

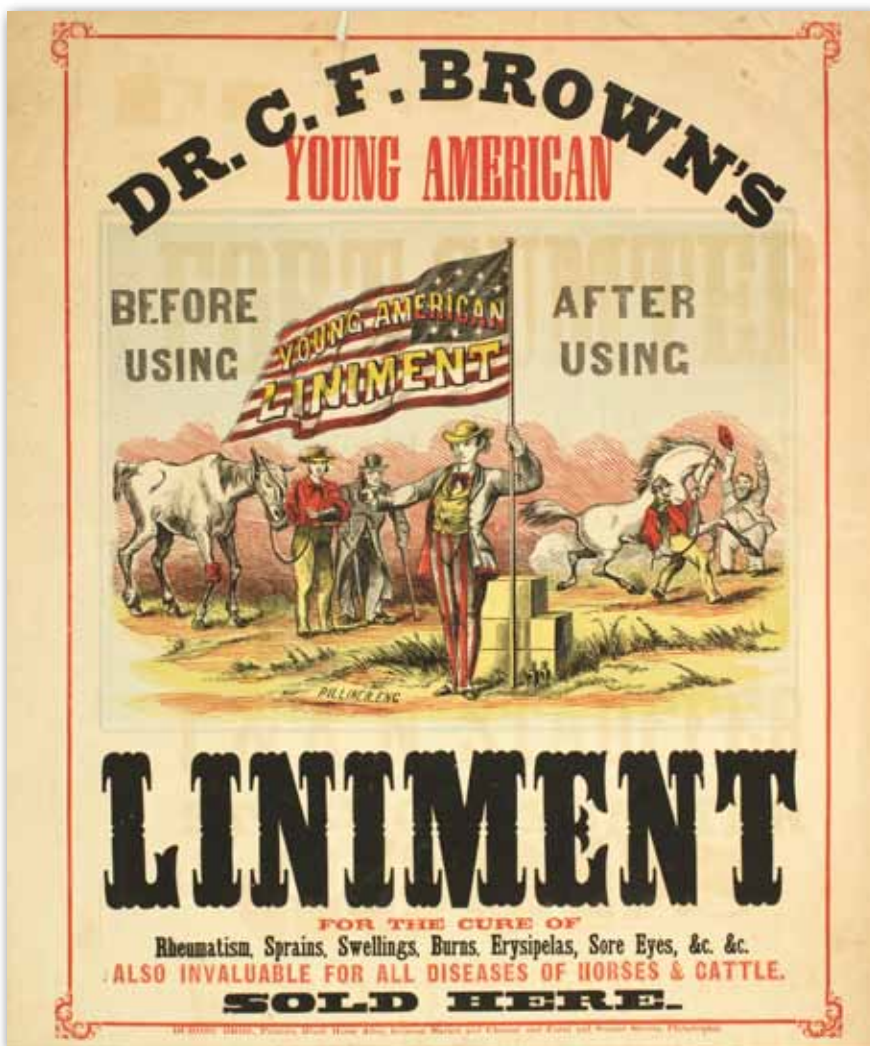
THE EPHEMERA JOURNAL

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MAY 2013

Every Man His Own Physician: *Ephemera and Medical Self-Help*

BY CHRISTOPHER HOOLIHAN



“Every Man His Own Doctor,” a 1998 on-line exhibit of The Library Company featured this 1861 color woodcut and relief print by Duross Brothers in Philadelphia. The item is now on exhibit as part of *“Remnants of Everyday Life: 19th-Century Ephemera in the Home, Workplace, and Street”* which will be showcased as part of a conference jointly sponsored by The Library Company and The Ephemera Society in September, *“Unmediated History: The Scholarly Study of 19th-Century Ephemera”* (see calendar for details).

The literature of “popular medicine” addresses two issues of vital concern to a lay audience: first, how to treat disease or mend injury; and second, how to keep oneself and one’s family healthy so that disease might be avoided altogether. The need for this genre of printed matter during the 19th century stemmed from at least three sources: first, the remoteness of the places that many North Americans inhabited – places where there was little likelihood of finding a trained physician when the need unexpectedly arose; places where the nearest physician might be a day’s travel or more away. In such places, one often had to rely on oneself (or a knowledgeable neighbor) when illness, injury, or even an event like childbirth occurred.

The second factor that encouraged the growth of popular medical literature was the simple fact that most Americans, whether town dwellers or countrymen, tradesmen or mechanics, had limited financial resources – and the cost of engaging a physician for days, weeks or longer was often beyond their means. Many families simply could not support the burden of physicians’ and apothecaries’ bills – even when that treatment was effective.

This brings us to a third reason for the growth of popular medical literature: a widespread distrust of the medical profession. A man of the early republic regarded himself as competent to make decisions regarding his own political governance (without interference from the crown or chartered land companies); competent to navigate the dangerous waters of trade (without the strictures of state monopolies, guilds, or trading companies); and competent to make decisions regarding

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The Ephemera Journal

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Deadlines: April 1, August 1,
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Dear Members and Friends:

As your new President, it is a pleasure to work with you, to achieve our exciting future goals. My objective, and that of our dynamic Board of Directors, is to continue to fulfill the myriad needs of our members. Your thoughts and participation are warmly encouraged.

Under the capable leadership of my predecessors, The Ephemera Society of America has achieved international accomplishments and respect. Our programs and publications continue to perpetuate our proud legacy, but, as we look forward, we know we must also focus on inspiring a new generation of future collectors, dealers, scholars, and artists.

An exciting aspect of this initiative is the dramatic revitalization of our website. Please look for imminent changes, which will enable the site to be your easily accessible resource. Adding a contemporary lilt to our step, it will also engage social media in a positive and useful manner, as it facilitates all communication.

Our recent conference, *Ephemera 33: Art and Commerce*, exemplified one focus -- educating for the future. By understanding the historic techniques through which ephemera evolved, and the relationship to fine and graphic art, we connected it to its use by artists and designers. Segments of the program focused on these aspects, while workshops provided an opportunity to use reproductions of ephemera for crafting. Hands-on usage provided insight into the contemporary appreciation of our material. We must evolve to expand our audience, and find new ways to be intriguing to young minds.

Our Speakers' Bureau, Mentor Programs, and involvement in National History Day, are just some of our enticing educational initiatives. The goal is to ensure that "ephemera" can be more easily viewed as an integral part of our surroundings, contributing valuable historic and artistic context.

In recognition of the integral relationship of ephemera, to telling the story of the Chinese and Chinese Americans in the Hollywood film industry, we are pleased to announce that the 2013 Phil Jones Fellowship has been awarded to Jenny Cho, and The Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, for their forthcoming book, *Chinese in Hollywood*. Applications for 2014 are welcomed.

Please mark your calendars for a truly important event next September 19 and 20, in Philadelphia, PA. Co-sponsored by the Library Company's Visual Culture Program and The Ephemera Society of America, "*Unmediated History: The Scholarly Study of 19th-Century Ephemera*" will feature expert speakers and an introduction to their newly digitized ephemera collection. We invite members and friends to partake of this unique experience and associated activities.

The year has had an exceptional beginning, and we all look forward to a continuation of the momentum and enthusiasm. Thank you for this opportunity to work on your behalf, and, please become involved.

Sincerely,



Nancy Rosin,
President

Obituary: *Joe Freedman*

On January 31, 2013 we lost our good friend and fellow collector, Joe Freedman.



Joe was as fine a person as ever loved ephemera, possessing excellent taste for the best and most unusual items, whether for their historic content or graphic qualities. Not known for collecting by subject, he sought great color, high quality printing, and beautiful composition, whether large or small. He hunted with zeal, ever scouting for something different, something better than before.

If you knew Joe, you knew constant motion, as he was ever walking the aisles of a show, seemingly always carrying some treasure he had just purchased, always happy to share his find, to show and tell. Nothing made him happier than to be at the Ephemera Fair, or Allentown Paper Show, where he knew he would

add a few gems to his collections. His smile would give away his joy of discovery.

His style was understated, though he had great passion for collecting. He remained humble about his finds and accumulations, despite how wonderful they were. He never bragged about or hyped his collections. He let them speak for themselves. He was always willing to share and point others in the direction of great finds if he knew of one's interests.

He was a fine gentleman, and loved to recount the events leading to great finds of the past. He was a teller of jokes, as many of us know. He was a great presence at our shows, one of the best of a generation of collectors responsible for loving and maintaining some superb material no longer available in the market.

Joe Freedman will be missed. We offer our deepest condolences to Honey and the Freedman family.

We received the following loving tribute from Joe's family.

Dear Friends,

In honor of our dear pop pop Joe Freedman we wanted the world to know how much we loved and respected his knowledge and passion for collecting.

From tobacco tins to powder puffs, from toilet paper to cleansers, from perfume bottles to folk art...he loved it all, but especially Ephemera. He was the happiest man on this green earth.

The buying and selling kept him a very young 84.

Honey Grams and his children and grandchildren Laura Joy, Maxx and Samantha will miss him always and in all ways.

In this issue...

The Ephemera of Health sheds light on both private and public health issues. Christopher Hoolihan reveals the beginnings of the American way of self-medicating in "Every Man His Own Physician" while Hi'ilei Hobart explores the political implications of an early 20th-Century urban public health plan in "Looking for Babies" – each author having used the resources of a particular institutional collection. And Betsy Schlabach provides a glimpse of the addictive world of Policy Gaming in Depression Era Chicago. The 'ledger style' paintings by contemporary Plains Indians, as described by Molly Harris, are not health-related (unless it is cultural health) but are a fascinating intersection of art and ephemera – a celebratory coda to the rich conference experience at Ephemera 33 in March.

—Diane DeBlois, editor

Speakers on the Fascinating Subjects of Ephemera

Event planners looking for experienced speakers on a variety of interesting and intriguing ephemera subjects will find an excellent roster of speakers available on the Society's website, www.ephemerasyociety.org/resources/speakersbureau.html. On the same page is an application for being listed as a speaker.

JOIN THE SPEAKERS BUREAU

The Society invites members who enjoy speaking on ephemera subjects to join the Speakers Bureau and share their knowledge and enthusiasm with others.

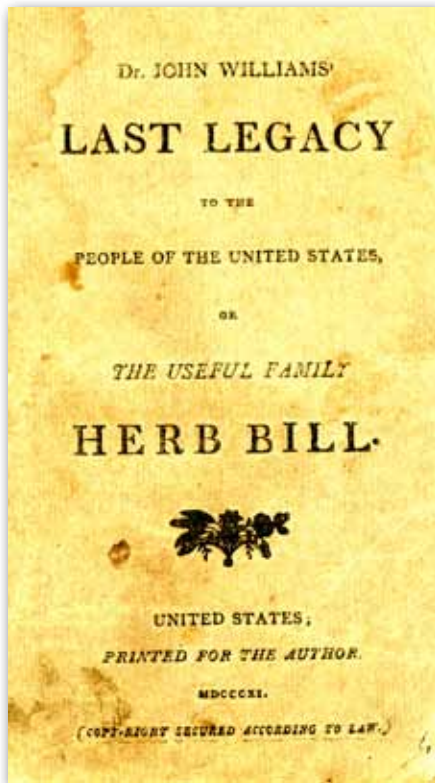


Figure 1. The earliest recorded edition of Dr. John Williams' last legacy (1811).

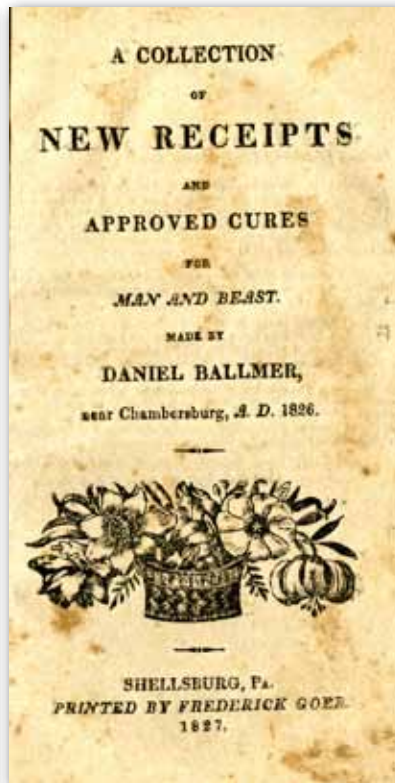


Figure 2. Daniel Ballmer's 1827 A collection of new receipts and approved cures was issued in a German-language edition the same year.

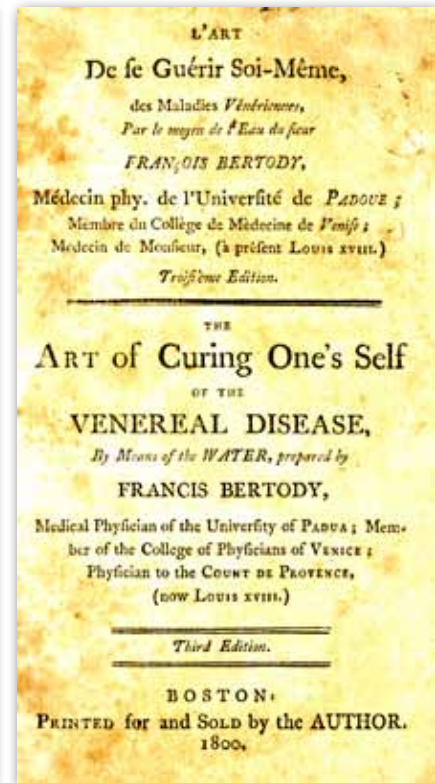


Figure 3. Bertody's 1800 manual on venereal disease includes text in both French and English.

truth and falsehood in matters of faith (ignoring remote hierarchies in Canterbury or Geneva, Boston or Charleston). It is not surprising, therefore, that this populist distrust of elites and the authority they represented extended to the medical profession. If the average man felt competent to make decisions regarding his political, economic and spiritual life, then he felt equally inclined to manage his own health.

A significant number of Americans perceived physicians as exponents of incomprehensible theories on the origin and nature of disease that bore little fruit clinically, featuring a murderous combination of therapies that centered on bloodletting, purging, and drugging with poisonous minerals. Small wonder then that in the early decades of the 19th century there arose diverse movements across all strata of American society rejecting accepted medical authority. For some this rejection of the regular medical profession meant engaging practitioners of newer alternative therapeutic schools, such as botanic physicians, eclectics, hydropaths, homeopaths, naturopaths, mental healers and so on. For others, rejection of established medical authority may be characterized by the often and variously expressed slogan: "Every man his own physician."

The resulting literature of "popular medicine" addressed a wide array of health issues important to 19th-century Americans, including:

- *Domestic medicine*, i.e., how to treat or manage disease and injury at home – without (or prior to) the assistance of a physician.

- *Personal hygiene*, i.e., how to maintain health or to regain health impaired by disease or "loose living." "Hygiene" embraced attention to diet, fresh air, exercise, moderation in or abstinence from the use of alcohol and tobacco, regular bathing, care of the teeth, sufficient rest, proper dress, and attention to emotions such as anger, envy or stress that had long been recognized as negatively affecting health.

- *Sex Education*: 19th-century Americans were deeply concerned about reproductive issues. A surprisingly large portion of 19th-century medical self-help literature addresses reproductive issues, such as sexual physiology, contraceptive practice, eugenics, and disorders of the generative system – especially sexually transmitted diseases.

- Issues relating to *domestic sanitation* in the popular literature addressed siting and building homes, the importance to health of modern and efficient plumbing, and the correlation between maintaining a clean home and having a healthy home.

- Finally, much of the printed material on medical self-help had the purpose of advertising *patent medicines* and proprietary devices.

Hundreds of books on domestic medicine and hygiene were marketed in North America during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Scottish physician William Buchan's *Domestic medicine*, first printed at Edinburgh in 1769, appeared in more than seventy editions in the United Kingdom and sixty editions in North America by the mid-19th century. Equally successful was *Gunn's domestic medicine*, first published at

Knoxville, Tennessee in 1830 by John Gunn, and issued in some 200 editions (most of them posthumous) into the early 20th century.

But not all Americans wanted or needed to consult lengthy treatises on the cause, symptoms, and treatment of disease typically found in books such as those of Buchan and Gunn. Many Americans turned to abbreviated manuals on domestic medical care – pamphlets of forty-eight pages or less that were often little more than formularies for remedies that could be made at home with substances that either grew in the surrounding woods and fields, or could be had cheaply from the grocer or apothecary.

Dr. John Williams' last legacy (Figure 1) is certainly the best known of these abbreviated manuals. We have no biographical data on Dr. Williams, only the publishing history of the formulary that bears his name. There are eighteen recorded editions of this title published between 1811 and 1842 in which the compiler provides simple recipes for the treatment of eighty-seven common disorders. More typical in terms of the short-lived publishing history of these abbreviated and ephemeral manuals of domestic medicine is Daniel Ballmer's *A collection of new receipts and approved cures*, published in both English and German editions at Shellsburg, Pennsylvania in 1827 (Figure 2). In its pages are found remedies that cured rabies, destroyed lice, stopped bleeding, relieved toothache, removed warts, healed sores, and even calmed hysterical women.

The pamphlet format lent itself even better to instructing Americans on how to treat a specific disease from which they or some family member may have been suffering. The treatise of the Boston physician Francis Bertody (1736-

1800) on the self-treatment of venereal diseases is typical of this category of medical self-help ephemera (Figure 3). Bertody describes in detail the symptoms and prognosis of several sexually transmitted diseases, recommending the internal or external application of nineteen remedies to be applied in their treatment. It may seem odd that a trained physician would recommend self-treatment for diseases as debilitating and even fatal as gonorrhea or syphilis. Bertody introduces his pamphlet with the proviso, "It is far from my object to dissuade those, who shall use my medicine from applying to an experienced physician ... I even recommend it to them; but there are a number of persons whom the distance of places, delicate circumstances, and other private considerations, will not allow to do it. It is for these persons more particularly that I write."

If one purpose of medical ephemera was to provide information that was readily accessible and in a convenient format for the self-treatment of the most common diseases and accidents, ephemera also provided advice on how to maintain health and thus prevent diseases for which there was often no effective treatment. A health reform movement swept America after 1830 – much like the religious revivals of the period. The movement had tenets based upon natural and divine law, and had popular lay preachers who spread the gospel of health reform, chastising Americans for how they ate, exercised, dressed and slept. Not surprisingly, Americans responded to this call to hygienic salvation. They were eager to learn about the structure of their bodies, how its various organ systems functioned, and how this knowledge could be applied to the preservation of their health.

Know Thyself! No Man, however well inclined, can be reasonable upon a subject which he does not study and understand!

Dr. Gleason,

Will deliver his SECOND chaste and appropriate

PRIVATE LECTURE

TO GENTLEMEN ONLY!

On the Origin of Animal & Vegetable Life.

SPLENDIDLY ILLUSTRATED.

With a great variety of costly, curious, wonderful and intensely interesting *Models, Oil Paintings, Natural Preparations, &c.*

Figure 4. This circular announcing Cloye W. Gleason's public lectures on human reproduction was posted sometime during the 1850s.

Itinerant lecturers scheduled lecture tours in towns and cities across the nation. These lectures were not only a form of popular health education but, in an age before moving pictures, radio and television, were a form of public entertainment. They were often supplemented visually by life-size anatomical models, skeletons, chromolithographed manikins, oil paintings, and prints. These events, which might extend from one to eight or more lectures delivered on successive evenings, were typically promoted with broadsides and circulars posted days before the opening lecture (Figure 4).

Ephemera also addressed issues that were considered crucial to correcting what was perceived as the declining health of the American people in an age of increasing industrialization and urbanization. Sometimes the issue at stake was nothing more controversial than the message of personal cleanliness and the importance of regular bathing to the maintenance of health

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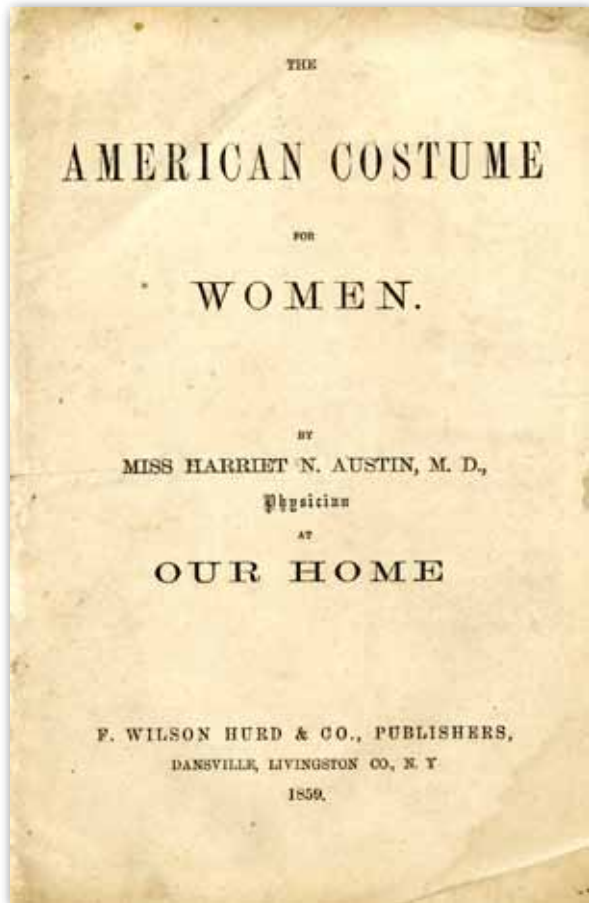


Figure 5. The 1859 first edition of Harriet Austin's pamphlet on women's dress reform.

– a concept not universally grasped by Americans in the 1830s. Sometimes the issue was the harmful moral and medical effects of tobacco, coffee, and alcohol consumption on the individual and society.

Especially threatened was nation's Anglo-Saxon stock, which risked being supplanted by hardier (though inferior) immigrant peoples, such as the Irish, Germans and Swedes. Key to the survival of this race was the health of its women, whose physical and moral condition was regarded as precarious by 19th-century physicians, clergymen, social reformers and feminists. Women's fashions were frequently singled out by reformers who condemned the use of corsets, stays, and hoops because these figure altering supports deformed the thorax and abdomen, resulting in numerous disorders. Harriet Austin was one of the leading advocates of women's dress reform at mid-century. An 1851 graduate of the American Hydropathic Institute in New York, Austin was a partner in the famous Our Home water-cure in Dansville, N.Y. In her 1859 pamphlet *The American costume for women* (Figure 5), Austin echoes commonly held opinions about women's fashions, describes the physiological requisites of women's dress, and offers her own solution to the problem in recommending a short dress worn over bloomers that she called the "reform dress" or "American costume" (Figure 6).

A less public but medically more compelling aspect of women's health throughout the 19th century was contracep-

tion. During the course of the century, two issues came to prominence in the mind of progressive health reformers. First, the issue of population control, which often assumed a Malthusian vision of universal poverty and mass starvation unless population growth were checked. Secondly, the implications of childbearing on women's health – whether the toll that frequent pregnancies might take on a woman's health; or the threat to life of pregnancy and labor on a woman constitutionally unfit for either.

Although the issues were plain and universal, the discussion of reproductive control was not. There were moral (and later) legal restrictions on the public discussion of contraception and other sexual issues. Even so, this information was available to women – sometimes from other women; sometimes from physicians; and sometimes from literature that was discreetly but widely distributed until passage by Congress in 1872 of the so-called Comstock laws. Aimed at eliminating the distribution of pornography through the mails, the materials encompassed by this law included published advice on reproduction and on birth control.

Until the final decades of the century, ephemera provided an effective mechanism for explaining and advertising the variety of contraceptive devices available to 19th-century Americans, ranging from condoms to imperforate pessaries, vaginal syringes, and even electromagnetic devices that terminated conception. The circular for Indian rubber condoms sold by M.M. Sanborn of Brasher Falls, N.Y. reproduced in Figure 7 is typical of mail order advertising on the contraceptive market, as is "Dr. Bower's" 1871 broadside for his proprietary "womb veil" (Figure 8).

Ephemera also provided medical and moral advice to women on reproductive control. One interesting example Dr. J. Henry's 30-page, 11 centimeter pamphlet explaining what would later be termed the "rhythm method" (Figure 9). Dr. Henry describes how to determine when it is safe to engage in intercourse based on calculating the monthly descent of the ovum. Henry's pamphlet reflects some of the



Figure 6. A friend of Harriet Austin wearing the "American costume," taken at Dansville, N.Y. in 1863.

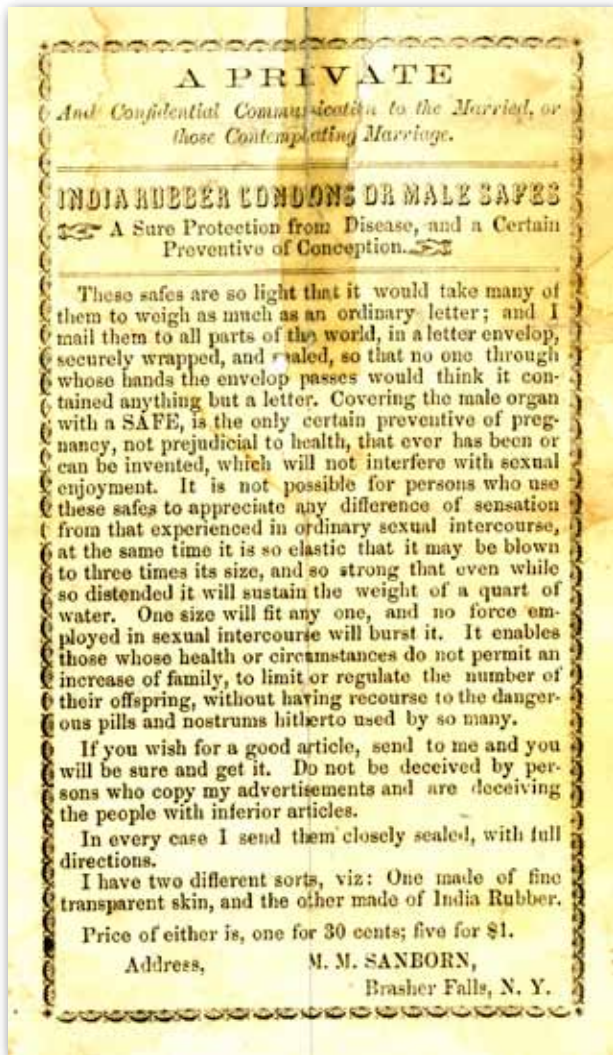


Figure 7. M.M. Sanborn's advertisement for "India rubber condoms [sic]" was issued at Brasher Falls, N.Y. in the 1860s.

ambiguity surrounding the origin of some of this literature. There is no record of a J. Henry, M.D. in New York during the 1850s. The pamphlet has a New York imprint but an Ohio copyright (no recorded Ohio edition exists). The pamphlet was issued in a plain paper wrapper. It was mailed in an envelope with no return address and with a Rossville, Maryland postmark. But by whom? By Henry? By the "publisher?" Or by a friend of the addressee?

A landmark in the use of ephemera to promote women's health through reproductive control is the first edition of Margaret Sanger's 16-page pamphlet entitled *Family limitation* published at New York in 1914 (Figure 10). In publishing this illustrated review of contraceptive practice for women, Sanger made the discussion of birth control public in the face of existing obscenity laws and commonly held notions of decency. It would be no exaggeration to state that this pamphlet, which was issued

in multiple editions numbering a million and a half copies, was the opening volley in the struggle that launched the birth control movement in America.

To this point, we have examined the role that ephemera played in providing the lay public with information needed for the self-treatment of disease or for the maintenance of health. A perhaps better-known aspect of the role ephemera played in medical self-help is advertising. Ephemera promoted a multitude of products and devices: breakfast cereals, coffee substitutes, mineral waters, exercise machines, electrotherapeutic devices, artificial limbs, trusses, enema syringes, etc.

Perhaps the best-known genre of medical self-help advertising, however, is patent medicine advertising. The phenomenon began early, as evidenced in a circular for *Dr. Coit's Family Pills* issued in 1804 by Daniel Coit, a physician in Burlington, Vt. (Figure 11). Coit prepared his remedy from botanicals found in his own garden and sold them to his patients and neighbors.

Dr. Coit's cottage industry and his neighborly method of advertising were quickly left behind. The marketing of proprietary remedies soon expanded from its local roots to become a national and in some cases a global industry. As the manufacture of proprietary remedies became increasingly lucrative, it became increasingly competitive, and the mechanisms the industry employed for advertising its products changed dramatically. Patent medicine advertising, in fact, created the advertising industry we know today.

Numerous remedies were marketed by firms across the nation. There was hardly a town or city that did not count one or more patent medicine firms among its businesses. In some cities, the proprietors of patent medicine firms were among their wealthiest and most prominent citizens, such

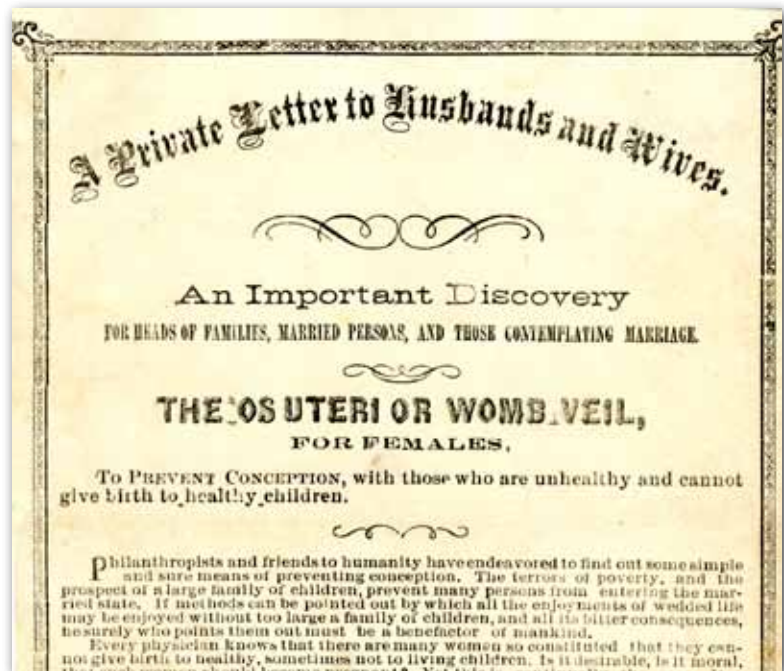


Figure 8. This advertisement for a "womb veil" or uterine shield was forwarded to a female patient by Dr. Bowers, of Grafton, West Virginia in February 1871.

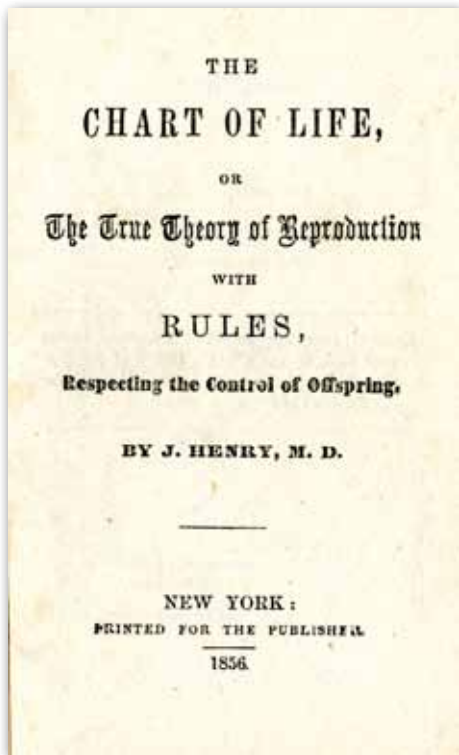


Figure 9. J. Henry's 1856 The chart of life was mailed from Rossville, Maryland to an interested party in Tigerville, Louisiana.

as Samuel B. Hartman in Columbus, Ohio; Buffalo's Ray Vaughn Pierce; or James Henry McLean in St. Louis. Pierce and McLean were so esteemed by their fellow citizens that they were elected to Congress.

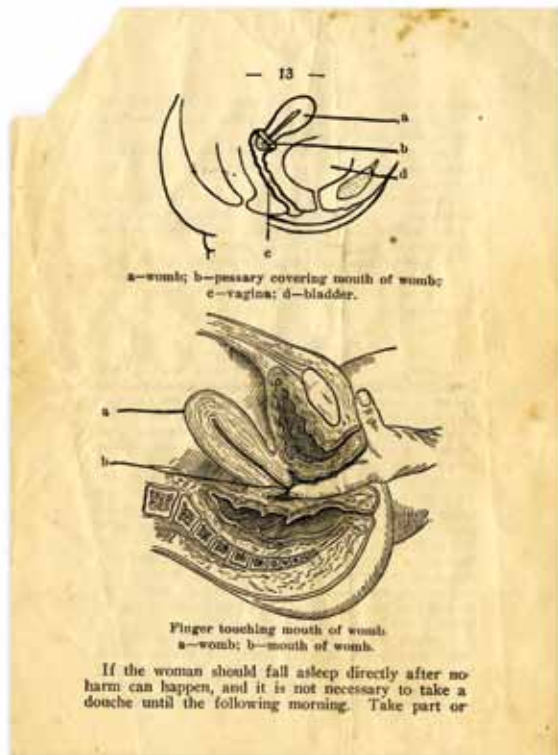


Figure 10. Illustrations from the first edition of Margaret Sanger's influential Family limitation (1914).

None of these men could have survived in business as Dr. Coit had done, that is, to limit the sale of his products to a local market. Manufacturing remained localized, but marketing, advertising and distribution became national. With the rapid geographic expansion of the nation came the redistribution of populations, the growth of transportation networks, and the expansion of markets. Quite early in the growth of the patent medicine industry, large scale advertising – both in mass-circulation periodicals and in job advertising – became a crucial element of financial success, and every successful firm either employed an advertising agency or maintained its own advertising department.

James Cook Ayer, the manufacturer of *Ayer's Sarsaparilla*, was one of the most successful patent medicine manufacturers of the late 19th century and also one of the industry's most prolific advertisers. Ayer once remarked on his advertising practice: "An advertisement, taking the run

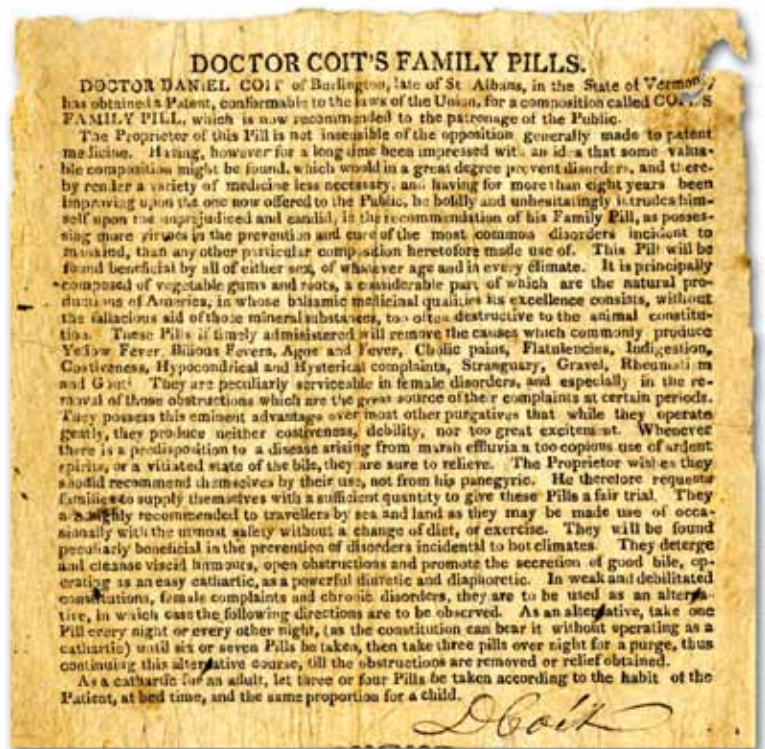


Figure 11. A signed advertisement for Doctor Coit's Family Pills (1804).

of the newspapers with which we contract (some 1900 annually) is struck off in such numbers, that when piled upon each other flatwise, like the leaves of a book, the thickness through them is sixteen miles ... In addition, it takes some seven millions of pamphlets and twelve millions of circulars, to meet the public demand for this kind of information. Our annual issue of pamphlets alone, laid solid upon each other, makes a pile eight and one quarter miles high. The circulars measured endwise reach 1,894 miles ... Whatever the estimation in which these publications may be held here, they reach the firesides of millions upon millions of men who do treasure and regard them, and who in their trials do heed the counsel they bring." It is estimated that by the



Above: Figure 12. German-language edition of Ayer's American almanac. The English-language edition was issued from 1853 to 1928.

Below: Figure 13. A wood-engraved view of the advertising department of C.I. Hood & Co., from An illustrated description of Hood's Sarsaparilla Laboratory, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1888.



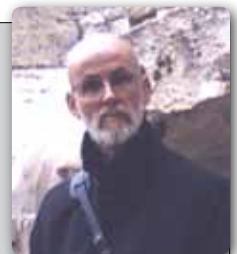
1890s as many as 15,000,000 copies of Ayer's almanacs were issued annually (Figure 12). Before the end of the 19th century, many patent medicine firms retained advertising agencies, while many others found it economical to maintain their own advertising departments and printing plants (Figure 13).

Patent medicine manufacturers were also innovative in the multitude of formats job advertising might assume. By 1850 the patent medicine industry had nearly taken over the publication of almanacs, a genre of popular reading that had been a staple in American homes since the late 17th century. Almanacs were just one format that patent medicine ephemera might assume in the attempt to attract consumers' attention. Patent medicine job advertising appeared as alphabet books; bookmarks; calendars; form letters; ink blotters, coloring books; paper figures (e.g., dolls, animals, sports figures); pamphlets oriented toward any number of themes (e.g., cookery, etiquette, humor, parlor games, songbooks); product samples (e.g., medicated toilet paper); puzzles and games; sheet music; show cards; trade cards and valentines.

To gain a sense of the role that ephemera played in the literature of medical self-help during the 19th and early 20th centuries, it may be instructive to consider the proportion of ephemera in the Edward C. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine at the University of Rochester Medical Center. Nearly a third of the 8,000 titles in the Atwater Collection consists of ephemera – a percentage that certainly testifies to the diverse roles ephemera played in the literature of popular medicine.

Christopher Hoolihan

is Rare Books & Manuscripts Librarian at the Edward G. Miner Library, University of Rochester Medical Center, New York. He is the compiler of *An Annotated Catalogue of the Edward C. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine* published in three volumes by the University of Rochester Press between 2001 and 2008.



Ephemera and the Plains Indian Artist

BY MOIRA F. HARRIS

Ephemera has often been reused by artists, to live longer in new forms. In the 19th century Native American painting evolved from the rock surfaces of caves, to the hides of bison and other wild beasts and then to the printed pages of ledger books brought to the West by traders and merchants. On those lined and numbered pages artists from the Plains found a new way to express themselves and their history, as well as to reuse ephemera that had suddenly appeared in their world.

When white artists such as George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, or Seth Eastman went west and sought to portray chiefs and warriors, the occupations and even games of the denizens of the Plains, their subjects noted the tools of these visitors with interest. What did they use, how did they use it and what were the results? Certainly sketching with pencils on paper was far easier than preparing hides as canvases. Colored pencils and inks could be used far more dexterously than pointed sticks, bones, and earth pigments to show scenes of battles and the dress of the participants. In Plains Indian art of the 19th century, figurative artists were men. Women painted skin containers with geometric patterns while men drew figures, animals, and visionary symbols on teepees, shield

covers, and clothing. For a man who wanted to delineate his achievements or record the calendar history of his tribe, paper was the way to go.

As anthropologist John Ewers wrote, the first change in Plains Indian art was in the figures drawn.¹ Gradually figures with round ball heads and triangle bodies were replaced by more naturalistically drawn humans on the hide paintings. These changes, Ewers wrote, were the result of Indian artists watching men such as Catlin at work.²

The change in media from hides took place when paper became available by the mid-19th century. Traders and settlers kept records on lined, numbered sheets. Indian artists took these ledger pages, turned them sideways, and created scenes with action proceeding from right to left as if the medium remained the hide and the artist were drawing from tail to head. Lines and page numbers were ignored as the artists developed their pictographic style and symbolism. Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Pawnee, and Sioux men are among those whose work became known as “ledger book art” even though the paper was not always that. For them the printing on printed matter did not matter at all.



Figure 1. Virginia Stroud, a Cherokee/Creek artist born 1951, used ledger-book style for her lithograph “Warrior” (1979) that depicts a horseman dodging bullets.



Figure 2. Terrance Guardipee, a Blackfeet artist born 1968, painted a horseman in watercolors on a railroad baggage tag for “Warrior” (2009). Guardipee often uses ephemera from railroads that crossed tribal lands for his drawings.

The largest corpus of “ledger book art” was created by Plains Indian men incarcerated in the old Spanish fort at St. Augustine, Florida, a fort then called Fort Marion, from 1875 until 1878. Their jailer, Captain Richard Henry Pratt, had the idea of supplying his prisoners with drawing books which they could use and then sell to visitors as souvenirs. These small books, often created by artists working together rather than by single men, are now housed in museum and library collections from California to Connecticut.

The style in the Fort Marion drawing books, described by historian Karen Daniels Petersen in her 1971 book, was clearly derived from the hide paintings.³ What changed was subject matter. The Florida artists drew scenes of their journey from Oklahoma to Florida (from Fort Sill to Fort Marion), showed everyday life on the Plains, their experiences as prisoners¹ and, to

a far lesser extent, noted their former lives as warriors. The life and deeds of the warrior, of course, would have been the major subject of the earlier hide paintings. The research of Petersen and Ewers inspired anthropologists and art historians to discover ledger books done by other 19th century Plains Indian artists. Previously unknown ledger books have been located and, since the 1970s, exhibits, journal articles, and books about them have proliferated. Ross Frank, an associate professor of ethnic studies at the University of California-San Diego, maintains a Website with information about ledger book art, both old and new.⁴ A current exhibit, called “Stories Outside the Lines,” of both historic and modern ledger book art is on view at the Heard Museum North in Scottsdale, Arizona until October 2013.

“Ledger book style” continued to be used by Plains Indian artists well into the 20th century (Figure 1), sometimes by



Figure 3. Linda Haukaas, a Sicangu Lakota artist born 1957, used colored pencil on accounting paper for her drawing “Victory Dance” (1994) that depicts two women joining a warrior to share his celebration.

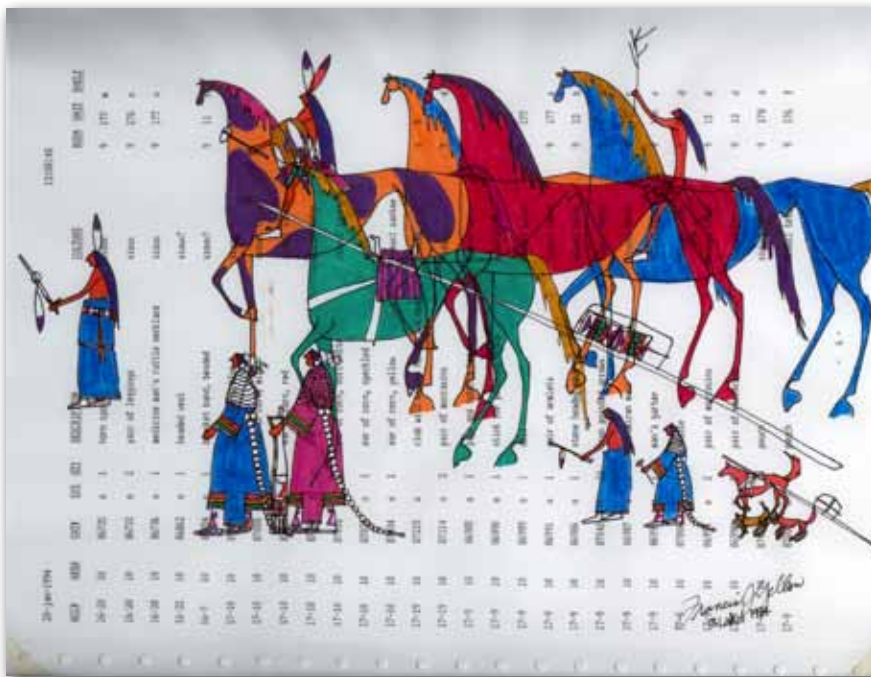


Figure 4. Francis Yellow, a Lakota artist born 1955, used a sheet of computer paper for his acrylic painting entitled “Lakota Organizational Paradigm” (1994).



Figure 5. Dwayne Wilcox, a Dakota artist, used 1963 ledger paper for his color pencil drawing “The Crow is to Die For!” (2012). Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

descendants of the Fort Marion men such as the “Kiowa Five” in the 1920s and 1930s or the Kiowa artist Silver Horn (1860-1940).⁵ But more recently there has been another change.

Native American artists have chosen actual ledger book pages once more or sought other examples of printed ephemera on which to place figures or scenes drawn in water colors, colored pencils, or acrylic paints. This new phase of ledger book art has become an accepted and popular way to depict traditional as well as contemporary imagery.⁶

At the Santa Fe Indian Market juried art fair in 2009 a separate category was established for ledger book art. Twenty-four artists – including at least three women – competed for prizes. Their choices of ephemera were often deliberate. Terrance Guardipee, a Blackfoot artist, used railroad ephemera from the Northern Pacific line which, as he said, went through his tribe’s lands in Montana (Figure 2). Sheridan MacKnight, an Ojibwe artist, sought old sheet music on which she paints graceful dancers. Another woman artist, Linda Haukaas, a Sicangu Lakota, drew with colored pencils on small ledger sheets. One of her subjects was a trio of dancers, two women and a man, seen from the back (Figure 3).

Francis Yellow⁷, a Lakota artist, has painted on old maps, small ledger pages, and computer paper (Figure 4). During a residency at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge in 1994 he used computerized lists of Native American objects in the museum’s collection that, under current federal law, may have to be returned to the tribes if considered ritual or religious in nature. Over the list of objects he painted a scene of men, women, and children moving camp.

As the nation remembers the Civil War, Minnesotans look back at another aspect of those days: what is now called the U.S.-Dakota War of late summer 1862. Broken treaty promises and missing annuity payments led to fighting between Native Americans and settlers in the southwestern part of the state. An art exhibit, called “Ded Unk’umpi” or “We are Here,” organized by the Minnesota Historical Society opened in the fall of 2012 (the sesquicentennial of the U.S.-Dakota War) at the James J. Hill House in St Paul. The title refers to the phrase uttered by the 38 Sioux men before they were hung at Mankato in punishment for the war. The show presented work by contemporary Dakota artists, reflecting on the war and its aftermath. Dwayne Wilcox’s drawing portrayed Indian men serving crow to a top-hatted government official (Figure 5). After the war ended, Sioux survivors were sent to the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota where some starved and others lived through consuming the only



Figure 6. Avis Charley, a Dakota/Navajo artists, used an 1894 Rand McNally map for his color pencil and acrylic drawing “For Every Great Man there is a Great Woman” (2012) Collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

available food, crow. After many chiefs and warriors died, women took on more of their roles as Avis Charley showed in her scene of a woman riding while carrying her baby in a cradleboard and towing an older woman seated on a travois (Figure 6).

Each of the artists mentioned has exhibited widely and received top honors in juried art shows. Each could work in other formats but has chosen ledger book art for a reason. It was a way to keep tribal history alive. The warriors, dancers, battles they drew represented the past of their people and, as these examples indicate, contemporary life as well. As Dolores Purdy Corcoran (Caddo) said, “This is one of the most interesting art forms, because you have two stories, the one on the page itself and then the story artists drew on top of that. So you have a snapshot of what was happening to non-Native people and what was happening to Native people.”⁸ For her, and other ledger book artists, ephemera offers this opportunity to layer history.

Endnotes

- 1 John C. Ewers, *Plains Indian Painting. A Description of an Aboriginal American Art* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1939).
- 2 For discussion of ledger book history and research from Garrick Mallery and James Mooney on see Joyce Szabo, *Imprisoned Art, Complex Patronage. Plains Drawings by Howling Wolf and Zotom at the Autry National Center* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011), 13-20.
- 3 Karen Daniels Peterson, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

- 4 Ross Frank, “Plains Ledger Art Digital Publishing Project (PILA),” www.plainsledgerart.org.
- 5 Robert G. Donnelley, *Transforming Images. The Art of Silver Horn and His Successors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Exhibition catalogue from the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art at the University of Chicago.
- 6 W. Jackson Rushing, “The Legacy of Ledger Book Drawing in Twentieth-Century Native American Art,” in *Plains Indian Drawing 1865-1935. Pages from a Visual History* edited by Janet Catherine Berlo (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 56-62.,
- 7 Yellow now signs his work by his Lakota name, Wanbli Koyake, Carries the Eagle.
- 8 Arin McKenna, “Layers of Meaning,” in *88th Annual Santa Fe Indian Market Official Guide* (Santa Fe: Santa Fe New Mexican, 2009), 66.

Moira Harris is an art historian and member of the Ephemera Society of America board of directors. Her book, *Between Two Cultures. Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (1989) deals with the art of a Kiowa man, named Wo-Haw. Illustrations are from her own collection, except where noted.



“Looking for Babies”

Ephemera and Forms of the New York Milk Committee, 1911

BY HI'ILEI JULIA HOBART

In September of 1911, a nurse named B.E. Schofield visited “baby S,” or case number 141, at her home in New York City’s ninth ward. The nurse recorded information about her mother, Mary, and her father, Frank, a pastry maker. She inquired about the child’s diet – had she been breastfed? How often did she go outside? Had she been fed any fruit, coffee, or beer? Did the home have a flushing toilet? ‘Baby S’ was one of thousands of children that received medical attention from New York Milk Committee in the early 20th century. Going door-to-door in poor neighborhoods, nurses searched for children that had contracted illnesses from the consumption of milk, a beverage that Americans widely considered to be “nature’s perfect food.” [Figure 1]

This came in response to concerted efforts by physicians and city officials to target the recently identified correlation between ‘unclean’ milk and disease-related deaths of young children. Prevention work began in earnest with the forming of the New York Milk Committee in 1906 by the Health Commissioner to investigate “the milk problem” that plagued consumers. Debates raged over the benefits of pasteurization technology at the same time that milk regulation became the rally cry for urban reformers; ‘clean’ milk became synonymous not only with public health, but

also social well being – coalescing in a distinctly American diet. Milk stations provided needy mothers, most of whom were immigrants, with ‘safe’ milk for their babies, medical care, and classes on nutrition and hygiene. [Figure 2] While providing these services, however, nurses also collected extensive data on not only the children, but also their families in order to track living conditions, racial makeup, profession, and diet. I suggest that milk station activities may have also functioned as politically motivated state surveillance projects.

The answers reformers sought to the “milk question,” were deeply implicated in contemporary notions and anxieties over class, gender, and ethnicity. The symbolic power of milk as a naturally ‘pure’ substance – something clean – turned especially problematic once physicians recognized it also as a source of disease – something dirty. Milk quickly became both as icon of moral goodness and a source of medical danger. New York Milk Committee ephemera, such as data collection cards, suggests that as the geographic space of public health closed in on the private home – a boundary in itself – efforts to order these areas were met with resistance. The feeding of milk to children thus became a metaphor that realized anxieties located at the threshold between the foreign body and the American state.

Figure 1, 1911 blank form to record a case history, such as that of “baby S.” Except where noted, all illustrations are from the collection of The New York Academy of Medicine.

DOES FACT-RECORDING HELP YOUR BABY-SAVING?

NEW YORK ASSOCIATION OF INFANTS MILK STATIONS

(Data given for babies under 2 years)

Report for week ending July 29th, 1911

	Dep't of Health	N. Y. Soc. Charities	N. Y. M.M. Committee	State Park Milk	Mission Settlement	Babies' Thrift	Motherly Milk Disp.	Healthy Children's Aid Society	TOTAL for Week	TOTAL from July 1st
NUMBER OF STATIONS	14	9	31	8	1	3	1	11	78	—
CASES BROUGHT FOR'D	2,368	1,484	2,816	1,508	130	24	23	445	8,698	—
NEW										
Hosp. or Disp.	13	3	6	11	1			61	93	408
Private Pract'y	1	4	27					6	38	135
Other Stations	190	41	20	120	3	3		46	475	1,913
FROM										
NEW CASES BY CANVASS	99	27	436		1			28	591	1,538
OLD CASES RE-ADMITTED	9	17	18	140	1		3	3	53	358
TOTAL	312	93	517	140	7	6	3	147	1,225	4,927
Moved	25	19	47	13	2			2	108	300
Refused to Continue	37	14	133	40				59	483	243
Transferred to Hospital or other Agency	21	24	18					4	67	205
Transferred to Other Milk Station	14	3	27					2	45	133
Died	3	2	10	6				3	24	86
TOTAL DROPPED	99	61	235	66	1			70	527	1,470
CASES CARRIED FOR'D	2,481	1,493	3,058	1,398	135	28	36	522	9,599	—
ATTENDANCE AT CLINIC	1,370	793	1,329	101	26	0	4	331	5,843	(not given)
DEATHS (Under 2 years)										
Diarrhoeal	1	1	8	3				2	15	53
Congenital Debility										4
Respiratory Diseases	1		1	1				1	4	10
Contagious Diseases										5
Other Causes			1	2					3	11
TOTAL DEATHS	2	1	10	6				3	24	86
MILE DISPENSED (QTS.)	11,978	14,156	16,206	9,100	1,050	258	336	3,081	58,374	200,720

FOR THE COMMITTEE FOR THE REDUCTION OF INFANT MORTALITY
106 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK
Efficient Citizenship No. 470

Figure 2, Report of Milk Stations for the week ending July 29, 1911. The New York Milk Committee operated 31 milk stations out of 78 in the city – recording that 133 case refused to continue with the program 47 had moved, 18 transferred to another agency, 2 to another milk station and 10 infants had died – but they were still handling 3,098 cases.

Many scholars have shown that modern political subjects that exist on the margins of the “patterning of society” quickly become the focus of classifying work. Every single child assisted by the Committee had his or her information transcribed onto a Case History Card. As the social lives of individual citizens were collected, record keeping created a stable structure within which racial stereotypes could be inscribed and made standard by government agency. This furthermore allowed populations to be comparatively assessed through data analysis. Information collected on people, habits, and homes, made legible the private lives of immigrant families. The form, as a technology of documentation, materially expressed tensions between the anonymous and the individual (in that it can be universally used but made unique by filling out); the compliant and the uncooperative; the healthy and the sick. Examining these documents as sources for qualitative analysis reveals the possibilities embedded in the blank spaces of these forms.

For example, empty lines provided for marking moments of resistance, such as babies that seemed to go suddenly missing or mothers that “refused relief” for their children, indicate that the quantity of women not desiring help from a formal agency existed to such a degree that their inclusion in data collection become necessary for accurate recordkeeping.

The spread of bacteria in unrefrigerated dairy milk particularly affected the young and vulnerable, who suffered and often died from bouts of diarrhea, tuberculosis, cholera, diphtheria, and typhoid. The medical field’s adoption of germ theory in the second half of the 19th century reinforced widespread public concern that milk carried disease. Knowing that the transmission of bacteria could easily infect children with so-called “social diseases” led to the establishment of Milk Stations in several major American cities including Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York. The NYMC opened seven Milk Stations on June 17,

1908, joining existing local efforts by other charitable organizations. As reformers of the ‘milk problem’ located the

NEW YORK MILK COMMITTEE Form M-6-6-11-1-1008	BORN.....		REGISTERED BABY		Flight.....		frt. bek. rt. ft. rr. house			
	RELIEF CASE.....				CASE.....					
	Name				Address					
	ATTENDANCE AT MEDICAL CONSULTATION				HOME VISITS		NEXT VISIT			
	DATE		CONDITION		ACTION		DATE		ACTION TAKEN	

Figure 3, 1911 form for registering a baby and for tracking its progress.

transmission of disease through milk consumption, the needy mother became equally implicated in a chain of moral responsibility to maintain “clean milk, clean air, clean bodies” for their homes and families. The child’s body thus came to function, in many ways, as the barometer of her



Figure 4, "A Lesson in Bathing" from *Infant Mortality and Milk Stations*, *New York Milk Committee 1912*, page 194.

efforts and therefore the focus of state control. Maintaining young healthy bodies, however, required training the mother – the mediator between child and food – to provide 'safe' germ-free environments. For those intent on solving the 'milk problem,' the answer lay in regulation, education, and diet reform; for mothers reliant on milk stations for family medical services, following dietary prescriptions sometimes challenged them to turn away from their own cultural foodways and instead embrace assimilated consumption patterns.

New medical understandings of germ theory mobilized critical examination of not only food consumption, but lifestyle. The Committee considered their educational work to be so important to the clean milk effort that "milk was refused unless mothers attended consultations at the stations regularly and carried out instructions." Compliance by mothers, of course, would be tracked by nurses on cards marking progress, dates and frequency of visits, and type of instruction given. Nurses advised mothers that their children required fresh air in their bedrooms, their own beds to sleep in, the best blankets, soaps, and powders to use.

These standards in turn of the century tenement houses were nearly impossible to achieve. Any immigrant became inherently 'risky' when the meager trappings of home life and childcare were seen as a physical manifestation of potential illness. Maintaining a 'safe' boundary between the body's interior and exterior required particular attention on the mouth: breathing, eating and drinking were all threatened by contamination and disease. The NYMC relied

on medical expertise to police these boundaries between the body and the urban space. Regulation through City-funded efforts thus subtly linked the body politic with the citizen's body, bringing human habit, desire, appetite and taste into the public arena.

By 1911, the NYMC operated 27 Stations "situated in the most congested parts of the city." Nurses trained in infant health began their work by canvassing their district, going door-to-door "looking for babies" and distributing literature on hygiene and diet. [Figure 3] As if to dispel any rumor that nurses encountered resistance while canvassing, promotional material shows them working with mothers in tenement homes – evidence that perhaps some good PR was necessary for the program's success. For example, a photograph entitled, "The Nurse Has Friends in Each Tenement" shows a warm reception in a common stairwell.

In another a nurse gives a bathing lesson to mother and baby in a small tenement apartment (with a view of laundry hanging out the back window). [Figure 4]

The activity of "looking for babies" emphasizes the extent to which the City's Health initiatives made the private space public through statistical record. A card for recording the discovery of "Eligible Babies" filled out by nurse Schofield on "Baby S" of 25 Cornelia Street shows that the child had been visited five times over the course of approximately two weeks. At the top right of the card, some basic information on the child's living conditions and diet are marked. She lived on a second floor apartment in the back right of the building, and had never had breast milk – only loose milk from the grocer. Her health is marked as increasingly worse in the far left column and the middle column narrates the refusal of her mother to take the child to the Milk Station (referred to here as the "Clinic"). On the first visit, August 15, the mother was "urged to attend clinic"; on the fourth visit, August 27 she was "advised to see doctor"; and finally, on the fifth visit four days later the nurse writes that she "failed to bring mother to clinic."

Though infant mortality had been directly connected to milk consumption, the diseases from which the babies suffered remained nevertheless tied to social causes like sanitation, overcrowded housing, and diet. As clinical medicine turned its attention to preventative treatments, the difference between health and illness was increasingly conceptualized by degrees, requiring the training of habits and constant attention to sanitary conditions. The Case

History Card that nurse Schofield filled out to admit ‘baby S’ to the milk station provides extensive space for data regarding her dairy consumption: name and address of milk dealer, whether or not the child’s milk was raw, boiled, pasteurized, condensed, loose, bottled; whether or not the child was breastfed, and by whom. The card, divided up into four columns, had a section for housing conditions, birth conditions, diet, and family makeup. At the end of each column is a space where the nurse adds notations, checkmarks, or tallies. Data on whether or not the family kept a boarder, if they lived at the front or the rear of a building, and whether or not the mother used a ‘baby carrier’ all belie a connection between not only the living condition, but also the socioeconomic condition. The nationality of mothers and fathers, their color (the only options available are white or black), literacy and drinking habits all combined into a composite sketch – not of the children, but of those who cared for them.

It wasn’t unusual for needy medical patients of this time period to simply refuse institutional treatment; charity workers often escorted patients to medical appointments in order to ensure attendance. And once the patient arrived at a hospital or sanitarium, some instantly fled back home. The NYMC nurse seemed to have finally convinced the mother of the Cornelia Street baby to bring her child in for a medical evaluation on September 11. The clinic discovers that her feeding has been “irregular as to quantity and intervals.” Once registered at the Milk Station, we find that ‘baby S’ received visits in increasing frequency at home as well as on-site medical consultation. Her improvement is then steadily tracked on a Registered Baby card marking treatments of saline irrigation and milk modification lessons for mother.

The NYMC expressed their belief that education paved the path to infant health not only through action, but also data analysis published in their reports. In one report on *Infant Mortality and Milk Stations*, they wrote that “out of every 1,000 infant deaths 326 are due in a great measure to the lack of prenatal care as a result of ignorance and social sins; 282 are largely due to ignorance and bad food, and 232 are mainly due to ignorance and bad air.” Overwhelmingly, the underlying cause of death is associated with knowledge – and the mother, who is held responsible for overcoming her own social deficiencies, bears the burden of her child’s life. The collection of *particular* types of information – ethnicity, wages, and occupation – created a data set that allowed and encouraged racial profiles. The habits of the home not only entered into public debate, it was

literally drawn out through the immigrant family’s front door.

A small postcard produced by the Committee in 1911 entitled, “Does Fact-Recording Help Your Baby-Saving?” hints that New York families in general regarded the project with a degree of skepticism. Mailed to middle and upper class New Yorkers for encouraging donations to help the infant mortality cause, it indicates that not only did the Committee need to convince immigrants to open their doors, but they also had to encourage the well-to-do to open their wallets to make it happen. Here it becomes clear how central the canvassing of private homes – as opposed to the clinic – had become to the project. NYMC had 31 Stations open by July of that year (the most out of all organizations listed), and also shows that nearly 85% of new cases came from neighborhood canvassing. In contrast, stations run by the Department of Health and the Diet Kitchen Association both show approximately 30% of new cases came from canvasses with the majority referred from other charitable agencies. Over 5,000 children were registered with NYMC by that October.

Not only did the methods of data collection record the statistics of the neediest citizens, they also allowed the Committee, and by extension the public, to monitor the work of the nurses themselves. The Nurse’s Daily Report card, for example, required her to tally the number of cases “brought forward,” including where her cases were “carried forward” from (i.e., other organizations, milk stations, canvasses). She then had to mark the number of mothers and children she visited, the amount of visits provided to each, amount of quarts and pints dispensed, and to whom, and finally the “instruction” provided to mothers. In order to sufficiently calculate the services of the nurses, the Committee also added spaces in the form for recording moments of resistance from the tenement families. For example, in the ‘Attendance’ column, tally areas for ‘visits

Figure 5. 1911 form to track the performance of the canvassing nurses.

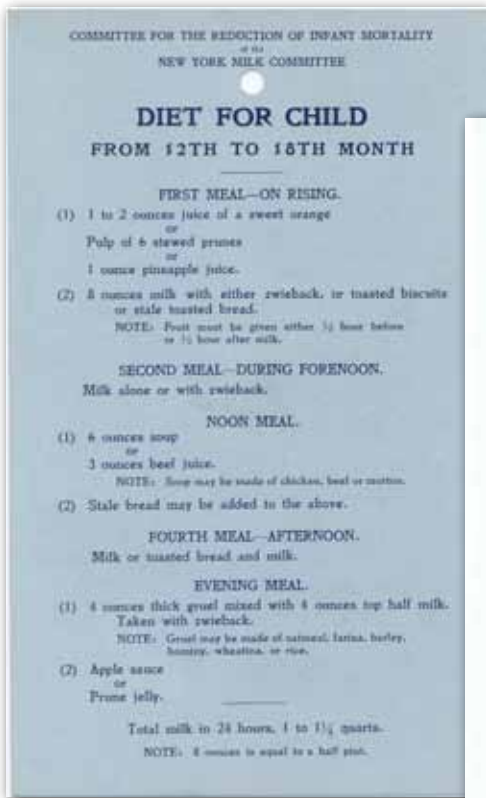


Figure 6, Diet for the youngest child.

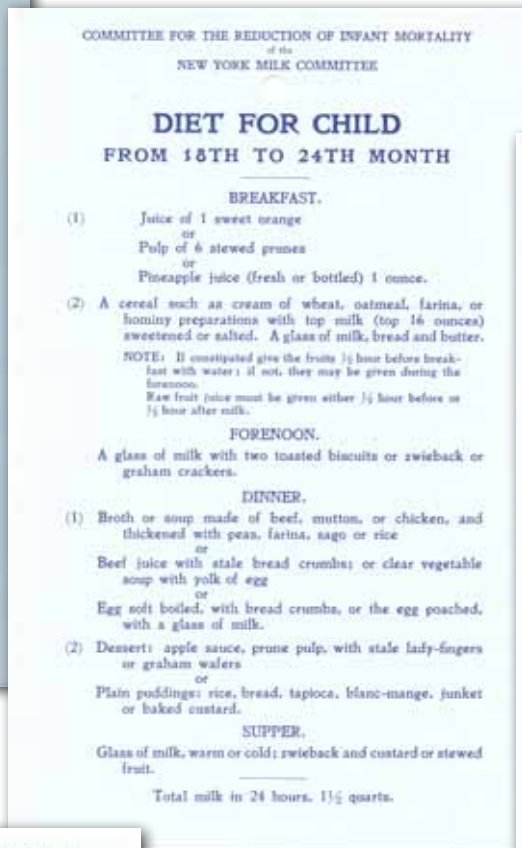


Figure 7, Diet for a child to two years.

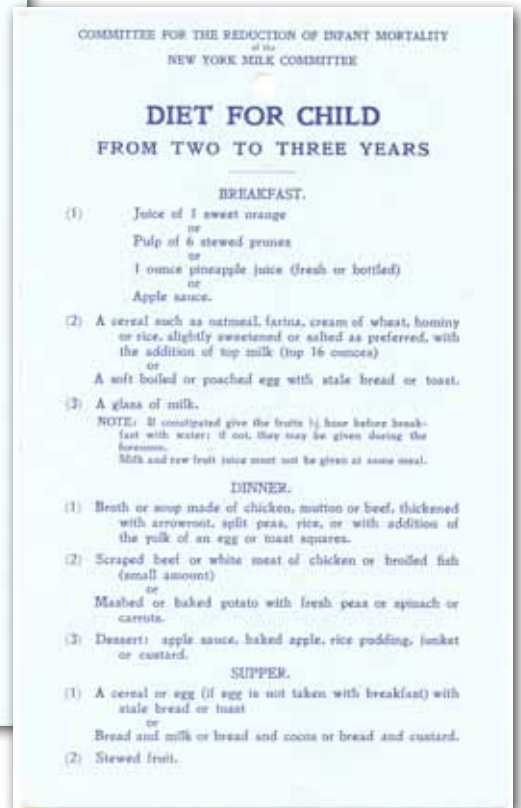


Figure 8, Diet for a child to three years.



Figure 9, Milk-free diet for a child to six years.

to babies' includes marks for calculating "visits to babies not found" and "visits of co-operation" in addition to visits made to "well babies" and "sick babies." [Figure 5]

With enough data, the abstract community of New York's poor took shape and showed the aspects of their living conditions that could be corrected into a sanitary – and ultimately American – environment. To ensure this dietary transition, the NYMC nurses distributed several fliers that mapped out suggested meal plans that children could grow with: an especially potent method for measuring the health of the child's body. By standardizing eating patterns, nutritional deficiencies could be targeted and measured against a normalized pattern. For the youngest children, aged 12-18 months, the NYMC suggested that milk should be a major component for four out of five meals, a total of at least one quart per day combined with stale bread, fruit juices, broths and gruel. [Figure 6] For those younger than two years, suggested milk consumption increased to 1½ quarts given over the course of four meals per day combined with meat broths, eggs, plain puddings, breads and crackers. [Figure 7] Then, between two and three years of age, total daily milk consumption is no longer



Figure 10: Pamphlet issued 1916 by the New York Milk Committee, illustrated by the well-known N.Y. Evening Journal cartoonist, Hal Coffman.

specified and the diet becomes more complex: juices, meat soups with peas, carrots, rice and egg, desserts with apple – with milk suggested to occasionally be drunk by the glass. [Figure 8] Finally, between three and six years of age milk is nearly eliminated from the diet altogether and instead reflects a meal structure that might have been similar to the ‘ideal’ adult meal: whole vegetables, complex soups, chocolate flavored desserts, and ice cream (but only once a week). [Figure 9]

The evolving diet of the immigrant child, mapped out by these pamphlets, makes clear the effort to reduce child milk consumption steadily and to correspondingly acclimate their tastes to specific foods that fell within ‘normal’ American parameters. No more mention of the coffee, tea, beer and wine of the tenement-dweller. With the exception of macaroni and spaghetti noodles for 3-6 year-olds, no other specifically ethnic cuisine is mentioned in the pamphlet series. The family diet thus became “on the one hand, part of the duty to be well, and, on the other, the part of the ‘good’ child, the ‘good’ parent and the ‘good’ citizen.” Conflating morality and ‘goodness’ within a nationalistic narrative produced subjects who performed their Americanness *through* consumption. This had to be taught in the tenements if an intervention was to succeed.

Nutritional discourse that circulated within the channels of the NYMC thus produced American subjects through food. And as the efforts gained moralizing momentum, the subjects that adopted the new eating patterns became part of an increasingly ‘good’ American world. One particular leaflet distributed by the Committee to promote safe milk products reminds readers that, “The Nation that has the babies has the future,” and they should “save them and nourish them well.” [Figure 10] The narrative’s nationalistic overtones encourage the reader to think, not in terms of their own family, but of citizen bodies and responsibilities. Food choices produced, and were produced by subjects, through learned habits, needs, desires, and beliefs. These pamphlets – usually printed in multiple languages and distributed by multi-lingual nurses – show that the Committee wanted to ensure that baby saving was not hindered by language barriers, but instead embraced all potential subjects regardless of their native tongue.

If food mediates the relationship between the body and the state, then strengthening bonds through consumption had the potential to bring bodies ever closer together morally, politically, and ethically. The work of the New York Milk Committee, through extensive canvassing and work within the tenement created Americanized citizens despite resistance by those who avoided the clinical space of the milk station by pulling them into a system of documentation. The organization, determining that, “the mother most needing the influence of the milk station is the one with whom the nurse has to work hard to have her baby enrolled because of ignorance and bad home conditions” declared their work as being most effective in the home – and the sites of refusal as the most valuable challenge to overcome. By conflating the medical, the nutritional, and the national into a seamless narrative for discussing the immigrant body, organizations like the NYMC extended their work far beyond the provision of clean milk. By examining their methods of documentation, we see that health reform acted as an apparatus for assimilating bodies through diet, and creating good Americans through education and classification.



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“Gender and the Policy Game

BY BETSY SCHLABACH

Gambling – specifically what was called Playing Policy (or Numbers elsewhere in the country) – added a bit of hope to the grinding poverty of everyday life for residents of Bronzeville, Chicago’s bustling African American Neighborhood, during the Great Depression. Women were important participants even though the activity typically existed in exclusively male spaces – illegal gambling operated both outside the law and outside the bounds of feminine respectability. Yet, Policy and its derivative materials persisted as a capital and cultural resource for some women – who participated in a ‘shadow economy’ by going against rigid middle class ethics of respectability and hard work.

Many of Chicago’s sociologists, urban reformers, women’s clubs, and local government officials associated Policy with urban pathology and decay – but that is not how the game was thought of by those who played. The game’s slips littered Bronzeville’s sidewalks and alleyways daily – but they could be a sign of lucrative business rather than mere waste paper. (Figure 1) The lack of social services, of financial institutions, and of commercial investment and development, and the ubiquitous political powerlessness of the segregated urban ghettos gave rise to informal ‘parallel institutions,’ many of which operated in the gray area between legitimacy and criminal behavior. Was Policy a cultural resource or criminal menace? The question was often

asked, but the answer always depended on who was asking. Chicago’s Policy women: The Kings’ wives and sisters, Queens, as well as women merely playing the game, capitalized on the situation but not without great risk.

In Policy gambling bettors placed their money on one or more numbers that they hoped would be among those picked in a drawing of twelve numbers between 1 and 78. A common play was a “gig,” a bet on three numbers. If the three numbers were among the twelve drawn, the bettor collected a purse. While the odds favored the Policy seller in the long run, on any given day several bettors might select the same winning numbers and thus bankrupt the game. As a result, Policy “banks” or “backers” assumed the financial risk. For any given banker there might be 100 or more Policy sellers (or policy stations) located in neighborhood salons, barbershops, newspaper kiosks, and similar locations. Each Policy seller kept a fixed percentage of the money bet and funneled the rest to the banker. In a large syndicate, runners collected from the sellers and carried the betting slips and money to the bank (Figure 2). Once the outcome of the drawing was announced, the banker assembled the winning slips and returned them to the sellers along with the money to pay the winners. The sellers, as a result, earned a steady income without financial risk; bankers assuming the risks in return for

the potential profits from thousands of small bets placed through many sellers. A policy syndicate cultivated a variety of complex relationships with bettors on a daily basis. Therefore, it was a formidable cultural and political machine, wielding powerful influence over the community. And, since many of the small neighborhood businesses enjoyed a steady income from the sale of Policy slips, legitimate businessmen and woman were often allies in the protection and promotion of policy gambling.

Women’s involvement in Policy spans several



Figure 1. Photograph of a 1930s Chicago Street Scene – the litter of papers are Policy Slips. Library of Congress.

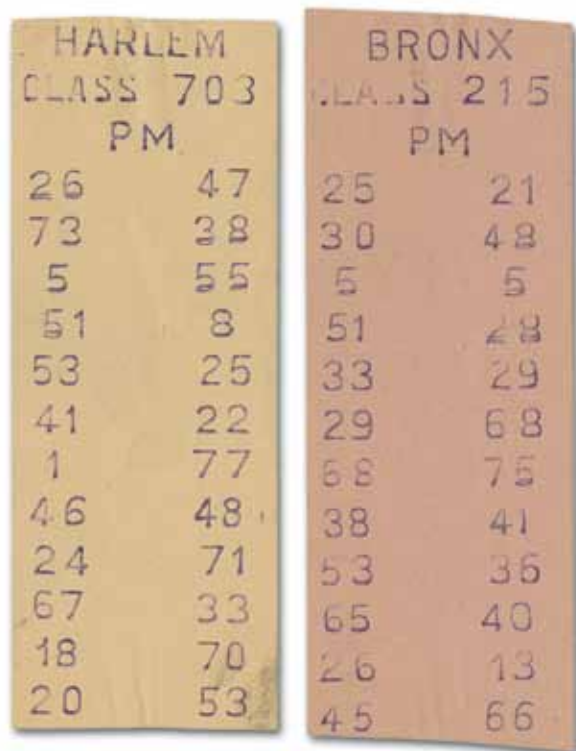


Figure 2, Policy Slips. University of Chicago Special Collections.

decades. During the 1940s and 1950s, when Policy was quite successful, Bronzeville’s Policy Kings and Queens were targeted in raids by police, perhaps encouraged by white neighborhoods that did not want the game or upwardly mobile African Americans expanding into their neighborhoods. In the 1940s, Queens were Irene Coleman, Leslie Williams, and Anne Roan. Coleman and Williams owned the Belmont and Old Reliable Policy Wheels, formerly owned by Coleman’s father, Buddy Coleman; Roan was a partner in the 2nd Ward-based Alabama/Georgia, Jackpot and Whirlaway Wheels with Matt Bivins. The three Queens were indicted along with 23 Policy Kings in the “Big Conspiracy Trial” of 1942. In the aftermath of the trial, all of the Kings’ clubs reopened. Roan would eventually join forces with Ed Jones, of the Jones Brothers, not for policy revenue but in a different venture. They opened a milk delivery business: Hawthorn Milk Store.

The most famous Queen of Chicago’s Policy game was Florine Reynolds Irving Stephens, the former wife of James D. Irving who was once hailed as the undisputed mid-20th-century “King of Policy” until he was sent to federal penitentiary for income tax evasion. They married in 1937 when he was a cab driver, and divorced 10 years later. The divorce settlement included a \$250 a week income, a cash settlement, and one of Irving’s many Policy wheels – the Boulevard-Avenue – that reportedly made Florine \$25,000 a week. Irving, released from prison in 1959, was furious that his former wife, now Mrs. Stephens, had branched out in his absence to take over several wheels formerly controlled

by him. Stephens employed 60 runners who distributed betting slips in several small businesses in the area where the wheels operated. A July 17, 1960 *Chicago Daily Tribune* article reported Stephens to be the “operator of the largest policy wheels on the Southside” as well as “a great fan of mink coats and diamonds.” In 1961, the *Tribune* quoted detectives saying: “the Spaulding-Silver-Dunlap wheel, which is only one of the wheels owned by Mrs. Stephens ... nets \$14,000 a day in income for her, totaling up to more than five million dollars annually. ... the wheel operates seven days a week, 52 weeks a year.” But, on November 30 that year Stephens was arrested by four detectives of the organized crime division’s gambling detail.

Of the 60 runners Stephens employed, many were women. One of them recently remembered for sociologist Lewis A. Caldwell¹ that about half of the 800 writers working for her boss were women. A *Tribune* reporter followed scores of gamblers entering an alley door at a Southside address and found women counting large stacks of money while men counted Policy slips. Women interviewed by sociologists Horace Cayton and St. Claire Drake² stated: “Policy is a godsend. Girls could make \$20/week. They couldn’t make that in a laundry or a kitchen.” “I left Oklahoma with my two children, two and three years old, in 1921 after saving money from my maid’s job. My husband was glad to get rid of us. Two days after being in Chicago I got a dishwashing job in a north side restaurant. In 1925 a doctor told me to stop that work because the soap was injuring my hands. I had to do something in order to feed my children, so I got a job writing policy. I was given instruction for a week before I got a book. In less than a month I was writing \$20 a day, and keeping five for my share. From then until 1930 I made good money but had to stop because my feet began swelling. I’m forty-five years old and have lived in four states that that’s the best job I ever had.” Wives of syndicate men called Policy the “realization of a dream” while employees of the game called it “a godsend.” But more numerous were the women who used literally their last pennies to place bets on the various wheels owned and operated by the Johnson family, Stephens, Roan, Coleman, or Williams.

Sociologist Ernest W. Burgess³ found that many of the patrons of the game in his research were women, middle-aged, some on relief while others stopped to place bets after a hard day’s work. Caldwell’s study also tried to put faces on the 350,000 daily bets. For a period of four months – January through April 1937 – five investigators for the Old Age Assistance Division of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare attempted to determine what percentage of their clients, or members of the families, bet on Policy. Of the 500 Bronzeville homes in the sample, 400 showed evidence of the Policy game. No efforts to conceal the drawings were encountered; policy stations were found in the front rooms and storefronts of business sections in adjacent neighborhoods, usually a barbecue pit, beauty parlor, eat shop, confectionary,

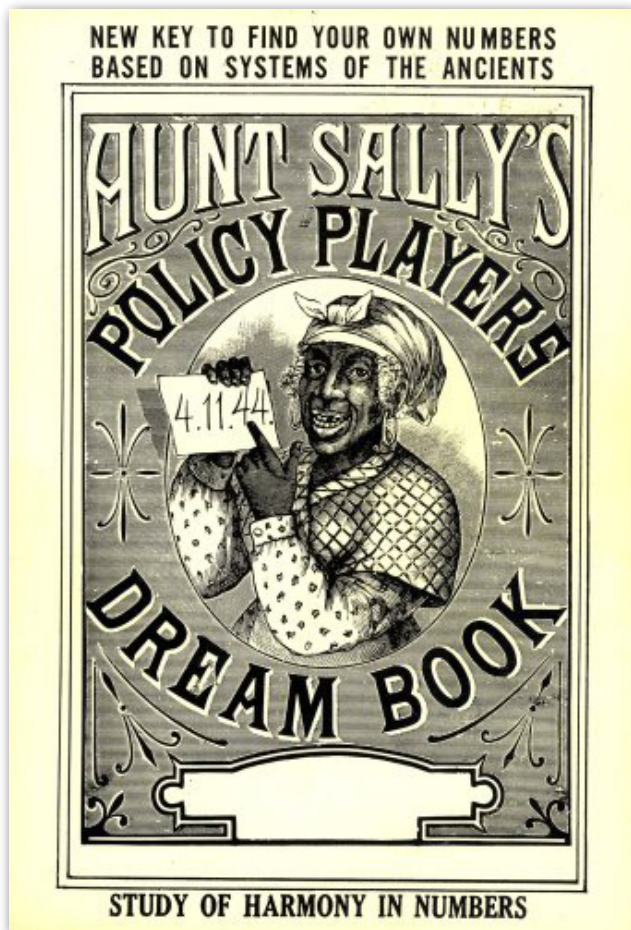


Figure 3, *Dream Book*. Wikipedia Commons.

or barbershop occupied a part of each station. Nor were efforts made to conceal these locations – prominent signs in the window or door proclaimed, “We write all books.” Caldwell reported that a majority of the patrons were women, attributing this to the “fact that the men are working during the day and remain content to allow their wives to make their bets. At least four instances were encountered, however, where the wife was playing policy without knowledge or consent of her spouse.” One elderly player of the game recalled: “I had lived in Chicago for four years when I began playing policy in 1930. At the laundry where I worked, the girls had played for years, but I never gave the game a thought ‘til one night I dreamt of my mother who had been dead for thirty years. At work I mentioned the dream to Jessie, and she made me play a quarter on the ‘dead mother’ row. Well, sir, as I’m living this minute, the gig fell out and I won \$25. That started me off. My luck got so good, and since I was bothered with rheumatism I quit the laundry.” Cayton and Drake quote a policy King who said the game was supported in the main “by the small change of poverty-laden workers, housewives, prostitutes, and gambling-house flunkies who are lured by the 180-to-1 dividends.” Women’s lack of effort to conceal participation in the Policy game as writers, runners, and patrons illustrates African American’s belief

that the game, to borrow from Cayton and Drake, was “on the level.”

Policy inspired a world of derivative materials – dream books, luck oil, jinx-removal candles, and sprays. Dream books – of which *Aunt Sally’s Policy Players Dream Book* is by far the best known (Figure 3) – linked dream images (e.g. dream of a cook or dream of a locomotive) to divinatory meanings (“you will receive a letter” or “beware a strange man”) and also gave numbers for betting. Popular publishers in Chicago, New York, and Baltimore printed dream books as cheap pamphlets selling, in the 1930s, for 35 cents and available at the same small, often women-run, businesses where Policy could be written.

Policy players’ dream books acknowledge African American subjectivity, often commenting directly on race and frequently reversing the power relations of the waking world (If you dream of meeting up with a white policeman play numbers 28-35-67; if you dream of a coffin you will soon be married and own a home of your own, play numbers 9-48-50; to dream of a policy officer foretells riches, play numbers 4-11-44, the favorite of all numbers.) Some players believed that “supernatural traditions were integral” to helping them deal with and overcome limited employment and economic hardship, as well as race, class, and gender discrimination. Historian LaShawn Harris⁴ argues that black female mediums provided their customers with a sense of autonomy and empowerment over their public and private lives. Since most black women mediums, especially those who were working-class, did not leave personal papers or records, dream books have become vital primary sources to detail the dreams and realities of black urban experience.

Endnotes

- 1 Lewis A. Caldwell, a novel *The Policy King*, Chicago 1945, based on research for his masters thesis at Northwestern University, “The Policy Game in Chicago.”
- 2 Horace Cayton and St. Claire Drake, *Black Metropolis*, New York 1945.
- 3 Ernest Watson Burgess, who with his colleague at the University of Chicago, Robert E. Park, provided the foundation for The Chicago School, and wrote *The City*, 1967.
- 4 LaShawn D. Harris is visiting assistant professor of history at Michigan State University, who contributed to the *Enslaved Women in America: An Encyclopedia* Santa Barbara 2012.

Elizabeth S. Schlabach, a visiting assistant professor in history at The College of William & Mary, has a Ph.D. in American Studies from Saint Louis University. Her work on Bronzeville, Chicago, was published by the University of Illinois Press in a 2012 compilation, *The Black Chicago Renaissance*.

Presentation of the 2013 Maurice Rickards Award



Phil Jones with the Maurice Rickards Medal — an adaptation, in silver, of a bronze medallion engraved by H. Mitchell, awarded to recognize those exhibitors who provided outstanding service during the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. The allegorical figure is America overseeing Commerce.

As a child Phil actually did walk the proverbial two miles to a one-room schoolhouse, a trek which apparently was uphill both ways. Eventually his conveyance was a horse-drawn wagon. On a cold winter's day one of the horses dropped dead, but not to be deterred, he and his brothers unhitched the dead animal, moved it to the side of the road and continued on to school. That typifies Phil's attitude toward life: no obstacle can deflect him from his purpose. He just picks himself up and carries on.

A note of thanks from Phil Jones...

"I remember the very first Ephemera conference and have been to almost all since that time. I have watched many friends receive this Rickards Award for their well-deserved work for ephemera. I never imagined that I would be a recipient.

I am sorry I cannot join you this year, but 94 years has taken a toll on my legs. I have enjoyed many years and continue to enjoy the study and interest in ephemera.

My vision when starting the Jones Scholarship was to have everyone, including interesting everyday folks, be able to be a deserving recipient and spread the interest, joy and excitement of ephemera to the 'common man' (and woman as my daughter has reminded me).

In the words of my Aunt – Count your blessings and Carry On!"

The Maurice Rickards Award was created to honor the founding father of The Ephemera Society and to recognize extraordinary accomplishment in the world of ephemera and ephemera studies. Recipients must have made outstanding contributions to the field over a substantial period of time and must demonstrate pronounced involvement with ephemera as a collector, dealer, scholar, researcher, teacher, institutional curator and/or conservator. I am very proud to announce that the recipient of the 2013 Maurice Rickards Award is Philip Jones, and a more worthy one it would be difficult to imagine.

Following World War II he served for a time as an elected representative of the Connecticut State Legislature, as well as a successful tree farmer. Not only did he help build his home with his own hands; he grew the trees from which it was built.

Phil was born to a family of collectors, so he came by his propensities naturally. A lifelong love of learning is reflected in his passion for the ephemeral artifacts of history, both printed and handwritten. He began by collecting stamps, but in time became more interested in the human stories contained within the covers themselves and at one time it was his intention to collect a letter for each day of the Civil War. His collections have also included the printed works of Charles Magnus, parodies of Moore's *'Twas the Night Before Christmas*, trade cards with hidden illustrations, postcards of sightseeing excursions and images of people in vehicles. He also built a vast collection of valentines.

When he was about 78 and providing native lumber from his mill to rebuild the local historical society's barn where they intended to mount exhibits of ephemera, he ventured down to "supervise" the construction, stepped onto a plank over the open cellar hole and tumbled in, cracking a rib and puncturing a lung. His family jokes that his dedication to ephemera nearly killed him.

For some years he has been sorting, selling and donating material to specific dealers and institutions, including Winterthur Museum, which benefited enormously from his Charles Magnus collection, and the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, both of which have received portions of his collections over the years. His primary purpose is always to help build collections, ensure that the artifacts find an appropriate home and contribute to the general public appreciation of ephemera and the admirable work of the Ephemera Society of America.

Phil has been a tireless promoter of ephemera and for years has mounted monthly exhibits at a local bookshop on various themes from valentines to transportation. At 94 years of age he is still at it. On Memorial Day he often displays ephemera from the Civil War era. Some years ago he gave a fascinating talk at one of the Ephemera Society conferences on the subject of Charles Magnus, when it was still a somewhat obscure area of research. He sold his enormous valentine collection, but not before sharing it in exhibits at seniors' facilities and local historical societies. He has been an active participant in The Ephemera Society of America from its inception, participating in every annual conference and fair since 1981 save one (when in 2010 he was taken ill), always willing to share his knowledge and artifacts with other collectors and scholars.

But it is in establishing the Phil Jones Fellowship that

continued on page 24

his contribution to the Ephemera Society is most particularly appreciated. With the aims of cultivating an enjoyment and promoting an interest in paper artifacts in institutions and amongst people of all ages and backgrounds, in addition to their preservation, exhibition and research, the Fellowship has awarded funds for deserving research projects over the past five years. Coincidentally, the first recipient of the Jones Fellowship completed research begun by Phil on Charles Magnus. His generosity in establishing the Fellowship will help support and promote the collecting, scholarship and publishing of ephemera in the years to come.

The Ephemera Society is not the only beneficiary of Phil's expertise and leadership skills. For some years he was the president of The Manuscript Society, and

in 2010 he was awarded the prestigious Historic New England Prize for collecting works on paper.

Much of the information the awards committee was able to discover was collected with extreme difficulty, as Phil is so modest and unassuming that even his daughter Sandi was unaware of some of his accomplishments and the accolades he has earned. We know he was disappointed to not be able to accept the award in person at the awards banquet – but his daughter Sandra, Chair of the Phil Jones Fellowship Committee, is his ambassador to accept the Society's sincere congratulations and tremendous admiration for his many contributions and achievements.

Carry on, Phil!

—Barbara Rusch

Call for Nominations for the Maurice Rickards Award:

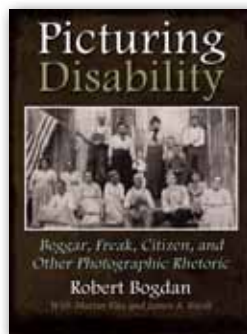
Members wishing to suggest a candidate should send the name of that person, together with a detailed written statement setting forth the qualifications of that person, based upon the following standards: The Maurice Rickards Award is presented to a person or persons who have made important contributions to the field of ephemera. He or she does not have to be an American or even a member of The Ephemera Society of America; however, recipients must be seriously involved in the discipline of ephemera as a collector, dealer, researcher, institutional curator, or conservator. Accomplishments in the field include scholarly publications, the preparation of exhibitions and catalogs, the development of new or improved methods of conservation, placement of ephemera collections in public institutions, and the promotion of ephemera as one way of understanding our country's history.

Submissions must be received by the Awards Committee, info@ephemerasociety.org, or PO Box 95, Cazenovia NY 13025 by July 1, 2013. The Committee will evaluate member recommendations, as well as those from any other sources, and make its recommendation for consideration by the Society's Board of Directors, at the Board's mid-year meeting in September 2013.

Interesting Books

Picturing Disability, by Robert Bogdan with Martin Elks and James Knoll, Syracuse University Press 2012. List price \$55.

Dr. Bogdan is a consummate collector and researcher of real photo postcards, but he is also Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Social Science and Disability Studies at Syracuse University, and this book brings together his two passions, to document how people with disabilities have been seen and presented. Joining him is Dr. Knoll, Chair of the Department of Early Childhood, Elementary and Special Education at Morehead State University, Kentucky, and Dr. Elks with the Department of Human Services in Victoria, Australia.



Each chapter addresses a particular genre of disability image and the contexts that created it - Freak Portraits: Sideshow Souvenirs - Begging Cards: Solicitation with photographs - Charity: The Poster Child - Asylums: Postcards, Public Relations, and Muckraking (remarkable is Margaret Bourke-White and her series of 1930s photographs at Letchworth Village) - Clinical Photographs: "Feeble-mindedness" in Eugenics Texts - Advertising Photographs: People with

Over 200 photographs are included in this fine book - from promotional material for circus side-shows, charity drives, and art galleries.

Disabilities Selling Products (including quack Josh Till of Almena Wis., wonder healer with plaster salves 1909) - Movie Stills: Monsters, Revenge, and Pity (from 1923 Lon Chaney as Quasimodo, to Peter Sellers as Dr. Strangelove 1964) - Art for Art's Sake: People with Disabilities in Art Photography (James A. Knoll) - Citizen Portraits: Photos as Personal Keepsakes - Conclusion: town characters.

"Most people think that to understand social life it is better to know the facts than to experience it emotionally and aesthetically, but these dimensions of understanding can be complementary. A compelling photograph possesses the ideal combination of instruction and affective impact. A good photograph can make social science issues clearer, and good social science analysis can make photographs more compelling."

Obituary: *Marcus Allen McCorison, 1926-2013*



I am honored to write a few words about Marcus Allen McCorison, a recipient of the Maurice Rickards Award in 2000, eight years after he retired as president of the American Antiquarian Society (AAS). In 1980, the year of the founding of the ESA, Mark received the Samuel Pepys Medal from the Ephemera Society in

London for his outstanding work in the collecting and study of ephemera. During his distinguished career, Mark served on many boards and held many impressive affiliations. But, from the perspective of Ephemera Society members, one of his greatest contributions at the Society was his development of its collections, including its holdings of ephemeral items. At Ephemera 25, he gave a talk on 19th-century salesmen's sample books, a collection that he built at AAS. By the time he retired, Mark had acquired nearly 115,000 items, ranging from a single broadside to voluminous runs of newspaper files.

Mark loved the printed word. Following in his predecessors' footsteps, he did not limit collecting for AAS to literary or historical high spots, but also eagerly collected printed ephemera, even before the term had been well established as a genre of print production. Mark hired me as a library assistant in the fall of 1968 and within a year I became curator of graphic arts. I recall early in my tenure in that position Mark showed me an engraved trade card for Henry Knox that he had just purchased. I looked closed and the initials of Nathaniel Hurd emerged. I too became hooked on ephemera.

Among Mark's best friends was Calvin Otto, a founder of the ESA. I suspect many of their conversations in the early 1980s concerned ephemera and its uses and importance to scholars of American history. Those involved in acquisitions for libraries rely on booksellers to provide the juiciest items. Mark was known for his cordial relationships with men such as Benny Tighe, who sold hundreds of 18th-century chapbooks to AAS. While going to and from New York for various meetings, Mark found time to visit Rocky Gardiner and even took me along once. What a treasure-filled barn! We also visited Sam Murray in Wilbraham a couple of times. Often Sam visited AAS, arriving with a trunk filled with pamphlets and ephemera. AAS continues to benefit from friendships with Matthew Needle and many others in the trade. We acquired a variety of ephemeral items from these dealers—binder's tickets, broadsides, trade cards, billheads, menus, valentines, and more.

Broadsides captured Mark's greatest attention. At one point, for example, Mark acquired a major collection of late 18th-century "slip laws," the early printed versions of legislation being discussion in Congress. Another great acquisition was a late 17th-century volume with seven or eight 17th-century New England broadsides pasted down on the pages. He asked me to check the titles quickly as I did. I reported back as soon as I could, breathless with excitement, only to learn that he had already ordered the volume. He knew how rare those items were and that we lacked them. He also approached the National Endowment for the Humanities for funds to catalog the collection, including facsimiles that AAS has acquired for the Readex-Microprint Early American Imprints Series. The cataloging continued for about twenty years. Not only did the AAS collection become accessible to scholars, but other libraries based their own efforts on our fine records available first through the Research Libraries Group's RLIN, and now WorldCat. Mark understood that ephemera documented everyday life effectively and made sure that the collection would support scholarship.

Mark arrived at AAS in 1960 to become librarian, becoming director and librarian in 1967. He retired in 1992 as president. Mark served in the United States Naval Reserves from 1944 to 1946 and was posted to Korea as a member of the United States Army Reserves from 1952 to 1954 after which he began his library studies at Columbia University. Before coming to AAS he worked briefly at the Kellogg-Hubbard Library in Montpelier, Dartmouth College, and then the University of Iowa.

As the leader of AAS from 1967 to 1992, he was instrumental in changing the American Antiquarian Society from a small independent research library of limited means and outreach to one that attracts researchers from all over the United States and Europe. During his years at AAS, the endowment grew from three and a half million dollars to almost \$22,000,000—he was a successful fundraiser that enabled the Society to undertake many important cataloging and programmatic activities including the North American Imprints Program, the fellowship program, and the Program in the History of the Book in American Culture.

Mark and his wife, Janet, who predeceased him, had a lively family, raising six children in Worcester. He leaves five children, (Mark, Judy, Andrew, James, and Peter) and many grandchildren. His daughter Mary also predeceased him.

For many years, The Ephemera Society included in their promotional materials a quote by Mark that ephemera was a "window into the center of a culture." We thank him for improving the view.

—Georgia B. Barnhill
Curator of Graphic Arts Emerita
American Antiquarian Society

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www.annarborbookfair.com

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June 9

The Ephemera Society London Fair
London UK
bazaars@ephemera-society.org.uk

June 22 & 23

Portland Postcard & Paper Collectibles
Show
Portland OR
www.postcardshows.com

June 29

Cooperstown Antiquarian Book Fair
Cooperstown NY
atelier@oecblue.com

July 27 & 28

2nd Northeast Postal History and
Ephemera Show
Albany NY
www.nphes.com

August 24 & 25

64th Papermania Plus
Hartford CT
www.papermaniaplus.com

September 19 & 20

Philadelphia PA
Joint conference with The Library
Company:
“Unmediated History: The Scholarly
Study of 19th-Century Ephemera”
To register for conference:
www.librarycompany.org
To sign up for Ephemera Society tours:
diane@ephemerasociety.org

September 20 & 21

Buffalo Niagara International Book,
Paper & Ephemera Fair
Buffalo NY
www.thebuffaloshow.net

September 28

Boxborough Paper Town
Boxborough MA
www.flammingoeventz.com

New Members

We welcome the following new members
who have joined the Society since
publication of our September issue.

Andy Anderson

Paper Trails
PO Box 777
Charlton, MA 01507

Diann Benti

706 Brent Ave. Apt. D
South Pasadena, CA 91030

John H. Bloor

8727 East Kettle Place
Englewood, CO 80112

Thomas G. Boss

Thomas G. Boss Fine Books
11 Central Street
Salem, MA 01970

Lisa F. Bouchard

Melrose Books & Art
10 Everett Street
Melrose, MA 02176

Jeffrey M. Boyarsky

41 Murano Dr
Princeton Junction, NJ 08550

Elizabeth Broman

4121 7th avenue Apt. J
Brooklyn, NY 11232

Dawn Cadwell

3154 NE Everett
Portland, OR 97232

William Chrisant

Florida Book Shop
5411 Shady Oak Lane
Dania Beach, FL 33312

C. David Cottrill

9 Miles Of Ephemera & Antiques
806 NE 125th Ave
Portland, OR 97230

N.C. Christopher Couch

University of Massachusetts Amherst
32 Oak St
Florence, MA 01062

George Cubanski

Rarities etc.
16 Galloway Heights
Warwick, NY 10990

Rachel A. D'Agostino

Library Company of Philadelphia
1314 Locust Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Orelia E. Dann

521 Osage Street, Apt. 2
Manhattan, KS 66502

Jesse Ephraim

697 Pryor Ct N
Keller, TX 76248

Marcia Ewing-Current

Richard N. Current
2 Lantern Lane
Natick, MA 01760

Scott Fennessey

Blue Whale Books
115 W Main Street
Charlottesville, VA 22902

Stephen Fisher

Iconic Postcards
11 Church St., Unit 404
Salem, MA 01970

Susan Fleshman

345 E. Meehan Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19119

Robert & Nikki Frost

13 Lloyd Avenue
West Long Branch, NJ 07764

Sara Leavitt Goldberg

Historic Newton
140 Harvard Street
Newtonville, MA 02460

John Halloran

35 Wrights Mill Road
Armonk, NY 10504

Bronwyn Hannon

*Special Collections Hofstra University
Library*
123 Hempstead Turnpike, Room 038A
Hempstead, NY 11549

Timothy Hart

20 Maston Road
Victory, VT 05858

Joshua Heller

*Joshua Heller Books, Photographica
and Misc.*
26 East Jefferson Road
Pittsford, NY 14534

Robert C. Hoffman

3 Dunbridge Circle
Rochester, NY 14618

Virginia Kemp
The Blue Twig, LLC
28 Walbridge Road
West Hartford, CT 06119

Charles Kutcher
Kaaterskill Books
PO Box 122
East Jewett, NY 12424

Robert Langmuir
Book Mark
2049 West Rittenhouse Square
Philadelphia, PA 19103

Marvin Lee
Mapo gu, Hapjung dong
391-1 bunji, #301,
Seoul, South Korea

David Lesser
Fine Antiquarian Books LLC
One Bradley Road, Suite 302
Woodbridge, CT 06525

Al Malpa
Al Mapa Ephemera
475 Keeney Street
Manchester, CT 06040

Brian Mendez
19 Farnsworth Street
Hamden, CT 06517

Museo della Figurina
corso Canalgrande 103
Modena,
Italy 41121

Amber Nigro
1818 Linden Street
Ridgewood, NY 11385
Laura M. Poll

**Monmouth County Historical
Association**
70 Court Street
Freehold, NJ 07728

**The John and Mable Ringling
Museum of Art
Library**
5401 Bay Shore Road
Sarasota, FL 34243

Lora Robins
34 Oak Hill Road
Chappagua, NY 10514

**Loretta Meserve and John
Rowley**
Eye Openers
P.O. Box 609
Alstead, NH 03602

Robert Charles Rust
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536 South Ogden Street
Denver, CO 80209-4418

Jeff Siptak
4013 Russellwood Drive
Nashville, TN 37204

Sue B. St. Amant
7940 Pacific St.
Omaha, NE 68114

Joshua Stearns
Penrose Trading Co.
2705 9th Street S, #32A
Arlington, VA 22204

William Sturgess
39 Bonetown Road
Flemington, NJ 08822

Rebecca Taber-Conover
Connecticut's Old State House
800 Main Street
Hartford, CT 06103

G. Dale Vargason
PO Box 553
Wayland, NY 14572

Leon Vincent
Artistic Soul Studio
221 Dorchester Drive
Bowling Green, KY 42103

Stacy Waldman
House of Mirth Photos
PO Box 74
Easthampton, MA 01027

Richard G. Wilson
2 Duchess Path
Uxbridge, MA 01569-1646

Elizabeth Young
lizzyoungbookseller
37 Valley View Rd., PO Box
1072
West Dover, VT 05356

Matthew Young
76 Moores Mill-Mount Rose
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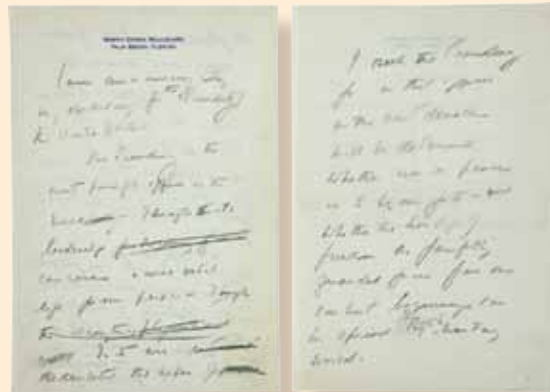
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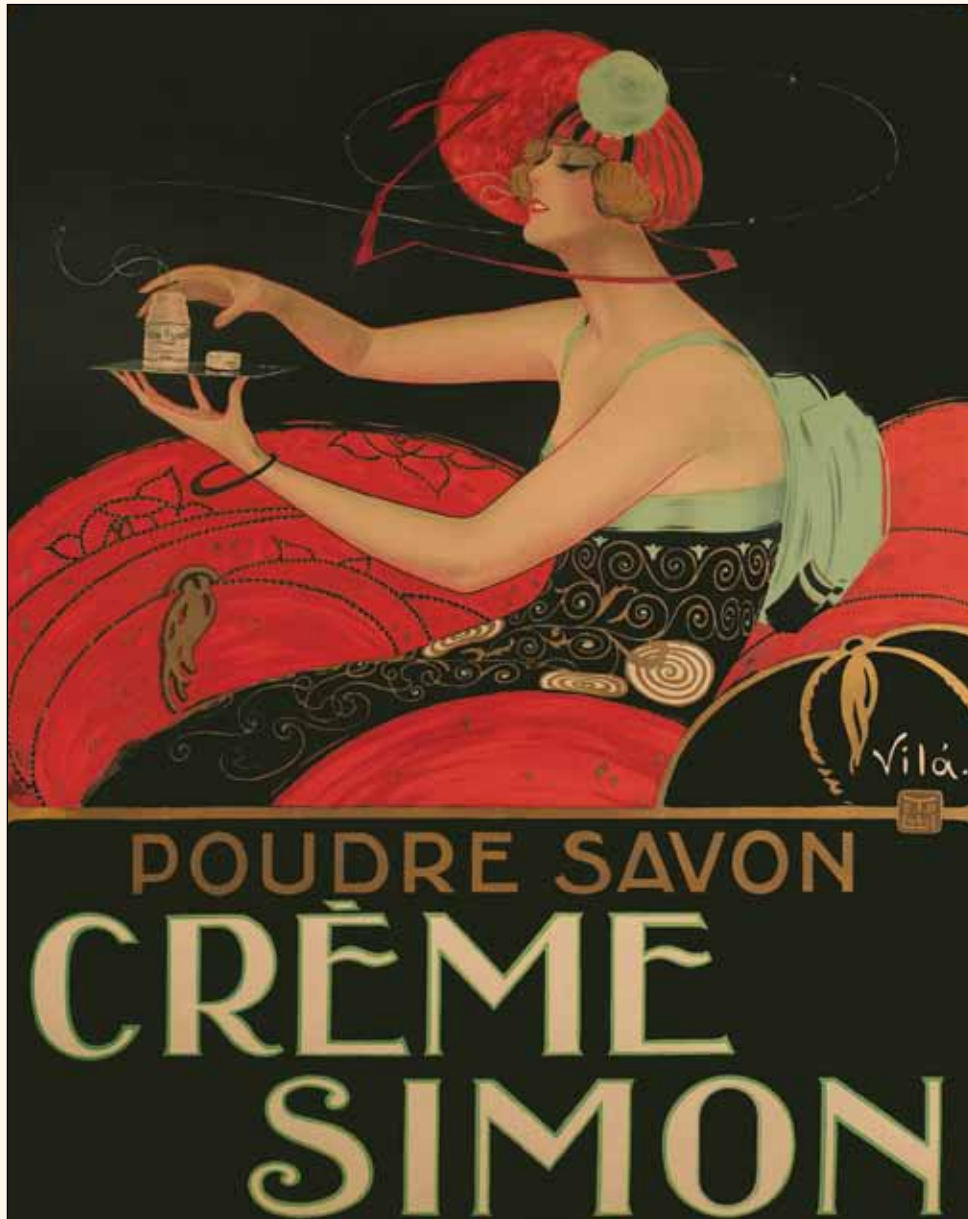
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