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In the Absence of: Bringing Forgotten People to Life Through the Providence Writs and Warrants Collection

TRACI PICARD

I am deeply interested in the lives of people who don't have their names displayed on any historic house: transients, vagrants, runaways, apprentices, landladies, spinsters, sailors, sex workers, and others who rarely appear in the history books. They can be difficult to research, but I have found that the Writs and Warrants collection in the Providence, Rhode Island City Archives is one pathway into these often-overlooked lives.

The entire Writs and Warrants collection was found in the early 2000s stashed in burlap sacks in the dank basement of Providence City Hall, with most of the official writ or warrant documents folded around a receipt detailing the transaction that had led to a Justice Court action. Many are attached with a delicate metal pin. Not every writ has a receipt, but most include at least some kind of detail about the parties involved in the dispute, such as their gender, race, and job or social position. [Figure 1]

Figure 1. Warrant to arrest Gabrel Small, a man of color, for not paying Joshua Burr, a wheelwright of Providence, \$5 for "making the wood work of 1 wheel barrow" in August 1816. The attached receipt shows that 51 cents was paid in cash, leaving \$4.49 to be collected.

These records, spread over a dozen or so boxes, contain a huge number of receipts that document, in ways both explicit and vague, the details of everyday life in and around Providence from the 1790s through the 1850s. Scrawled in ink on paper ranging from torn scraps to pages from ledger books, these receipts were not originally created for any official record, but were the artifacts of day-to-day commercial interactions between people. Some were made by business owners such as shopkeepers and providers of professional services. Others reflect direct person-to-person transactions, such as rent paid at a casually run rooming house or loans made between neighbors or co-workers. With no credit cards and limited access to cash, customers would purchase what they needed with the intent to pay up at an agreed-upon time, often the end of the month. Evidence of these transactions entered the archival record only if a debtor did not pay a bill, and the

Continued on Page 4

The Ephemera Journal



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Members and Friends

This years March ESA Conference and Fair was a great success. The topic this year was Conflict / Resolution, and it elicited many opportunities for ephemera to shine, from Looted & Supplied: Ephemera Travels to the Enemy; Interactive Political Ephemera (movables); the American War in Vietnam pro and anti-war; Student Activism in the 1960s; English suffrage; the Union printing industry during the Civil War; the Strikethrough in Typography; Gay Liberation movement of the 1970s and 80s; Protesting on the Capitol Steps.

The Hyatt is in the process of deep renovation which should be complete by ESA 45 in March 2025.

The Board meeting was productive, with a number of issues addressed including the mid-year meeting. We are focusing on a mid-year meeting in late October in New Orleans. Watch for the confirmation in the newsletter. The visitations arranged in concert with the meeting foster the camaraderie that participants have come to appreciate so much.

The Fair had over 60 dealers participating, under the stewardship of the new promoters Sanford Smith & Assoc. The fair ran seamlessly with a record amount spent on advertising. It was well attended by both young and veteran collectors as well as institutional curators.

On Saturday, the silent and live auction offered a congenial way to gather and raise money for the ESA. Once again, Swann Galleries was there to support us by running the auction and underwriting the open bar. Many thanks to the Manuscript Society as well for their donations and participation.

In a gesture of magnificent generosity, Glenn and Judith Mason have donated a long-time family heirloom to the ESA. It is a soft ball signed by the cast and crew of the film "East of Eden" when they were filming in California in 1954. The Society is investigating the best way to maximize the value of the donation, which is earmarked for Emerging Scholar Fellowship projects.

The dinner that followed was well attended. Congratulations to new Maurice Rickards Medal recipient Henry Voigt, a master menu collector and historical interpreter. Henry was inducted by VP Mike Peich. To top off a fine gala evening, Evie Eysenburg and Barbara Loe teamed up to present their infamous Ephemera Jeopardy.

Our first joint Fellowship will be with the Clements Library, offering an opportunity to study and write on the extensive ephemera collections in the library. We are looking forward to a presentation coming from the study. Also, we also want to thank Sandi Jones who has kindly allowed the ESA to move the remaining funds in the Philip Jones endowment to the ESA Emerging Scholar Fellowship fund, which will be working with the Winterthur and Clements libraries, two strongholds of ephemera.

David

David Lilburne, President

Article submissions are welcome, and are subject to peer review. No more than 3,000 words and no more than 10 images. Contact: agatherin@yahoo.com.

2024 Maurice Rickards Award: Henry Voigt

A Century of Dining Out

The Maurice Rickards Award honors people involved in ephemera and ephemera studies who have made substantial contributions to the field over an extended period of time. Awardees must have demonstrated engagement as a collector, dealer, researcher, teacher, institutional curator, and/or conservator.

- Henry Voigt is an ephemera collector: menus.
- Over the years he has deeply engaged with his collection and recognized cultural/historical trends that menus reveal.
- Inspired by his research and discoveries he has shared the story of menus and their place in cultural history through his blog, The American Menu, his groundbreaking Grolier Club exhibition and subsequent catalogue, *A Century of Dining Out: The American Story in Menus*, 1841-1941, and in numerous presentations and lectures.
- His public appearances and his 2023 profile in *The New Yorker* have also made him a spokesperson for the importance of preserving ephemera.
- He served as the Ephemera Society of America's treasurer for many years.

Henry is a pre-eminent collector, a student of his collection, a writer who shares the information gleaned from his collecting, and an ambassador for ephemera. For these achievements he is honored with the 2024 Maurice Rickards Award.



The congratulatory line-up of Rickards medalists (1 to r): Georgia B. Barnhill (1987), Barbara Fahs Charles (1986), Nancy Rosin (2017), Richard D. Sheaff (2023), Bruce Shyer (2023), Henry Voigt (2024), Diane DeBlois (2008), Robert Dalton Harris (2008), Barbara Rusch (1989), and President David Lilburne who wears the Pepys medal given to The Ephemera Society of America by The Ephemera Society (GB) in 2015.

In this Issue...

The organizers of the huge international event, Boston 2026, have invited our members to enter exhibits of ephemera. So, exhibitions shaped this issue

Ephemera helps us interpret the quotidian; what do we do when ordinary lives or extraordinary circumstances leave behind little or no ephemera? Two emerging scholars imaginatively approach this challenge.

Traci Picard found a wealth of detail about the lives of under-class Rhode Islanders in early writs and warrants, and decided that one way to communicate some of the information was to mount an exhibition with items she crafted, gathered, and curated. The exhibit was part of her thesis project towards a Masters in Public Humanities.

Meredith Santaus has curated exhibitions of artist books that incorporate both the material and the idea of ephemera. Here she uses three of these examples to explore the role of "pseudo-ephemera" in interpreting little-documented history.

Bruce Shyer's many exhibits of ephemera ask only that the viewer bring an appreciation for the variety of form and image, across a wide spectrum of time and experience. Here we present just a sampling of his creative process and his extraordinary collection.

Sarah Duzynski exhibited some of her collection of diving horse ephemera at one of our annual conferences — such a surprising, and somehow quintessentially American, entertainment. Her essay shows how important postcards are in documenting the cultural landscape.

Postcards are also a way to appreciate actual landscape, as **Jeremy Rowe** shows with a selection of his images of the mountain mining of Copper Creek, Arizona. Jeremy plans to design an exhibit with the material for display in 2026.

-Diane DeBlois, editor



Figure 2. From the author's exhibition display: items mentioned in writs, including a pearl ring, lottery tickets, a pencil, twine, and a "box of junk" arranged on fabric printed with scans of a writ demanding that Lucy Crawford pay Elisabeth Hammond \$10.50 for seven weeks' work from December 1826 to February 1827.

creditor tried to collect the debt in court. Sometimes the debtor died, or went to sea, took ill, or got too drunk; sometimes the money just wasn't there.

This collection is a rare window into the material culture of Providence's lower-income residents. It captures some aspect of the lives of people who may have no other record in any other archives, anywhere. A survey of these records helps to identify broad trends, such as what categories of debts people faced

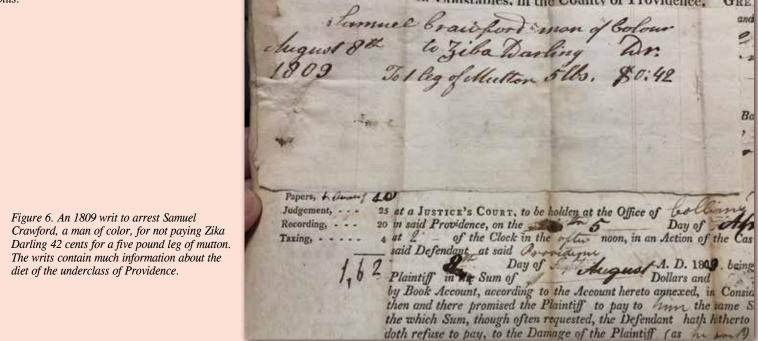
and the big picture of costs and wages. It may not come as a surprise that food, rent, and health care were major categories, and that lower-income people sometimes had to fight to get their wages. But we can also learn very specific details such as the popularity of gingerbread, the staggering amount of rum sold, or the conflicts that arose when someone broke a neighbor's wooden well bucket. And we can observe the buying and selling of an impressive range of



Figure 3. The title of the display, For Want of the Body, is taken from the phrase sheriffs used before they seized the absent debtor's possessions. It is embroidered to symbolize the labor of women.



Figure 4. Clothing items made for the project, set in a laundry display which references the many women who took in laundry to pay the bills.



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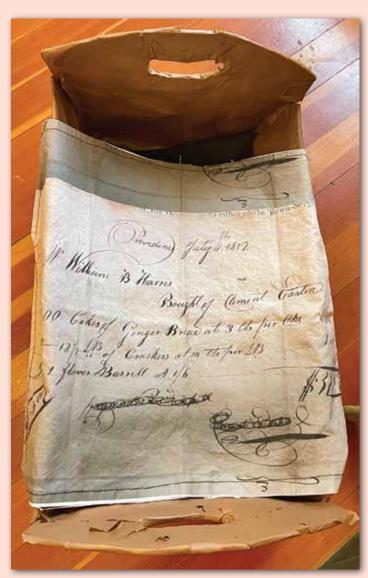


Figure 5. A papier maché cradle, covered with a blanket on which writs are printed (in 1813 William B. Harris did not pay Clement Easton for 100 cakes of gingerbread as well as crackers and a flour barrel). The object symbolizes the cultural implications of being born into debt.

or Constables, in the County of Providence, GRE

Bo

NCE, sc. To the Sheriff, his Deputy, or to either of the Town-S

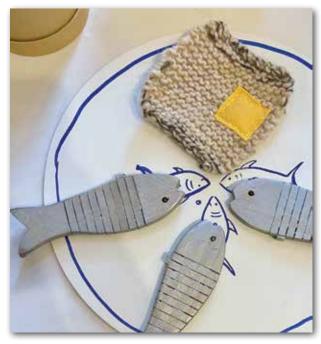


Figure 7 (above). A display representing a typical meal for laborers in the early 1800s: the fish are wood, the bread is crocheted wool and the butter is felt.

Figure 8. (right) Oysters were a popular commodity in the early 19th century - affordable and easy to collect. These were purchased from a theatrical supply store, and the lemons are made of clay.

Figure 9. (below) Food and other domestic items that appeared in the writs, clockwise from top left: soap, butter, parsnips, a gouda cheese, peas, cone sugar, fish, a pie.





fabrics and articles of clothing, from suspenders to bombazet, wool yarn to black velvet.

While these transactions provide a snapshot of daily life, it is just that: a snapshot. As with all records, much is left out. And working with this huge collection—receipts often written hastily in early nineteenth century cursive, using highly irregular spelling, on paper often damaged over time—is a challenge. But it is a treasure trove of information that historians can use in several ways, from extracting data to telling micro-histories and tracking relationships within communities.

My exhibition project, In the Absence Of, was intended to bring the records to life through craft. Those of us who descend from and relate to laborers, immigrants, or



Figure 10. Part of the gallery space exhibiting the project — the table set with items mentioned in the writs that were either sourced or crafted.

people of color often don't see our cultural artifacts in historic houses or history museums. By using the Writs and Warrants to inspire an immersive space, I transformed these ephemeral documents into tangible materials. You can see that items mentioned in the writs, such as oysters, butter, stockings and a pencil have been re-created or assembled into an imagined home. The writs themselves are reproduced on paper and textiles to communicate how the debtor is surrounded by their debt, it is always in the background [Figure 2].

This is by no means the end of my work with this collection that still lives at Providence City Hall, and I intend to continue building out the dataset, to make it available to other researchers and to continue spending time with the documents. I have found a lot of joy and purpose in working with these papers. The materiality of the collection tells a story before we even get into the content. The research felt very immersive, and I would leave each session with my imagination sparked,

eager to learn more. This feeling is what I hoped to capture with the project; a sense of relationship with the past which can come through the everyday details.

Traci Picard is a

researcher, writer, editor, plant nerd and public historian from Providence, RI. This article reflects some of her work towards a Masters in Public Humanities at Brown University. She presented on the subject at Ephemera



43 in March 2023. Traci proclaims she loves cities, art, educational equity, micro-history, urban nature, archives, systems thinking, and asking questions-ideally in collaboration with others. She values brevity, enthusiasm, persistence, and care.

Book Artists Approach Ephemera

MEREDITH G. SANTAUS

I opened the Ephemera 44 Conference with my Emerging Scholars Presentation on the concept of "pseudo-ephemera," or artist's books and objects that adopt the form of ephemera. I have come to see certain of these creations as filling in gaps in the archives of protest.

Archives, in both the broad sense of the historical material record and the local sense of the collections at individual institutions, tend to maintain the narratives of history's "winners," or those stories considered most important. The evidence of some struggles is destroyed, lost, or, perhaps, was never documented in physical form. Book art objects in the mode of pseudo-ephemera construct a fiction to provide a bridge from isolated or connected historical happenings to our present.

In the mid 2010s, printer and book artist Amos Paul Kennedy, Jr. used outdated state-issued road maps as substrates on which he printed numbers in a bright and blistering red. (Figure 1) Mississippi is over-printed with "54," and the number "1" appears on a map of New York. On their own, especially when folded, these maps strike us as banal. Certainly, the numbers without context are cryptic. But Kennedy issued these alongside 136 church fans made of heavy card-stock affixed to paint stirrers, on which he printed the names of Civil Rights activists, the years and locations of their deaths from the 1940s through the 1960s, and, in that same red ink, the word "Murdered." The format

recalls the practice in Southern churches of distributing such fans to the congregation along with the weekly program.¹ These fans traditionally included advertisements for various local establishments: the barber, the tailor, the grocer. Church fans, in general, represent the community, the neighborhood and its material traces of mutual care and collective ritual. The ritual Kennedy references here is the funeral, but his "neighborhood" is the entirety of the United States: the geographic scope of the project ranges across all the terrain east of the Mississippi River.

Kennedy's maps present as a visual index to the fans, their red numbers adding up the toll of victims according to their locations of death. Some names on the fans – Martin Luther King, Jr., Emmett Till – are familiar, but the collection serves as a broader register, tracing whole lineages of those affected by this horrific history, some of whose names are little known today. The set also maps horrific tragedies beyond and between the roadways that connect them, situating racial violence within the infrastructure we so easily take for granted. These are not outlier cases, but crucial instances in a systemic pattern that might otherwise evade our awareness.

Another example illuminates the particular potency of ephemeral objects for the purposes of preservation and protest. In 2014, the Virginia Arts of the Book Center published *Notions*, a collaborative project by twenty



Figure 1. Amos Paul Kennedy Jr., Church Hand Fans and Maps, part of a "Civil Rights Martyrs" series. Letterpress printed, ca. 2010.

artists in an edition of forty copies. (Figure 2) Within a hatbox, twenty-four distinct pieces riff on the idea of "notions," odds and ends used in sewing crafts, in order to develop a nonlinear but cohesive narrative that weaves a history of the textile industry into the personal fabric of intergenerational relationships. Among the artifacts—some fully artificial, some found objects that have been altered—are an embroidered collar, a pin cube to "prick your conscience," a matchbox, postcards, memos, printed emails, a paper doll, and newspaper clippings giving them the sense of temporality that resides in objects inherited (albeit fictionally) by the women within a single family.

The tenderness of that familial close-up struggles against the conflicting reality of exploitation embedded in the ephemera. On one hand, the preservation of such objects demonstrates a sense of ancestral care and love; on the other, we see the expendability of human labor exemplified by the disasters of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire of 1911 and the Tazreen Fashions Fire of 2012, both illustrated in the piece via newspaper clippings. On March 25, 1911, the Triangle Shirtwaist Company's building in Greenwich Village caught fire. There were no sprinklers, and doors exiting the manufacturing floor had been, as they were every day, locked; 146 workers, 123 of them women and many recent immigrants, perished. The catastrophe led to an increase in worker-safety legislation, but the fashion industry has in the ensuing century gradually ticked up its reliance on outsourcing, and those safety requirements bear no currency abroad. On November 24, 2012, the Tazreen Fashion factory building in Dhaka, Bangladesh, under similar circumstances involving structural negligence, burst into flames, and 117 workers lost their lives. The Bangladeshi government, at the behest of a U.S. legislature heavily lobbied by various (but by no means, all) American fashion retailers, pledged to review the conditions of its factories, but lasting change for worker protections remain elusive.

The tactility of this type of pseudo-ephemera imbues *Notions* with a deep and emotional sensibility, juxtaposing the ongoing manufacture of fabrics with the lost lives of the workers who make them. *Notions*, by its clever container and generational backstory, reminds us that the material traces of history are not confined to what the established or institutional archive maintains and records. Though the formal repository holds crucial records, so many more artifacts remain in the private care of homes, deeply intertwined with personal memories. The artists have conjured a piece that brings together record and object to tell this story.

Lee Krist's *How to Transition on Sixty-Three Cents a Day* demonstrates a similar phenomenon. While Kennedy's maps and fans and the objects in Notions operate to relate past and present, Krist's project uses ephemera to urge a new vision of the future, a new way of being in a material world. Published in 2013 in an edition of 163 copies, it charts his move from the East Coast to the West and his gender transition within an array of objects. (Figure 3) Thirty-one postcards (real) on which Krist printed letters back to his mother (artificial), an over-punched coffeehouse



Figure 2. Notions 20 artists collaborative book, Virginia Arts of the Book Center, 2014.

rewards card, a faux "Get Out of Jail Free" card, a page torn from a men's magazine, a poem, and a strip of film provide a material text of a selfhood growing, changing and adapting to a world that resists it. Krist communicates with us directly through his written postcards, but we also "read" through the tactility of the objects themselves and by what they evoke in us. Krist, then, invites the reader into himself: his mother's displeasure, the prejudices he suffers, his frustration at his slow reaction to hormones, the ineptitude and insufficiency of the American healthcare system.

Pseudo-ephemera expresses something that words themselves, often taken as reliable, cannot fully convey. The way in which Krist physically moves through the world, the way his body takes up space and interacts in the day-to-day with objects of seemingly no consequence, is governed by political and social factors. A huge, impersonal system—medical protocols, gender-normative media, health insurance—pressures and determines an individual life, even in small and mundane ways. They appear to dictate what the future will be. But Krist's personal archive protests this state of affairs. Because the objects around him have determined a particular sort of future, Krist creates new objects and alters existing ones; he exercises choice over the way things will go from here out, even if the present seems to say otherwise. These are the materials that will be, and he crafts them for himself, outside of the standard sites of production.

"But wait," I hear you say, "these items of ephemera aren't real! How can they speak to how things really are, if they're all make-believe?" Indeed, perhaps some of these things are not "really real," or in any case not used or usable for their intended purpose. We can no longer read the maps properly, the embroidered shirt collar is awfully small, Krist's postcards have been replicated across the edition.



What can materials mean to us, what kind of authenticity can they offer, if they themselves are inauthentic?

The work I am calling pseudo-ephemera is not meant to deceive. Rather, pseudo-ephemera poses the question: What do we do when there is no real thing, or when the real thing has been lost from the historical record? The artificiality of artist-fabricated ephemeral objects alerts us to the relative lack of materials about, say, murdered civil rights activists, exploited fashion factory workers, and transgender youth. Their objects existed, but they take up such little space, if they are even there at all.

Pseudo-ephemera prescribes the terms of its own duration, and this, too, expresses an alternative engagement with the norms of material culture. The fiery moment of protest is often fleeting, and its physical evidence perhaps extant only for an instant. But, because we collect and preserve artists' books, they gain a primacy of place in the space of the library or the museum or catalog; they take up space, digitally and physically. By the same token, they receive particular attention and singular care. Pseudo-ephemera, because of its temporal complexity, prolongs and preserves that moment of protest, embodying at once a meaningful past and an involved and optimistic future.

Endnotes

¹ In 2012, The Ephemera Society of America's Philip Jones Fellowship was awarded to Professor Marianetta Porter of the University of Michigan, whose project, Stories Told In Sunday School: Black Church Fans and Their Relation to Social History, resulted in an artist's book of the same name published in 2013.

Meredith G. Santaus

is the gallery manager for Bromer Booksellers & Gallery, and a doctoral student in the Department of English and American Literature at Boston University. In both roles, she focuses on the art of the book: At Bromer, she has exhibited the work of Barry



Moser, Gunnar Kaldewey, Robin Price, Sarah Hulsey, and Mary Heebner, among others. Her doctoral research concerns game-like book structures and how 20th-century experimental books adopt medieval ideas of ritual.

EXHIBIT WIZARD

Bruce Shyer has served on the Board of Directors of our Society more years than anyone else. He has also, with great flair, mounted more exhibits on behalf of the Society than any other collector. Exhibits at our annual events have been in flat frames and, although Bruce designed some of these displays (memorable were outdoor life, and circus), he has excelled at turning ephemera into three-dimensional cabinets of curiosities.

Beginning in 2017, Bruce rented glass exhibit cases from the organizers of the International Antiquarian Book Fairs in California, sponsored by the ABAA on alternating years in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas. For each theme, Bruce assembled hundreds of items and then spent hours arranging a selection. That first year, in Oakland, the theme was Easter Egg Dyeing; in 2018, for a different California fair, Patriotic Imagery; in 2019 in Oakland, Native American Images in Advertising; in 2020 in Pasadena, Art Deco; in 2022 in Oakland, Art Nouveau; in 2023 in Pasadena, Animals; and this year in San Francisco, "From Head to Toe." [Figure 1 by photographer Drew Alter]

A standing case with five shelves offered hats at the top [Figure 2], shoes at the bottom [Figure 6], and faces [Figure 3], eyes [Figure 4], torsos, and hands below [Figure 5]. Then, a counter case with three shelves showed hands, faces, and more



Figure 1

hands — looking down provided a phantasmagoria of overlapping. [Figure 7]

Bruce's exhibits have also dazzled the members of the Book Club of California and the Roxburghe Club; at each venue, Bruce is an ambassador for the Society and for the astonishing variety of ephemera.



Figure 2









pair

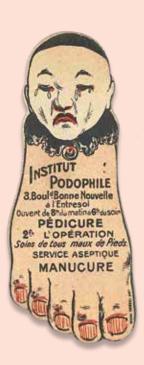




Figure 4





Figure 5





Figure 6



Figure 7

Diving Horses

SARAH ELIZABETH DUZYNSKI

In September 1908, a woman rode on the back of a horse as it dove off a 40-foot tower into a tank of water at the Nuckolls County Fair in Nelson, Nebraska. (Figure 1) This was the thrilling diving horse act created by Dr. William Frank Carver in the early 1890s. Carver, born 1851 in Winslow, Illinois, spent some of his early years living in a sod house on Medicine Creek in Curtis, Nebraska. He was a dentist who briefly practiced in the 1870s and began his career in entertainment with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, traveling the United States and the world displaying his shooting skills. After he and Buffalo Bill Cody went their separate ways, Carver created a war drama called *The Scout*. In this play, the hero on horseback was pursued and forced to cross a bridge that was rigged to collapse, plunging the horse about 15 feet into a ravine below. Carver's horse, Powder Face, appeared in *The Scout* in 1891 at the Grand Opera House in San Francisco.¹ Powder Face and another horse named



Figure 1. Postcard, Lorena Lawrence and diving horse, Nuckolls County Fair, 1908.

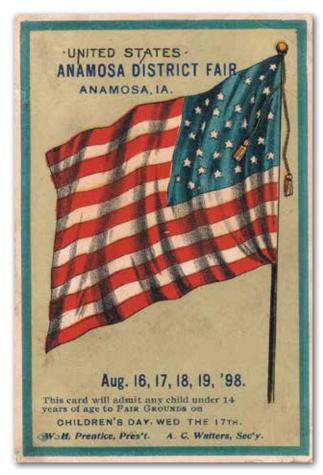


Figure 2. Front and back of 1898 bookmark advertising Carver's Diving Horses.

Cupid became Carver's first diving horses when the act traveled the United States in 1898. (Figures 2 and 3)

Carver took his new diving horse act to county and state fairs. At first the horses dove off the tower with no riders, but Carver was constantly evolving the act and soon added a rider. In the beginning, he held a contest wherever the act appeared; the challenge was for a local woman to stay on the back of the horse during the dive. The prize was \$100. On July 4, 1905, in Pueblo, Colorado a woman named Eunice Winkless successfully stayed on the diving horse Silver King and won the prize.²

Lorena Lawrence, an athlete and amateur high diver from southern California, accepted the challenge to ride Silver King during a dive. Her 1906 success resulted



Greater than the State Fair is what people say

ANAMOSA FAIR

THE PACING WONDERS!

Greatest attractions on earth. Five horses without rider or driver will pace a mile race at 2:15 gate each day, coming back at tap of bell and returning to judges' stand for decision.

TWO DIVING HORSES.

Powder Face and Cupid will again dive from a 40 foot tower into a small lake.

DR. W. F. CARVER,

Champion shot of the world, will give his wonderful exhibition of rifle, shotgun and horse back shooting. The diving horses and Dr. Carver need no introduction to the patrons of the Anamosa

BASE BALL,

Each day of the fair by the best clubs in Iowa.

Balloon Ascension.

\$1,600 for Horse Racing, \$1,500 for Special Attractions. No fair in Iowa has ever paid so much for special attractions.

Purses paid from judges stand at close of each

race.

New \$1,500 amphitheatre is now being constructed. Attend the State Fair this year at ANAMOSA. (OVER.)

Figure 3. Front and back of 1898 trade card advertising Carver's Diving Horses.

in a career as a diving girl.3 Lawrence was known by several names - Lorena Lawrence, Lorena Lorenz, and Lorena Carver - but she was most frequently referred to as The Girl in Red, after the color of her swimsuit. Riding the diving horses was dangerous. On one occasion in St. Joseph, Missouri, Lawrence lost her grip on the harness and went over the horse's head seconds before it struck the water; miraculously, she was not injured.⁴ In 1923, surgery on an injured leg muscle ended her diving horse career, but she continued working with the act.5 Lawrence died on August 27, 1981, in Miami, Florida.

Carver's diving horses were immensely popular wherever they appeared. However, the act was not without controversy. While exhibiting at the 1896 county fair in Rockford, Illinois, Carver was arrested for cruelty to animals. The Humane Society and some local horsemen had complained, believing that the horses were being forced to dive - at this venue, 25 feet into a tank of water 12 feet deep. A jury deliberated for five minutes and came back with a verdict of not guilty.6 In 1926, Carver received a letter from the Iowa Humane Society accusing him of using all sorts of tricks to make the horses dive. After both the veterinarian and secretary

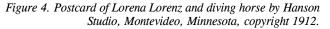






Figure 5. Photograph of Lorena Lawrence, Dr. Carver, and diving horse with diving tower in the back-ground.

for the Humane Society examined the horses and witnessed their dives, they concluded that there was no cruelty involved and that the horses were actually interested in diving.⁷

Carver died on August 31, 1927, in Sacramento, California, but the act he created did not die with him. Others, such as George F. Holloway of Bancroft, Iowa, who trained King and Queen, copied Carver's idea. (Figure 7) The earliest reference to King and Queen diving is in 1899, not long after Carver devised the idea. They performed at Coney Island three times a day,8 and were filmed there by Thomas A. Edison, Inc. In the film, a man stands in the water with one of the horses. The other horse is at the top of tower and dives into the water. The horse swims to the man holding the first horse and he leads both horses to the edge of the tank. Another man leads the horse that did not dive out of the water to the tower. That horse proceeds to dive and swim to the man in the water. Then the man leads both horses out of the water and away from the diving tower. This film gives important clues as to how King and Queen were trained to

Figure 6. Carver's Diving Horses Letterhead, Monroe, Wisconsin, with 1913 letter promoting his act to a county fair in South Carolina.



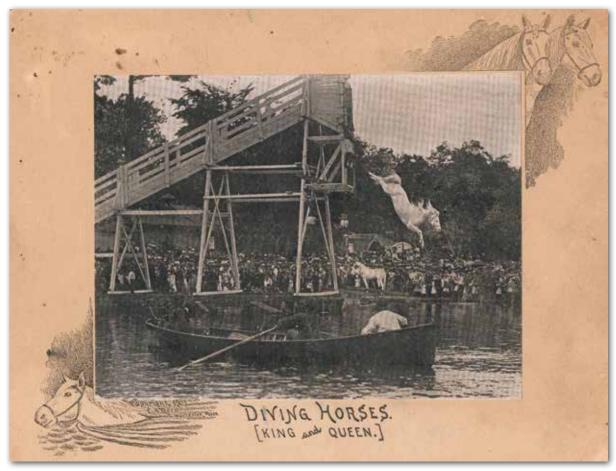


Figure 7. Mounted promotional photograph of Diving Horses, King and Queen, copyright by C. A. Reed, 1903, Worcester, Massachusetts.



dive: since one of the horses is always in the water, the horse on the tower will dive to be with the other horse. The horses were described as the most interesting feature at Lakeview Park in Dracut, Massachusetts in 1909, and were such a hit that they returned in 1910. Holloway died on June 18, 1913, in Rolla, Missouri, and is buried in Saint John's Cemetery in Bancroft, Iowa.

Holloway trained more than one pair of diving horses with the names King and Queen. In 1901, one of the pairs was sold to a firm in Indianapolis, Indiana for \$6,400 after Holloway had exhibited them there. The other King and Oueen pair performed at the Crystal Palace in London. 11 John W. Gorman of J.W. Gorman Amusement Company of Boston, Massachusetts also owned a pair of diving horses named King and Queen. (Figure 8) At some point Gorman either purchased these horses from Holloway or from the Indianapolis firm. Many of the images of Gorman's King and Queen are identifiable since he put his name on most of his publicity postcards and photos. (Figure 9) These postcards offer important information on where the act was performed and how it was perceived. One woman who saw Gorman's diving horses wrote that she had

Figure 8. Postcard published by J.W. Gorman advertising his Diving Horses, King and Queen.



Figure 9. Postcard showing King diving as one of "J. W. Gorman's High Diving Horses."

been to the Golden Spur in New London, Connecticut twice, and it was quite fun to watch. ¹² One person who saw the horses in Boston, Massachusetts wrote that they saw these lovely horses jump and were beauties. ¹³ Gorman's diving horses mostly performed in the eastern part of the United States, such as at the Vermont State Fair in White River Junction where they appeared in 1910. (Figure 10) Because of a leak in the tank caused by the curious public, King and Queen were unable to dive on the second day of the fair, leading some to believe that the diving horse act was fake. ¹⁴ Gorman died on May 15, 1916, in Brookline, Massachusetts, ¹⁵ and is buried in Saint Mary's Cemetery in Foxborough, Massachusetts.

Another diving horse act has ties to Bancroft, Iowa, and Holloway. Charles Leroy Johnson was born on September 10, 1875, in Swea Township, Iowa. He lived in Bancroft and most likely knew of Holloway and his diving horses. Johnson moved to South Dakota and lived on Duck Creek in Fall River County near Ardmore. On October 22, 1910, a diving horse trained by Johnson named Blue Bell was photographed diving in Ardmore. (Figure 11) Blue Bell also dove in Crawford, Nebraska; Douglas, Wyoming; and Rapid City, South Dakota. Johnson wrote a letter to his wife from Rapid City reporting that the pit had been finished that day and it looked like there was going to be a big crowd. 17



Figure 10. Postcard of J. W. Gorman's Diving Horses at White River Junction, Vermont.



Figure 11. Postcard of Blue Bell diving in Ardmore, South Dakota photographed by Regina Mauck October 22, 1910.

I have traveled to Ardmore several times and have met some people who knew there had been a diving horse in town. One man whose father had known Johnson gave me a box of letters that had belonged to Johnson; a few of them mention the diving horse. Johnson later became the sheriff of Fall River County. He retired and moved with his wife to Las Vegas, Nevada to live near one of his daughters. He died there on April 15, 1959, and is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery.

Over many years of travel and time spent in archives researching diving horse acts, I have learned that the people who worked with these horses loved and cared about them. Based on my research, it also seems that the horses themselves were motivated to dive. My collection includes real photo postcards, magic lantern slides, glass negatives, bookmarks, trade cards, buttons, and letters. I am always looking to add new material.

Endnotes

- ¹ Oakland Tribune, Oakland, CA, October 23, 1912
- ² Pueblo Star-Journal, Pueblo, CO, July 5, 1905
- ³ Los Angeles Herald, Los Angeles, CA, February 4, 1906
- ⁴ St. Joseph Gazette, St. Joseph, MO, August 12, 1907
- ⁵ Carver, Sonora. *A Girl and Five Brave Horses*. Doubleday, 1961, p. 31
- ⁶ Waterloo Daily Courier, Waterloo, IA, September 7, 1896
- Young, C. M. Letter to Dr. W. F. Carver. 19 July 1926. Personal collection of Sarah Duzynski.
- 8 Fort Wayne News, Fort Wayne, IN, November 8, 1899
- ⁹ The diving horse. Directed by Thomas A. Edison, performance of a diving horse from a tower 40 feet high into the water at the Shoot the Chutes pond at Coney Island, New York. Thomas A. Edison, Inc., 1899. From the Paper Print Collection (Library of Congress). Digital ID https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mbrsmi/ntscrm.00047244
- 10 Lowell Sun, Lowell, MA, August 19, 1910
- ¹¹ Semi-Weekly Iowa State Reporter, Waterloo, IA, June 14, 1901
- Postcard of J.W. Gorman's High Diving Horses, August 3, 1908 and postmarked from New London, CT. Personal collection of Sarah Duzynski.
- ¹³ Postcard of J.W. Gorman's High Diving Horses, August 22, 1908 and postmarked from Boston, MA. Personal collection of Sarah Duzynski.
- ¹⁴ Montpelier Morning Journal, Montpelier, VT, September 23, 1910
- ¹⁵ Foxboro Reporter, Foxboro, MA, May 20, 1916
- ¹⁶ Mauck, Regina. 1910. Blue Bell. Personal collection of Sarah Duzynski.
- Johnson, Charles Leroy. Letter to Gazelle Johnson. 23 August 1914. Personal collection of Sarah Duzynski.

Sarah Duzynski has a BA in English from St. Catherine

BA in English from St. Catherine University, St. Paul, Minnesota. She has been collecting anything related to diving horses since 1998, and exhibited part of her collection at The Ephemera



Society of America's annual fair. She has presented on diving horses at the Onarga Historical Society in Illinois. Her articles have appeared in the Twin City Postcard Club newsletter and *Postcard News from Courthouse Square*.

Photographic Views of Copper Creek Arizona

JEREMY ROWE

The golden age of real photographic postcards aligns with a flurry of activity related to mining, technology, and economic development in Arizona as it transitioned from a territory to statehood.

Copper Creek, Arizona is located in the Galiuro Mountains in the southeast corner of Pinal County near Arivaipa Valley [Figure 1]. This area produced silver as early as 1863, when ore was initially hauled overland to Yuma, Arizona Territory and was then shipped by sea to Wales for reduction.

A group of prospectors, William N. Miller, Theodore H. Peters, and Ely H. McDaniels, formed the Copper Creek Mining District and staked several mining claims in Tombstone, including the Blue Bird, General Lee, and Superior in May 1880. Initially, ore was carried by horseback to Benson for refining. (Figure 2) For over twenty years, development of the claim was hindered by internal squabbling.

Talk of extending the railroads from Tucson through the San Pedro Valley generated new interest in the Copper Creek area. Frank J. Sibley found investors in Chicago and organized the Copper Creek Mining Company in 1903. By 1905, 49,000 pounds of copper had been produced by the ninety men who

worked the mines. On March 6, 1906, the Copper Creek Post Office was established with Sibley's wife, Belle as postmistress. (Figure 3)

In 1910, the Copper Creek Mining Company incorporated with Sibley as General Manager (Figures 3 & 4). Though plans for a railway were revived, a rail connection from Copper Creek to the outside world was never built. (Figures 5 & 6)

By March of 1912, the concentrator that processed the Copper Creek ore had been expanded, and a dam was constructed to provide power for a milling operation. But ore still had to be hauled overland to Winkelman for processing, making improved transportation imperative. In April, construction started on a narrow-gauge railroad within Copper Creek Canyon.

In January 1913, Sibley purchased a Porter-built narrow-gauge locomotive, eight dump cars, and a flat car from the Ray Consolidated Copper Company in

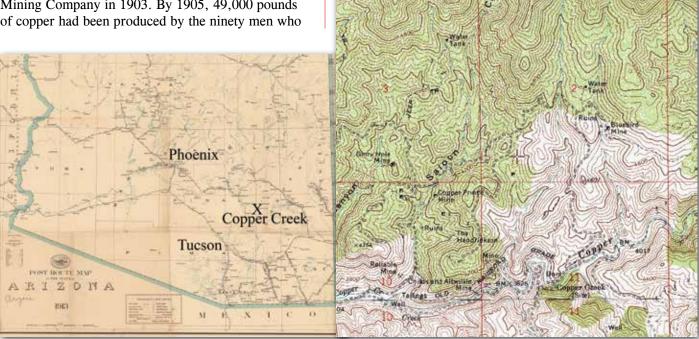


Figure 1. (left) 1913 Official Post Office Department Route Map of Arizona, showing the location of Copper Creek. The railroad has reached Winkelman to the north of the mines, and a regular post route from there has reached through Feldman as far south as Mammoth. Copper Creek would have been served by a special route. Figure (right). A modern topological map of the Copper Creek area shows the Old Railroad Grade, and locations of mines and mine tailings - emphasizing the difficulties in penetrating this landscape.



Figure 2. A heavily loaded wagon delivering goods to the commissary and office building at the Copper Creek Mining Company on Sycamore Flats above Copper Creek. Frank J. Sibley was the president and mining operations manager, while Robert New was manager of the general merchandise store. (Real photographic postcard, photographer unknown, ca 1912. All images collection of the author, vintagephoto.com)

COPPER CIBER (SIBLEY) STOCK NOW POINTER NUMBER 51. The Copper Creek Mining Company Could seal its entire stock in 30 days it it would accept first-class Los Angeles and Southern California real estate in exchange for stock. The company will not make any such exchanges, selling stock for cash only. If any Copper Creek stockholder wants first-class real estate for his stock at par he can trade for some of the following, which have been offered us, within the past ten days: 1. Block of 4 stores and 24 apartments, newly built, cor. Temple and Echo Park Road, fronting 140 feet on the park, equity \$12,000. 2. Equity \$3500 in \$1500 residence, So. Figueroa. 3. Equity \$10,000 in \$15,000 stores, Central Ave. 4. Two acres with artesian well, Springdale, \$4000 clear. 5. Six acres, Mesto Station, \$3000 clear, 6. Lot, Garfield Ave., Pasadena, \$2400, 7. Equity \$4500 in \$5500 house, So. Figueroa. 8. Venice lot, \$1500 clear. 19. Santa Monica house and lot, \$1500 clear. 10. Long Beach ocean front lot, \$000 clear and lot, \$1500 clear. 10. Long Beach ocean front lot, \$000 clear and lot, \$1500 clear. 10. Long Beach ocean front lot, \$000 clear and lot, \$1500 clear. 10. Long Beach ocean front lot, \$000 clear and lot, \$1500 clear. 10. Long Beach ocean front lot, \$000 clear and lot, \$1500 clear. 10. Long Beach ocean front lot, \$000 clear and lot, \$1500 clear. 11. In the mill its rich ore, making a product always salable at good prices, will then mill its rich ore, making a product always salable at good prices, This means constant dividends to Copper Creek stockholders. Copper Creek Mines produce sulphide ores, the kind that is permanent and has never been worked out. Mines of this kind have continued from the earliest history to the present and are still producing and furnishing one of the greatest sources of income known. Get Copper Creek stock now and have a sure income. Buy this stock before the mill is operating. You can buy Copper Creek stock will advance. Put Copper Creek down in your memory strong conugh to

Figure 3. Advertisement placed in the Los Angeles Herald on August 22, 1909, to generate interest in investing in Copper Creek Stock. Note the reference to the "Large Mill Photos" and ore display at the bottom.

Winkelman. Two large wagons were lashed together, and the locomotive loaded and secured on top for the final trip overland to Copper Creek. (Figure 7) The railway operated for about a year linking the town, mines, and mill via a series of switchbacks on its steep hillside roadbed. (Figures 8 & 9)

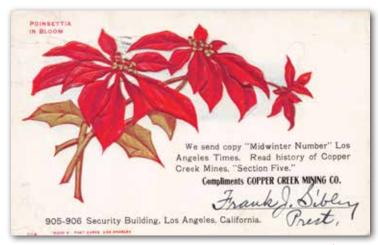


Figure 4. Promotional postcard signed and sent by President Sibley to promote an article about the mine that appeared in the Los Angeles Times supplement "Midwinter Number" in January 1910.



Figures 5 (left) & 6 (below). A miner stands next to a headframe prior to the installation of the light rail at Copper Creek. A tinted version shows miners' dwellings. (Real photographic postcards, photographer unknown, ca 1913.)

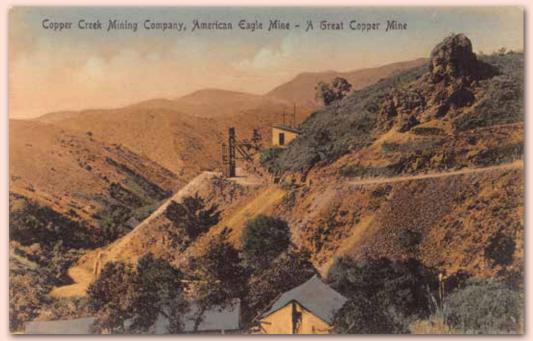




Figure 7. Several wagons and teams were needed to transport the narrow-gauge railroad engine No.2 that had been purchased from the Ray Consolidated Copper Company. This view shows the teams and wagons on the primitive roads between Winkelman and Copper Creek. (Real photographic postcard, photographer unknown, ca 1913.)



Figure 8. Miners loading ore (probably at the Old Reliable mine) at Copper Creek. The Ray Consolidated Copper Co. identification still appears on the tender car behind the little locomotive. This R. C. C. Co. logo was soon replaced with C. & C. C. M. Co. for the Calumet & Copper Creek Mining Company. (Real photographic postcard, photographer unknown, ca 1913.)

Figure 9. A printed color postcard showing the view of the Copper Creek Mining Camp from the railroad tracks looking over the store and post office. (Printed postcard, photographer unknown, ca 1913.)

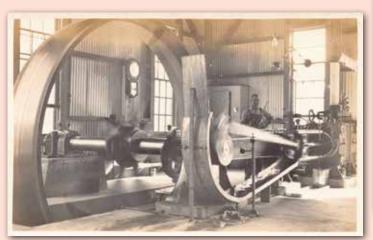




Figure 10. The interior of a machine room that supplied power to the mines for hoists and other equipment at the Copper Creek Mine in the Bunker Hill district in Pinal County. The engineer is tending the steam engine that powers the large flywheel. The short exposure almost freezes the motion of the piston, but the spokes of the fast-spinning flywheel are blurred and almost disappear. (Real photographic postcard, photographer unknown, ca 1915.)

Figure 11. Interior view of the shaft and engine house building at the main shaft. An operator stands with the 60-horsepower gasoline engine used to raise and lower miners and ore, and to power generators to create electricity to power the camp. (Silver print, photographer unknown, ca 1920.)

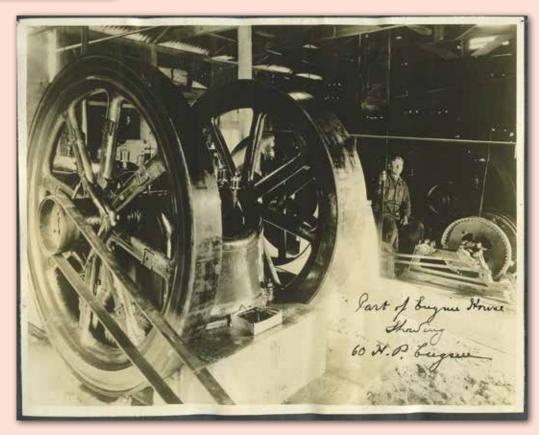




Figure 12. View from the northwest with five men posed adjacent to the A-frame, mine shaft and engine house building at the No. 2 main shaft. Operations at the mine opened and closed as market prices changed. Despite the No. 1 shaft being deepened to 225 feet, it soon became clear that the ore was not rich enough to support productive commercial mining operations, given the high cost of transporting the ore. Security threats during the 1920s also limited mining. (Silver print, photographer unknown, ca 1920s.)

The Calumet and Copper Creek Copper Company went bankrupt in 1914. That same year, the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company tried to reopen the mine. The Copper State Mining Company tried again in 1915, also without success. (Figure 10) The Arizona Molybdenum Corporation eventually purchased the Copper Creek Canyon claims and successfully operated the mines until 1939, when operations were discontinued and the mining facilities, dismantled (Figures 11 to 13). The post office closed in 1942; its foundation can be seen in the ghost town that now is Copper Creek, along with the remains of the Sibley mansion.

Jeremy Rowe has collected researched and written about historic photography for over 30 years, and is currently working with the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs to establish a National Stereoscopic Research



Collection and Research Fellowship. Jeremy serves on our Board of Directors and is an Emeritus Professor at Arizona State University. Jeremy has written numerous publications about historic photography, including *Arizona Photographers 1865 – 1920 a History and Directory, Arizona Real Photo Postcards a History and Portfolio*, and *Arizona Stereographs 1865- 1930*.

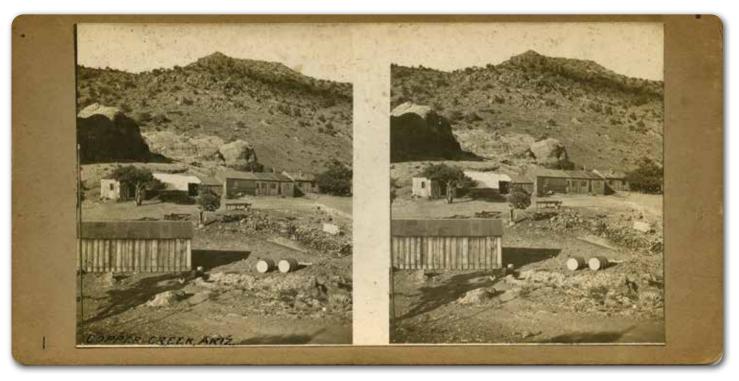


Figure 13. Interest in the newly discovered mineral, molybdenum, revived the mine beginning in 1933. An overview of the Copper Creek Mining Camp during operation by the Arizona Molybdenum Corporation. (Silver print stereograph, photographer unknown, ca 1930s.)

TINY EPHEMERA TALE

Bo Sullivan, whose wallpaper collection dazzled our mid-year visit to Portland, Oregon in 2022, offers an instance of ephemera serendipity. Last spring he visited Liverpool to see his daughter at college and to meet with a Wallpaper History Society colleague. In his collection, Bo had an 1870s trade card for Bradley Pass & Company, a Paperhanging & Picture Frame Establishment at 36 Elliot Street and the corner of Lime Street (Figure 1) and was eager to see if the building pictured in the wood engraving still existed (Figure 2). In a recent virtual fair he noticed an 1846 tradecard (Figure 3) that featured on its back a map of Liverpool with William Drury's establishment at 23 Castle Street prominently labeled — and by using other vintage maps of the city was able to mark (red circle) the Bradley Pass corner. (Figure 4)



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 1

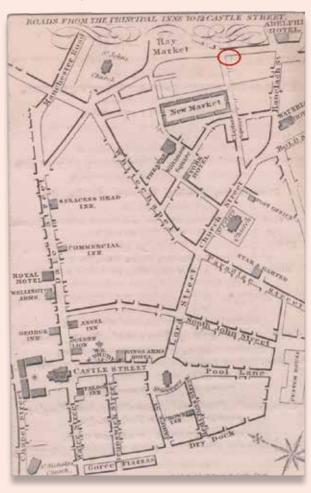


Figure 4

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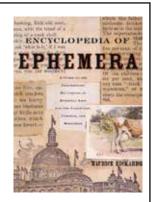
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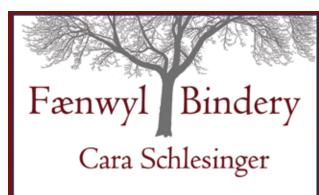
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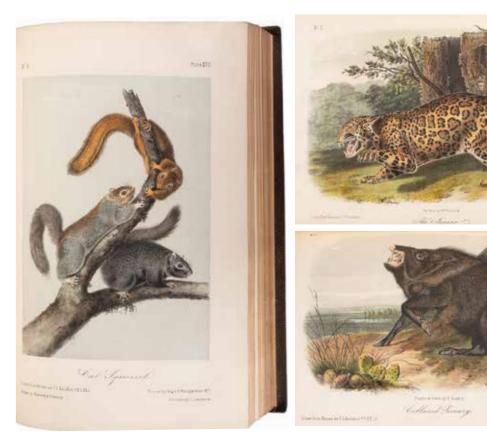


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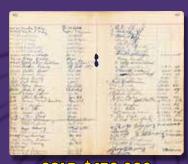


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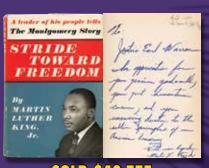


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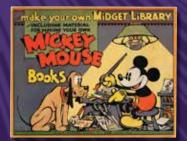
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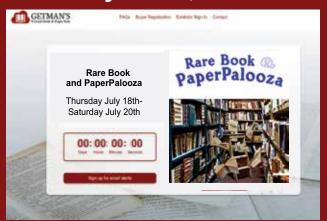
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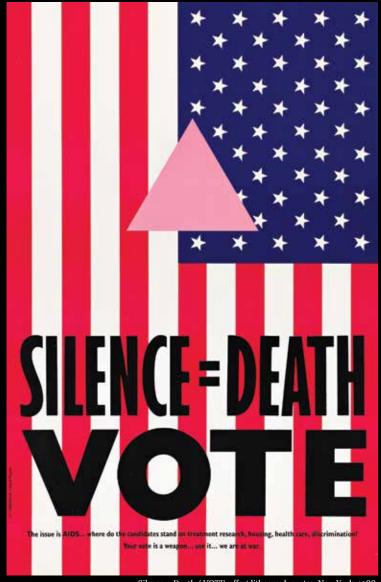
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