and all but one voyaging over the Pacific, to America in the nineteenth century arrived in safety. This is in sharp contrast to the fact that at least 59 non Latter-day Saint immigrant carrying vessels sank just between the years 1847-1853 alone.³³ The modus operandi of the Latter-day Saints in immigrating to America and those

they chose to work with is therefore both seaworthy and noteworthy.

Endnotes

- ¹ [Reminiscences] of Priscilla Stains, in Edward W. Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (New York: n.p., 1877), 288. Priscilla Stains was one of 210 immigrating Saints who sailed on the ship *Fanny* in 1844.
- ² A notable exception is the work of Conway B. Sonne who authored several publications on this topic.
- ³ Conway B. Sonne, "Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration," paper presented at the Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool, England on July 10, 1987.
- ⁴ Autobiography of Hugh Moon, 2, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as CHL.
- ⁵ "Epistle of the Twelve," *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 1:311; hereafter cited as *MS*. Church leaders also assisted over 30,000 foreign converts through the Perpetual Emigrating Fund between 1849-1887. It was maintained through church donations and private contributions. Immigrants who received funds to gather were expected to repay what they borrowed as soon as they were able. See David F. Boone, "Perpetual Emigrating Fund," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed. 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1075.
- ⁶ Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890* (University of Utah Press: Salt Lake City, 1983), 117, 173.
- ⁷ George Chandler, *Liverpool Shipping: A Short History* (London: Phoenix House, 1960), 122-23.
- ⁸ "British Mission Manuscript History," vol. 24 (1869-1871), May 13, 1869, CHL.
- ⁹ "British Mission Manuscript History," vol. 24 (1869-1871), June 1, 1869, CHL.
- ¹⁰ Letter of Joseph F. Smith to Franklin D. Richards, September 9, 1874, Joseph F. Smith Letterbook, 122, CHL.
- ¹¹ Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869-1887," *Journal of Mormon History* (1982), 9: 7.
- ¹² Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869-1887," *Journal of Mormon History* (1982), 9:6-7.
- ¹³ Edward Cloward, *The Steam-Ship Lines of the Mersey and Export Trade Register*, published annually, first issue (Liverpool, England: The Nautical Publishing Co., May, 1880), 17.
- ¹⁴ The Guion Line shortened the length of the Atlantic crossing from 32-36 days to 10-16 days.
- ¹⁵ Anthon H. Lund, "A Good Friend Gone." *MS* 58, no. 23 (June 4, 1896):360-62.
- ¹⁶ Letter of Anthon H. Lund to Heber J. Grant, March 22, 1905, Lund Letterbooks, CHL, as cited in Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869-1887," *Journal of Mormon History* (1982), 9:7.
- ¹⁷ Guion Line Guide, *Ibid.*, 3-7.
- ¹⁸ Autobiography of Alma Ash [August 1885], 27, CHL.
- ¹⁹ "Statistical Emigration Report for 1874," *MS* 36, no. 42, (October 20, 1874), 666.
- ²⁰ Letter of C. C. Larsen, et al., to President Joseph F. Smith, *MS* 37, no. 27 (July 5, 1875), 428.
- ²¹ Letter of Junius F. Wells to Albert Carrington, Jan. 6, 1876, *MS* 38, no. 5, (January 31, 1876), 76. In another letter written by Adolph Anderson, et al., to President George Teasdale, Teasdale was asked, "Please extend to Mr. Ramsden my personal thanks and appreciation for his courtesies extended." See "Correspondence," *MS* 52, no. 22 (June 2, 1890), 349.
- ²² "Telegram," *MS* 39, no. 28 (July 9, 1877), 443.
- ²³ "Departure," *MS* 40, no. 26 (July 1, 1878), 411.
- ²⁴ *MS* 41, no. 16 (April 21, 1879), 251.
- ²⁵ "Third Company of the Season," *MS* 41, no. 26 (June 30, 1879), 412.

²⁶ *MS* 41, no. 36 (September 8, 1879), 571.

²⁷ "Our Emigration," *MS* 48, no. 48 (November 28, 1887), 763-64.

²⁸ Richard L. Jensen, "The Gathering to Zion," *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles 1837-1987*, eds. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, Larry C. Porter, (Solihull, England: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 189. A century later, and after a Latter-day Saint temple was erected in the United Kingdom in 1958, the Church First Presidency reissued an official policy regarding immigration to the United States: "In our day, the Lord has seen fit to provide the blessings of the gospel, including the increased number of temples, in many parts of the world. Therefore, we wish to reiterate the long-standing counsel to members of the Church to remain in their homelands rather than immigrate to the United States." See The First Presidency, "Remain in homelands, members counseled," *Church News* (11 December 1999): 7.

²⁹ "The Late Mr. G. Ramsden," *Liverpool Mercury* (May 27, 1896), notes, "Mr. George Ramsden . . . died yesterday . . . who was sixty-five years of age, had been unwell for a considerable time, his health having been seriously affected by the worry consequent on the collapse of the Guion Line. Mr. Ramsden was well known and universally respected in shipping circles, his geniality and kindly disposition having gained him hosts of friends."

³⁰ "Death of Mr. George Ramsden," *The Liverpool Daily Post* (May 27, 1896).

³¹ Anthon H. Lund, "A Good Friend Gone." *MS* 58, no. 23 (June 4, 1896), 360-62. For more information on Anthon H. Lund, see Jennifer L. Lund, "Out of the Swan's Nest: The Ministry of Anthon H. Lund, Scandinavian Apostle," *Journal of Mormon History* 29, no. 2 (Fall 2003), 77-105.

³² See for example, Journal of Mary Ann Weston Maughan, type-script, 16, and the Diary of Isaiah M. Coombs, 40-42, CHL. These and over 1,300 Latter-day Saint immigrant accounts have been compiled and edited under the direction of Fred E. Woods and are available at <https://mormonmigration.lib.byu.edu/>.

³³ The vessel *Julia Ann* wrecked in 1855 with 28 of 56 passengers being Latter-day Saints. Of the 28 Saints, only five drowned, while those who survived spent two months on an uninhabited island until they were eventually rescued. See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 139. For more information on the this wreck and rescue see Fred E. Woods, *Divine Providence: The Wreck and Rescue of the Julia Ann* (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2014).

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Whitewashing Chinese Laundrymen

BY SHENG-MEI MA

A photograph haunts me, one designated “Downtown Houghton” in Michigan Technological University Library’s J. W. Nara Photograph Collection (figure 1). Desolate dirt roads intersect at a two-story corner store, a typical frontier scene from Michigan’s Upper Peninsula (UP) Copper Country around the turn of the last century. A blown-up detail of its left edge shows part of the neighboring building with a “Sam Wah Laundry” shop front, and two men of vaguely Asian features in Western suits standing in front, one leaning on a bicycle (figure 2). During the period of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882–1943), Chinese laundrymen had clearly managed to eke out a living away from Chinatowns on the coastal and metropolitan areas, wherever menial labor was required. One anonymous viewer commented off-handedly about this particular image in the Nara Collection, “Seems like every town in the Copper Country had a Chinese laundry,” and the collection’s photographs of Calumet and other towns appear to confirm such “sightings” of Chinese laundrymen.

In *Strangers and Sojourners: A History of Michigan’s Keweenaw Peninsula* (1994), Arthur W. Thurner documents a number of these Chinese laundrymen. One interviewee, Annie Aldrich, recalled:

In the 1930s, Ngan Lee’s shop, filled with packages of laundered shirts, seemed a house of horror to some small boys whose parents had threatened to sell them to the Chinese proprietor to be butchered for chop suey. One lad remembered being sent there for his father’s shirt collar and discovering Ngan Lee to be a jolly, friendly, enthusiastic man.

Aldrich’s testimony reveals the lore instilled in the next generation by parents who unthinkingly merged the two survival skills of Chinese immigrants: restaurant and laundry, essential businesses feeding and clothing Americans. Given that Chinese immigrants did not enjoy much avenue for career advancement beyond these two traditionally female roles, it is telling that the local lore would be “eating the Chinese Other”—their food as well as their cheap labor—while having them around as the exhibit of the ultimate Other: “a house of horror.” Not to mince words, the Upper Peninsula small towns eat the “chink” and have him, too.



Figure 1. Photograph of Main Street, Houghton, Michigan, ca1890. Courtesy Michigan Tech Archives.

That this is popular lore is confirmed by the plot of Lon Chaney’s silent film *Shadows* (1922), in which a boy comes to befriend the “monstrosity” of a Chinese laundryman. In Alma W. Swinton’s *I Married a Doctor: Life in Ontonagon, Michigan from 1900 to 1919* (1964), an Ontonagon newspaper on 13 April, 1907 noted that the town had “only one chink and like most of his ilk he has an inquiring mind and a thirst for the coin of the realm. . . He is not averse to turning a few cartwheels in other lines, although washee washee is his regular vocation.” The newspaper article’s usage of derogatory terms was the rule, not the exception, of the day, thus revealing a duality attributed to the Orient: a source of unknown mystery and horror, but always stupid and comical.¹

Why did Sam Wah, Ngan Lee, Ontonagon’s “one chink,” and fellow compatriots of yesteryear choose a life in the midst of the flyover wasteland? Who was Sam Wah? Given the passage of time and the scarcity of local documents on Chinese “sojourners,” any historical question is well-nigh impossible to answer. “Chinamen,” after all, only stand “a Chinaman’s chance” of ever leaving behind any trace; their role in early twentieth-century U.S. history had been to service white clientele, while being whitewashed into oblivion. In the photograph in question, for example, Sam Wah Laundry is so close to the frame that only a blowup shines light on a Chinese laundry. A positivistic, sociological approach may thus prove futile outside geographic concentrations of ethnic minorities, such as Chinatowns



Figure 2. Detail of the photograph in Figure 1, Sam Wah's Laundry.

in Paul C. P. Siu's *The Chinese Laundryman: A study in Social Isolation* (1984) or in H. T. Tsiang's novel *And China Has Hands* (1937). From a literary and cultural studies perspective,

however, much can be gleaned. Tsiang's ironic title on Chinese cheap labor or "Hands," for instance, undergoes a makeover in the Chinese title *Chufanji* (出番記 *Going Out Amongst the Barbarians*).

Tsiang's Chinese title inflects an immigrant story of hardships and humiliation with a traditional Sino-centric superiority complex, muting from the outset the novel's bleak self-abjection. To contextualize Sam Wah with Siu and Tsiang: if Tsiang's New York laundrymen evince isolation, Sam Wah in Houghton, Michigan, is surely an extraterrestrial alien. Although few in number, these aliens

come to populate, even crowd, American pop culture during the span of the Chinese Exclusion Act and beyond. Such ephemeral, all-but-forgotten sightings of Chinese laundryman include comics, newspaper editorial cartoons, and advertisements.

The *St. Louis Republic* published a revealing comic in 1901, "The Chink Family Robinson at Work" (figure 3). The Missouri newspaper cartoon gives a racist spin to Johann David Wyss' German-language *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812), itself a spin-off from Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and perpetrates not only bigotry but misappropriation when the so-called Chink Family Robinson is anything but a normal family. It consists of three males apparently from three generations, possibly a grandfather, father, and son. Unbeknownst to the newspaper, its comic has captured the reality of Chinese bachelor communities across the land, since the Chinese Exclusion Act had prevented family reunion, especially the entry of Chinese women.

In stereotypical garb, with slant eyes, long hair queues and goatees, the three appear quite content with their lot in life, with idiotic grins on two of the three faces. The grandfather and father figures have their queues tied into a clothesline to dry the washing, with the shortest male, perhaps also the youngest (yet to grow his goatee), standing on a stool to hang up articles of clothing. So natural is this bizarre practice of drying that they even read books and smoke! The frame is chock-full of stereotypes in addition to the freakish, one-legged Chinese bodies: it contains the grooved wooden



Figure 3. Above-the-fold cartoon by Ryan Walker, *The St. Louis Republic* Comic Section, April 7, 1901. Walker, 1870-1932, was a Socialist who joined the *St. Louis* newspaper staff in 1898. Library of Congress Chronicling America, image provided by State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbus MO.

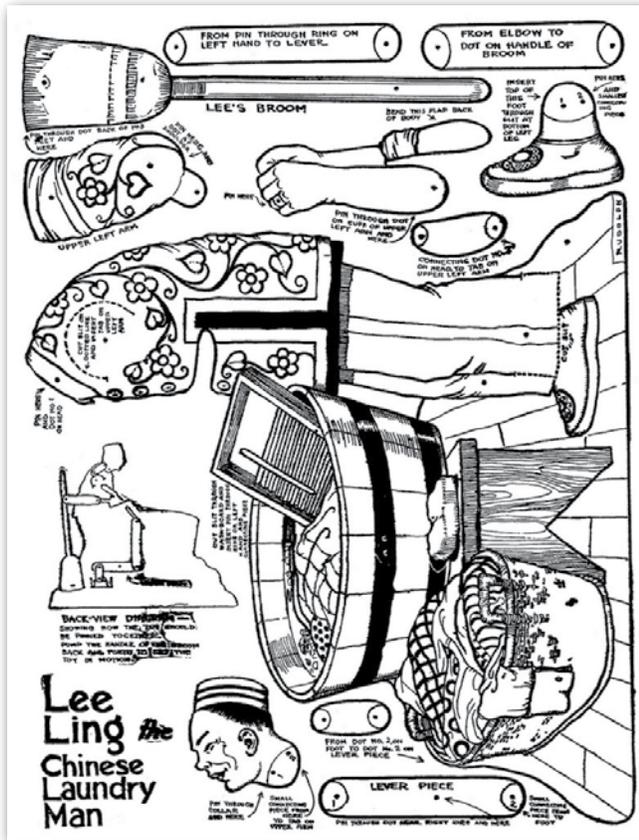


Figure 4. "Lee Ling the Chinese Laundry Man" one of a set of mechanical paper toys created by Dan Rudolph for the Los Angeles Times, 1922-1923. Courtesy the Barnacle Press.

washboard in the tub, a steam iron on the table, an Oriental screen in the back, and two staggered vertical doodlings on the wall right by the screen. The caption hanging from the bamboo frame of the comic almost validates all the distortions: "NO TICKET, NO SHIRTEE." The double "e" suffix Anglicizes supposedly alien sounds for English speakers.

The fabricated togetherness of a Chink Family Robinson can be easily ripped apart in American pop culture. A 1920s cut-out toy literally invites "boys and girls" to dismember and reassemble "Lee Ling Chinese laundryman," who becomes a reified object for child's play (figure 4). The education of whites begins early in life with the minority as a plaything. Assembled, one blogger testifies, "as [Lee Ling] scrubs laundry [and] the broom sways back and forth, his head bobs forward as he taps his foot. The action is spectacular" (figure 5).²

The intimacy of ironing out the wrinkles of its shirt and soul has led American pop culture to distance itself by caricaturing the Chinese laundryman - he is the shadow America drags behind itself, like its own

atavistic tail. These century-old "perennial aliens" enjoy longevity in contemporary racism. A case in point: Abercrombie and Fitch designed a line of anti-Asian T-Shirts on wide-ranging stereotypes of the Chinese: chop suey restaurants, the Buddha and Buddhism, and, of course, Chinese laundrymen. Specifically, the company featured a T-shirt that sports two idiotic-looking Asians in conical/comical peasant hats, soapsuds, and Qing dynasty shirts with frog buttons. The caption reads: "Wong Brothers Laundry Service" and "Two Wongs Can Make It White" (figure 6). The last phrase harks back to the tired joke on Asian infelicity over the retroflex "r," mangling the idiom "Two wrongs (don't) make a right." The phone number for the laundry service on the T-shirt lists "555-WONG," evoking the illustrated children's book *The Five Chinese Brothers* (1938) with five brothers who "looked exactly alike." The Wong Brothers' identical features and blank grins copy those of the children's book, one of "Teachers' Top 100 Books for Children" based on a 2007 online poll conducted by the National Education Association (figure 7).

A Hoover advertisement mocks Chinese laundrymen, who have apparently lost their jobs to the company's washer (figure 8). Peering into the washer's black hole, these laundrymen crane their necks, too stupid to be aware of the ax that has already fallen: any customer's good buy equals the minority-clown's goodbye to the steam iron in his hand. Hoover's ad evokes the nativist persecution of Chinese workers around the turn of the last century, evidenced in the 1883 Missouri steam washer trade card "The Chinese Must Go" (figure 9).³ The steam

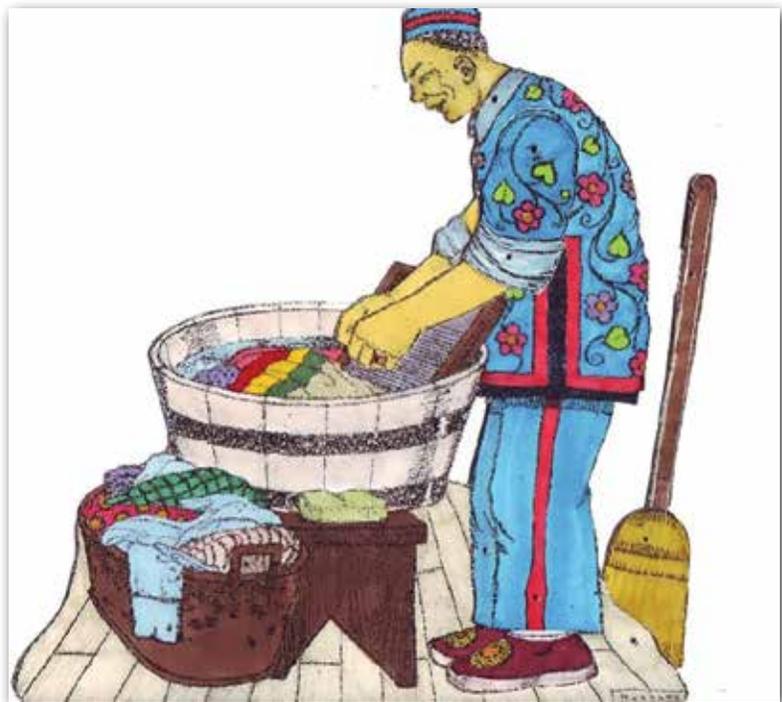


Figure 5. The figure of Lee Ling, painted and put together as instructed, by the author.



Figure 6. Abercrombie & Fitch t-shirt, 2002. The company discontinued this design and apologized after a boycott begun by an Asian American student group at Stanford University.

washer wears Uncle Sam's red striped trousers, which resonate with the Stars and Stripes of the United States. This image proclaims that the United States, not the Missouri steam washer alone, is kicking out the Chinese laundryman with his bag of money and his washboard.

Given the mainstream distortion and repression of such shadows, rare sightings of Chinese laundrymen from yellow photographs and newspapers in dusty archives constellate, nonetheless, into a vibrant metaphor in ethnic imagination, whereby a racist stereotype and the history of discrimination are repurposed for ethnic pride and global marketing. Graham Russell Hodges' *Anna May Wong: From Laundryman's Daughter to Hollywood Legend* (2004) traces the Hollywood star to her humble origin at a Los Angeles family laundry. Beyond biographical works, minority and Asian literature and film avail themselves of the trope of Chinese laundryman. An Asian American classic, Maxine Hong Kingston's autobiographical fiction *The Woman Warrior* (1976) is set in her Californian family's laundry. The stifling heat and the numbing work of the laundry cleanse not only customers' clothing but also inspire the novelist's quest for ethnic identity.

Having begun with the haunting image of Sam Wah Laundry from Michigan's Upper Peninsula, it is fitting to conclude with San Toy Laundry in Park Slope, Brooklyn, New York (figure 10).

Corey Kilgannon reports in "He Irons, She Stitches" the moving story of San Toy Laundry (*The New York Times*, January 15, 2016). The owners Michael and Judy Huang purchased the laundry in 1983 from an "old-timer" they chanced upon at a Key Food supermarket in Park Slope. Because of Judy's "flash of kindness" in offering her spot, in the checkout line to an older man, Kee-Eng Hong, who had lost *his* spot, Hong, the previous proprietor, sold his laundry to the Huangs "for a pittance" with a singular request: "Don't change anything here." The most extraordinary part of the report is that Hong returned \$2,000 of the \$3,000 sales price,

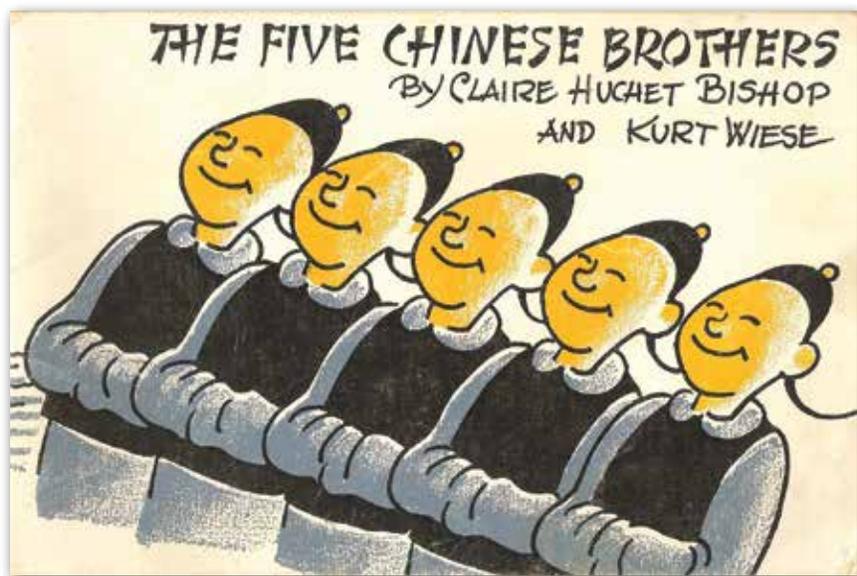


Figure 7. Cover to the book *The Five Chinese Brothers, a retelling of a Chinese folk tale, Ten Brothers*, by Claire Huceht Bishop, illustrated by Kurt Wiese, first published in 1938 by Coward-McCann.



Figure 8. Illustration from a ca1960 magazine advertisement for Hoover washing machines.

“as a good-faith gift to the next generation of immigrants determined to keep San Toy running.” A New World business transaction seems straight out of an Old World that has long vanished. The Huangs have indeed kept their promise of not changing a thing, including the laundry operation, the rotary phone, and “San Toy’s phone number—NEvins-8-3477—has not changed since the 1930s.”

As the Park Slope location has housed a Chinese laundry as far back as 1903, it is a story of tradition, despite the fact that the host society may look askance at the “old-fashioned, Charlie Chan-style lettering on its dated sign” and more. It is also a story of the perseverance of working-class immigrants, contributing to the socioeconomic rise of the next generation and the community. At the time of Kilgannon’s report, one of the Huangs’ two children was a doctorate candidate at Brandeis University and the other was in the master’s program at Columbia University.

While the road to the American Dream remains as paved with thorns as ever for Chinese laundrymen, their children have fared far better on the Eastern seaboard in the new millennium. As the émigré novelist Ha Jin starkly puts it, “the first generation was meant to be wasted, or sacrificed, for its children, like manure used to enrich the soil so that new seeds could sprout and grow” (*A Free Life* 1992). Ha Jin’s pronoun of “its” dehumanizes the subject of first-generation immigrants, cast in the trope of night soil in keeping with Paul Siu’s theory of laundrymen as “things,” the body waste from *Meiguo* (“beautiful country” or America). Ha Jin’s bleakness aside, the Huangs, having taken no time off since 1983, were reported at the article’s end to be planning to close up shop for one week for a family vacation. May Chinese laundrymen—Sam Wah, San Toy, and more—across this great land of ours find their own little spots before being checked out from life!



Figure 9. 1883 trade card chromolithographed by “A. Gast, Bank-Note & Litho. Co. St. Louis & N.Y.” for the Missouri Steam Washer manufactured by J. Worth in St. Louis for \$10. Collection of Tamar Zimmerman.



Figure 10. Photograph of the San Toy Laundry at 101 7th Avenue in Brooklyn, NY.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Mark Twain in *Roughing It* (1872) notes Chinese laundrymen in the American West as well, specifically in Virginia City, Nevada: "The chief employment of Chinamen in towns is to wash clothes. . . . A very common sign on the Chinese houses was: 'See Yup, Washer and Ironer'; Hong Wo, Washer'; 'Sam Sing & Ah Hop, Washing'" (291). The nonsensical names to American eyes are less important than the trade they ply.
- ² The assembled Lee Ling Laundryman "in action" is available at <http://artistavision.blogspot.com/2010/05/lee-ling-chinese-laundry-man.html>. Accessed 12/1/2016.
- ³ For the background of xenophobic "The Chinese Must Go" movement, see John and Selma Appel's "Sino-Phobic Advertising Slogans: 'The Chinese Must Go.'" See also the website "Illustrating Chinese Exclusion" on, among other subjects, Thomas Nast's cartoons in *Harper's Weekly*. For the turn-of-the-last-century use of trade cards, see Thomas Beckman's "Japanese Influences on American Trade Card Imagery and Design."

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Capt. Fred Hadley – Tattoo Man

BY CAROL MOBLEY

Ambrose Hadley, aka Capt. Fred Hadley, was my great grandfather, married to Lizzie Metz, aka “The Circassian Girl.” He was notable as a Civil War Veteran, Nebraska Pioneer, and Tattooed Man. That’s right, my great grandfather was a tattooed man in the circus from 1882 to 1884. I never knew him. He died long before I was born, but I am proud to say we are related.

Ambrose was born March 12, 1841 in Sterling, Massachusetts. Apparently his home life was very difficult for he left home at age 12 to find his own way. He found work at sea as a deck hand until the Civil War broke out.

Ambrose joined the Union Army in 1861 and was a member of Company H, Second Rhode Island Infantry. He was mustered out in 1863 after serving his required duty. He then re-enlisted in 1863, was wounded in May of 1864 and was mustered out of service in 1865. It was customary at that time to bar a soldier wounded in battle from reenlistment. As the story goes, Ambrose had his scar camouflaged with a tattoo so he could remain in the Army. He remained in service until the end of the Civil War but never rose above the rank of Private.

After the Civil War his life changed. He returned to Boston where he was a streetcar conductor and then his story runs in two different directions; you can decide which one to believe.

The first story is that he hired Elmer E. Getchell of Boston, a tattoo artist, to ink him from neck to toe. Ambrose was one of the very first men to be tattooed using the new ‘electric’ equipment. In an article published in *The*

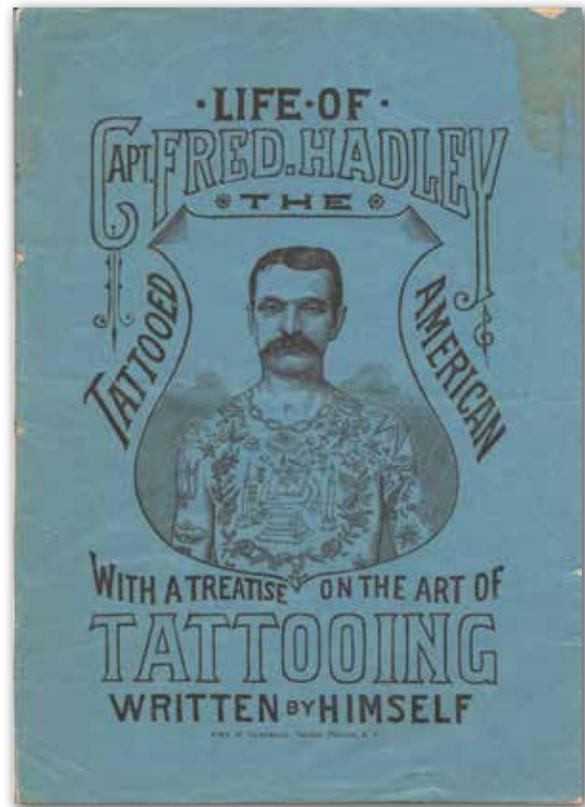
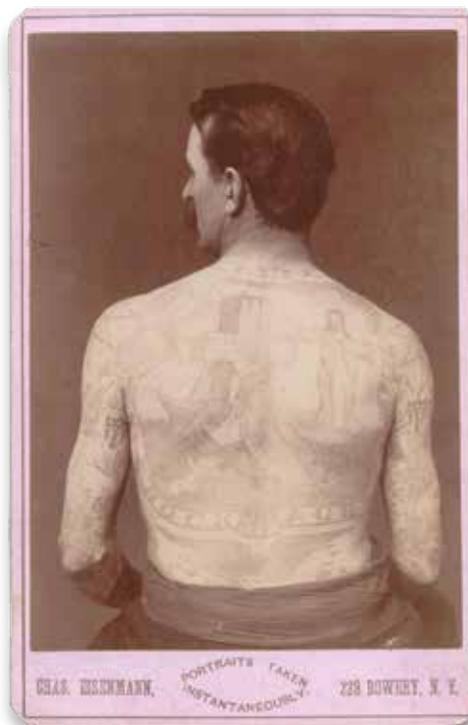
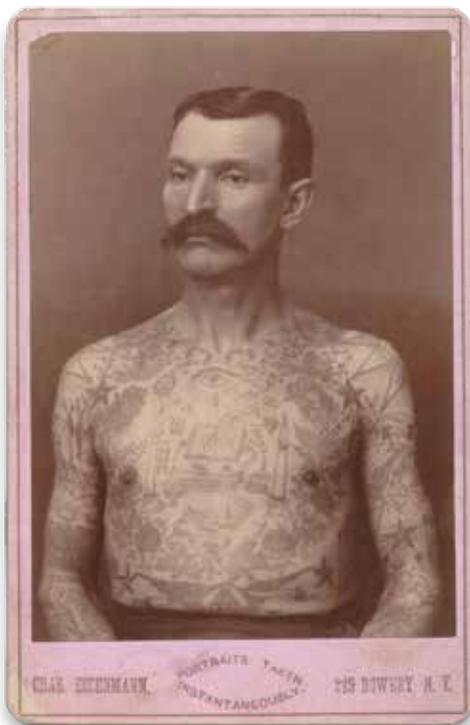


Figure 1. “Pitch pamphlet” written by Ambrose Frederick Hadley to promote his performances with circuses and dime shows, 1884 to 1887.



Figures 2 and 3. Cabinet photographs of Capt. Hadley’s tattooed torso, front and back, Charles Eisenmann, New York. Eisenmann created a market for popular images of unusual people - he sold photographs of the Circassian Beauties (such as Capt. Hadley’s wife) and claimed they had escaped from Turkish harems when they were actually local girls with hair made wild by washing in beer. Other promotional photographs of Hadley exist from a gig with the John Robinson Circus, now in the Collection of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

Chicago Daily Tribune, April 21, 1884 Getchell states that it took 6 weeks to tattoo Hadley's entire body.

The second story is documented in *Life of Capt. Fred Hadley, the Tattooed American with a Treatise on the Art of Tattooing written by Himself*, printed and published by John H. Campbell, Phenix, Rhode Island (figure 1). After the Civil War, Ambrose said he returned to Boston where he shipped aboard the *Susan Wilson* bound for Australia. He fell ill at sea and was left on the South Pacific island of Chatham, in the hands of a resident there. He became acquainted with a native woman, an expert tattooer who tattooed him from head to foot.

However they were acquired, Ambrose's body featured 386 designs. Here is how he described some of his tattoos: (figures 2 and 3)

...beginning on the breast: where is seen the full masonic emblem enclosed in a floral wreath of great beauty, with all the working tools and emblems of the entered apprentice, fellow craft and master. On the back is to be seen the finished picture illustrating the "Rock of Ages," which extends from shoulder to shoulder, and clearly defines the wreck dashed against the rock and going to pieces. On the right our Savior, under a beautiful sun-burst, and all calm in the centre, the cross with the lady clinging to it. The Altar, Bible and Robe are also plainly pictured here, and clear to the sight [sic] in the angry waters may be seen parts of the wreck. Around the neck is a chain in thirteen links, representing the thirteen original states. On each shoulder is the sun, on the right, the moon. On the right arm, near the shoulder, is Washington's bust, surrounded with French and American Flags. Below it is the United States Coat of Arms, Easter Cross, Bunch of Grapes and many new figures and designs of my own conception, including the "Warriors" in colors, Faith, Hope and Charity, a Bee Hive, a figure of young America, a small cross wreathed with flowers, a ballet dancer, etc.

My favorite story, however, is one my mother told me. When mom's sister was a little girl she would sit on her grandfather's lap. If she was sad, he would tease her with the sad face on one knee until she laughed and then he would tease her with the smiling face on his other knee. (figure 4)

Ambrose married Lizzie Metz in 1880 and together they both performed in the circus. It was there that he started calling himself Capt. Fred Hadley – Private Ambrose didn't have the same panache! The well-known New York photographer, Charles Eisenmann, took photographs of Capt. Fred Hadley which Ambrose sold at circus stops along the way in addition to a small pamphlet of his life story.

After Ambrose left the circus he traveled to western Nebraska where he homesteaded and later owned a farm in Box Butte County. At the end of his life he and his brother moved into Battle Mountain Sanitarium at Hot Springs, South Dakota. His image is included on postcards of the Veterans Home. He died in May 1924 and is buried in the military cemetery at Hot Springs.



Figure 4. A cabinet photograph of an older Capt. Hadley, probably once he had returned to Nebraska from Arkansas to farm around the turn of the century. He was said to be "a broad-minded well informed man, and is a typical representative of his part of the country, has seen nearly all parts of this country, having traveled extensively during his younger years, and is an interesting character." (Compendium of history, reminiscence and biography of western Nebraska, *Chicago* 1909.)

Carol Ann Mobley born in western Nebraska and raised in Colorado, was introduced to ephemera in 1996 when Bill Mobley came into her life. She started a collection of snowshoeing and tobogganing and went on to help expand their ephemera business. Carol is a member of The Denver Postcard Club, Rocky Mountain Philatelic Library, Rocky Mountain Antiquarian Booksellers Association, Antique Bottle Collectors of Colorado, and the Cherlyn Stamp Club. She is the show promoter for The Denver Postcard & Paper Ephemera Show held 3 times annually, and is Chairman and promoter for the Rocky Mountain Book & Paper Fair held once a year in August in Denver.



Scrapbook Research

By MANDY ROSS

As a collector of historic scrapbooks, I often find myself researching books with long-lost stories waiting to be pieced back together. Over time, I have adopted a useful online research process that recently helped me untangle a 273-year-old story glued to the pages of Joseph Hill Appleton's 1890s scrapbook.

Start with a General Online Search of Relevant Names

Prior to purchasing the old Appleton scrapbook, a quick online search of the album's creator provided enough intriguing clues for me to stay busy researching before the album even arrived at my door. With one search, I found three useful leads. One, the scrapbook had been previously sold at a European auction in 2008. Two, a person in the United Kingdom had recently posted an inquiry on the album's whereabouts hoping it could answer a genealogical question. Three, a 2016 message board post, unrelated to the scrapbook, directed my attention to a 1928 newspaper article regarding the Appleton family.

Follow Up on All Clues with More Research

I hunted down the 1928 article in which Arthur J. Appleton boasts about relics and ephemera, currently in his possession, that had been saved by his family for multiple generations.

One of the many items he mentioned was a 1745 engraving of Prince Charles Edward Stuart with the handwritten inscription, "This portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart was presented to Christopher Meynell of Hunterbanks Farm, Crathorne, Yorkshire, in 1745, when the Scottish Army invaded England." The article goes on to say the engraving was hidden behind a looking glass in 1745 until the political climate made it acceptable



Figure 1



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

for the engraving to be seen. Later, the engraved portrait was passed down from father to son within the Appleton family.

Take Your Time and Avoid Assumptions

Upon arrival at my house, the Appleton scrapbook proved to be challenging. Some scrapbooks are difficult to decipher. They may be unorganized, filled with difficult handwriting, layered in a way that covers up important details, and in poor enough condition to make handling the book complicated. As much as I love the Appleton book, it is one of the more haphazardly arranged scrapbooks I have encountered (Figures 1 and 2).

My initial pass through the Appleton album told me the prized engraving was not included in the book. I didn't fully understand what I was looking for and was too excited to see clearly anyway. This must be some type of ephemera-loving fog that reduces brain power and vision when viewing new acquisitions.

Further scrutiny showed the portrait actually was glued onto one of the last pages of the book (complete with the 1839 handwritten caption quoted in the 1928 article - see Figure 3). In fact, a clipped copy of the 1928 article was tucked inside the scrapbook as well.

Reach Out to Other People

With the Appleton book, I connected with the person seeking details about the album who happened to be the great-great-great-grandson of Joseph Hill Appleton, the man who likely started the scrapbook, or at least the collection that it's based on. We are currently exchanging information about the family, including scanned photos and scrapbook pages he has in his own collection. The Appleton scrapbook is providing details previously unknown to a genealogy-loving family and this story is ongoing.

Do the Research and Share

Scrapbooks have a lot to say to those of us willing to listen. Based on multiple sale listings of the Appleton scrapbook across a minimum of eleven years, two countries, and at least three different owners, it seems the Appleton scrapbook was left unresearched and unshared (I could be wrong. This is an assumption I'm making based on details left *out* of the sale listings that, in my opinion, could have raised the price and benefited the sellers financially even if they were not interested in the historic value of the information). However,

people willing to research scrapbooks and share their findings are not only helping tell a story from long ago, but may also connect with people all over the world. Scrapbooks have the ability to inform us and also connect us with others in unexpected ways.

Mandy Ross collects scrapbooks created between 1840 and 1950 and shares their stories online at www.paperofthepast.com. She began sharing her collection on social media in 2016

and has since connected with ephemera enthusiasts around the world as people help her solve scrapbook mysteries and follow along with her ever growing collection. She teaches research methods and computer applications in the Kinesiology Department at San Francisco State University in California.



Swedish Swimming Cards Float to the Surface

BY CARINA BROMAN

The sport of swimming is as Swedish as skiing. The oldest swimming club in Sweden was founded in Uppsala in 1796 by people connected with the university. In 1827 the Swimming Society of Stockholm — Stockholms Simsällskap — was organized.

Benjamin Franklin, an avid swimmer, published many articles on the subject. In 1804 a booklet with his instructions for swimmers was printed in Sweden and in 1846, another edition was issued with the title, *Konsten att simma*. (Figure 1) It could not have been easy to describe physical moves in water without illustration, especially at a time when few people were familiar with the sport.

Water both attracts and frightens; bathing and swimming are activities for amusement, exercise, body awareness, life-saving, and health. Sometimes, we simply want to feel fresh and clean! To change one's clothes and wear a swimsuit was, and still is, something special.

The ephemera presented in this article is all from Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, and each piece helps bring to life a narrative from the past. Many were collected by Gustaf Edvard Klemming, head of the National Library from 1844 to 1890, where such ephemera is organized under "Sports."

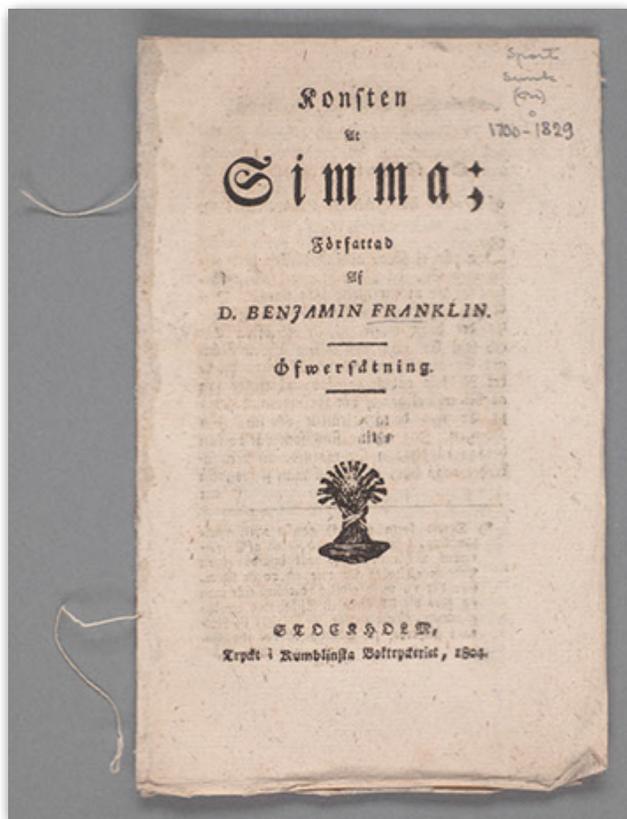


Figure 1.

Early Bathing Establishments in Stockholm

Most of these establishments were located close to the central railway station, in the vicinity of today's Stockholm City Hall. In the 1820s there were two bathing establishments: one founded by Carl David Lindh in 1827 and the second by Carl Åbom one year later. Åbom's establishment was always named after its owner, whereas Lindh's was called the "Bath of Gjörccke", after its famous swim teacher Fredrik Alexander Gjörccke. When Lindh died, it was taken over by the publisher, Per Adolf Norstedt and, in 1845 the establishment was rebuilt as a more modern floating outdoor bath. The swimming facility was demolished when the new "palace" for the Norstedt publishing and printing house was built on the small islet of Riddarholmen in Lake Mälaren. Both baths, Åbom and Gjörccke, were replaced in 1884 by an open air public bath in the area called Strömbadet, which could be reached by a walkway from the islet Strömsborg or "Stream Castle." Activities for women were organized by Nancy Edberg, who also taught swimming to deaf mutes. The first real indoor bathhouse opened in 1868 and was called "The Bath of the Plaza Malm" or Malmtorgsbadet. While Åbom and Gjörccke could be described as rivals, they had much in common. Both invited young people to swim for free in the company of paying guests.

Simple Card Tickets

Figure 2. These six green tickets, (30 x 60 mm), together sum up the experience of a 19th century spa: extremely simple objects documenting something that was, at the time, quite exclusive. The Swedish word for shower, "dusch", (reminiscent of the French, "douche") is spelled in the old manner. One could have a warm or cold bath or shower, a warm shower with a cold rub down, a bath with pine tar (tallbarr-bad) or a steam bath to clear the lungs.

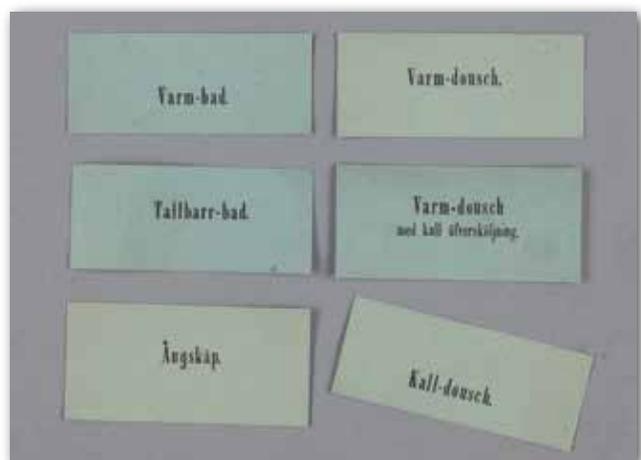


Figure 2.



Figure 3.

Figure 3. The simple pink card, (50 x 85 mm), includes a wax seal with an image of a full rigged ship. The card from 1847 with a handwritten note is printed on white paper with a green surface. The date corresponds to newspaper articles on swimming exhibitions at the Gjörcke's Bath Palace in Lake Mälaren, which had only open-air pools.

Swimming Librarians

Figure 4. Gustaf Edvard Klemming, head of the National Library of Sweden, photographed at his desk. He understood the importance of collecting ephemera and, on his own initiative, collected old books and manuscripts, keeping them at his parents' home. His father was a master



Figure 4.

tinsmith and joining the library staff was a dream for young Gustav. For 45 years, he worked all day at the library, slept in a room there, and incorporated all his private material into the institutional collection.



Figure 5.

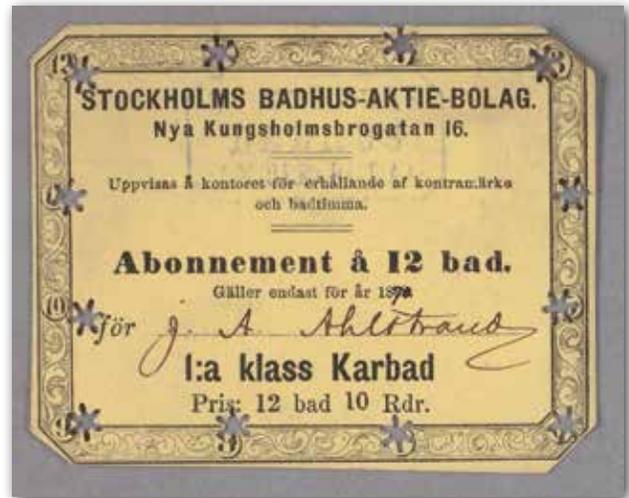


Figure 6.

Figure 5. Sometimes Klemming went to the Bath of Gjörcke, not far from the library. This blue card for the swim school is from 1861 when the librarian was 39 years old.

Figure 6. This 1870 membership card printed in yellow belonged to Librarian Johan August Ahlstrand. He was a rare book collector who formed a splendid collection of the editions of Robinson Crusoe. A learned man, Ahlstrand worked at both the National Library and The Royal Swedish Academy of Science. His interest in Polar exploration is commemorated in the naming of, Ahlstrandhalvöya, the "Penninsula of Ahlstrand," near the North Pole.

Swimming Instructor Gjörcke

Figure 7. An 1859 scene of men relaxing in Gjörcke's baths on a late August day was published in the journal *Illustrerad Tidning*.)

Figure 8. It can be easy to confuse bathing establishments, as several were located in the same area.



Figure 7.



Figure 8.

Since instructor Gjørcke had a valuable reputation, his name was printed and even handwritten on Lindh bath cards, persisting even after the baths were rebuilt or sold.

Figure 9. This card exists in about ten different colors, and the illustration seems always to be the same. But, as the fictional Detective Frost advises, “if you don’t find anything, keep looking.” Under magnification, on the both the blue card and the top pink card, below the braided decoration, is the engravers name, Vilhelm Foss. There are more subtle differences with the bottom pink card: the lines forming the water are less distinct and the hair of the swimmer is “softer.” The letters forming the word “Stockholm” have brighter shadows on the Foss card. Moreover, within these shadows are hidden letters spelling out “F A Gjørcke,” the name of the proud swimming teacher. It would seem that the card with Vilhelm Foss’s name is the original, and the other a copy.

Figure 10. A group of invitation cards for an event, two of which belonged to printing foremen (faktorn) at the Norstedt factory (rumor has it that the water surrounding Riddarholmen is filled with metal type from the Norstedt printing house). The workers had long days but they had free access to the bath of Gjørcke’s.



Figure 9.



Figure 10.

The Baths of Åbom

Figure 11. A rather soiled invitation card from 1834, used to invite stockholders in the Åbom baths to a ceremony.

In Figure 12, the larger pink and yellow cards (315x250 mm) show a list of those taking the examination in swimming. The same list is printed on white, with an 1847 date. The instructor at the baths of Åbom was Wilhelm Severin Söderholtz, an officer in the military who played the trumpet. These tests were intended to encourage, and to publicize, the art of swimming. Spectators would watch the events at the open-air pool. In 1851, the first swimmer mentioned is Nancy Edberg. While most of the swimmers were men, three other women also passed the test.



Figure 11.

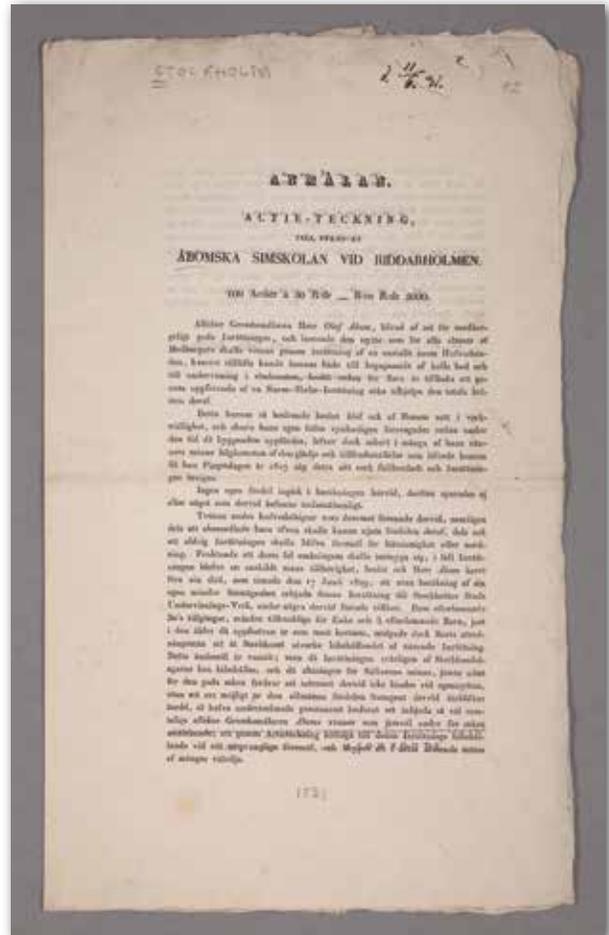


Figure 13.

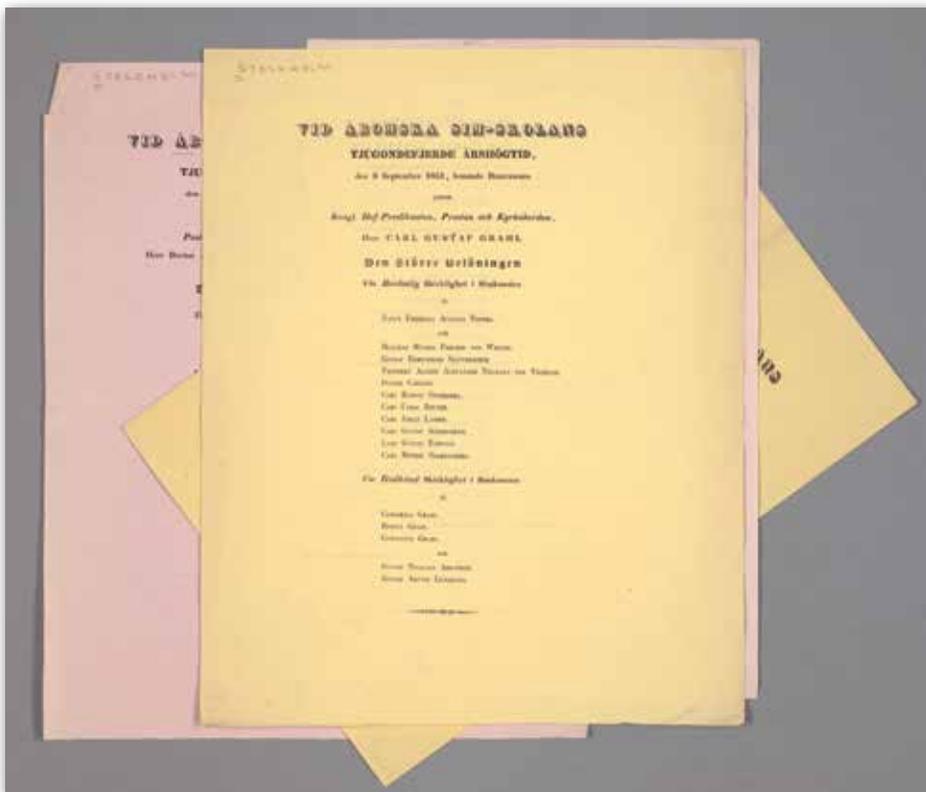


Figure 12.

Figure 13. An invitation (850 x 230 mm) dated June 1831 to buy one of a hundred stock certificates in the Åbom Bath Company. When owner, Carl Åbom died, the stock certificates were printed to benefit his widow and children. The printer, Lars Johan Hierta, was a famous publisher who had founded the newspaper Aftonbladet — “The Evening post” — in 1830.

Figure 14. These cards (70x90 mm) are similar to membership cards or tickets, but, after consulting with friends in the Swedish Society for Security Paper, I learned that they are small versions of stock certificates. The upper part is printed and the lower is handwritten and stamped. The white example is numbered and stamped for the Åbom Baths. The green example is missing its lower half.



Figure 14.

Women and Swimming

For women, swimming was popularly regarded as unfeminine and improper. Pioneer Nancy Edberg struggled to make it possible to teach women to swim, and her efforts have been described as ‘a cry in the desert.’ Edberg was taught how to swim by her father and she took her exam at



Figure 15.

the Åbom Baths in 1851. Some years later she finally got permission from King Oscar I to start an outside bathing establishment for women. In 1858 she was allowed to hold an event that included women swimmers in addition to men. She was an instructor for such notables as the Swedish Princess Lovisa and the Empress of Russia. She must have enjoyed open-air activities. In winter she organized ice skating events. For a while she visited London, and when she went to Denmark to promote swimming, she met and married a Danish lithographer.



Figure 16.

Figure 15. Wood engraving of the swim pioneer Nancy Edberg by the artist Gunnar Forsell, published in 1890 together with an article in a magazine for women called *Idun*.

Figure 16. A stock certificate for the swim- and bath establishment for females, located on one of Stockholm’s small islands opposite the royal palace. The illustration is a slightly risqué, stylized picture that was used on other printed matter. The certificate measures 445x274 mm, and consists of a folded paper with a separate sheet of ten dividend coupons signed by the officer C. G Bagge who was a part of the inner circle of swimming enthusiasts.



Figure 17.



Figure 18.

Figure 17. An undated ticket (55 x 95 mm) to the bathing establishment for women in Stockholm, under Nancy Edberg's endorsement. On the back is a handwritten note stating that the holder, Charlotte Eichhorn, has paid, with her nickname, "Lotten," hand-written in.

Figure 18. Wood engraving of an August 1859 event published in the popular journal, *Illustrerad Tidning* - the last time diplomas were awarded at the swimming school, swimming having been widely adopted. The baths of Gjörcke's closed in 1882 with a show for a group of British guests and a supper at the restaurant, Hasselbacken.

Swimming Widely Accepted

Figure 19. Cards from the large outdoor swimming and bathing establishment, Strömbadet ("ström" means

"stream" and refers to the Norrström close to the palace and the islet, Riddarholmen). The emblem of the swimming society of Stockholm - a dolphin (depicted like a sea horse) encircled with an oak wreath - decorates the green (1881) and purple (valid for weekdays) 2 kroner tickets. The image also appears on a metal badge worn on the chest with a silk ribbon. The tiny yellow ticket, (30x50 mm), is dated to the 1870s in a penciled note, and was a free entrance for elementary school pupils.

Figure 20. Cards with the same content from 1880: a program for a gala where school children and teachers performed with an orchestra demonstrated floating, diving, and life-saving skills. The cerise card with the decorative border reflects corrections noted on the grey version, which seems to indicate that the grey was a trial printing.

Figure 21. Photograph of a 1905 event at the outside bath, Strömbadet, published in a history of the Stockholm Swimming Society. The man in the high black hat is a circuit judge and the man in the white student's cap is the elementary school teacher, Olof Köhler, who started out as a swim instructor at Gjörcke's and, when the building was demolished in the 1880s, taught at the new open air bath, Strömbadet.

Figure 22. In order to give swimming lessons to children during the winter, an indoor bath house was required. The first indoor public bath in Stockholm was opened in the 1860s and called Malmtorgsbadet, for its plaza address. The building's illustration on the envelope (72 x 95 mm) was done by the popular xylographic firm, Meyer, as indicated in the right corner with a personal signature in the left. The small pocket held a card for a family with information on the back listing different baths and first- and second class admission.

While Uppsala had the earliest swimming society, there were others in Sweden. One, in my hometown of Jönköping, had its roots in a sailing club that featured a sloop called Vikingen, the "Viking". In 1859 a ten-year-old boy was skating on a lake, fell through the ice, and, after paddling in the icy water, was saved by another skilled swimmer. Perhaps he owed his survival to the swimming techniques of Benjamin Franklin.

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Figure 19.



Figure 20.

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Figure 22.



Figure 21.

Carina Broman



has a Master of Science in library and information science with continuing studies in book culture and the history of ideas. She works as a librarian and curator at the National Library of Sweden in the ephemera collection. She is a guide at the Museum of Lithography in Stockholm and is a member of letterpress museums in Helsingborg and in Hede in Dalarna. Her favorite swimmer is the American, Michael Phelps, one of the world's best.



Donna Gottschalk, *Sisterhood Feels Good*, published by Times Change Press, 1971. Estimate \$400 to \$600.

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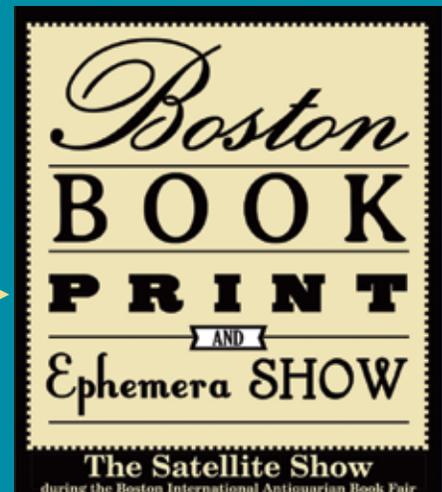
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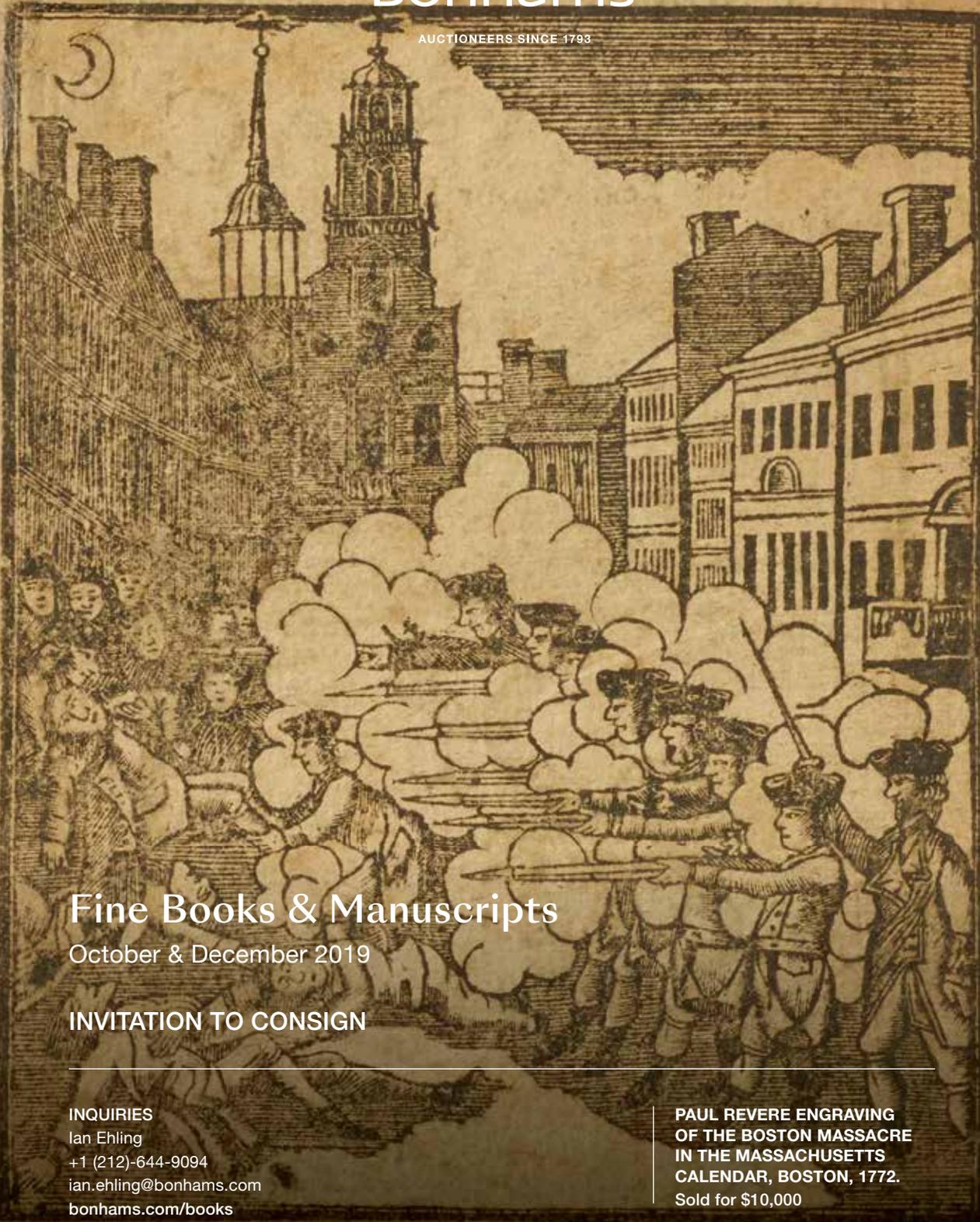


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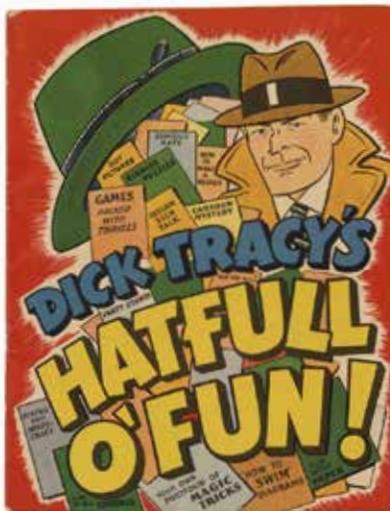
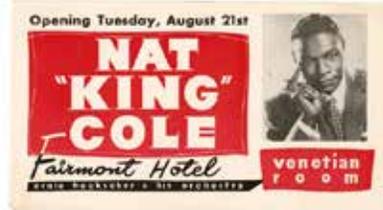
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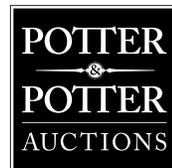
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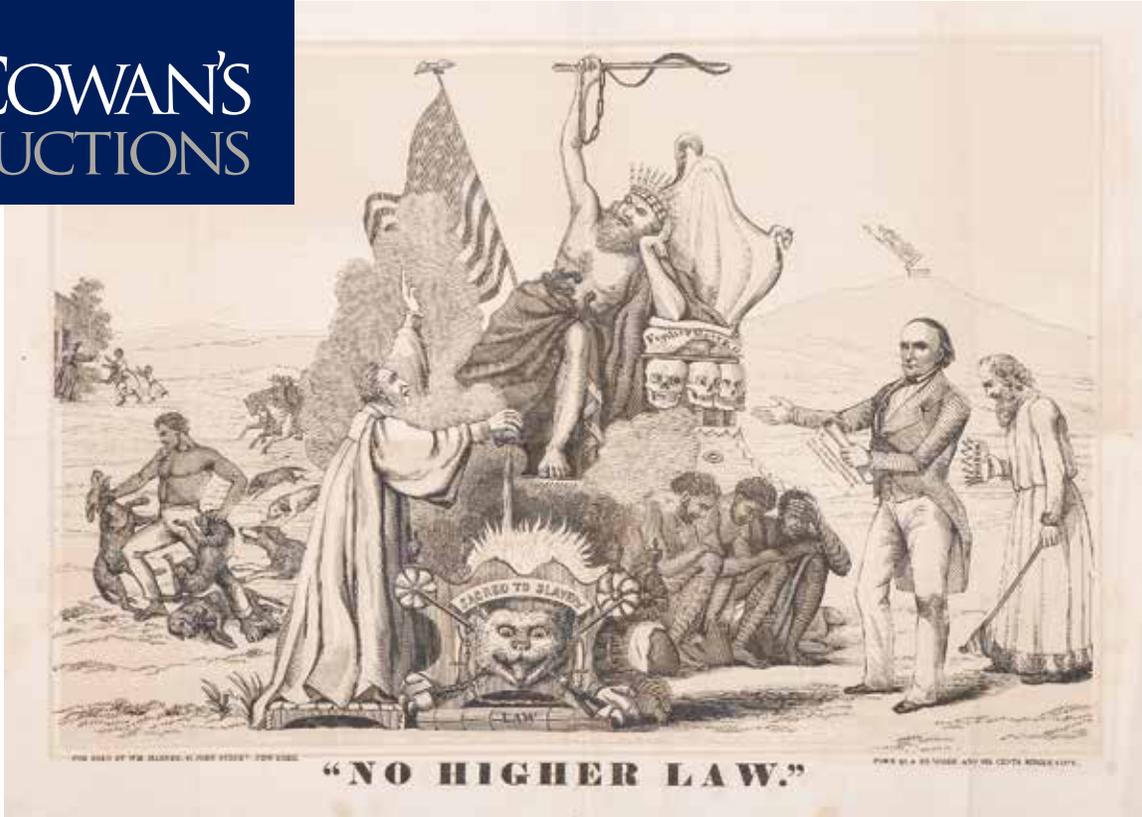


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