The Apprenticeship of T. M. Fowler, America’s Premier Maker of Bird’s-eye Views

By Nicholas P. Ciotola

Immensely popular from the 1870s through the 1920s, bird’s-eye views are highly-detailed panoramic maps of towns and cities drawn from the imagined perspective of a bird or a passenger in a hot air balloon. These unique views capture the architecture, industries, private residences, small businesses and municipal landmarks of the United States in the Industrial Era. Although not drawn to scale, bird’s-eye views contain many elements of traditional maps, including street grids, transportation networks, topographical features, and community landmarks, all embellished with the maker’s artistic flourish and style. The itinerant artists and their publishers traveled door-to-door to pre-sell their views while visiting each site to do the preliminary sketches. Without the benefit of a true aerial view, the artists meticulously walked the streets of each municipality, often finding a prominent hillside or tall structure from which to gain a vantage point for their observations. They did not, however, use hot air balloons. With notes and sketches in hand, the artists returned from their research travels and used them to complete the finished maps that were lithographed and delivered to subscribers anywhere from six months to a year later.

Thaddeus Mortimer Fowler (1842-1922) was America’s most prolific maker of bird’s-eye views. Between 1870 and 1922, Fowler was involved in the creation of more than 400 views of American towns and cities in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, West Virginia, Ohio, New York, Texas and twenty other states. Showcasing churning industries, company towns, railroad networks and urban expansion, Fowler’s maps conveyed a message of American progress, prosperity and power; any images of controversial issues such as economic downturn, immigration, labor unrest or environmental degradation

Figure 1. Trenton, New Jersey (1874). One of Fowler’s earliest works depicts New Jersey’s capital city, Trenton, where the young artist made his home for a short time after relocating to the Mid-Atlantic in order to grow his trade. [Courtesy of Maps and Geospatial Data, Princeton University Library]
Members and Friends

French man of letters Anatoly France (1844-1924) wrote: "People laugh at collectors, who perhaps do lay themselves open to raillery, but that is also the case with all of us when in love with anything at all. We ought rather to envy collectors, for they brighten their days with a long and peaceable joy. Perhaps what they do a little resembles the task of the children who spade up heaps of sand at the edge of the sea, laboring in vain, for all they have built will soon be overthrown, and that, no doubt, is true of collections . . . also. But we need not blame the collectors for it; the fault lies in the vicissitudes of existence and the brevity of life. The sea carries off the heaps of sand, and auctioneers dispense the collections; and yet there are no better pleasures than the building of heaps of sand at ten years old, of collections at sixty. Nothing of all we erect will remain, in the end; and a love for collecting is no more vain and useless than other passions are.

I recently read the 2020 book “Crap, A History of Cheap Stuff in America” (Wendy A. Woloson, Univ. Chicago Press). Though it barely touches directly on ephemera as such, the book offers interesting perspectives on mass consumption in American culture, and perhaps suggests several areas of focus for collections of ephemera related to various cultural fads. “The encrappification of America dates back several centuries,” says Woloson. To my surprise, the peddling of bargain wares and shops specializing in cheap variety goods became a widespread phenomenon quite early, offering various “flummeries” and “quirks.” The discussion takes us through misfit parlors, floods of allegedly labor-saving gadgets and medical devices, the desire to present as a connoisseur by buying inexpensive household “stuff” in Chinoise or Egyptian or Nouveau or Colonial Revival style, early roadside “tea houses” which existed only to peddle their arranged decorations, gift shops and giftware, souvenir spoons, commemorative coins and plates, advertising giveaways, postal First Day covers, and other intentional collectibles. It speaks to mass promoted and consumed trinkets such as decoder rings, TV cowboy outfits, Beanie Babies, Trolls, Pogs, Pez dispensers, Cabbage Patch dolls, Mutant Ninja Turtles...the list is endless.

With television came late night infomercials featuring fast-talking peddlers of “stuff,” from Ron Popeil through to The Pillow Man. The Veg-O-Matic, the Pocket Fisherman, the Seal-A-Meal, the Miracle Brush, Ginsu Knives, the Better Marriage Blanket: the whole point was always to create “value where it did not exist and selling that false value” to buyers. And then there are the hawkers of allegedly higher end novelties such as Hammacher Schlemmer, Brookstone, Sharpener Image and the like.

My thought is that each and every such cultural byway generated related ephemera, and an almost unlimited number of specialty collections...of ephemera that is, not of the items themselves...could be built and studied by individuals or institutions interested in one aspect or another. Any takers?

Your Society is busily working away at putting together a fine conference for March 18-20, 2022 at the Hyatt Regency in Greenwich, CT. The event’s topic is “Creating Spaces and Places.” Ephemera 42 will focus on the design of environments—both interior and exterior—ranging from regional planning and urban design, to the creation of parks, to fine architectural detail. This rich topic encompasses architects, landscape architects, urbanists, builders—anyone and anything that serves to shape the environments in which we live and play. The weekend will also feature a good old-fashioned, on-the-ground ephemera fair. Please join with us there!
In this Issue...

The lead article by Curator Nicholas Ciotola is a good introduction to the theme of our 2022 conference - “Creating Places and Spaces” - for the ubiquity of bird’s-eye views in 19th century America is testament to a fascination with the built environment, and with the creation of cities. Our May 2020 issue included the panorama work of Alfred Burr, and here we meet Thaddeus Mortimer Fowler.

Jennie Waldrow was one of our speakers at the 2021 virtual conference, and her presentation on a collection of political activism ephemera at MOMA reminds us how important it is to document cultural changes as they are happening (and how grateful we can be to the savers and the archivists). The PAD/D collection straddles art and politics, as well as the tactics of activism.

Society Treasurer John Sayers takes us around the world on early 20th century cruise ships and is a thematic link to another speaker at our virtual conference: Brooke Kroeger and her research into Nellie Bly, the intrepid journalist who circumnavigated the globe in 1890. The cruise organizer Frank C. Clark promised not speed but material and social comfort. Bly depended on newsprint to popularize her travels, but her reputation was also boosted by advertising images. Clark encouraged post card writing to keep his tours on the minds of those left at home. John’s collection of ocean liner ephemera is at the Bodleian Library in England; Brooke’s was at the Newseum, now defunct, an illustration of the challenges in choosing a repository for our carefully selected ephemera collections.

Jerry Yanoff’s piece on bookmarks is a biographical piece on how a dedicated collector of many things began a new collection during our months of virtual fairs. Even with a restriction to book store bookmarks his acquisition rate has been impressive - perhaps even more so in this age dominated by reading on electronic devices.

Peter Jablonski came to ephemera collecting from digging for old bottles (as many of our stalwart members have) and, at the same time, appreciated the connection to philatelic collecting through advertising sent through the post. These two branches of ephemera - postage stamps and the printed ephemera mailed with them - move closer all the time. On the horizon is World Stamp Show to be held in Boston in 2026, with plans to include the collectors of all historic paper.

—Diane DeBlois, editor

1890 Round the World

Elizabeth Jane Cochrane chose her pen name, Nellie Bly, from an 1850 Stephen Foster song. An extraordinarily determined young journalist, she made sure this name appeared in the headline of every story she ever wrote. For The Pittsburgh Dispatch and, from 1887, for Joseph Pulitzer’s The World, she specialized in daring exposés. She so embodied “That New American Girl,” that a plethora of ephemeral items celebrated her biggest escapade - the trip around the globe in 1889-1890. McLoughlin Brothers of New York published several variants of a Game of Round the World with Nellie Bly, in several sizes, illustrated by J. A. Grozier (Figure 1). The board game itself was identical to one published January 26, 1890 in The World, so that readers could follow the intrepid journalist (Figure 2). Grozier’s image of Bly was based on photographs, copyright H.J. Myers. In her biography of Bly, Brooke Kroeger fully describes the traveling outfit: Nellie Bly’s travel dress was blue plaid broadcloth, with a boned bodice, made in twelve hours by William Ghromley. She wore a peaked cap (she described it as “very English” so many illustrators give it a front and back brim, like Sherlock Holmes, but it is clear from photographs that it had a front brim only). Grozier shows her in a double-breasted heavy Scotch plaid ulster for warmth, but she also had a Gossamer waterproof for rain. In her travel bag (16 inches wide and only 7 tall) were: a summer silk bodice, 2 caps, 3 veils, slippers, toilet articles, inkstand, pens, pencils, cop paper, pins, needles, thread, dressing when, tennis blazer, flask and cup, underwear, handkerchiefs and ruchings, a “bulky and compromising” jar of cold cream.

In 1890 Round the World

Elizabeth Jane Cochrane chose her pen name, Nellie Bly, from an 1850 Stephen Foster song. An extraordinarily determined young journalist, she made sure this name appeared in the headline of every story she ever wrote. For The Pittsburgh Dispatch and, from 1887, for Joseph Pulitzer’s The World, she specialized in daring exposés. She so embodied “That New American Girl,” that a plethora of ephemeral items celebrated her biggest escapade - the trip around the globe in 1889-1890. McLoughlin Brothers of New York published several variants of a Game of Round the World with Nellie Bly, in several sizes, illustrated by J. A. Grozier (Figure 1). The board game itself was identical to one published January 26, 1890 in The World, so that readers could follow the intrepid journalist (Figure 2). Grozier’s image of Bly was based on photographs, copyright H.J. Myers. In her biography of Bly, Brooke Kroeger fully describes the traveling outfit: Nellie Bly’s travel dress was blue plaid broadcloth, with a boned bodice, made in twelve hours by William Ghromley. She wore a peaked cap (she described it as “very English” so many illustrators give it a front and back brim, like Sherlock Holmes, but it is clear from photographs that it had a front brim only). Grozier shows her in a double-breasted heavy Scotch plaid ulster for warmth, but she also had a Gossamer waterproof for rain. In her travel bag (16 inches wide and only 7 tall) were: a summer silk bodice, 2 caps, 3 veils, slippers, toilet articles, inkstand, pens, pencils, cop paper, pins, needles, thread, dressing when, tennis blazer, flask and cup, underwear, handkerchiefs and ruchings, a “bulky and compromising” jar of cold cream.
in Harrisburg and Penn State University Libraries, University Park. This is unsurprising as the Keystone State was the subject of the vast majority of Fowler's views. The most significant Fowler collection, however, is at the Library of Congress. Donated by a Fowler descendant, the collection includes not only the bird's-eye view prints, but important family notes, photographs, and personal recollections about the artist's early life and work.

The known biography of this prolific American artist comes from two encyclopedic works published in 1984, one by John R. Hébert and Patrick E. Dempsey focusing on the collections in the Library of Congress and a second, even more comprehensive volume by the preeminent scholar of bird's-eye views, John W. Reps. From these sources we know that Fowler was born in Lowell, Massachusetts in 1842 and spent his early years in New England. He served in the American Civil War with a New York regiment and was discharged in February of 1863 after being wounded at the Battle of Second Bull Run. In 1864, he moved to the Midwest to work with his uncle, a photographer in Madison, Wisconsin. Soon afterwards, Fowler is believed to have entered the field of printmaking through a relationship with Albert Ruger, an established bird's-eye view artist. Fowler worked under Ruger's tutelage until 1870 and then set out on his own. Over the next decade, he partnered with others in the field, namely Howard Heston Bailey (1836-1878) and Oakley Hoopes Bailey (1843-1947), on the publication of a number of bird's-eye views.

By 1880, Fowler surmised that the Midwest was already oversaturated with talented competitors and resolved that a change of geography might open doors to his own economic success. He saw opportunity in the Mid-Atlantic and, in 1881, moved to Asbury Park, New Jersey. The young artist was already familiar with the Garden State, having worked on bird's-eye views of Trenton (1874) and Morristown (1876). Over the next twenty years, Fowler and his young family moved around, living for a while in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and in the city of Trenton. Around 1880, Fowler decided to settle permanently in Morrisville, a Pennsylvania community directly across the Delaware River and with strong cultural and economic ties to the New Jersey state capital.

From his new home in Morrisville, Fowler entered into the most prolific period of his career. He spent the next twenty years compiling a detailed visual record of American municipalities using this unique cartographic style. Fowler continued his practice of collaborating with others and had a long and prosperous partnership with James B. Moyer of Myerstown, Pennsylvania. Fowler's home base, at a busy industrial crossroads on the border of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, provided easy railroad access to the heart of industrial Pennsylvania, which the majority of his bird’s-eye views from this period depict. The local newspaper, the Trenton Times, reported on his comings and goings by rail for business trips and on his life as a respected member of the community. He spent...
his final years in Passaic, New Jersey, where two of his daughters lived. Fowler died in March of 1922 while on a business trip to Middletown, New York. His body was returned to Morrisville and he was buried in Trenton’s Riverview Cemetery, a storied graveyard that contains the remains of many other noted figures including master ceramics artist Isaac Broome, bridge engineer John A. Roebling, and Civil War General George B. McClellan.

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of interest in Fowler’s life and in his works, which are now easily-accessible due to digitization efforts at the Library of Congress and other repositories. In 2013, the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton...
Figure 7. Morrisville, Pennsylvania (1893) DETAIL. A detail view of Morrisville includes Van Sant Avenue, the street where Fowler first resided when moving to the borough. The nearby railroad station provided easy access for his many travels as an itinerant printmaker.

Figure 5. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania (1888) DETAIL. A Civil War veteran, Fowler chose to surround his bird’s-eye view of Gettysburg with more than 50 inset views of regimental monuments and topographic landmarks marking the sites of the bloodiest fighting.

Figure 6. Wolfe City, Texas (1891). Though known mainly for his views of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Fowler traveled to Texas in the early 1890s where he completed a series of small town views.
Figure 8. Penna R.R. Car Shops, Altoona, Pennsylvania (1895). Fowler’s depiction of the railroading center of Altoona stands out for its highly-detailed emphasis on the locomotive shops and roundhouse.

Figure 9. Morgantown, West Virginia (1897) DETAIL. Fowler’s view of this college town shows the earliest buildings of West Virginia University. The juxtaposition with a contemporary street view shows the artist’s meticulousness in rendering architectural details.

Figure 10. Scio, Ohio (1899) DETAIL. Fowler documented the Scio, Ohio, oil boom and the hundreds of derricks that littered the landscape. Industrial boom towns such as this were specifically targeted by Fowler since large population increases meant more consumers of his work.
exhibited Fowler maps of New Jersey locales in the exhibition, *Where in the World is New Jersey?: Historical Maps of the Garden State*. More recently, in 2017, the State Museum of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg organized ‘Every Thing of Interest Shown:’ T. M. Fowler’s Bird’s-Eye Views of Pennsylvania, 1885-1905. This unprecedented exhibition organized by Senior Curator of History, Curt Miner, contained thirty-two of Fowler’s original bird’s-eye views from the commonwealth’s extensive collection.5

As part of this renewed interest, a piece of biographical evidence was recently discovered, evidence that adds a new dimension to understanding how this important American...
artist got his start. The existing scholarship suggests that it was after the Civil War and through a relationship with Albert Ruger that Fowler first entered the field of printmaking. However, the U.S. Census of Population for 1860 suggests an even earlier source of inspiration and training. In that year, the manuscript census for Milwaukee, Wisconsin, shows Thaddeus M. Fowler, age seventeen, native of Massachusetts, residing in the home of an Austrian-born head of household by the name of Louis Kurz. Kurz’s occupation is recorded as “painter,” and Fowler’s as “painter’s apprentice.” In the Milwaukee city directory, Kurz is listed as a business owner with the occupation of “Painter and Lithographer.” The man to whom Thaddeus Fowler was apprenticed was none other than the celebrated lithographic artist, Louis Kurz (1834-1921), a pioneer in American printmaking who went on to become part of the famed printmaking duo, Kurz and Allison.

This newly-discovered census record, reveals that Fowler’s first experiences in art and lithographic printmaking predated the Civil War. It was Louis Kurz who first introduced Fowler to the field in which he would make his career. It is also likely that during this apprenticeship, Fowler first encountered the panoramic view which developed into a lifelong interest. In 1858, Kurz created a view of Milwaukee, Wisconsin that was published by Conrad Witter of St. Louis, Missouri. It was drawn from a hill on the outskirts of the city and shows a perspective...
of Milwaukee far below. The image resembles the bird’s-eye views that would one day become Fowler’s specialty. Kurz’s use of a panoramic view in his print was neither new nor innovative. He was surely inspired by similar city views that had been made by European artists for centuries. For Fowler, however, it seems clear that his early apprenticeship with a lithographic pioneer — coupled with his mentor’s interest in the art and beauty of the panoramic view — were two important influences that put a seventeen-year-old painter’s apprentice on the path to becoming the most prolific American maker of these important artifacts of cartographic ephemera.

Notes:


4 Trenton Times, 25 March 1905; Trenton Times, 17 September 1906.

5 Produced as an accompaniment to this exhibit, Cornell University Professor Emeritus and bird’s-eye view expert John W. Reps narrated an informative, illustrated video about Fowler and the details of his drawing technique, available here: https://youtu.be/r9v2fpmGb2E.

6 1860 U.S. Census, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, population schedule, 7th Ward, Milwaukee City, p. 125.


Nicholas P. Ciotola, is Curator of Cultural History at the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton, New Jersey. He was the curator and project director of Where in the World is New Jersey?: Historical Maps of the Garden State, an exhibition containing more than 100 original maps of New Jersey, including prints by T. M. Fowler. In addition to bird’s-eye views, his other ephemera interests include travel posters and sanitary pottery advertisements.
The New York-based group Political Art Documentation and Distribution (PAD/D) accumulated, from 1980 to 1988, an archive of over 2,700 objects, including posters, prints, stencils, flyers, and documents from left-wing activist groups around the world. Now housed at the Museum of Modern Art Library, the PAD/D archive stands as a testament to the political energy of this period. From screen-printed posters to notes and flyers, the objects in the PAD/D archive document the intersection between arts and activism in wide-ranging fashion.

The archive evolved from a call for submissions issued by the American writer, artist, critic, and curator Lucy Lippard (b. 1937), who had previously organized seminal exhibitions of Conceptual Art, including *Eccentric Abstraction* (1966) at the Fischbach Gallery in New York and a series known as “The Number Shows” (1969–1974), and had written the influential books *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (1973) and *From the Center: Feminist Essays on Women’s Art* (1976).1 Between 1977 and 1978, Lippard lived in Devon, England, and occasionally traveled into London, where she was impressed by the way British artists intertwined political activism and artmaking. In a 2011 oral history with the Archives of American Art, she recalled, “I realized how much more sophisticated the British political artists were than we were at home. There’s a lot more respect for community arts in Britain than there is here, and certainly than there was then. So they were doing interesting combinations of community arts and political art, which we sort of separated out.”2

When Lippard returned to the United States, she wanted to organize a show that would bring art and activism together in a similarly efficient manner. The resulting 1979 exhibition at Artists Space in New York, titled *Art from the British Left*, was announced in the form of a simple, black-and-white postcard featuring an image by the British-Pakistani artist Rasheed Araeen, later reproduced in PAD/D’s first newsletter (figure 1).3 On the verso of the postcard, below the logistical information about the show, was an announcement: “This exhibition is the first in a series on socially concerned art (at Artists Space and/or elsewhere) intended to expand international communication and to form an archive of political art. Anyone interested in participating in future manifestations should contact Lucy Lippard,” followed by a contact address.

Those who wanted to be involved in the formation of the archive were invited to attend a meeting at Printed Matter, an artists’ publisher and bookstore in New York.4 After her involvement in the Art Workers Coalition, the Heresies Collective, and other politically active artists’ organizations, Lippard recollected that, at this meeting, she wanted to make it clear that this archive project wasn’t the grounds for starting another group, a mandate that softened in short order: “I got up and made a little spiel about this, and I said, ‘And the one thing I’m not going to do is start another organization; this is just an archive.’ […] And by the end of the meeting it was another artist organization.”3 This organization was initially named Political Art Documentation (PAD) by Clive Phillpot, a member who served as head librarian at the Museum of Modern Art from 1977 to 1994.6 Later, a second “D,” for “distribution,” was added to the acronym and name at the request of artist members, according to Tiernan Morgan’s 2014 history of the group in *Hyperallergic.*7

Gregory Sholette, a former PAD/D member who has documented the organizations’ history in publications and in the *Dark Matter Archives*, a website featuring underseen artistic and activist publications, estimates in his essay “A Collectography of PAD/D” that about two-thirds of the
group’s members had previously or simultaneously worked in other artist collectives and institutions, including the Art Workers Coalition, Fluxus, Collaborative Projects (Colab), the Women’s Building, and Group Material, among many others. The organization also received financial donations from well-known artists such as Jenny Holzer, Hans Haacke, Barbara Kruger, Leon Golub, and Nancy Spero. Smith recalled that the initial energy in PAD/D was largely motivated by the art community’s shock at the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980, and a determination to protest the policies of his administration through coalition-building.

In the first issue of the organization’s newsletter in February 1981, Lippard and Jerry Kearns described PAD/D’s mission: “Our main goal is to provide artists with an organization to society; one way we are doing this is by building a collection of documentation of international socially-concerned art. PAD defines ‘social concern’ in the broadest sense, as any work that deals with issues—ranging from sexism and racism to ecological damage or other forms of human oppression.” To accomplish this goal, an organizational structure was developed, with community organization and outreach, archives, and public exhibitions and political outreach work groups. In addition to working group meetings, members convened monthly at Second Sundays, a public dialogue series centered on such topics as civil liberties, unauthorized art in public spaces, and art and ecology. In 1982, a steering committee was formed to guide the organization’s development.
established, with one member from each work group, and PAD/D applied for 501(c)3 status as a non-profit.14

Among PAD/D’s publications was Upfront, a newsletter with editorials, articles, photo-essays, calls for submissions to exhibitions, and notices for events.15 The newsletter was initially titled 1st Issue, but it was renamed Upfront after two issues because “many issues of 1st Issue would be extremely confounding,” according to Sholette.16 The contents were wide-ranging; for example, the summer 1983 issue (figure 2) featured a humorously terrifying cover image by Anton van Dalen of an enormous cockroach labeled “real estate” rampaging, Godzilla-style, through the Lower East Side, and the interior sections include an announcement of the upcoming exhibition “Not for Sale: A Project Against Displacement,” photographs and reflections from members’ investigation of contemporary street art, excerpts from a discussion on Cuban photography, and highlights from the PAD/D archive under the topic of “international poster modernism,” among many other articles. Barbara Moore and Mimi Smith, who organized the PAD/D archive, showcased thematic selections from its holdings in most issues.

The group also published Red Letter Days, a one-page calendar of cultural and political events in New York. In her oral history with the Archives of American Art, Lippard recalled, “We printed it out and then we Xeroxed it. And then we sat there for an afternoon every time we did it and drew red circles around the red-letter days with a magic marker, and that gave it a certain panache. [Laughs.] It made it look more interesting, and they were all hand done, and we handed that out at Franklin Furnace and various—they were in piles in places.”17

PAD/D also organized exhibitions that made use of public spaces, bypassing the strictures of institutions; as Lippard put it, the shows were motivated by members’ conviction that “the museum structure was not going to show any politically timely work and also knowing that activism is diluted when brought into the museum.”18 For one such exhibition, Death and Taxes (1981) (figure 3), the group issued an open invitation to artists for works that opposed the large percentage of the U.S. budget that was used to fund the military, as opposed to spending on social programs. Though some works were exhibited at the 345 Gallery, others appeared in more surprising public contexts; for example, the artist Micki McGee printed images of jets and bombs, along with statements regarding the military budget, on top of tax forms, which were then returned to banks and post offices. Other ephemera and artworks appeared in public pay-phones, subways, public bathrooms, and armories.19

Other exhibition projects were drawn from “Not for Sale,” a project to protest gentrification on the Lower East Side. As Janet Koenig wrote in a 1983 issue of Upfront, “‘Not for Sale’ will present information to artists and others about how to get involved with community activists, with block and tenant associations and with community cultural events and demonstrations. This project underscores the difficulty progressive artists face in trying to reach an audience outside the artworld, and

Figure 4. Installation view of “Out of Place: Art for the Evicted,” New York, 1984. Organized by Political Art Documentation and Distribution’s “Not for Sale” committee.
to break out of cultural isolation.” The “Not for Sale” committee first organized an exhibition in 1983 at the El Bohio Community Center, which had previously served as PAD/D’s headquarters, featuring two hundred artworks. It proved paradoxically popular, attracting press attention to the rapidly gentrifying neighborhood as an artistic hotspot. A subsequent exhibition organized by the committee, titled “Out of Place: Art for the Evicted,” was less centralized and took place as a month-long poster exhibition at four sites, on the walls of abandoned buildings (figure 4). These mock-galleries were satirically named Another Gallery, the Discount Salon, the Guggenheim Downtown, and the Leona Helmsley Gallery, after the notoriously unpleasant developer. The walls of each “gallery” were pasted with posters from 37 artists, including a poster for the show itself (figure 5), designed by Koenig in collaboration with other members.

The last issue of Upfront was produced in 1987, and PAD/D’s activities diminished after that point, though it remained in existence until its nonprofit status expired the following year. Smith recalled that the group “dissipated” as political art was absorbed by other arts non-profits and even blue-chip galleries, which previously would have shied away from showing more confrontational works.

The archive accepted a vast range of contributions, as long as they pertained to some political topic or methodology; for example, Moore and Smith determined that mail art was acceptable for submission, because it was “political in its relation to the art world,” comprising an alternative distribution system to galleries and museums. Moore, Smith, and a rotating group of volunteers organized incoming posters, flyers, and other submitted ephemera through a reference system of handwritten, 3-by-5 notecards. The notecards were labeled by artist along with cross-references to categories and other artists working on similar political topics, as well as notations for a given work’s location. Most items were stored within standard-size file cabinets, and oversize works were placed in flat poster files or rolled poster tubes.

Moore recalled that when Phillpot first examined the archive’s organizational system, he thought that the notecards were color-coded. In fact, the range of colored notecards did not represent certain categories but were a result of necessity: the archive committee obtained its office supplies through Materials for the Arts, which donates art supplies to non-profit organizations, and selected whatever notecards were available, regardless of their color. This anecdote is representative of what Moore cites as the “resourcefulness” of the archive’s organizational system and practices, which evolved as new topics, such as the AIDS crisis, emerged.

After extensive selections from the PAD/D archive were included in the 1988 MoMA exhibition Committed to Print, a show of political graphics, artworks, and artist books curated by Deborah Wye, “Lippard approached Clive include the Art Workers Coalition, ABC No Rio, Gran Fury, the Guerrilla Girls, Group Material, Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger, Yoko Ono, the See Red Women’s Workshop, and the War Resisters League.

Smith first became involved with the PAD/D archive after running into Lippard on the street in New York; during their subsequent conversation, Lippard described how various flyers and mailings from artistic and activist colleagues were piling up in her apartment. “She said that a lot of it shouldn’t be thrown away, that it should be preserved for the future,” Smith recalled. Lippard’s accumulated ephemera eventually entered the PAD/D archive, along with items saved or made by members. After members’ outreach efforts and notices in Upfront solicited further materials, “so much stuff came flowing in,” Smith said. As Lippard gave lectures nationally and internationally, she would also promote the archive, leading to an influx of materials from her most recent location.

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Phillpot, who advocated that the archive be donated to the museum," according to Morgan. Phillip agreed, and the PAD/D archive was acquired by the Museum of Modern Art Library, with Moore and Smith staying on between 1990 and 1994 to finish the cataloging process. Today, PAD/D files are logged digitally by artist or organization in DADABASE, the Museum’s online catalogue. As Morgan notes, the physical items at the MoMA Library are now divided between “regular” files, for flyers, announcements, and other documents, and large flat files, for posters, stencils, and prints.

In its entirety, the archive provides a view into the political concerns, aesthetic strategies, and organizing tactics of the recent past, through the medium of ephemeral materials. There is a vivid sense of immediacy to these documents and artworks, which telegraph the urgent activist goals of their makers through direct imagery and textual appeals. As Smith said, “There was something special that came out of it [the archive]: it represented that time and those artists.”

Many thanks to Gregory Sholette, Barbara Moore, and Mimi Smith for sharing their work and recollections with me, and to Jennifer Tobias for facilitating my visit to the PAD/D archive.

**Endnotes**


4 Subsequent meetings also took place at Franklin Furnace, an arts space and archive in Manhattan, in addition to Printed Matter. PAD/D’s offices were later located at the El Bohio Community Center on the Lower East Side and a building on the corner of Lafayette and Bleeker Streets that was also home to the War Resisters League and other political organizations. Gregory Sholette, “A Collectography of PAD/D,” *GregorySholette.com*, 2011, https://www.darkmatterarchives.net/wpcontent/uploads/2011/01/2.2.Collectography.pdf and Barbara Moore in discussion with the author, July 21, 2021.


6 Sholette, “Collectography,” 2.


9 Ibid., 5.


12 Sholette, “Collectography,” 5.

13 Ibid., 3.

14 Ibid., 5.

15 In 1982, *Upfront* received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. It was rescinded the following year by NEA chairman Frank Hodsoll, along with four other grants to socially-involved artistic organizations, in an apparent act of political interference. See Morgan, “Art in the 1980s: The Forgotten History of PAD/D” and Sholette, “Collectography,” 6.

16 Ibid., 3.


28 Ibid.

29 Barbara Moore in discussion with the author, July 21, 2021.

30 Ibid.

31 Frequent volunteers also included Carol Waag and Kate Linker. See Barbara Moore as quoted in “Political Art Documentation and Distribution,” *Group Work*, ed. Temporary Services (New York: Printed Matter, 2007), 84.

32 Barbara Moore in discussion with the author, July 21, 2021.

33 Ibid.

34 Morgan, “Art in the 1980s: The Forgotten History of PAD/D.”

This story is about America’s pioneering cruise and tour organizer, Frank C. Clark, from material built up in my collection item-by-item over five decades. It’s a great story about what this man accomplished as a role model for business innovation and marketing in the Cruise business.

The Internet is of some help in learning about Mr. Clark, but there is a brand of shoes with the same name that very much occupies most of the electronic stage! However, I did find that Frank and his older brother, Herbert, were brought by their parents to Palestine from Maine in 1866 with a group from The Church of the Messiah, and Frank, born in 1862, moved to New York in 1887 while the rest of his family remained in Jerusalem. It’s not surprising then that Frank, who had reportedly done stints as a tour guide in Jerusalem, launched his cruises by highlighting trips to Jerusalem and what we now call the Middle East.

An early promotional letter when he had a ‘General Ticket and Tourist Agency’ in New York is signed by Clark as ‘ex-U.S. Vice-Consul at Jerusalem’ and refers to his brother, Herbert E. Clark as the Vice-Consul at Palestine. He claims that he and his brother “resided in Palestine twenty and thirty-five years respectively.” This experience was still cited as special credentials (Figure 1) for leading a tour of the Mediterranean and the Orient in April 1902. Considering that the letterhead on the early promotional letter claims that the first Frank C. Clark Cruise was on the Friesland in 1895, he already had seven years experience under his belt and apparently at least seven successful tours.

Several years ago, I presented ephemera from Clark’s 1909 ‘First World Cruise’ on Hamburg America Line’s SS Cleveland (Figure 2) in an article on the Ephemera Society website. I believe that Clark’s First World Cruise marked his finest achievement, traversing the globe on a single ocean liner with no changes and the same cabin for the entire cruise. It took a lot of courage given the promotion that had to be done and the extent of the shore arrangements for fresh food, refueling, and interesting shore tours. But well before the sailing date he had ‘teaser’ fliers (Figure 3) blanketed to prospective buyers.

As I put the pieces of the World Cruise together, I became aware of the fact that the Cruise was not apparently at the initiative of the Hamburg America
Figure 2: Clark’s pioneering First World Cruise on the Cleveland.

Figure 3: An early ‘teaser’ flyer for the First World Cruise.

Figure 4: Despite the association with the shipping line these were very much Clark’s own cruises.

Figure 5: A rare Payment Receipt for ‘Membership’ in the cruise.

Figure 6: No identity crisis here – the cruise was Clark’s own cruise, and the Farewell Dinner was that of Clark rather than of the ship.
you’re heard of the Albright-Knox Art Museum); the Avery’s from Auburn, N.Y; Hon. & Mrs. Strauss of New York; and numerous others who were likely the ‘right’ people to meet if you were an upwardly ambitious American and an avid student of Society. Brilliant marketing, Mr. Clark – poor people couldn’t afford your cruises!

As can be seen, Clark chartered ships and sold passages on them as his own cruises (Figure 4) describing them as ‘Memberships’ in the promotional materials and even on a rare 1926 Payment Receipt (Figure 5). The note of exclusivity was maintained in menus such as the one in Figure 6, a World Cruise Farewell Dinner, and even on baggage tags (Figure 7). The shipping line was given little credit, with the emphasis being on the Tour Organizer, Frank C. Clark.

Clark’s promotional booklets for a trip were 16 pages (Figure 8), but less expensive versions for wider distribution were 8 and in some cases only 4 pages, most economical because stapling was not required. There is also an example where the front and back of a cover were used as a one-page two-sided flyer. Using the same graphics would have managed costs while expanding the amount of promotion.

Another clever ploy by Clark was the issue of souvenir post cards on behalf of his travelers. Figure 9 is the information side of the postcard, which was sent, in this case, from storied Monaco. The card mentions the Casino, a legendary attraction. But this card was not only a win for Clark. It was a win-win because the traveler reminded each of his or her friends back home about the passenger’s cruise at each and every major port of call. This card was posted from New York by the Clark organization to the traveler’s selected list (Figure 10), and the recipient was put in a position to envy the intrepid ‘cruiser’.

Documentation shows that Clark sought groups such as Masonic organizations, where he could sell ‘Memberships’ to many people through one contact. (Figure 11) There is no evidence that the organizations themselves used this as a ‘fundraiser’, but it would not be surprising. The initial Cruise of 1895 was described as being a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land for the Knights Templar and the Knights of Malta. Documentation elsewhere in my collection shows that eventually the shipping lines themselves began to organize their own cruises, in
direct competition with Clark, which would have led to a decline in his business.

I can find no record of when Clark died, nor of what became of the business (my final example is from 1935 when Clark would have been 78). But what I have determined from extensive searches is that there is no apparent single source for Frank C. Clark cruise or other information. This archive of ephemera (plus the Clark material in the First World Cruise ephemera posted over a decade ago on the ESA website) may be the only such record in existence of the successes of this remarkable American business leader.

Figure 9: Postcards from the ports of call were sent to recipients designated by the passengers.

Figure 10: The recipient of the postcard was courted for future Clark cruises.

John G. Sayers is a member of the Board of the Ephemera Society of America and a recipient of the Society’s Award of Merit, as well as a member of the Council of the British Ephemera Society. His recent book, Secrets of the Great Ocean Liners published by the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, is derived from his collection of Ocean Liner ephemera which he has donated to the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library, and which now resides there as The Sayers Collection. The photograph, with his wife Judith, was taken by the editor on the roof of the Bodleian on the 2015 Ephemera Society tour.

Figure 11: The Knights Templar were apparently a significant presence on Clark’s early cruise in 1895.
Bookmarks: Forming a Collection

In the Neanderthal Era, I would have been a gatherer — for as long as I can remember I have been collecting. As a small boy in the 1940s I collected the pictures of movie stars found on the lids of ice cream cups. In my 82 years I have collected baseball autographs, coins, stamps, Civil War battlefield post cards, match boxes, beer coasters, Victorian statues, anything which comes in a variety. Objects called to me and wanted to move into my home; I took them in. About 40 years ago I began collecting books, focusing on signed copies, and from there drifted to literary letters and autographs. I joined the Caxton Club, an organization for really serious book lovers. Somehow I became attracted to book plates and a side collection of these grew to about 1,700, cataloged by type and now residing in five very large binders.

I also became interested in bookmarks, not really as a collection as I was not pursuing them. The problem with bookmarks was that they were too easy to get and too numerous. I did focus on the bookmarks that came from book stores and managed to put aside about 100 which I kept in a binder similar to the ones I used for my book plates. They were arranged by state. Did I mention that one of the best parts of collecting is arranging your collection?

My love of books led me to the Newberry Library in Chicago; I have been a member for 15 years and a volunteer at their annual book fair. I discovered that the Newberry had an extensive collection of book plates and so, two years ago, I met with Paul Gehl, the head curator, to arrange for the inheritance of my book plate collection.

I mentioned casually that I had a small collection of book store bookmarks. I was surprised he was interested and I will never forget his answer. “Some day your collection of book store bookmarks may be the only evidence we have that book stores ever existed.” I guess it takes a certain kind of mind to be a curator.

In March of last year my life, like everyone else’s life was disrupted by the COVID 19 pandemic. The second week of March my gym, where I went five days a week, was closed. In April I was diagnosed with bladder cancer. I was going to be spending a lot of time at home.

I immediately found refuge in my books. I have about 2,500 of them so there was no shortage there. I started to tackle the 500 to 1,000+ page novels which had been waiting for years to be read. However all my collections; books, book plates, book marks were on hold. Not only was I stuck at home, there was no place to go anyhow.

In the fall I received an email explaining that, due to the fact that there were no real book fairs, there were going to be virtual book fairs on the internet. I remembered something I enjoyed at book fairs here in Chicago was that I could pick up book store bookmarks for free from the various dealers. I wondered what would happen if I emailed the dealers at the virtual book fair and requested one or two of their bookmarks. The results were not over-whelming but they were gratifying. A handful of dealers popped a couple in the mail and sent them to me. I have to admit it was fun finding them in the mail.
In October I discovered Biblio.com, a web site which will put you in touch with thousands of booksellers, both real stores and on line. I tried a couple of these starting with dealers in Alabama, Alaska, and Arizona (get the picture). I figured five requests from each of three states each day should be a good number. The next day I asked from Arkansas, California and Colorado.

Bookmarks were now coming in daily. I noticed that some dealers were sending me bookmarks from other book stores and I realized that this was something I should be asking for as well as their own bookmarks. My binder of bookmarks by state became two binders and then four binders. I realized that I could not keep them this way and changed to a storage box; make that two storage boxes, excuse me four, no eight storage boxes.

To date I have received bookmarks from over 250 booksellers. Some have sent me bookmarks twice and a couple pop a couple in the mail to me from time to time. Some send one and some send ten and some have sent over 100 in a package or box.

I now have over 3,000 book store bookmarks. They are from all 50 states plus Washington, D.C. You could probably guess that the largest number are from California and the second largest is New York. You might be surprised to find that the third most are from North Carolina with Massachusetts close behind. Oklahoma has the fewest with two; three from North Dakota; four from Hawaii and West Virginia.

I have bookmarks from about 30 foreign countries, most from Canada, then England and the rest of the U.K., a handful from Mexico, even a couple from Asian and African countries.

Not all the bookmarks are ordinary rectangles. Some unique qualities:
- The smallest: The Battery of South Pasadena, CA and Dutton’s Books of Burbank, CA 4 by 1 1/4.
- Dauphine Street Books in New Orleans has a bookmark which is 2 1/2 inches square.
- A woman from H + H books in Iowa sent me a bookmark she painted by hand.
- Murder Ink, a book store in New York City has a bookmark in the shape of a pistol.
- Mishawaka Book Shop of Mishawaka, Indiana has a bookmark in the shape of an arrow.
- Olsson’s Books and Records of Virginia has a transparent bookmark which if laid over print will magnify it.
- B. Dalton has a bookmark which is a cut out of a boy carrying a stack of packages.
- Penguin books has a bookmark which is a penguin.
- Though not from a book store I do have a bookmark which is a full view cut out of Larry King.
- Many of the bookmarks carry quotes. My favorite I have found on several bookmarks is attributed to Groucho Marx: “Outside of a dog, a book is man’s best friend. Inside of a dog it is too dark to read.”

Some Sidelights

I have also received about 1,000 bookmarks which are not from book stores. I have also received about 100 book store business cards. No, I am not starting another collection. I have received airplane boarding passes, post cards of book stores, and foreign currency all used as bookmarks. And many other objects too numerous to mention. Most of the latter are stored in my garbage collection which goes out daily.

I have to mention that I have had some wonderful email exchanges with many of the people I have contacted. Quite a few have a Chicago associating and/or a Newberry Library association and they like to reminisce. A couple of women were recently widowed and spoke fondly of their bookseller husbands. Some people just like warm exchanges. I treasure these email exchanges. They put a human face on the people I am contacting; I guess it also puts a human face on me.

It was inevitable that I would run into other bookmark collectors. I have been able to send packages of bookmarks to a small number of people who requested them. I have a ton of book store bookmarks doubles and half a ton of non book store bookmarks.

I would like to request that if any of you, gentle readers, have book store bookmarks you would like to add to the collection please do send some to me. And I am willing to send some to you if you request them. My address is: Jerry Yanoff, 2730 West Coyle Avenue, Chicago, IL 60645. And if you just wish to tell me about your collection or comment on mine you can reach me at jerryyanoff@earthlink.net

Jerry Yanoff accompanied his parents from New York to the North Side of Chicago in 1942 at the age of 3; except for stints at college and the army, he has lived there ever since. In 2011 he retired from teaching, 27 years as a Chicago Public School Special Education high school teacher and 18 as a professor of Education for both undergraduate and graduate courses in Special Education. He wrote three books for teachers, and now writes a weekly humorous story for “Next Door.” Jerry shares his golden years with his sweetheart, Roxanne, and their books.
Digging for flotsam in privies near Buffalo NY led me to ephemera. Researching the embossed advertising on small glass bottles unearthed from these sites reveals a whole world of proprietary medicines, with their extravagant claims. These companies put out a wide range of paper advertising that included patent medicine tax stamps. Often the same image used on these private die adhesives appeared on advertising envelopes, trade cards, and newspaper ads. Here are some of my favorites.

**D.N. Blocher Petroleum Salve**
D.N. & P.C. Blocher, were business-owners in Clarence Center, NY in the 1870s. (Figure 1). A probable relative, John Blocher, who owned a shoe factory in nearby Buffalo, had supplied boots for the Union Army during the Civil War.

In 1851, Daniel Blocher moved from upstate New York to Michigan, farming in the township of Millington starting in 1859. He was also a lumberman, ran a shingle mill from 1864 to 1865, and held the offices of justice of the peace, supervisor, treasurer and county superintendent of the poor. He served as postmaster of Millington from 1861 to 1866, and again in 1883.

Daniel ventured into selling medicines as a senior member of the firm Blocher & Rathbun, Druggists. In January of 1874, another member of the family, David Blocher, of Tidioute, Warren County, PA, applied for a patent on an improved healing salve that he had invented with William Markham. The application describes how the salve was manufactured from crude petroleum using steam. Markham assigned the patent (No. 149,188, dated 31 March, 1874) to Blocher. From an advertising envelope in my collection, it’s clear that David and Peter C. Blocher made and sold the salve as early as 1875, claiming that their product cured all manner of skin diseases, including equine skin problems and inflamed udders on cows.

**Dr. Claris’ Liniment**
A label for Dr. Claris’ liniment (Figure 2) advertises another product, Claris’ Certain Colic Cure and Fever Medicine, emphasizing the cure-all properties of the “embrocation” as good for man or beast. The exotic image of an elephant and palm was included to attract customers; the image of the veterinary hospital was meant to reassure them. The same lithograph of the building, constructed in 1882 at the corner of Clinton

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*Figure 1. 1877 salesman’s card for D.N. & P.C. Blocher.*
Merchant’s Gargling Oils

In spite of its name, this product was initially a topical liniment used to treat the sores of mules and donkeys that hauled boats up and down the Erie Canal. Dr. Merchant started his business in “Lower Town,” Lockport, NY and moved to “Upper Town” in 1836. The company ownership changed three or four times during the 19th century, but the product had a continuous sales history until 1928 when the factory burned down.

Merchant’s distributed a great many envelopes with their advertising printed on the back (Figure 4) that were then overprinted on the front with the return addresses of druggists throughout the country. They also promoted their products through trade cards, almanacs, and songsters. Their advertising was even painted on the side of the Niagara Falls tourist boat, Maid of the Mist.

In 1869, company president John Hodge realized the advertising benefit of using a private die stamp that would have the additional benefit of discouraging imitators. The stamp, with the same image of two exotically-dressed men attending to the legs of a horse as appears on their envelopes and trade cards (Figure 5), was used from 1869 to 1883. Over the course of those fourteen years, Merchant’s used 6,584,037 stamps with a face value of $90,811.51, which translates to over $2,270,287 in business.

Dr. Pierce’s Medicines

One of the most famous patent medicine hucksters was Dr. Ray Vaughn Pierce, practicing at his World’s Dispensary Medical Association in Buffalo (Figure 6). After graduating from medical school, Dr. Pierce turned to providing home remedies in rural areas; from 1867 to 1880 he made almost half a million dollars per year.

Pierce established the Invalids’ Hotel and Surgical Institute in Buffalo, as well as a manufactory that produced Dr. Pierce’s Favorite Prescription. He drove an electric automobile with advertising painted on the sides: “Pleasant Pellets for the Liver” and soon made other medicines, including “Smart Weed,” one million bottles of which he shipped annually. Another of his concoctions addressed women’s diseases, such as fatigue, headache, “female weakness,” tumors, nerves, and menstruation — signs for which were painted on many barns.

Dr. Pierce worked hard to make sure the government kept away from regulating the patent medicine industry, forcefully fighting off doctors who questioned claims made by the cure-alls and tonics advertised in newspapers and sold by mail.

Until the mid 1890s, many of Pierce’s medicines, promoted through his book The People’s Common Sense Medical Advisor, contained opium. By 1907, the book was in its 11th edition and had sold more than two million copies.

Ransom’s Syrup Compound

Dr. David Ransom began his practice in Buffalo in 1846, promoting Dr. D. Ransom’s King of the...
Blood, that claimed to cure scrofula, consumption, and cancer “without the surgeon’s knife.” By the 1870s, his main product was a syrup compound, a “stimulant expectorant.”

Ransom’s packaging featured his bearded face, as did his private die stamps, used from July 1865 through August 1875 (Figure 7). The company name changed to D. Ransom, Son & Company around 1872, the “company” being Sullivan Meredith, a Civil War hero who had moved to Buffalo from Philadelphia. When the National Bank Note Company took over the contract to print the private die stamps, the new corporate name appeared on examples dating from 1876 until the last delivery in 1883.

The Sutherland Sisters
The seven Sutherland sisters were the daughters of poor turkey farmers in Cambria NY. Their mother, Mary, used a foul-smelling ointment on their long hair that appalled the girls’ classmates. When Mary died, their father, Fletcher Sutherland, decided to sell this hair product.

In addition to the marvel of their extremely long hair, the sisters were talented musical performers. Starting in the 1880s, they toured for a decade with the Barnum & Bailey Circus as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. (Figure 8)
Figure 5. Trade card for Merchant’s Gargling Oil, chromolithographed by G.H. Dunston in Buffalo NY. [Collection of the Boston Public Library]

Figure 6. Advertising insert for Dr. Pierce’s World’s Dispensary Medical Association - including it in correspondence, with personal information added on the back, would ensure a response. [National Library of Medicine]

Figure 7. Proprietary tax stamp for D. Ransom, Son & Company, used 1876 to 1883.
Despite the millions of dollars they made selling their patent medicine hair products (hair growing tonic, which was mostly witch hazel and bay rum; a scalp cleanser; “Hair Colorators;” brushes and combs,) the sisters squandered their wealth and died in poverty.

Patent medicine bottles led me to ephemera, and, through advertising envelopes and private die stamps, to a renewed interest in stamp collecting. I’ve been inspired by my father Fred Jablonski, president of the Buffalo Polish Philatelic Society; and, more recently, by Rick Barrett’s book, *Buffalo Cinderellas*, about the Pan American labels of 1901 and the two men who made them, one an honest businessman and the other a rogue who did time in prison for removing cancellations on used stamps and then selling them for postage.

**Peter Jablonski** of Akron NY is a high school science teacher at ONBOCES in Medina, and an antiques dealer. He thanks his wife Heather for always supporting his collecting addictions. He can be reached at pjablonski66@gmail.com. A version of this article appeared in *La Posta*, Third Quarter 2020.
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