

# THE EPHEMERA JOURNAL

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## Appeal to the Great Spirit: *Designing the Beach Boys (1961-75)*

By BRIAN CHIDESTER

To say the trajectory of 20<sup>th</sup> century art and design can be recounted in the visual artifacts of L.A. rock band, the Beach Boys, seems paradoxical. They were, after all, spawned of an explosion in American advertising and pop culture in the 1950s and '60s, and everything from their moniker to the fads they sang about screamed “ephemeral.” Yet from the outset, the music they produced was also marked by a deep spiritual quality, underlined by the avant-garde tendencies of leader Brian Wilson. The visual aspect of the Beach Boys—in packaging, fashion, and other media—played a crucial role in bringing Wilson’s music to the masses as well, and remains a heretofore understudied side of their story.

The group formed during the fall of 1961 in Hawthorne, CA, a suburb of Los Angeles where brothers Brian, Carl, and Dennis Wilson joined cousin Mike Love and neighbor Al Jardine to produce recordings of original titles, “Surfin’” and “Luau.” Wilson’s father, Murry, and local publisher Hite Morgan brought the songs to to Herb Newman of indie labels Era, Candix, and X Records and Newman agreed to release them. The band at that time was calling itself “The Pendletones,” inspired by the plaid, wool button-down shirt produced in Oregon, a then-popular fashion with Southern California surfers. When the 45 was released that December, however, the group had been re-christened “The Beachboys.”

*Continued on Page 4*



Figure 1. 1963

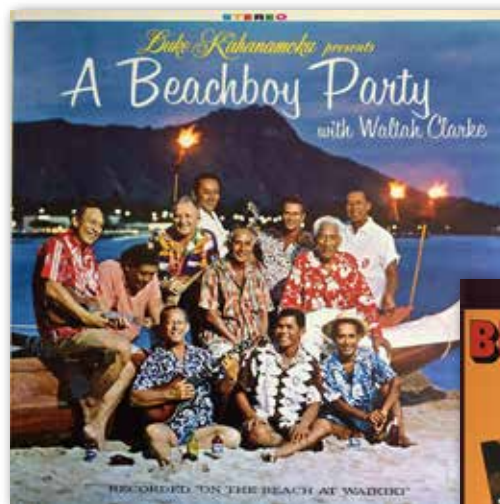


Figure 2, a and b: The crossover from vernacular to mainstream was on full display in 1963 when the original beachboys from Waikiki got an opportunity (as surfing’s “elder statesmen”) to record an album of their own. It was called *A Beachboy Party with Waltah Clarke*, which the *Beach Boys* from Los Angeles then replicated in their 1965 Capitol LP, *Recorded Live at a Beach Boys’ Party!* (From the author’s collection.)

# The Ephemera Journal

The  
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America

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## What will be our new reality of life?

I certainly do not know, nor does any other Earthling. The surging global pandemic, looming economic disasters on scales large and small, passionate political upheavals... today's current list of simultaneous stresses may be unparalleled.

Meanwhile back on the ESA ranch, the Officers, the Board and our various committees are actively addressing the interests of the Society on every front. We are attending closely to our finances. We are well into the process of learning how to now do the many things which the Society does in a virtual world, steeping ourselves in Zoom, webinars, online fairs and the other new and different ways in which the world is now functions. These new realities may very well continue for a lot longer than any of us might prefer. Without question, we ephemerists long for a good old-fashioned, on-the-ground, search-the-booths paper show with thousands of potential treasures to poke through. We long to once again enjoy the camaraderie of others' company. Until that becomes again possible, we are working diligently to provide all our usual member services—and even more—during these difficult times.

Surprisingly perhaps, it is becoming clear that the virtual way of doing things has its pluses as well as its minuses. An online issue of our *Ephemera Journal* gives us the ability to include more articles, longer articles, more images and eventually—if we choose—direct links to other relevant content. And it offers those benefits while saving your Society the costs (and time delays) of printing, envelopes and mailing. As each new *Ephemera Journal* is an important benefit of membership, the private online location of this issue has been given only to members. Also, another reason for developing this method of fulfillment has been to give the ESA team an important learning experience, as it comes to understand where the problems are and where new opportunities may lie. Clearly 2020 America is busily creating new ways of doing things, and the Ephemera Society intends to keep up. Nonetheless, ink-on-paper is of course what we all love best, and next January's issue of the *Ephemera Journal* is slated to be printed and mailed in the usual fashion.

The ESA Board and its committees now meet via Zoom. The Conference Committee and the Programs Committee are exploring ways to offer (perhaps regularly during the year) online show-and-tell and other presentations to our members. Each day we are developing more ideas about how to best keep our Society vital and relevant. Stay tuned for ongoing developments.

It is remarkable to note the extent to which museums and other institutions across the nation—even as we speak—are actively gathering ephemera from 2020's swirling medical and cultural currents... COVID, fast-changing race relations, reconsiderations of policing functions, diametrically opposed political attitudes, and more. Truly, we are living an extraordinary period of history, an era which will be scrutinized and analyzed for decades if not centuries to come. And isn't it remarkable, nowadays, how widely recognized it has become that ephemera is of major historical importance, that ephemera must be hunted, gathered and archived for the enlightenment of future generations? In the 18th or 19th or even the 20th centuries, museums and historians were by and large doing no such thing. Now we know better.

We've come a long way, baby!

Richard Sheaff  
President





## The Niagara Ontario Ephemera Club

John G. Sayers reports...

On the third Tuesday of each month, from September through June, a group of local ephemera collectors gathers in the Board Room of our local Niagara-on-the-Lake Community Centre to explore ephemera. 2019 was our 9<sup>th</sup> year. Given that the collecting interests are diverse, it's not surprising that the topics each month are equally diverse as members take turns presenting their interest and 'finds'. But we all learn more about collecting generally as well as the specific topics.

**Paul C** is a major collector of Charles Dickens material and President of the region's Dickens Fellowship; **Bob K** has a world-class collection of material related to John Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelites; **Marnie T** is a serious collector of modern first edition books and is also a book dealer; **Larry C** is a 50+ year member of the American Philatelic Society and continues to add to his collection of more than 60,000 covers with interesting messages inside; **Richard M** has a significant collection of ephemera related to the War of 1812 and the First War in relation to the Niagara Region (on both sides of the border) and has written books on the subject; and as well as **yours truly** (Ocean Liners) and my **wife Judith** (Mailers and Niagara Military Camp First War material) there are half a dozen others who collect and/or research ephemera.

I believe that as an Ephemera Club we are unique. We don't need to be. If you can find a group of enthusiastic ephemera collectors in your region (say, within a 30-mile radius) it takes a bit of leadership, a tad of time, and a smidgen of enthusiasm to create a recipe for a comparable Club in your area. Happy hunting!



2019 photograph of the main street of historic Niagara-on-the-Lake. Author John G. Sayers, a longtime member and officer of our Society, has written a book, *Secrets of the Great Ocean Liners*, published by The Bodleian Library, Oxford UK, that will be available in November. John has been donating his ocean liner collection in stages to the Bodleian.

## In this Issue...

The cost-saving decision to digitally publish this issue of The Ephemera Journal allows us to provide more space for longer submissions, and to 'catch up' on other articles of general interest.

From our passionate collectors come articles that expand our appreciation for how ephemera supports the interpretation of everyday life.

**Brian Chidester** enjoys a career steeped in the popular culture of the second half of the 20th century and here he shares his personal collection of, and fascination with, images of the Beach Boys as they evolved over the decade and a half of the band's development.

The United States mail has always carried more commercial communication than personal, but one of the most powerful roles it has played is the opportunity for home comfort delivered to our armed forces. David Henkin in *The Postal Age* (2006) argues that the two major social disruptions of the California Gold Rush and The Civil War turned ordinary Americans into letter writers. In every war since the 1860s, combatants and their families have swamped the postal service with their communications. **Dick Sheaff** has, over decades, collected evidence of the ways in which this desire for connection was aided by government policy.

A close second to receiving mail from home, smoking tobacco has been a combatant's best friend - at least since the Great War from 1914 to 1918. **William Velvel Moskoff** reveals how the tobacco habit was aimed at soldiers through postcards.

Postcards led **Carol Mobley** to the strange story of a self-promoting hermit who occupied a Colorado ghost town for decades.

Evidence through the mail inspired both **Henry Scheuer** and **Barry Newton** to delve into the lives of suffragettes Rosalie Gardiner Jones and Rachel Gordon Foster, who supported the passage of the 19th Amendment in ways both startling (a march from Albany NY to Washington DC) and organizational over time (corresponding secretary of a national suffrage organization for four decades).

**Jeremy Rowe** shares his research journey to understand a carte-de-visite of scientist Faraday.

And **John Sayers** urges us to form local groups of ephemera lovers.

We now have a chance to share some of **Margaret Salazar-Porzio's** 2019 keynote comments on the United States as a nation of immigrants, and how that is represented at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History.

And, we can now provide the concluding two sections of **Dale Sauter's** report on Ephemera in Archival Collections (part 1 appeared in The Ephemera Journal Volume 21 Number 2 January 2019).

—Diane DeBlois, editor







Figure 5, a, b and c: (a) An original glossy still from the Paramount film *The Girls on the Beach* (1965) which featured the Beach Boys throughout; (b) an ultra-rare glossy of the band on set with the film's producers; and (c) a vintage still of Annette Funicello backed by the Beach Boys, from the 1965 Disney film *The Monkey's Uncle*. (From the author's collection.)

"Surf-Riders in Waikiki," and bubblegum trading cards of Duke Kahanamoku, a first generation beachboy and eight-time Olympic medalist. Pictures of beachboys with American celebrities such as Bing Crosby, Shirley Temple, and Babe Ruth proliferated. By 1960 their fame was such that Elvis Presley played one in the film *Blue Hawaii*, and included the song "Beachboy Blues" on his soundtrack. The Beach Boys from Los Angeles, by adopting the moniker of their Hawaiian forebears, set in motion the mass popularization of surf culture with that crucial postwar demographic: the teenager. (Figure 2)

Initially, live gigs saw them donning matching Pendleton button-downs in red, navy, grey, and yellow, with album covers and picture sleeves for early hit singles featuring the band in blue, black, and grey plaid shirts. The integration of vernacular surf visuals extended to everything from the marketing and advertising of the band to song titles and subject-matter.

After signing to Capitol Records in 1962, the Beach Boys released a new single, "Surfin' Safari" backed with "Shut Down," the A-side based on the title of a popular Southern California-produced documentary by John Severson, *Surf Safari* (1960). Severson was also the founder and original publisher of *Surfer* magazine, which became the standard-bearer of early sixties design for local teen culture. So iconic were his photographs of surf athletes riding monster waves, that Capitol hired him to photograph the cover of the Beach Boys' 1963 album, *Surfin' U.S.A.* (Figure 3)

Severson's other seminal contribution to the lifestyle's visual culture was his employment of a then-teenage illustrator named Rick Griffin. Griffin's cartoon beatnik character, "Murphy," very quickly spawned

a thousand imitators in decals, ads, and comics by *Surfer* competitors such as *Surf Guide*, *SurfToons*, and *International Surfing*. In one Capitol advertisement from 1964, the label boasted its own bushy-haired Murphy knock-off at the top of a full-page listing for the latest Beach Boys album release. Before long it was the Beach Boys themselves who were being pastiched. (Figure 4)

While hundreds of acts around the world covered Brian Wilson's lyrical teenage fantasies during the early-to-mid-sixties, B-movie studio American International Pictures went one further and gave them the full cinema lounge treatment. The *Beach Party* film series starring Annette Funicello and Frankie Avalon was more or less based on the landscapes, characters, and lifestyles depicted in the Beach Boys catalog. Wilson himself composed the soundtrack to 1964's *Muscle Beach Party*. His collaborators Roger Christian and Gary Usher wrote most of the other soundtracks in the series, while the full Beach Boys band appeared in 1965's Paramount knockoff, *The Girls on the Beach*, and a Disney/Annette vehicle titled *The Monkey's Uncle* (also '65). (Figure 5)

The other major subculture tapped into by the band for its lyrical themes was the hot rod or custom car. The shimmering blue hot rod which graced the Beach Boy' 1964 car-themed LP, *Little Deuce Coupe*, was designed by famed L.A. customizer George Barris. In 1966 Barris built the Beach Boy Buggy for their national



Figure 6: The Beach Boys pose with a row of Beach Boy Buggies outside hot rod guru George Barris's Kustom City in North Hollywood (ca. 1967). (From the author's collection.)

tour, commemorated in a Topps card set of famous TV and music-biz automobiles of the late sixties. (Figures 6 and 7)

The band's 1964 hit single, "Fun Fun Fun" told the tale of a young girl, her T-Bird, and the local hamburger joint where fun-loving teenagers could revel in the freedom of a pre-Vietnam War America. Such drive-ins were a fixture of midcentury urban and suburban



Figure 7: The Beach Boys as musical avatars of custom car culture. (From the author's collection.)

communities. In Greater Los Angeles, some of these remarkable structures, later dubbed "Googie Architecture," were designed by architects Louis Armet and Eldon Davis. Featuring space-age, cantilevered roofs, cheese-cut screens, and blinking neon signage, the firm's masterpiece was a location on Slauson Avenue in Hawthorne called the Wich Stand, for which Wilson composed an unreleased 1964 ode for his side-band, the Survivors. (Figures 8 and 9)

The Googie vibe of "Fun Fun Fun" and "Wich Stand" quickly carried over to the design of the Beach Boys' promotional material of that time, typified by the cover of the band's 1964 *All Summer Long* album. It features a layout inspired by the geometry of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Dutch De Stijl movement. An anthropomorphized sun in the top-left corner echoes the then-popular textiles

of Alexander Girard, an ethnographer and graphic designer who worked for the Herman Miller Co. in the early 1960s. His sun motif was most famously deployed for the accoutrements of the La Fonda

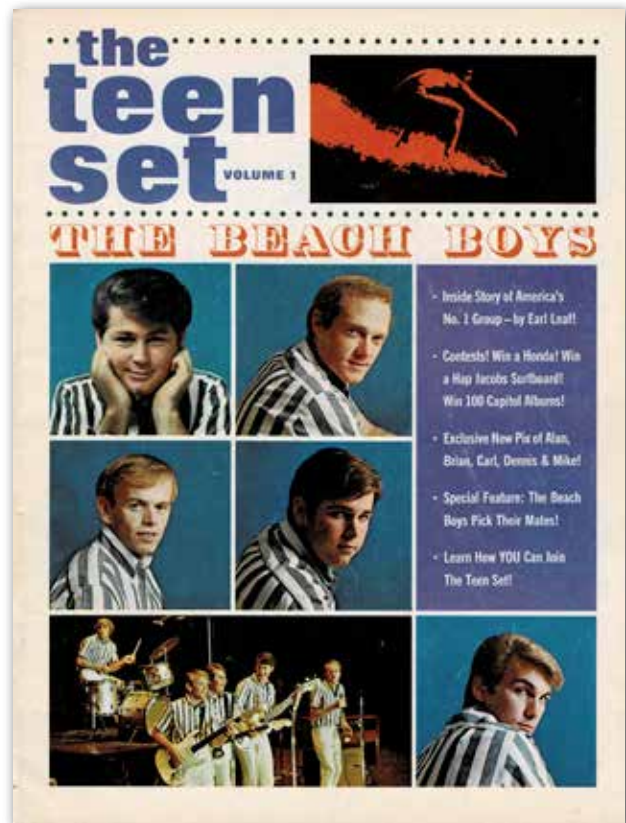


Figure 8: Issue #1 of The Teen Set magazine, published by Capitol Records, was entirely devoted to the Beach Boys. They were featured on the cover in their famous striped shirt stage uniforms. (From the Domenic Priore collection.)



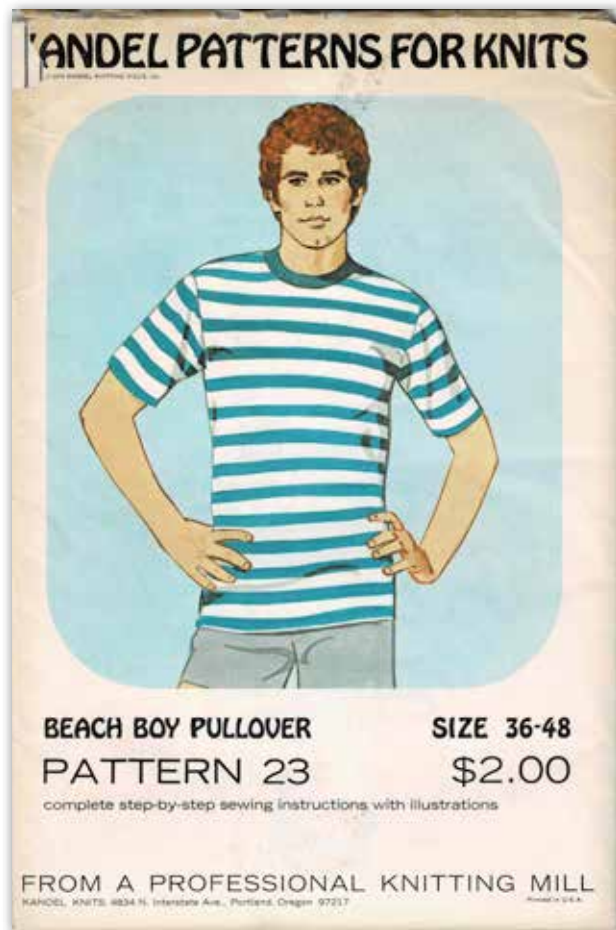


Figure 9: Kandel's Beach Boy Pullover was a popular knit pattern between 1966 and 1972. Ironically, the figure on the package looked more like Jan Berry of rival surf vocal group Jan & Dean than anyone in the actual Beach Boys. (From the author's collection.)

del Sol Cafe in Midtown Manhattan. These celestial faces were likely familiar to Gerard from 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Central and South American folk art, although their iconographic point of origin may have been the alchemical drawings and tarot cards of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe (Figures 11 and 12)

Sometime in 1964 the Beach Boys changed their stage uniforms from Pendleton plaids to ice-cream-striped blue and white button-down shirts. This was the outfit of another Capitol Records singing group, folk music's Kingston Trio. The look was even more closely associated with the barbershop quartet, which had been part of the American entertainment landscape since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Jan & Dean, the main surf music rival to the Beach Boys in the sixties (and an act for whom Wilson wrote half-a-dozen hit songs), had donned the barbershop look for a 1960 TV performance on *American Bandstand*—albeit in red and white stripes.

From 1965 to 1967 the Beach Boys once again changed gears both musically and visually, but this time, in response to dramatic societal change. Music was undergoing a revolution with the advent of the British Invasion and folk-rock. The rise of the Civil

Rights Movement and protests against the Vietnam War, threatened the group's relevance at an existential level. Leader Brian Wilson responded by making each new single by the band a "revolution" in composition, arrangement, and production. The marketing and design teams at Capitol Records, by extension, did their best to keep pace. (Figure 13)

A 1965 advertisement for the *Recorded Live at a Party* LP shows the Boys dressed in the latest midcentury fashions, hanging out in a living room surrounded by teenage girls and acoustic instruments. The pastel colors of the clothing are mirrored in the surrounding text which crystallized the tertiary hues of roadside signage like that of the Wallich's Music City record store on Hollywood's Sunset and Vine and Will Wright's Ice Cream Shop on Sunset Strip. The *Beach Boys Today* cover, also '65, shows the band wearing sleek "mod" sweaters in the muted tones of the mid-decade bossanova craze; and the *Summer Days (and Summer Nights!!!)* LP cover boasts a breezy, nautical image reminiscent of the boat slip intro to Wilson's "California Girls" single.

An experimental side to the band came into focus around the time work began on its next album in December 1965. In one session of what became the *Pet Sounds* LP, Wilson is heard on tape asking engineer Chuck Britz if he can bring a live horse into the recording studio for the purpose of taking humorous pictures. This type of absurdist sensibility ran throughout the psychedelic landscape, with retro Dada, Surrealism, 1920s comic strips, and Vaudeville-era imagery referenced frequently during the late sixties. The comedy duo Laurel and Hardy, for instance, were



Figure 10: An unpublished, in-house Capitol painting of the Beach Boys from 1964. (Courtesy of Capitol Records.)





Figure 11: The Beach Boys' 1964 All Summer Long album cover featured a design style influenced by the Dutch De Stijl art movement of the early 20th century. The celestial sun at the top-left of the package was indicative of a popular motif from midcentury art director, Alexander Girard. (From the author's collection.)



Figure 13: The Beach Boys' transition from surf minstrels to psychedelic avatars began in 1966 with the release of their landmark Pet Sounds album. (Courtesy of Mark London.)

Figure 12: More Girard influence can be seen here on the 45 sleeve of the band's 1967 "Darlin'" single. (From the author's collection.)

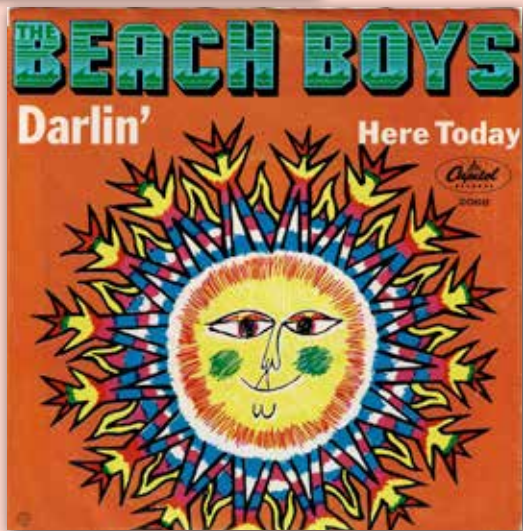


Figure 15: March 1967 advertisement for Wilson's magnum opus, Smile!, which cemented the direction the group would take musically and visually for the next decade. (From the Domenic Priore collection.)

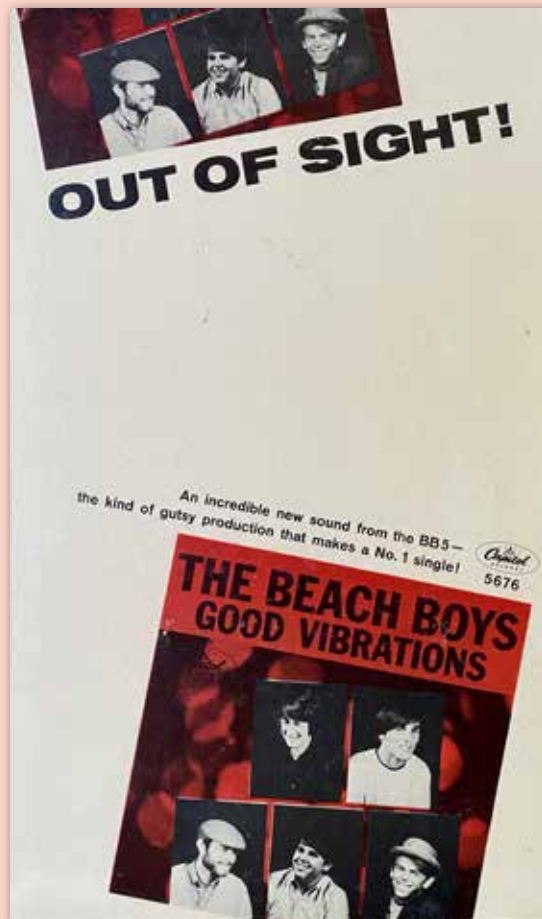


Figure 14: A bold advertising statement for a bold new direction in music for Brian Wilson, ca. 1966. (From the Domenic Priore collection.)





Figure 16: The production of Pop-Art ephemera based on the Beach Boys' image extended to non-sanctioned publications as well, as in this 1967 comic book featuring Brian Wilson on the cover. (From the Domenic Priore collection.)

the subject of several late 1960s blacklight posters, and of one trippy Jan & Dean single of 1968 titled "Laurel & Hardy." An anthology of their best short films—*Laurel and Hardy's Laughing 20s*—was released in 1965, with lobby cards featuring a white horse standing on a piano in the middle of a living room (a fitting replacement for Wilson's eccentric request!).

For the next Beach Boys project, titled *Smile*, Wilson took the band ever further into psychedelic territory. Moroccan tents were erected in the living room of his mansion in Bel Air. Collaborators and bandmates were encouraged to smoke hashish inside and be creative. Wilson also installed a sandbox in the house into which was placed a rehearsal piano where songs with such titles as "Do You Like Worms," "Cabin Essence," and "Love to Say Dada" were written. The purpose, said the artist at the time, was so he could feel the beach beneath his feet while composing. (Wilson also had a stretch limousine at the time, in which, according to producer/friend Terry Melcher, he would drive around alone for novelty's sake.) (Figures 14 and 15)

The song "Vegetables" was at one point slated to be the *Smile* LP's debut single, with Wilson himself going

so far as to pen a related short story, published in the *KRLA Beat* newspaper, based on anthropomorphic vegetable caricatures of his bandmates and collaborator friends. The same Pop-Art wackiness carried over into songs such as "A Day in the Life of a Tree" from 1971, and even into Wilson's own vitamin emporium, the Radiant Radish on Melrose Avenue in West Hollywood, where in the early seventies he was famously spotted working behind the counter in bathrobe and slippers.

Wilson's brand of Pop-Surrealism once again extended beyond the Beach Boys band itself. Jan & Dean, under the pseudonym "Laughing Gravy" (a surreal nom de plume if there ever was one), released a cover of "Vegetables" on White Whale Records in late '67, while the Giant Jellybean Copout, a psychedelic group from NYC, cut the *Smile* knockoff "Awake in a Dream" on Poppy Records, replete with a Salvador Dali-meets-Roy Lichtenstein picture sleeve. A Charlton comic book titled *Go-Go*, a teen romance 'zine in the *Archie Comics* style, even put Wilson on the cover of its June 1967 issue. (Figure 16)

*Smile* signaled a sea-change for the Beach Boys in one other crucial way; its songs and visuals prompted a socially conscious direction that would sustain the band creatively for the next eight years. To tap into this



Figure 17: Van Dyke Parks, lyricist for the *Smile* project and lodestar to Wilson's revolutionary path, released his own experimental masterpiece in 1968, titled *Song Cycle*. (From the author's collection.)

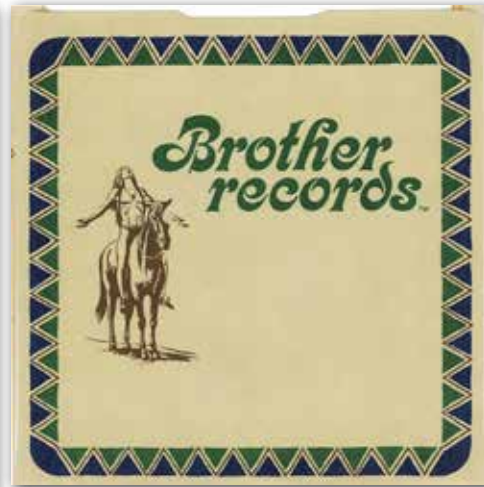


Figure 18, a, b and c: “Appeal to the Great Spirit” (1908), an equestrian statue by artist Cyrus Dallin, was reproduced in hundreds of postcards, prints, and other ephemeral objects during the first half of the 20th century. The Beach Boys deployed the image for their Brother Records logo in 1967. They also used James Earle Fraser’s “End of the Trail” (1925), another iconic depiction of a Native American, on the cover of their Surf’s Up (1971) LP and on hippie-era concert t-shirts.

underground energy, Wilson worked with a songwriter/poet named Van Dyke Parks who wrote the album’s lyrics and became, for all intents and purposes, the lodestar of Wilson’s revolutionary path. (Figure 17) Painter/illustrator Frank Holmes, a friend of Parks’ from the days when the two frequented the Insomniac Cafe, a Beat Generation coffeehouse in Hermosa Beach, drew the cover art for *Smile*, as well as illustrations for an inner-sleeve booklet, which bore the influence of Chicago Neo-Surrealist art collective, the Hairy Who.

The boldness of Wilson’s direction on this project was encapsulated in an advertisement for the pre-*Smile* single and album centerpiece, “Good Vibrations,” which read: “Out of sight! An incredible new sound from the BB5—the kind of gutsy production that makes a No. 1 single!” (The prediction proved true.) The inventiveness of modern sound design and art direction continued to influence the look of Beach Boys product and ephemera as well. A De Stijl-influenced 45 sleeve of *Smile* single, “Heroes & Villains,” harked back to the band’s *All Summer Long* of 1964; a picture sleeve

for the single, “Darlin’” (1967) featured another Girard-style celestial sun on its cover; and the LP cover of *Smiley Smile* (also ‘67) featured a playful jungle scene out of Henri Rousseau.

The success of “Good Vibrations” in Fall 1966 and the overall success of Wilson’s songwriting and production between 1961 and ‘66 (which included thirty-three Top 100 hit singles), afforded him and the Beach Boys an opportunity to start their own label in 1967. Dubbed “Brother Records,” it gave the band ownership of its own master tapes for the first time and is remembered for its high-contrast reproduction of artist Cyrus Dallin’s sculpture, *Appeal to the Great Spirit*, as the imprint’s logo. The image, of an American Indian on horseback with arms outstretched to the sky, had already been reproduced in numerous cheap framed prints, postcards, and other ephemera for decades prior to its deployment by the Beach Boys. Other young artists of the era made use of the image too. It appeared on the hippie designer/illustrator Stanley “Mouse” Miller’s poster for the 1967 Sierra Club Wilderness Conference, and the cover of



an early 1970s LP by the UK band Acapulco Gold. (Figures 18 and 19)

In 1969, amidst a serious dip in record sales, the Beach Boys left Capitol Records after eight years and signed with Warner Brothers, who agreed to distribute their LPs and singles through the Brother label. 1970's *Sunflower* would hit just #151 on the *Billboard* album charts—an all-time low for the band. Musically, however, it proved a high-water mark in this transitional period, and the album sleeve interior featured a Pop-Art photograph of Brian Wilson wearing a Good Humor ice

cream hat. A Dutch picture sleeve for the 1972 single "You Need a Mess of Help to Stand Alone," with its comic strip lettering emblazoned over clouds of smoke lifting from the inside of an Uncle Sam top-hat, was probably the last time any of the band's product bore the stamp of Pop-Art. (Andy Warhol apparently tapped Wilson around this time to provide the soundtrack for one of his films, though nothing came of it.)

By 1972, Wilson's role in Beach Boys projects had greatly diminished. He was having personal issues with mental illness, drug and alcohol abuse, and his

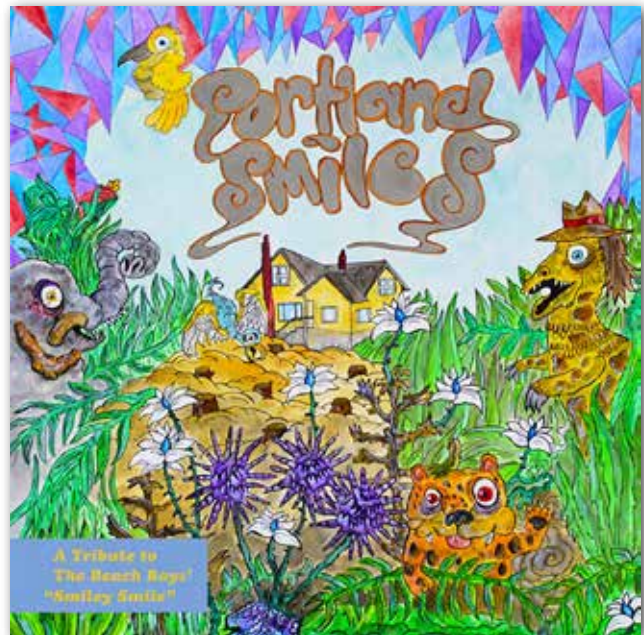


Figure 19, a, b, c and d: The proliferation of Modern art styles influencing the Beach Boys' product reached an apex in 1967 with Capitol illustrator George Osaki's Smiley Smile LP cover. It was based on the whimsical forest scenes of late 19th century naive painter, Henri Rousseau. The Osaki image had legs too! Besides the original version, it worked as a two-color image in the uberrare Taiwanese pressing, and was recycled in Venezuela for the next Beach Boys album, Wild Honey, despite the band having other artwork for the American LP. In 2013, a host of underground rock bands pastiched the Smiley Smile music and design style for a new generation, turning out the Portland Smiles tribute album. (From the author's collection.)

continued on page 12





Figure 20: A hand-drawn 45 sleeve by Brian Wilson for his cryptic “Mt. Vernon and Fairway: A Fairy Tale in Five Parts” EP. (From the author’s collection.)

relationships with bandmates and family members had become abusive. Contributions from the composer to the 1971 LP *Surf’s Up* and to 1972’s *Carl and the Passions—So Tough* were minimal—just two new titles per album—with the other members picking up the slack.

In the latter half of 1972, the Beach Boys moved to the Netherlands. The idea was to get Wilson away from familiar surroundings and revive his creativity. However, the next LP entitled *Holland*, again contained just two new Wilson tracks. Most of Wilson’s time was spent on a narrative concept album based on the story of a mysterious Pied Piper who makes nightly visits to a family of princes and princesses, bringing them magic music through their transistor radios... so long as they believe in him. This thinly-veiled autobiographical tale of Wilson’s relationship to his bandmates was narrated on tape by Beach Boys manager and sometime lyricist Jack Rieley, interspersed with musical segments, some of which were new Wilson compositions, others re-recordings of classics from the 1950s. The tapestry of material was fantasy-laden, absurd, and child-like—a throwback to the *Smile* project of 1966-67—and in some ways, even more whimsical. The band regarded it as a novelty at best and pared the work down to an EP’s length, exhuming the cover tunes, and releasing it as a bonus 45 titled, “Mt. Vernon and Fairway: A Fairy Tale

in Five Parts” with the *Holland* LP. (Figure 20)

In 1974, Capitol Records released a 2-LP Beach Boys compilation, *Endless Summer*, which shot to #1 on the *Billboard* album charts. This led to a revival of interest in the band, but it was fueled by nostalgia rather than the expectation (as in the aftermath of *Smile*) of something new. In that spirit, the leftover Doo-Wop tunes recorded for Wilson’s “Fairy Tale” were recycled and re-recorded for the next Beach Boys album: an “oldies” project titled *15 Big Ones*. To finish it, the band brought in Eugene Landy, a round-the-clock psychiatrist who would control every aspect of Wilson’s life and ensure his productivity. Moral implications aside, the tepid look of the *15 Big Ones* package signified a more conservative direction. This was the tone for the remainder of the 1970s and on through the eighties and early nineties when President Ronald Reagan would dub the Beach Boys, “America’s Band.” Dissatisfied fans reacted to this anti-progressive direction with a groundswell of

unofficial Beach Boy products — bootleg albums, fanzines, comic art, and tributes by underground acts in punk, new wave, and alternative rock. The visual ephemera that resulted from *that* movement is a subject for another story.

**Brian Chidester** is an art historian, author, curator, documentary filmmaker, and journalist. He has written numerous articles and reviews for *The American Prospect*, *The Atlantic*, *L.A. Weekly*, *Paste*, *The Surfer’s Journal*, and *The Village Voice*. He co-authored the book *Pop Surf Culture: Music, Design, Film, and Fashion from the Bohemian Surf Era* (Santa Monica Press) with Domenic Priore, and has been a segment producer of documentaries for the BBC, PBS, Showtime, and the Carl Wilson Foundation. Chidester and Priore recently co-curated the art exhibition “Appeal to the Great Spirit: Designing the Beach Boys” for the Brooklyn Antiquarian Book and Ephemera Fair, and Chidester is currently producing a feature length documentary about Eden Ahbez, composer of the American standard “Nature Boy.” He lives in New York City.





# “Free” Mail for the Troops

BY DICK SHEAFF

Beginning with the Revolutionary War, the United States has generally given preferential treatment to letters sent by members of the armed forces during wartime and sometimes, between wars as well. In the pre-stamp era, it was recognized that soldiers on duty in the field might well be short of cash and unable to prepay for their postage; later, when adhesive stamps were the norm, forces operating in far flung locations and without nearby postal facilities might not have the cash or postage stamps on hand.

## The Revolutionary War to 1865

American soldiers in the field were allowed to send and receive letters for free even before the country became a nation. It is clear from existing covers that from the outset, the patriot military leaders and officers of the Revolutionary War had their letters—official and personal—delivered without payment of postage (see Figure 1). On July 5, 1775, while Washington’s army was headquartered there, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress considered a resolution that would have extended the privilege to every soldier: “that all letters directed to any person or sent from any person belonging to the Continental Army,



Figure 1. Dated September 26, 1775, this letter from patriot Major Timothy Bigelow was handed to a military courier a few miles above Fort Western (now Augusta) in Maine, during Benedict Arnold’s disastrous expedition to attack Quebec. The letter was delivered to Washington’s headquarters along with a packet of other messages, and presumably put into the mail at Cambridge as requested on its face, carried by post rider to Isaiak Thomas in Worcester and delivered to Bigelow’s wife Anna. The cover was entitled to go without charge both as a cover addressed to postmaster Isaiak Thomas, and as a Continental Army soldier’s letter.



Figure 2. A “Belonging to the Army” marking, as required, on a free mail to an artillery officer in Mexico during the 1846-48 war following the US annexation of Texas in 1845. (Richard Frajola’s website)

now stationed at the Massachusetts Colony, be delivered to the person to whom they belong, free of postage, until further Acts of Congress or some future House of Representatives.” This measure, however, was “ordered to subside”, i.e. it was tabled. However, a Continental Congress resolution of January 9, 1776 decreed that no postage need be paid on any letters to or from private soldiers of the Continental Army, if authorized by the commanding officer. (It is noteworthy that this permitted free mail transmission both to and from any soldier; free mail from others to soldiers was not subsequently allowed until the war in Vietnam.) Another resolution on February 16, 1776 corrected an obvious oversight, officially extending the franking privilege to officers of the Continental Army as well.

After the end of the Revolutionary War, American soldiers were not again allowed free franking of mail until WWII. Prior to 1856 all mail in the United States could be—and generally was—sent collect, so soldiers serving in the field did the same. (To emphasize, I am here not examining the various mail privileges of commanding or staff officers or War Department officials, a whole other topic; nor free prisoner of war or mailed ballot letters.)

During the War of 1812, all mail to and from soldiers was sent collect (including, it is believed, commanding or staff officer mail). A circular from

continued on page 14



Figure 3. An 1864 Civil War cover sent by a military surgeon to family in Vermont, with 3c postage due to be collected from the recipient.



Figure 4. An illustrated Civil War military cover sent from Georgetown, DC to Philadelphia, 3c postage paid by stamp by the sender.



Figure 5. A patriotic Civil War cover sent from Old Point Comfort, VA to New Hampshire, with 3c postage due to be collected from the recipient.

by Richard Frajola entitled *War of 1812 Special mail Routes and Rates*, which focused primarily on the 1815 War Surcharge Rates, mentions that the free postage privilege for military mail was modified in 1815.

During the **Mexican-American War** (April 1846–February 1848), the rules were changed. Post Office officials traveling with the armies had great difficulty collecting postage from soldiers in the field for letters sent to them. As a result, free postage was granted for mail *coming to* soldiers . . . but not mail *sent by* soldiers; a seemingly backwards approach by modern practices. It was required that such in-coming mail be endorsed “Belonging to the Army” (see Figure 2). This free postage authorized by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1847 (the same date that Congress authorized the issuance of the first U.S. adhesive postage stamps) was rather sweeping: “All letters, newspapers, or other packets, not exceeding 1 ounce in weight, directed to any officer, musician, or private of the Army of the United States in Mexico, or at any post or place on the frontier of the United States, bordering on Mexico, shall be conveyed in the mail free of postage during the present war and for three months after the same may be terminated.” (This directive suggests the apparent importance of musicians to the Army of the day, and leaves one wondering about the status of mail to and from all the other ranks between “private” and “officer.” Perhaps in that era all ranks below officer were called “private”?)

Nineteenth century mail sent by military officers to superiors or to War Department personnel without postage and inscribed “On Service” traveled free, not because the sender had the free frank privilege but because the recipient did.

Figure 6. An 1898 Spanish-American War soldier's letter, sent 2c postage collect in an envelope provided to troops by the YMCA.



the General Post Office dated April 12, 1815, signed by Postmaster General R.J. Meigs granted free frank privileges to certain department heads and others, but not to lower ranked soldiers. There was some provision for free military mail during the War of 1812, but examples are scarce. I have seen an unpaid cover from military activity near St. Augustine, Florida marked “Public Service.” An exhibit





Figure 7. A Spanish-American War officer's cover sent 2c postage collect to Massachusetts, with a Postage Due stamp applied and cancelled upon receipt.

### The Civil War to 1917

During the Civil War, soldiers were not allowed to send or receive letters without charge, but *were* allowed to transfer payment on their letters to the recipient. Thus, unstamped letters from Civil War soldiers usually bear a "Due 3" marking (see Figure 3). Civil War soldiers could simply prepay with stamps if they wished, and many did when they could (see Figure 4). War Department General Order No. 490, August 3, 1861 required that each letter bear the words "Soldier's Letter" and be signed by a unit Major or, in common practice, his delegate, along with unit information (see Figure 5). Sailors were likewise granted the franking privilege in 1862, with "Sailor's Letter" and officer signature required.

During the **Spanish-American War**, the regulations formulated during the Civil War remained in effect. Soldiers could send mail collect, but not free (see Figure 6). The officer's signature on a piece of soldier mail was not an entitlement for free postage, but a confirmation that the letter had originated from a soldier in the field, and thus was allowed to travel collect (see Figure 7).

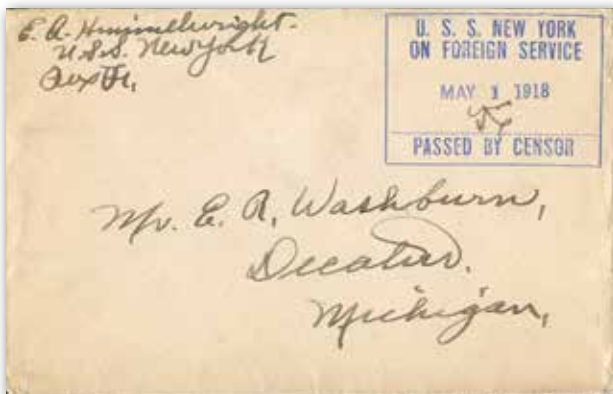


Figure 9. WWI letter from the USS New York (BB 34), a battleship stationed at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands, believed to have been the only US ship to sink a German submarine, albeit by accidental ramming.

### World War I & Following

The United States entered WWI on April 6, 1917, and Congress authorized free postage for overseas military on October 3. "Letters written and mailed by soldiers, sailors, and marines assigned to duty in a foreign country engaged in the present war may be mailed free of postage, subject to such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the Postmaster General" (see Figures 8, 9, 10).<sup>1</sup> The earliest piece of American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) mail recorded (from a hospital unit newly arrived in England before the military free frank was authorized) is said to have been dated on May 18, 1917 and sent collect, with 2c postage due paid by the recipient.<sup>2</sup> WWI AEF military mail sent before free postage was authorized was likewise delivered postage due, collected upon delivery; or was franked with adhesive stamps (generally with U.S. and either French or English stamps, given the locations of most AEF personnel at the time).

In May 1918, the War Department assumed responsibility for overseas post offices. Military personnel replaced the Post Office Department employees who had been sent to operate the field stations. The Military Postal Express Service (MPES) was the first all-military mail service in American history (see Figures 11, 12).



Figure 8. 1918 WWI letter from a sailor in France to Portland, OR



Figure 10. 1919 WWI Army "Nurses Mail / O.A.S." (On Active Service) letter from France to California



Figure 11. In May of 1918, the Army in France set up the M.P.E.S. (Military Postal Express Service). This officer's letter traveled via M.P.E.S. to Indiana.

## World War II

My primary interest is in WWII when members of the military were allowed to send first class letters and postcards for free to any place where the United States mail service operated. Free postage was not authorized for airmail, parcel post, special delivery, registered mail or for insurance coverage. This allowance, for "U.S. military or Naval forces on active duty," was created by an Act of Congress on March 27, 1942; the first day it went into effect is considered to be April 1, 1942 (see Figures 21, 22).<sup>3</sup> According to *Linn's Weekly Stamp News*, April 23, 1942, the first known serviceman's free cover to go through the New York City post office was sent by Army Corporal Caesar Provenzano on Thursday, April 2, 1942.



Figure 12. The metal duplex handstamp used by the M.P.E.S. at APO 753 in Limoges, Haute-Vienne, France. (National Postal Museum, shown reversed)

This WWII free franking for letters was repealed by Act of Congress on December 28, 1945, effective December 31, 1947.<sup>4</sup>

The Post Office regulations on the matter, first published on April 1, required that each such free military letter "bear in the upper right corner the word FREE" and in the upper left corner the name of the sender, rank or rating, and branch of service.

It was a widely held belief that "the word FREE" was required to be in the *handwriting* of the sender, and was so mentioned in *Linn's* at the time, but I have been unable to pin down a regulation which specifies this. In any event,

right from the beginning, thousands of servicemen felt it was their prerogative to place something more interesting and personal in that corner. Many chose to express their creativity by rendering the word "Free" (with or without additional embellishment) as a hand-drawn cartoon or other image, a press-printed indicia, an adhesive stamp/label, a rubber stamp impression, a mimeographed image or a cutout from some magazine. Such personal graphics were especially widespread during 1942, early in the war. Things settled down considerably after that, but a variety of senders—many obviously philatelists—continued to use individualized indicia throughout the war. For some reason, a disproportionately large percentage of such creative efforts were the work of Naval postal clerks, presumably a Naval Enlisted Classification which tended to attract stamp collectors. A new flurry of such unorthodox markings blossomed as the war was winding down, often as reappearances of various markings and adhesive labels which had first appeared back in 1942.



Figure 13. An interesting special cancellation on a free "Sailor's mail" postcard sent at Christmas time 1919 from the USS Madawaska, bringing son Clyde back to the USA. The Madawaska was a seized German liner used by the USA as a WWI transport ship.

The ambiguity about a requirement that the word "Free" be written "in his/her own handwriting" sprang first from a comment in April of 1942 by Third Assistant Postmaster General Roy North, to the effect that the requirement was being "contemplated."<sup>5</sup> A year later, in the March 1943 issue of *Naval Covers* magazine, it was stated that "The Post Office Department has printed a long list of regulations in regard to the use of the 'Free' franking privilege of men in our armed forces. Most of these regulations are





Figure 14. An envelope for a sheet of labels patented by Ernest Dudley Chase of Boston in 1917. Chase became one of the largest US producers of greeting cards, and author of the 1927 book, *The Romance of Greeting Cards*. These labels were widely used during WWI to say “I’m proud because my loved one Serves Uncle Sam”.

restrictions, and one of them bans the use of the printed or stamped word ‘Free’ ...it must be written.” As discussed by Larry Sherman in his 2002 book *The United States Post Office in WWII* (p.179), a writer in the October 1943 issue of *The War Cover Philatelist* emphasized that “the word FREE must be in the handwriting of the writer of the letter.” Perhaps it was indeed required for that word “FREE” at the upper right be in the handwriting of the sender, and some authorities said so. But although some officials were reported to be contemplating making it an explicit requirement, that may never have come to pass. It would seem that irregular usages were frowned upon but not officially prohibited, unless by some regulation which I have not yet been able to find (see Figures 23, 24).

Confusion reigned about exactly what was and was not permissible in the upper right corner, as not only individual soldiers but also military camps and units, private individuals, and Red Cross chapters created irregular “Free” labels, postcards and pre-printed envelopes for the



Figure 15. WWI soldier mail from APO (Army Post Office) 752 in Marseille, France.

convenience of soldiers. Examples with a handwritten “Free” added to a printed or drawn version are commonplace, as many senders strove to be compliant with the unclear regulations.

One last factor adding to the confusion of exactly what was legit is the fact that, as ever, many servicemen were all too happy to flout any regulations they could, and many a stamp or cover collector served in uniform. (See Figures 25 to 33).

The images with this article offer a visual overview of the range of non-ordinary markings used during WWII. I have not attempted a definitive showing of the numerous creations of certain dedicated, creative free-frankers such as Walter L. Czuby (cachet and indicia designer, publisher, member of the National Cachet

Society, Registered Cachet Director #RCD206, who also used the identifications “Zoo-Bay” and “ZB” - see Figures 37 & 38), William S. Linto, Jacques Minkus, and others.

### WWII Military “Free” Adhesive Labels

The idea of creating an adhesive label for the convenience of senders of “FREE” mail sprang to a number of minds. One of the earliest and most widely used was the creation of Air Corpsman Leon B. Noory, a cadet in bombardier training at the Albuquerque Advanced Flying School. These labels were printed in sheets of 50 (see Figure 51), ten rows of five, rouletted 13 1/2. The labels were shepherded through the production process by A. M. Babcock, an art



Figure 16. A US military envelope sent in 1936, postage due paid by the recipient, from Shanghai, China. American Marines had been stationed in China since the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. In 1937 the Japanese invaded northern China, and from 1937-1941 US “China Marines”—principally the 4th Marine Regiment—protected US interests in the American Sector of the International Settlement in Shanghai.



Figure 17. 1938 Sailor's Mail letter sent from the supply ship USS Bridge (AF-1) at Shanghai, China.

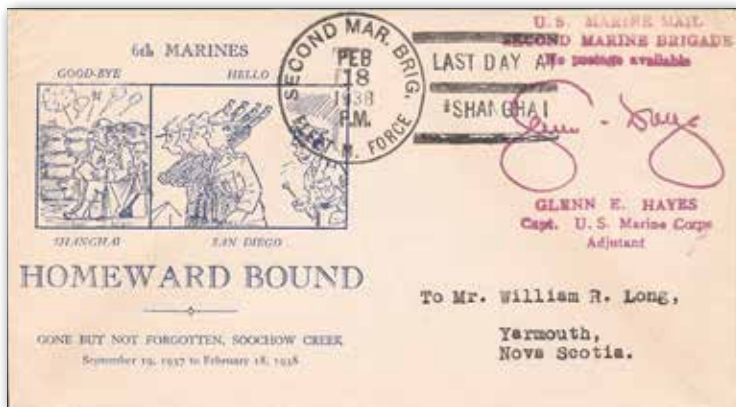


Figure 18. The US Second Marine Brigade had been in Shanghai during the latter months of 1937, and in February 1938 began relocating back to San Diego.



Figure 19. "Whoever possesses Iceland holds a pistol firmly pointed at England, America, and Canada," Winston Churchill. Recognizing that control of Iceland determined control of the North Atlantic, Canadian and then British troops were stationed there early in the war to guard against a German occupation. In 1941, although the United States had not yet entered the War, an arrangement was made to send the hastily organized US 1st Marine Brigade (Provisional) to defend Iceland, freeing the British soldiers to fight the Germans elsewhere. Those Marines were stationed in Iceland from 16 June 1941—25 March 1942.

director at the Albuquerque advertising firm of Babcock & Borough, which also printed them.<sup>6</sup>

They were sold for 10¢ per sheet of 50, first recorded used on April 18, 1942, and widely distributed before the authorities clamped down. A sample sheet with an accompanying letter was sent to various military posts, and orders quickly came in. The producers of the label also sent a sheet to the office of the Postmaster General in Washington, expecting to receive his blessing. The Post Office Department, however, was not at all happy to have else somebody else selling "stamps" to put on mail. Use of any such adhesive "POSTAGE FREE" labels was explicitly prohibited by the POD on April 25, 1942, when Acting Third Postmaster General Roy M. North ruled that "The stickers are in similitude of and approximately the same size as some postage stamps and would cause confusion when attached to the outside of letters...I, therefore, regret to say that approval cannot be given to their use in the manner desired."

When that cease and desist response was received, distribution and sale of the Noory labels was immediately stopped, but by then some 3,257 sheets (162,850 labels) had already been sent to four Army camps. The remainder of 1,000 sheets was purchased by George W. Linn for future collectors.

The August 29, 1942 issue of *Collier's* magazine ran a sidebar in full color with twelve cartoon "Free" images drawn by Gola H. Sebenar of the Second Armored Division (Figures 57-59).<sup>7</sup> The magazine said that Sebenar had begun creating such cartoons for friends, and had become so swamped with requests for them that he was planning to print gummed and perforated versions for distribution. Meanwhile, said *Collier's*, any member of the armed forces was encouraged to "cut out and paste them on his letters home".

This was, of course, against regulations. Sebenar's plans for perforated labels never materialized, but *used* examples of the *Collier's* labels—cut out, pasted and mailed—can be found. By about mid-1943, postal authorities had pretty much clamped down on most unauthorized printed or drawn ways to indicate "Free" at the upper left, though examples — especially hand-drawn ones — persisted throughout the war. And late in the war as well as in the few years following, various unauthorized and philatelic "Free" markings blossomed again. These included certain perforated and gummed labels which had been quashed earlier in the war, and certain rubber-stamped markings from Navy ships.

There is a certain distinction to be made regarding the postal usage of "FREE" labels in the early days of 1942. The most interesting, and the





Figure 20. The Eagle Squadron was a unit (actually, 3 units) of American pilots flying surreptitiously in England with the RAF, before the USA had officially entered the war. They flew British Spit-fires and Hurricanes. Their boxing eagle unit patch design was created by Walt Disney Productions. This 1941 envelope is the only reported Eagle Squadron cover with a cachet. The imprinted British "O.H.M.S." ("On His Majesty's Service") legend was crossed out and replaced with "O.A.S." ("On American Service"), and the Royal Mail applied a British military "On Service" / "Postage Free" cancellation. (Ex-Sherman)



Figure 21. A WWII sailor mail envelope from the Navy hospital in Pearl Harbor, sent 12 days after Pearl Harbor and allowed to pass through the mails without fee although free mail for the military was not to be authorized for another several months.



Figure 22. This soldier mail cover from Australia was sent collect, a few weeks before WWII free mail was enacted.



Figure 23. A 1942 cover with one of the many convenient — though "illegal" — pre-printed FREE markings.

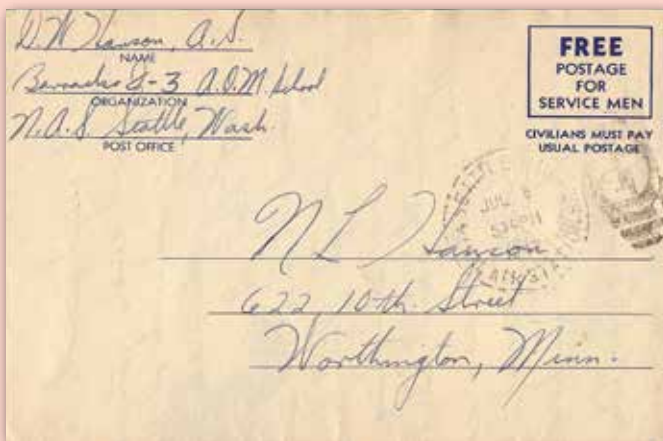


Figure 24. An unusual printed FREE marking that additionally points out that civilians are not entitled to free mail.



Figure 25. Some all-over cartoon covers are outstanding. This one seems to announce that Corporal Weinert is about to go on leave, perhaps to his nearby family in Tennessee.





Figure 26. A hand-drawn 1942 cover from a soldier in California to another who is in a Texas hospital.

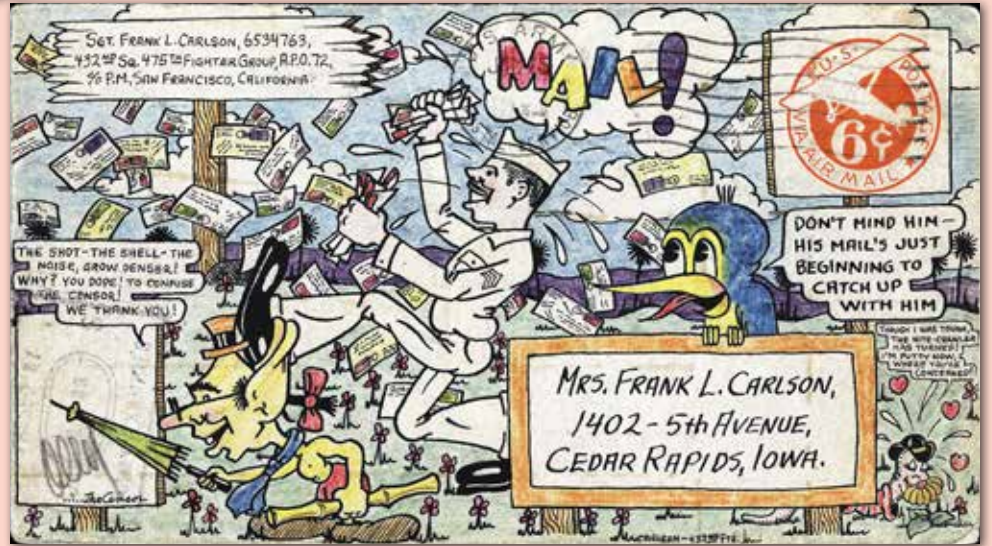


Figure 27. Frank Carlson was an illustrator before, during and after the war.



Figure 28. Another excellent Carlson illustrated cover, from near the end of his days as a soldier.



Figure 29. Naval sailor Kiminski may not have been a terrific cartoonist, but his cover is a wonderful period piece.





Figure 30. This printed design was copyrighted by Al Fertig of Los Angeles, likely early in the war before the military came down hard on FREE markings that were not in personal handwriting. This one was used by a post chaplain in 1945.

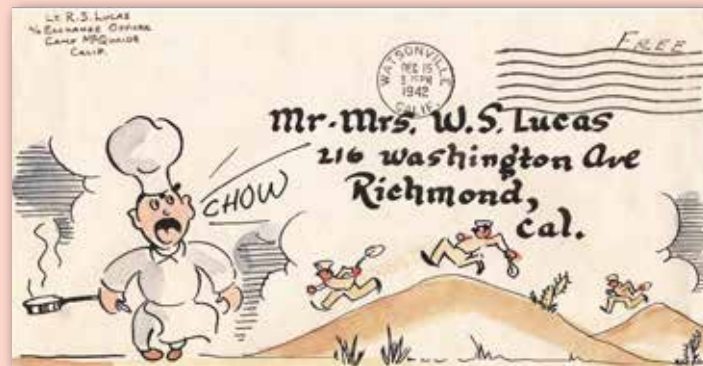


Figure 31. Lieutenant Lucas created quite a few nice cartoon covers.



Figure 32. Some soldiers perennially found themselves behind an eight-ball.

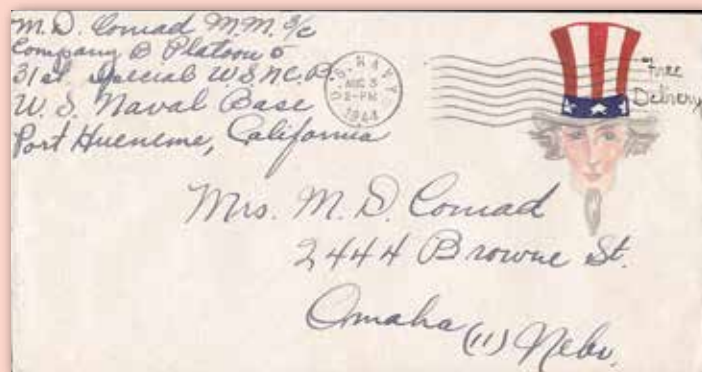


Figure 33. Free mail thanks to Uncle Sam.



Figure 34. A 1943 postcard with a combination "Free" and "V-For-Victory" handstamp marking.



Figure 35. This bomber group Corporal Molnar created an interesting series of covers featuring pasted-on airplane images.



Figure 36. A 1944 all-over design sent from one Naval reservist to another.





Figure 37. The creator of this graphic cover, Walter Czuby, is an entire story by himself. During the course of WWII he created a seemingly endless variety of cachets and indicia. He produced this Schicklegruber all-over design in many different colors.



Figure 38. Another Czuby creation, sent through the mails to Czuby himself (probably by request).



Figure 39. An unused FREE envelope, probably from early in the war, displaying "V-For-Victory" both as a graphic and as Morse Code.

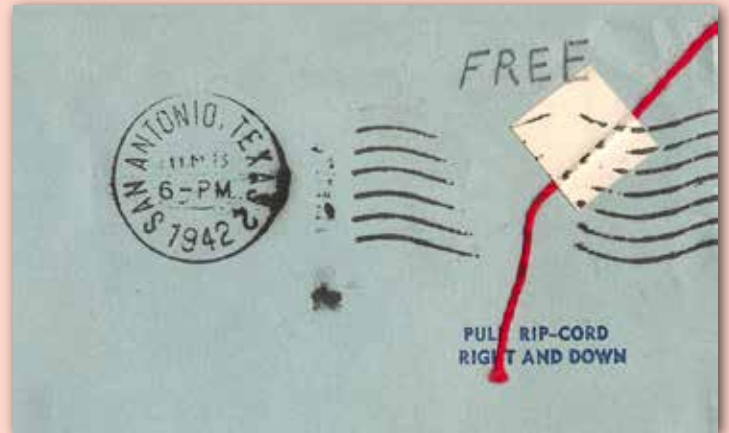


Figure 40. This unique "pull rip-cord" to open envelope is found used from various bases. One version has printed on it, "From inventor to YOU — Stationary by GORN-EAU---1828 N. St. Mary's — San Antonio, Texas". An ad in a College Station, Texas newspaper reads in part: "Remember your Rip-Cord! Get the famous GORN-EAU stationary distinctly designed for Texas Aggie."



Figure 41. A 1943 printed patriotic envelope which is additionally embellished with and applied Air Forces sticker.



Figure 42. Cartoonist "East Coast Lefty" was a man named Walter Lupton.



Figure 43. A WWII soldier-created "Free" indicia drawing.





Figure 44. The note on this cover from New Guinea states: "No postage stamps available on this island. Addressee will pay airmail fee". Postage due stamps were applied.

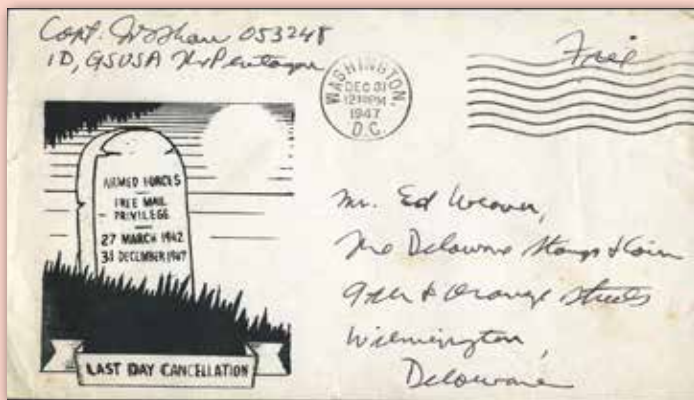
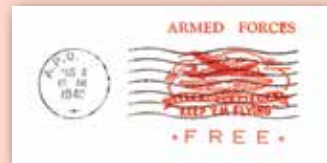
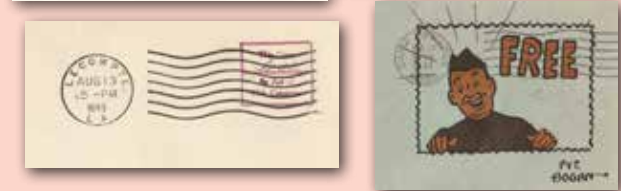


Figure 48. A cachet created to note the last day of WWII free soldier mail, 12 December 1947.



Figures 45-46-47. An array of highly individualistic, creative WWII "Free" markings.





Figure 49. In the 1942 early days of WWII free soldier mail, before it was made clear that privately produced, stamp-like labels were not to be allowed, many were created. This one features both “V-For-Victory” and “Remember Pearl Harbor”.



Figure 50. A paper banner promoting a series of five patriotic adhesive labels which were widely used throughout WWII, even after they had been declared illegal.



Figure 53. Two of the illegal Noory labels used in 1943 in a “V” (for victory) arrangement.



Figure 55. An unusual patriotic label showing an eagle, a ship and an airplane.

Figure 51. The story of these labels by Air Corps cadet Leon B. Noory is discussed in the text. The printing at the top of the Full sheet of 50 reads “Gay and Colorful Designs on letters mailed from the U. S. Armed Forces make the Home-folks feel good.” The bottom reads “These stamps are fully protected by copyright and patent applied for — All rights reserved. Re-order from Babcock & Borough, Albuquerque, N.M.”



Figure 52. A highly illegal “stamp” created by a Pittsburgh stamp dealer, quickly outlawed by the Post Office Department, and confiscated.



Figure 54. There were a variety of labels produced for the use of the various branches of the service . . . sailors, soldiers, marines, air corpsmen, etc.



Figure 56. A 1940 “Free” label improvised using the selvage of a genuine issued postage stamp.





Figure 57. A privately produced label used together with a trimmed picture cut out of a magazine or other printed source.



Figure 59. One example of a Sebenar label cut out of Collier's and used on a 1942 cover.

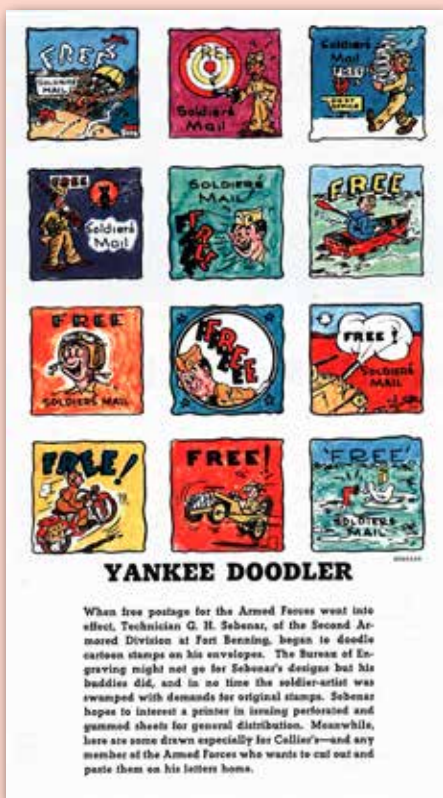


Figure 58. This is the sidebar feature in the August 29, 1942 issue of Collier's magazine, featuring twelve cartoon "Free" images drawn by Gola H. Sebenar of the Second Armored Division. It encouraged servicemen to cut them out and use on their mail.



Figure 60. A personal cartoon cover created by Gola Sebenar in 1942 (courtesy of Skip Briggs).

Figure 61. In 1944 President Franklin Roosevelt—an ardent stamp collector—suggested that a label for free servicemen mail be created, and submitted one of his famous quickie design sketches. Craftsmen at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing obediently did their best to render his concept as an engraved stamp, creating this essay. The Post Office Department strongly resisted, and the proposed stamp never came to be.



Figure 64. A 1953 military letter from Korea to the USA. "PL609" was the 1950 Public Law which established the terms for free soldier mail during the Korean War.



Figure 63. A rather unique free soldier airmail cartoon rubber stamp marking.



Figure 62. A wide range of cartoon rubber stamps, many including the phrase "Hubba-Hubba", were popular amongst US Korean War military personnel. The origin of "Hubba-Hubba" is murky, but such usage on letters meant "Please Hurry!"





Figure 65. A letter cancelled (likely by the addressee) on the last day of fighting during the Korean War, the day that the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed. Free soldier mail was continued through June 30, 1955. The USS Bairoko (CVE-115) was an escort carrier, whose planes flew hundreds of missions against North Korean and Chinese positions.



Figure 66. According to the letter in this envelope sent from Da Nang, Vietnam, 1 September 1965 was the first day soldiers were allowed to mail letters to the USA without paying postage.



Figure 67. Military Police Spec 4 James Leonardo generated a number of interesting cover markings and indicia from Pleiku, Vietnam during 1967 and 1968. A historian and archivist before the war, he has written several books, including *The Introduction of Adhesive Postage Stamps in Iowa, 1845-1853*.



Figure Vietnam 68. A 1966 Vietnam custom "FREE" marking (which does not bear the required handwritten "Free") from Tan Son Nhut Air Base.



Figure 69. A 1969 cover sent by an American PFC from Hué, Vietnam which was assessed for post-age due because it was sent to a foreign country, Belgium.



Figure 70. Toward the end of the Vietnam War, many letters traversed the postal systems without re-receiving any postmark at all.



Figure 71. UNPROFOR was formed in February 1992, assigned to peacekeeper duties in Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegovina (the former Yugoslavia); its mandate ended in March 1995. This cover originated in Kiseljak, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

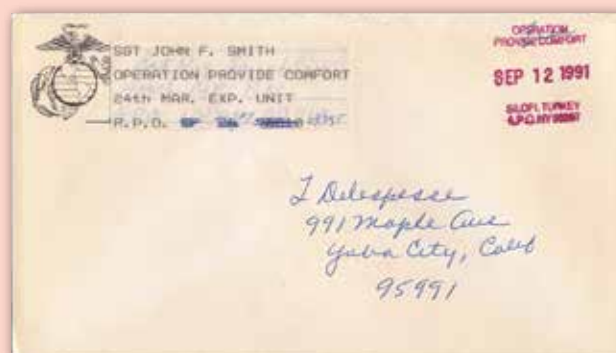


Figure 72. Operation Provide Comfort began in April 1991, to aid fleeing Kurds in Northern Iraq. This cover originated in Zaku, Iraq.





Figure 73. Operation Desert Shield (2 August 1990 – 17 January 1991) was undertaken to protect Saudi oil fields in Kuwait from attack by Iraq. The subsequent combat phase became Operation Desert Storm (17 January 1991 – 28 February 1991).



Figure 74. A Desert Shield cachet converted to a Desert Storm cachet, sent from a hospital APO.



Figure 75. Operation Desert Storm military cover.

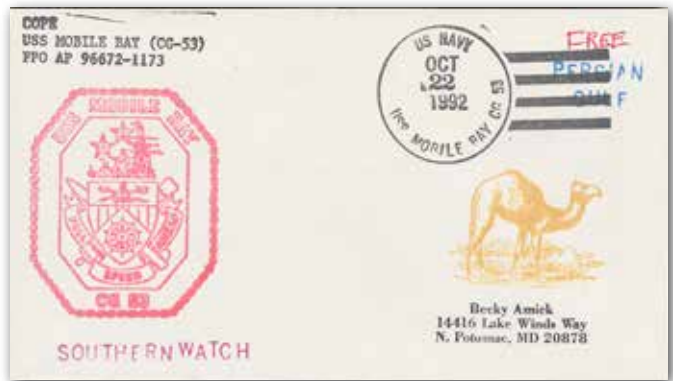


Figure 76. Operation Southern Watch (1992-2003) monitored and controlled Persian Gulf air-space. The USS Mobile Bay (CG-53) is a guided-missile cruiser.

ones which are in fact against regulations, are the covers on which the word “FREE” appears *only* on an affixed label. Often—especially after the POD expressly prohibited the use of labels—senders who affixed a label of one sort or another also penned or typewrote the word “FREE”, in an effort to adhere to the rules. That sort of label usage was no different from an envelope with a postage stamp plus an additional patriotic label. 1942 usages with a “FREE” label *only* (no added handwriting) are the ones which I find most interesting.

Throughout the war, there were sporadic usages of all those Noory labels that had been distributed. As the war approached its end in 1944-45, these labels seemed to come out of the woodwork again and became patriotic add-ons to many a cover.

Before looking at some other early purpose-made “FREE” adhesive labels, it should be noted that there were hundreds and hundreds—perhaps thousands—of available patriotic labels produced immediately prior to the United States entering the war and continuing throughout its duration. There were also etiquettes of the “Please Hurry, Soldier / Sailor / Marine Mail” sort. There were patriotic Postal Savings stamps, “V” for Victory labels, “Remember Pearl Harbor” labels, and all sorts of anti-Axis labels. Many were used as patriotic add-ons, but in the early days of 1942 various ones might appear *alone* on an envelope, to indicate free mail or to simulate “postage.” These are worth looking for.

Quite a few patriotic labels incorporated the well-known “V-For-Victory” motif, often in conjunction with the

Morse Code cipher for that letter. In early 1941, after considering various possibilities, European broadcasters had promoted widespread use of a “V” as a protest symbol in the countries overrun by Germany. This was initiated in Belgium where the letter “V” worked equally well in Flemish, French and English. It was immediately adopted far and wide. In June of that year, the Morse Code “V” was added to the BBC transmissions. As a bonus, its “dot-dot-dot-dash” rhythm worked well with music, especially Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony. Winston Churchill’s July 18th broadcast included these words: “The V sign is the symbol of the unconquerable will of the people of the occupied territories and of Britain; of the fate awaiting Third Reich Tyranny. So long as the peoples of Europe continue to refuse all collaboration with the invader, it is sure that this cause will perish and that Europe will be liberated.”<sup>8</sup>

One “FREE” label which was produced in those early days was a red, white and blue “stamp” with a central eagle, the type reading “U.S. Postage FREE for the Armed Forces”, perforated 11 1/2 (see Figure 52). Created by a Pittsburg, PA stamp dealer, it can also be found with an inverted center. Legendary stamp dealer and writer Pat Herst reported that the dealer never intended to sell them or to defraud the Post Office but rather, gave them away to friends in the military. As might have been expected,



Figure 77. United Nations Peacekeeper adhesive labels (both perforated and imperf) were created in this design, and used in 1996-1997 by the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force in the areas of Sarajevo, Bosnia, Tazsar, Hungary and other locations.

the POD took a dim view of such an unauthorized and illegal usage of the phrase “U.S. Postage”, and confiscated the dealer’s entire supply. Any further use of the labels in any way was forbidden.

In 1942, a 17” x 5 1/2” poster on paper stock (Figure 50) was distributed to promote another five different patriotic labels for use on letters, one of which incorporated a bold “FREE.” Each was printed in a pane of 6, packaged in booklets of 60; all can be found used on covers.

Interestingly, on May 18, 1944, shortly before D-Day, FDR proposed that the Post Office create a red, white and blue “Free Postage” stamp for the use of American soldiers, and sent along one of his famous quick sketches (current location unknown, but perhaps in the files of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing). This “model,” if we can call it that, featured the heads of several service people superimposed on a map of the USA. The text would read: “U.S. Armed Forces Postage

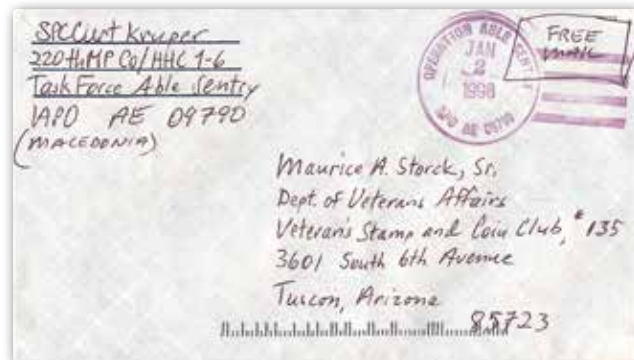


Figure 78. Operation Able Sentry was involved in monitoring border activities in Macedonia, starting in 1993. Camp Able Sentry was a staging area in Kosovo.

Free.” Roosevelt felt that it would prove handy for the military and also please stamp collectors. The Post Office Department was not impressed. On May 30, Assistant PMG Roy North responded that it “would not be a credit to the Armed Forces,” would be time-consuming and expensive to produce, and was not needed anyhow, as the current operation was working well. That stamp never came to be, though the BEP dutifully produced an engraved essay (see Figure 61), now in the collection of the Smithsonian’s National Postal Museum.

There are several related items in private hands, including a set of 6 large die progressive proofs of that proposed stamp which sold at auction in 2009. It had been given to a private individual in 1954 by BEP vignette engraver Edward R. Grove, whose signature is engraved in the lower right corner of the essay. Other die proofs and progressive proofs in circulation seen by the author have all been signed in pencil by Grove. An alternate essay reverses the colors . . . heads in red, border areas in blue.

Although the US did *not*, Germany and various other countries *did* provide military adhesive free frank stamps and printed free frank indicia for soldier use in wartime.



Figure 79. Operation Joint Guard was one component of the Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SFOR, 1996-2004). This cacheted cover traveled through the Military Postal Service (MPS).



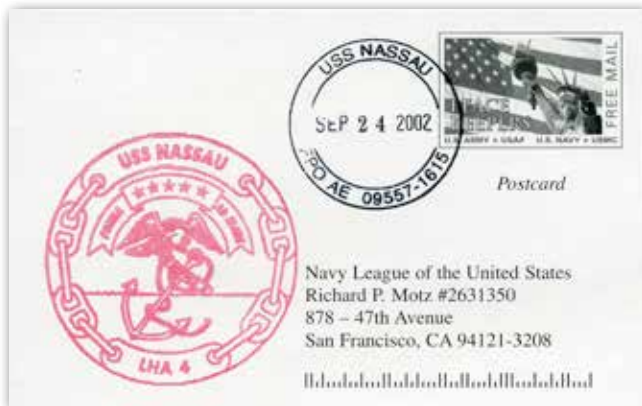


Figure 80. American Peace Keepers free mail postcard with custom indicia, mailed in 2002 from the USS Nassau, an amphibious assault ship.

### The Korean War to 1980

During the Korean War, free mail for the military went into effect on July 18, 1950<sup>9</sup> with “FREE” required to be in handwriting.<sup>10</sup> The free frank privilege was extended in 1951 to June 30, 1953 and extended further on March 23, 1953 to end on June 30, 1955. Beginning with the Korean War, free soldier mail – previously sent by regular mail and by airmail only if the additional postage was paid - was routinely sent via airmail

During the **Vietnam War**, free servicemen mail to the United States, Puerto Rico and Possessions began on September 1, 1965 with “Free” required to be in handwriting. Most was sent by airmail, and could be sent Special Delivery upon payment of the fee, but could not be sent registered, insured or certified. The privilege of free mail during Vietnam seemed to vary at times depending upon location, unit and other factors, but was generally available. On March 1, 1966, letters and cards mailed by U.S. servicemen in Vietnam were granted free postage to Canadian addresses. Public Law 89-725 approved November 2, 1966 provided that airlift service on a space-available basis would be provided between all overseas military post offices outside the 48 contiguous States, and between any of those military post offices and the point of embarkation or debarkation within the 50 States. Delivery by “space available” (on commercial airlines, military airlift or chartered aircraft and ships) was specified so that postal cargo didn’t compete for space with people or supplies. At some point during the Vietnam War, mail began to be delivered without even receiving any postmark.

The author has been unable to determine a fixed last day for free mail from the Vietnam theater, if indeed one was ever specified.

In 1980, the Military Postal Service Agency (MPSA) was created to manage all U.S. military and diplomatic mail, in coordination with the Postal Service. Since then, military letters and packages from all branches go initially through the Military Postal Service, which is considered an extension of the U.S. Postal Service; prior to that time, each branch of the service had its own mail handling operation to route mail to the U.S. Postal Service.

### More Recent Conflicts

As of April 16, 1986<sup>11</sup> “the Secretary of Defense may authorize or terminate free mail privileges for members of the U.S. Armed Forces and designated civilians directly supporting military operations in designated international locations.<sup>12</sup> Under that and other subsequent authorizations, the free mail privilege was extended to personnel serving in operations *Desert Shield*, *Desert Storm*, *Provide Comfort*, *Desert Spring*, *Desert Sword/Sabre*, *Desert Farewell/Calm*, *Able Sentry*, *Enduring Freedom* (both Mid-East and Philippines), *Iraqi Freedom and Joint Forge/Joint Guardian* (former Republic of Yugoslavia), and other theaters of operation. Free U.S. military mail covers of one sort or another can be found from duty stations far and wide where America’s military have been deployed, even in periods when the United States itself was not at war. Depending on country of residence, some retired military personnel also retain the free frank privilege.

### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Section 100, Act of October 3, 1917, reported in *Postal Bulletin 11466*, October 4. This and other daily Postal Bulletins may be accessed on the web site: [www.uspostalbulletins.com](http://www.uspostalbulletins.com)
- <sup>2</sup> Alfred Kugel, *Military Postal History Society Bulletin*, Summer 2008, pp.16-17.
- <sup>3</sup> Ch.199, Title IX, Section 901, Public, No. 507, 77th Congress.
- <sup>4</sup> Ch.590, Title IX, Section 639.
- <sup>5</sup> *Linn’s Weekly Stamp News*, February 5, 1943.
- <sup>6</sup> For those technically inclined, they were created from two identical zinc plates with the opposite color areas routed away, printed on McLaurain & Jones stock on a Craftsman press with a Kluge feeder, per *Linn’s* February 25, 1943.
- <sup>7</sup> An article by this author in the February 2016 issue of *American Stamp Dealer & Collector* presented the work of cartoonist Gola H. Sebenar.
- <sup>8</sup> The story of the “V” has been well detailed by Robert Dalton Harris and Martin Bacharach in an article in *P.S. a Quarterly Journal of Postal History* Vol. XI, No. 1, Whole No. 41, 1989.
- <sup>9</sup> Public Law 609, July 12.
- <sup>10</sup> *Postal Bulletin* 19351.
- <sup>11</sup> Title 39 for the United States Code 3401(a)(1) and pursuant to Executive Order 12556.
- <sup>12</sup> *Postal Bulletin*, January 17, 2008.

**Dick Sheaff** our Society president, is a retired graphic and communications designer, who worked over the years with numerous businesses, colleges and other clients. He designed or art-directed over 500 U.S.



postage stamps. Dick collects many sorts of ephemera, researches various subjects and writes frequent articles, with a particular interest in design and typography. He also maintains an ephemera-related, non-commercial website [www.sheaff-ephemera.com](http://www.sheaff-ephemera.com)

# “Tobacco as much as bullets”

## *Promotion of Tobacco to Soldiers in World War I*

BY WILLIAM VELVEL MOSKOFF

In 1917 General John Joseph Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Force, equated the value of tobacco with that of bullets in the effort to win the war. That may have been an exaggeration of tobacco’s importance in the grand scheme of things, but it reflected a reality of the time: Allied military forces—soldiers of the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Canada—were smoking tobacco at levels previously unknown. This article explores the increase in smoking during World War I and uses contemporary postcards and material from local newspapers to highlight three important groups who promoted that increase to the generation of young men who fought the war: tobacco manufacturers and cigarette companies; governments trying to please the millions of conscripts in their armies; and civilian elements such as the press



Figure 1. Postcard promoting Chesterfield cigarettes designed by J.C. Leyendecker, 1874-1951, who would become one of the most distinguished illustrators in the country. He was the creator of the Arrow Collar Man, an advertising campaign that ran for more than two decades, as well as more than 300 covers for *The Saturday Evening Post*.



Figure 2. Cigarette card published by W.D. & H.O. Wills that reproduces a poster memorializing Belgium’s horrific experience of multiple atrocities under the German invasion in August 1914. The reverse side of the card not only urges the reader to “Remember Belgium,” but also promotes Wills’s Cigarettes.

and charitable groups. The efforts of these groups overlapped and reinforced each other to the effect of a massive smoking campaign that helped to addict new and future generations.

The basic numbers are overwhelming. In 1900, total cigarette consumption in the U.S. was 2.5 billion. By 1910, it had risen to 8.6 billion, an increase factor of almost 3.5. But in the next decade, from 1910 to 1920, total cigarette consumption rose to 44.6 billion, more than *quintupling* the 1910 level.<sup>1</sup> The single most important event that fueled this dramatic increase in smoking was World War I. This phenomenon was not confined to the U.S. The growth of smoking in Russia was “largely because, as in other countries, tobacco became part of rations for soldiers and officers.”<sup>2</sup> Throughout the war, the Russian army distributed *makhorka*, a cheap low-quality tobacco, that was rolled





Figure 3. A leather patch that uses imagery from an enlistment poster to promote sending tobacco to soldiers.

into cigarettes or used in pipes.<sup>3</sup> Britain likewise provided its soldiers with cigarettes and other tobacco products as part of their rations. In 1914, the tobacco ration for British troops could be as much as 2 oz. a week.<sup>4</sup> A Canadian newspaper took note of this effect, declaring in 1916 that the war "...has given a stimulus to cigarette smoking."<sup>5</sup> With America's entry into the war in 1917, U.S. soldiers joined the ranks of military men whose rations included cigarettes and tobaccos.<sup>6</sup>

Tobacco companies, both American and British actively promoted the consumption of their products during the War. Elizabeth A. Smith and Ruth E. Malone, who have researched the history of smoking in the U.S. military observe that, "Tobacco companies have targeted US military personnel since World War I."<sup>7</sup> Figure 1 shows one of several postcards issued by Chesterfield cigarettes during this period. A handsome young man wearing his army helmet and stylishly smoking a Chesterfield, grins his endorsement while the ad copy declares them mild but satisfying. To supplement their ad marketing, tobacco companies pushed cigarettes to soldiers directly. The Penn Tobacco Company, located in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, donated 1,350 packages of tobacco to the local smoking fund for soldiers.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to direct advertising by tobacco companies, American merchants advertised in their local papers to encourage families to send tobacco products to their soldiers overseas. Holt's Pipe Shop sold inexpensive smoking kits for soldiers calling on the public to "Mail Your Packages to the boys in France Before the 15<sup>th</sup> of Nov."<sup>9</sup> Just prior to Christmas 1917, a drug store in Caruthersville, Missouri ran an ad in the local newspaper suggesting holiday gifts. One item was "Soldiers Smoking Kits."<sup>10</sup>



Figure 4. 1914 postcard, illustrated by British artist Bert Thomas. A soldier asks the German Kaiser to wait a moment while he lights his pipe, the war raging in the background. The back of the card indicates that Thomas executed the drawing especially to be used in raising money for the Weekly Dispatch's Tobacco Fund for soldiers.





Figure 5. Postcard sent from Le Mans, France, dated April 4, 1919. The message: "Hello We are still here and am O.K., we expect to leave soon. Hope you are well. Would love to see you. Give love to all. I am yours. Earl." There was a major American Embarkation Center in Le Mans and it is possible that this soldier was awaiting his turn to go home.



Figure 6. Postcard - if the soldier, smoking a cigarette, were at home, his mother would have darned his socks.

In a similar vein, the British company, Wills's Cigarettes, founded in 1786, produced a series of twelve trading cards that were replicas of British military recruiting posters. The patriotic nature of the cards notwithstanding, their basic purpose was to increase the sale of the company's cigarettes. Each pack of cigarettes contained a card, and young men—often boys—would buy pack after pack to collect all the cards (see Figure 2).

Public campaigns in the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada to provide tobacco products for soldiers and officers at the front, were often supported by charities. In the U.S., many newspapers established tobacco funds that they actively sponsored. One newspaper identified a "tobacco fund movement." Newspapers could endorse this movement in other ways. When the South Bend East End Mothers' Club voted to

oppose sending tobacco to American soldiers, the city's newspaper, the *South Bend News-Times*, scolded them in an editorial entitled, "Can You Beat It?," calling the Mothers' Club vote "downright silliness."<sup>11</sup> The *Chicago Tribune*, praising contributors to a smoke fund said, "Who's next with some smoke money? Happy men fight best, you know. So the happier the Yanks



Figure 7. Postcard. A pipe-smoking soldier in his tent reads a love letter.



are, the unhappier are the *boches*.<sup>12</sup> The *Salt Lake Tribune*, published in the heart of a large population of Mormons, among whom smoking is prohibited, diplomatically described itself as “fostering” this movement.<sup>13</sup> The *Charlotte Observer* in North Carolina had an Observer Tobacco Fund and proudly announced that it had raised enough money to furnish 550 kits of tobacco to North Carolina soldiers. Each kit contained two ten-cent packs of cigarettes, three five-cent bags of smoking tobacco, one ten-cent tin of smoking tobacco and a large amount of cigarette papers for soldiers to roll their own cigarettes.<sup>14</sup> This number of kits would only last about ten days; soon the fun-raising would begin anew.

Soldiers’ Smoking Kits were available across the U.S. A popular item was a kit containing an eclectic collection of tobacco products. One version included 200 Black and White Cigarettes, a 50-cent Briar Pipe, an Army and Navy Cigar Lighter, a package of pipe cleaners, one extra flint for the lighter, one extra wick for the lighter, and a tin of Black and White Tobacco, all of it packaged in a corrugated carton at a cost of \$1.50.<sup>15</sup>

On the part of the increasingly tobacco-dependent troops, a sense of urgency is evident in an image drawn from a well-known U.S. propaganda poster. (Figure 3) A stern soldier points a finger directly at us, proclaiming his -- and his fellow soldiers’ -- need for smokes.

There was so much support for smoking in the U.S. that certain groups ordinarily opposed to tobacco consumption either reversed their stance or quietly tolerated the surge in smoking. The American YMCA, which had opposed cigarette smoking before the war was one of those that relented.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the YMCA actually sold tobacco to American military personnel under an arrangement made with the War Department.<sup>17</sup> Shortly before the war ended, the Marion, Ohio Federation of Women’s Clubs declared it a “very inopportune time to discourage...smoking among the soldiers.” Many of their members had husbands or sons at the front and they understood “the satisfaction a cigarette gives the boys when they get on the firing line....”<sup>18</sup> One of the more unusual arguments for encouraging smoking at the front was the notion put forward by certain “marine corps officials” who claimed that the use of “tobacco by American troops in the trenches plays no small part in the conservation of food....” It was estimated that somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of food was saved in this way.<sup>19</sup>

In Great Britain, “Smokes for the Troops” funds were created almost from the start of the war. The prestigious *Times* of London announced the creation of a charitable fund to provide tobacco and cigarettes to military hospitals as well as to troops at the front. To ease the cost to the public, contributors were permitted to mail tobacco and cigarettes at the less expensive price of a letter instead of the more expensive parcel post rate.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 8. Postcard with an image by Bernhardt Wall, who designed over 5,000 postcards, many of them for propaganda purposes during the war.

The charitable work done by upper-class British women during the war included the provision of cigarettes through the Wounded Soldiers and Sailors Society. This organization distributed 265 million free cigarettes during the war.<sup>21</sup> In all, the Smokes for Wounded Soldiers and Sailors Society distributed more than one billion cigarettes.<sup>22</sup>

The venerable *Weekly Dispatch*, a London newspaper, published appeals for contributions to buy tobacco products for the military, including a set of postcards. One of those cards was the iconic “Arf a ‘Mo Kaiser” card of 1914 shown in Figure 4. The card sold for six pence and raised the extraordinary sum of 250,000 British pounds to buy cigarettes and pipe tobacco for soldiers. The *Weekly Dispatch* was not the only British newspaper to create a tobacco fund. By 1915, other national and local papers had joined the effort to get tobacco products to the military. These efforts had the approval of the British government. For example, the War Office and Admiralty sanctioned the celebration of Fag Day on May 29, 1917, when money was raised to buy tobacco products for the wounded. (The word “fag” as slang for cigarette came into use in Great Britain at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.)

Canadian newspapers also sponsored tobacco funds. The *Gazette* of Montreal provided “gifts of cigarettes



Figure 9. Postcard with an image from the British Daily Mail’s Official War Pictures, that went through the mail passed by a censor.

and tobacco” to Canadian troops fighting in France.<sup>23</sup> A variety of charitable organizations in Canada provided cigarettes to their soldiers. In addition to any charitable impulse these groups may have had, they were incentivized by the absence of any government customs duties on cigarettes.<sup>24</sup> This implicit state support greatly benefitted the tobacco companies.

Even European royalty fostered smoking in the military. Britain’s Princess Mary gave gifts of pipes and tobacco to British soldiers as Christmas presents in 1914.<sup>25</sup> Russia’s Tsarist regime promoted programs that encouraged civilians to donate tobacco to soldiers. When the Belgian government in exile ran out of money and could no longer provide its army with tobacco products, the Belgian Soldiers’ Tobacco Fund was

organized in England and the U.S. with its headquarters in New York City and with the prominent American lawyer Joseph Hodges Choates as president.<sup>26</sup> The goal was to supply 200,000 Belgian soldiers with tobacco products. Belgium’s King Albert and Cardinal Mercier, the Archbishop of Malines endorsed the fund-raising drive.<sup>27</sup>

American postcards designed to be sent from the front used sentimental images of soldiers smoking, the evanescence of smoke being used to evoke dreams and memories of home.

The soldier in Figure 5, for example, wistfully conjures

his ideal love whose image appears in the smoke rings blown from his cigarette. “In the rings of smoke I see/ Just the little girl for me; I can see her plain as day...”.

Homesickness was a popular theme in these postcards. In Figure 6, a soldier smokes a cigarette while he darns a sock, thinking of his gray-haired mother at home (who is shown darning that sock for him!). Evoking an idealized vision of home, “...I see in wreaths of smoke One who cannot see the joke...” In Figure 7, a soldier in his tent smokes his pipe after reading a love letter, allowing his imagination to wander to the sender, a woman whose image seems to float in the pipe smoke above him.

The undated postcard in Figure 8 shows an American soldier smoking a pipe. The key element in the text is that smoking is approved, even encouraged, and that given the opportunity to smoke, you have license to grab it.

Figure 9 is a well-known British image. Entitled “A “Fag” After a Fight,” it shows three British soldiers standing on a muddy road in the battle-scarred French countryside, ready to light up. On the back, it says, “Before battle, in battle, after battle, our ‘Tommies’ are ready for a ‘fag.’”

It is not as if there was *no* opposition to all the smoking taking place at the front. The Boy Scouts of America were actively opposed to smoking. The habit was expensive they said, and the money spent on tobacco could be better used purchasing War Savings Stamps.<sup>28</sup> War was expensive too. Total wartime expenses were \$33 billion. The 25 cent Thrift Stamp shown in figure 10 was one of the ways the U.S. Government raised money for the war.

At the height of U.S. participation in the war, the American Anti-Tobacco League, a militant anti-smoking organization, went so far as to propose a



Figure 10. 25 cent Thrift Stamp.



constitutional amendment “prohibiting the manufacture and sale of tobacco.” They asked President Woodrow Wilson to confiscate 1.5 million acres of land being used to raise tobacco and convert it to growing food.<sup>29</sup> Not surprisingly, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) opposed supplying American soldiers with cigarettes and tobacco; local branches of the organizations went on record in opposition.<sup>30</sup> An Iowan wrote a letter to the editor about a young man he knew who was becoming a “cigarette fiend.” On being cautioned about the potential dangers of smoking, the young man replied, “Cigaret [sic] smoking can’t be at all injurious or the good people would not be working for Smokes for Soldiers.”<sup>31</sup> In Canada, the Toronto Methodist Conference in June 1915 condemned “encouraging” smoking by soldiers at the front.<sup>32</sup>

British doctors identified what they called “soldier’s heart,” an affliction they believed caused high blood pressure and an elevated pulse. The health risks of smoking that are commonly known today were discovered more than one-hundred years ago in the trenches of Europe.<sup>33</sup> Warnings about the harmful effects of excessive smoking coming out of Britain were picked up in the American popular press.<sup>34</sup>

World War I was a disaster on many levels. Roughly 40 million military personnel and civilians were killed or wounded in battle or died of other causes like famine and disease. The European continent was turned upside down and the war’s long-term consequences indirectly led to a second world war. But another result was the creation of a new generation of smokers. Soldiers brought their new habit home with them, shared it with others and passed it on to succeeding generations.

**Acknowledgment** – I am grateful, as always, to Carol Gayle for a careful critique of an earlier draft.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>3</sup> Nicholas K. Johnson, World War I, Part 5: Tobacco in the Trenches, June 27, 2014, <https://pointsadhs.com/2014/06/27/wwi-part-5-tobacco-in-the-trenches/>
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- <sup>7</sup> Elizabeth A. Smith and Ruth E. Malone, “‘Everywhere the Soldier Will Be’: Wartime Tobacco Promotion in the US Military,” *American Journal of Public Health*, September 2009, pp. 1595-1602.
- <sup>8</sup> *The Wilkes-Barre Record* (Pennsylvania), September 21, 1917, p. 20.
- <sup>9</sup> *Spokane Chronicle* (Washington), November 2, 1917, p. 12.
- <sup>10</sup> *The Democrat-Argus* (Caruthersville, Missouri), December 14, 1917, p. 10.
- <sup>11</sup> *South Bend News-Times* (Indiana), March 10, 1918, p. ‘12.

- <sup>12</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, September 21, 1918, p. 11. “Boche” is a derogatory term for a German, akin to Hun.
- <sup>13</sup> *The Salt Lake Tribune* (Utah), October 1, 1917, p. 14.
- <sup>14</sup> *The Charlotte Observer* (North Carolina), September 24, 1917, p. 3.
- <sup>15</sup> *The Buffalo Times* (New York), December 20, 1917, p. 4.
- <sup>16</sup> The University of Alabama, Center for the Study of Tobacco and Society, “Tobacco as Much as Bullets: The Call for Cigarettes.”
- <sup>17</sup> *Oxford Public Ledger* (North Carolina), July 20, 1918, p. 6.
- <sup>18</sup> *The Marion Star* (Ohio), October 2, 1918, p. 4.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Pittsburgh Press* (Pennsylvania), February 24, 1918, p. 66. The story was originally from the *New York Herald Tribune Services*.
- <sup>20</sup> The French government had a similar policy, exempting those who sent tobacco products to British troops from the customs duty.
- <sup>21</sup> Andrea Hetherington, *British Widows of the First World War: The Forgotten Legion*, Pen & Sword: Barnsely, U.K., 2018.
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- <sup>23</sup> *The Gazette* (Montreal, Quebec), June 2, 1915, p. 4.
- <sup>24</sup> *The Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario), July 11, 1916, p. 1.
- <sup>25</sup> Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, London: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 65.
- <sup>26</sup> *The Boston Globe*, April 13, 1916, p. 5.
- <sup>27</sup> *The Oregon Daily Journal* (Portland), September 20, 1916, p. 6.
- <sup>28</sup> *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (New York), August 25, 1918, p. 59.
- <sup>29</sup> *Buffalo Courier* (New York), August 10, 1917, p. 8.
- <sup>30</sup> *The Times Recorder* (Zanesville, Ohio), October 23, 1917, p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup> *The Des Moines Register* (Iowa), January 7, 1918, p. 4.
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- <sup>33</sup> Joel D. Howell, “‘Soldier’s Heart’: The Redefinition of Heart Disease and Specialty Formation in Early Twentieth-Century Great Britain,” *Medical History*, Supplement No. 5, 1985, pp. 34-52.
- <sup>34</sup> See, for example, *Chattanooga Daily Times* (Tennessee), August 23, 1914, p. 24.

**William Velvel Moskoff** is Hollender Professor Emeritus of Economics at Lake Forest College. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Hunter College in New York City and holds a Ph.D. in Economics as well as the Certificate in Russian Area Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Among his many works are *The Bread of Affliction* (Cambridge University Press, 1990) and *Ko-ops* (Indiana University Press, 1991).



# The Hermit of Arbourville, Colorado

BY CAROL MOBLEY

Today Arbourville, Colorado is a ghost town located in Chaffee county, five miles below Chaffee City/Monarch. It was established after Nicholas Creede discovered silver on Monarch Mountain in 1879. Also called Arborsville or Arbour-Villa, Arbourville was known for the brothel which served as a gathering place for miners and traders, the only one in the Monarch area. The parlor house was the main attraction in Arbourville and attracted customers from far and wide. In 1880 as many as 50 houses a week were built, all occupied as soon as they were finished.

Today all that remains of Arbourville is a Colorado ghost town, but the memory of Frank E. Gimlett lingers on.

Frank Gimlett aka the Hermit of Arbourville, born on July 22, 1875, moved with his parents to Junction City, Colorado in 1879. He attended school in Salida where he was listed in the 1889 Report of Public Schools as having been present at examination for the month of March. He married in 1897 and had two children. And, if that is all that we knew about his life, he would be unremarkable but Frank acquired some renown.

As described by Muriel Woole in *Timberline Tailings: Tales of Colorado's Ghost Towns and Mining Camps*, Frank E. Gimlett was found "startling to behold, with long hair and a massive beard he looked like a hairy stowaway from another time."



A writer and a misogynist he took up residence in Arbourville after the mining town had been abandoned. Under the pen-name "The Hermit of Arbor-Villa" he authored a nine-volume account of his hermit adventures in the west, titled *Over Trails of Yesterday, Stories of Colorful Characters that Lived, Labored, Loved, Fought, and Died in the Gold and Silver West*. These nine booklets he sold for 50 cents, primarily to tourists traveling through Salida, and it was this income that sustained him and his wife.

Gimlett was enamored of Ginger Rogers and felt that nearby Mount Aetna should be renamed Ginger in her honor. He went so far as to petition President Roosevelt who declined his request siting the expense of updating maps and other geographical material. He advocated the reinstatement of the gold and silver monetary standard, writing petitions and speaking on the radio. He was also a miner, built and sold homes, sold coal and feed and was an accomplished pianist.

Frank lived in Chaffee County until his death on February 1, 1952 — I discovered him through postcards from the 1940s (Figures 1 and 2) and found more about his life at: <http://salidaarchive.info/hermit-of-arbor-villa/>



**Carol Mobley**, a native Coloradan, is the promoter of the Denver Postcard and Paper Shows.



# Rachel Gordon Foster, Suffragist

BY BARRY NEWTON

Rachel Gordon Foster (1858-1919) was, in essence, raised a suffragist. Her newspaper editor father championed women's equal pay for equal work, her mother was a suffrage activist who invited Elizabeth



Figure 1. 1890 double portrait photograph of Susan Brownell Anthony, 1820-1900, and Rachel Foster Avery, taken by Moses Parker Rice (1839-1925) in Washington DC, published and copyrighted Mary Foot Seymour (1846-1893) Publishing Co., New York NY [Library of Congress]

Figure 2. Envelope printed for the National Woman Suffrage Association, listing all the officers. Rachel G. Foster is listed as Corresponding Secretary based in Philadelphia, a post that she occupied until her death. Foster herself provided the address to the editor of the Evening Star in Harrisburg PA. Mailed March 28, 1887.

*Phila. Mar. 28th*

*Dear Sir,*

*The status of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Kansas; the position of the question in Rhode Island; the vote in the U.S. Senate in January - these facts are, of course, known to every editor.*

*At present the Legislature of our own State has upon its list a bill for an Amendment to the Constitution, which shall enfranchise the women of Pennsylvania.*

*The public will of course look to the newspapers to be informed on this subject. A column relating to women's work and containing also short arguments and facts in connection with Woman Suffrage and accounts of the work in our own State is edited here in Phila. and sent out weekly to such papers as desire it. Is your interest in this cause sufficient to lead you to publish this columns, or if your space does not permit that, to use selections from it? If so please let me know what day you go to press.*

*Respectfully*

*Rachel G. Foster*

*Sec. of the Woman Suffrage Committee for  
Organizing Pennsylvania*

*Matilda Hindman, Chairman*



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

"Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"; the ballot is consent.

ELIZABETH CAHILL SWANTON, Pres., Tenbury, N. I. MRS WENDY NEWALL, Chairman E. E. Com.
ROSA E. ARTHUR, Rochester, N. Y. and N. New Jersey H., Indianapolis, Ind.
MATHIEA JOHNS GARD, Fayetteville, N. Y. ELLEN H. BURLING, San Jose,
PURVIS W. COOPER, St. Louis, Mo. Q. M. GLEN'S Office, Washington, D. C.
REV. CHARLES BROWN, Nashville, Wisc. BACON, G. FOSTER, Cor. Sec., Philadelphia, Pa.
ANDREW SCOTT DUNWAY, Portland, Ore. JOHN H. SWEENEY, Treas.,
Vice-Presidents-at-Large. Right House, Washington, D. C.

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out weekly to such papers as desire it. Is your interest in this cause sufficient to lead you to publish this column, or if your space does not permit that, to use selections from it? If so please let me know what day you go to press.

Respectfully,
Rachel G. Foster,
Sec. of the Woman Suffrage Committee for Organizing Pennsylvania
Matilda Hindman,
Chairman.

Dr. Lucy M. Hall, of Vassar, is collecting facts and statistics with regard to the numbers in the American family. She states that the information so far obtained shows that the largest families of the present generation belong to the most highly educated women.

EVERY father (whether of full age or a minor) of a child likely to be born, or of any living child, under the age of twenty-one years and unmarried, may, by his deed or last will, duly executed \* \* \* dispose of the custody and tuition of such child during its minority, or for any less time, to any person or persons in possession or remainder.—Laws of 1871, chap. 32, p. 39.

This is the law in the State of New York to-day. It gives to the father, dying, the right to dispose of the children by will; living, to bind them over as he pleases without consent of the mother, and there are similar laws on the statute-book of every State in the Union, excepting Kansas and New Jersey. A gentle timid woman, a native of Pennsylvania, and only daughter of a most tender widowed father, married a man who had wooed her with seemingly ardent devotion. Their wedded life was scarcely a year old before he began to treat her with cruel neglect. Two children, a boy and a girl, were born in close succession. The husband grew more neglectful and unkind, and finally flouted in the very face of his wife and her world, his contempt for all moral as well as legal restriction by publicly walking, driving and otherwise associating with the most infamous women of his native town. At this juncture the wife's father took her and the children to his own home. The poor young mother, blinded by the narrow doctrines of a sect to which her own and her husband's people belonged, could find no scriptural ground for divorce. The father in vindictiveness of spirit claimed the children. The law in mercy (what a travesty?) allowed the mother to keep them until they were seven years of age. Could any slow torture of the inquisition equal the agony of that creeping doom to this mother's heart? The strain was too much for her, she died within a year. There are mothers who cannot die, who must live to see a tender little girl given up for life to the care of such a father. And yet there are women who do not want to help make the laws by which they are governed.

Figure 4. Printed slip included with Foster's letter, quoting the New York state law giving full parental rights to the father, a situation common to all states except for Kansas and New Jersey, and describing a Pennsylvania example of cruelty under such a law. "And yet there are women who do not want to help make the laws by which they are governed."

Figure 3. (a and b) Matching letterhead to Figure 2, the first and second page of Foster's letter written March 28. See transcription.



Cady Stanton to hold meetings at their home. Rachel began writing for newspapers as a teenager, and was elected corresponding secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association at the age of 21. Here, in 1887, she writes to a Pennsylvania newspaper editor in her official role - no doubt approaching many other editors at the same time.

A year from this letter, Rachel organized the International Council of Women in Washington DC, and fell in love with one of the delegates, Cyrus Miller Avery (1854-1919). They were married later in the year, the ceremony performed jointly by a Unitarian male pastor and a Methodist female pastor.

Rachel was a close friend and confidante of Susan B. Anthony, and assumed many of the older woman's organizational responsibilities. She gave her own money and collected from other suffragists to purchase an annuity for Anthony's old age.

Rachel did live long enough to see the 19th Amendment passed, but not long enough to see it ratified.

**Barry Newton** is a philatelist, author of the definitive work on Albert Charles Roessler, creator of envelope designs.



Figure 6. A prepaid one cent postal card included with the letter, that would have been returned to Foster's Philadelphia address if the editor were planning to publish Pennsylvania suffrage news that she would supply.

Figure 5. Printed slip also included with Foster's letter describes the organization of the Pennsylvania group for Woman's Suffrage, of which Foster was secretary and treasurer. Described is the matrilineal custom of the T'linket. Also outlined is Leavenworth KS's refusal to honor Prohibition. "A prominent brewer was asked which he preferred, Woman Suffrage or Prohibition. He replied that he would take Prohibition every day in the week."



# Rosalie Gardiner Jones, A New York Suffragette

BY HENRY SCHEUER

In a true meritocracy and competitive capitalist society, all citizens must be full and equal participants.

August 26, 2020 marks the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment (Amendment XIX) to the United States Constitution. It prohibits the states and the federal government from denying the right to vote to citizens of the United States on the basis of sex. The text reads: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of Sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

Prior to 1776, women had the right to vote in the United States. But by 1807, every state denied even limited suffrage.

Rosalie Gardiner Jones was one of the New York woman who fought for the “Vote for Women”.

She was born on February 24, 1883 in New York City, and died on January 12, 1978, at the age of ninety-four. She graduated from Adelphi College, then attended Brooklyn Law School, and earned her LL.B. degree from George Washington University in 1919. In 1922 she was the first woman to receive a Doctorate of Civil Law from George Washington College of Law, now part of American University.

Although born in New York City, Jones came from an affluent Long Island family. Her grandfather inherited a large Greek Revival-style house built on a 1000-acre parcel, once the largest mansion on Long Island. When her father, Dr. Oliver Livingston Jones, died in August 1913, *The New York Times* noted that he was said to have owned real estate in nearly every state. Holdings

in New York City were estimated to be valued at over \$ 1.1 million. Several sources attribute the phrase “keeping up with the Joneses” to the family.

Her grandmother was a descendent of one of America’s oldest families, the Gardiners. Lion Gardiner arrived in Boston in 1635, and in 1639 purchased a private 3,318 acre island between the two peninsulas in Eastern Long Island, named Gardiners Island. The “further reading” section, below, provides a thirty-eight minute video providing a fascinating view of one of North America’s oldest jurisdictions.

Rosalie Gardiner Jones’s mother was a member of the New York State Anti-Suffrage Association; her daughter was strong-willed, opinionated and an ardent suffragette.

At the age of 29, Rosalie Jones increasingly became involved with the Women’s Suffrage movement, becoming the president of the Nassau County branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. On December 16, she proclaimed herself “General” as she led “pilgrims” on a 170 mile “trek” to Albany that took 12 days.

The marchers met at 9:40 A.M. at Broadway and 242<sup>nd</sup> Street in The Bronx. Ida Croft (Colonel), Martha K. Klatschken (Corporal), Eva Ward (Private), Grace Flaherty (Private), Josephine Gloeckner (Private) were walking; Mrs. Olive Schultz, Edward Van Wyck and Adolph Major also accompanied the group, but traveled by automobile. Their journey took them through Dobbs Ferry, Tarrytown, Nyack, Tompkins Cove, Highland Falls, West Point, Cornwall, Newburgh, Marlboro, Esopus, Kingston, Saugerties, Catskill, Coxsackie and New Baltimore. When they arrived in Albany,



Figures 1 and 2 are two real photo post cards depicting General Rosalie Jones as a suffragette marcher in Washington, D.C., and suffragettes in General Jones’ Army.





Figure 3: A gentleman wrote this postcard postmarked in Washington on the day of the parade, March 3, 1913, with the following comments: "Never want to see another woman as long as I live. About 75,000 of them here now." There were only 5,000 – 10,000 women in the parade.

they delivered a petition to Democratic Governor-elect William Sulzer, deemed a likely supporter. Well-known suffragettes Alice Paul and Lucy Burns broke with the National American Woman Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.), to form the Congressional Union for Women's Suffrage in 1913. They wanted to pressure the federal government to enact legislative

action toward the vote for women. One of their first actions was to organize a women's suffrage parade in Washington, D.C.

A few months after the trek to Albany, a vibrant, youthful Jones led a band of suffragists in a horse-drawn carriage on a twenty-day, 230-mile journey from New York City to Washington. Jones's "Army" began their trek at Hudson Terminal, on the corner of Church and Cortlandt Streets, in lower Manhattan on February 12, 1913 at 9 A.M. They traveled to Newark, Elizabeth, Rahway, Metuchen, New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, all in New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Baltimore and Laurel, Maryland, and finally on to Washington.

The Jones Army joined 5000 suffragists from all over the country for a procession down Pennsylvania Avenue on March 3, one day prior to Woodrow Wilson's Inaugural parade.

Rosalie Gardiner Jones was considered eccentric by several contemporaries who have researched her life. She married Clarence Dill, a Senator from Washington,



Figure 4 shows nineteen people and the banner: "Votes for Women; Pilgrimage from New York City to Washington, D.C. 1913." This image was taken prior to the commencement of the trek to Washington, D.C. beginning February 12, 1913.



Figure 5 shows the message side of the Figure 4 postcard. Postmarked on March 12, 1913 in Cold Spring, New York, it was written and mailed after the parade and Jones had returned home. The addressee is Miss Emma Sudrow of Baltimore and the written message was written by and is signed by Rosalie G. Jones. General Jones is thanking Miss Sudrow, by writing: “The buttons have been very popular,” a likely reference to the “Vote for Women” buttons worn in Washington during the parade.

in 1927, but insisted that the word “obey” be removed from the marriage vows. She also objected to the provision that she was “to be given away” since she married him of her own free will. They divorced in 1936. She accused him of cowardice for not running for a third term. He complained about her off-hand public comments, scandalous clothing, repairing automobiles in public, and burying pets and garbage in her backyard (she claimed she was composting, irritated neighbors disagreed).

After her divorce, she retreated to her family estate. She raised goats, drove them around in her automobile, let them wander around her property and on to her neighbors’ property. She also erected shacks on her property and rented them out to low income tenants, further irritating neighbors.

Rosalie Gardiner Jones was not among the most prominent suffragettes of the time, but her role as leader of the suffragette treks was key in the fight to secure the vote for women, culminating with the enactment of the Constitutional Amendment giving women the right to vote.

The United States Postal Service has announced that it plans to issue a single stamp celebrating the 100th anniversary of the ratification of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution. The stamp will be purple, white and gold, the official colors of the National Women’s Party,

an organization formed as an outgrowth of The Woman Suffrage Parade, held on March 3, 1913.

### Further Reading

YouTube video: “Gardiner’s Island: A visit with Robert David Lion Gardiner (1976)” (28:26)

“Women of Long Island: Mary Elizabeth Jones, Rosalie Gardiner Jones” by Judith Adler Spinzia, *The Freeholder* 11 (Spring 2007)

*March of the Suffragettes – Rosalie Gardiner Jones and the March for Voting Rights* by Zachary Michael Jack, Zest Books 2016, Minneapolis.

*Rosalie Gardiner Jones and the Long March for Women’s Rights* by Zackary Michael Jack, McFarland & Company, Inc., New York.

“Making a spectacle of Suffrage: The National Woman Suffrage Pageant, 1913” by Sarah J. Moore *Journal of American Culture*, Bowling Green, Volume 20, Issue 1 (Spring 1997): 89-103

*Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News*, Saturday, March 1, 1913.

**Henry Scheuer**, a philatelist specializing in presidential inauguration material, is active in the New York Collectors Club.



# A Few Thoughts on Researching a Carte-de-Visite

By Jeremy Rowe

Sometimes a collector finds an image that comes with collateral material – a note, signature or other documentation that teasingly suggests there is a more complex story behind the photograph. This is the story of one such image.

This carte-de-visite was found mounted in a single page that had unfortunately been removed from an album, separating it from its potentially valuable context. There was no photographer's imprint on the reverse of the card mount. However, the album page did include a manuscript notation and two slips of paper that appeared to be vintage, pasted onto the album page that also appeared to be contemporary with the card.

Let's start by looking at the image itself. It is an albumen print in the carte-de-visite format that was popularized in the 1850s. The card mount dates from the late 1850s or early 1860s. The image is a vignette of two gentlemen posed with an array of scientific apparatus. Based on contrast and tonality, it appears to be a copy of an earlier photograph.

On the album page that holds the image are the names "Professor Faraday & Professor Daniell." A quick search yields some initial information about the subjects. Michael Faraday began his career as an assistant of eminent English

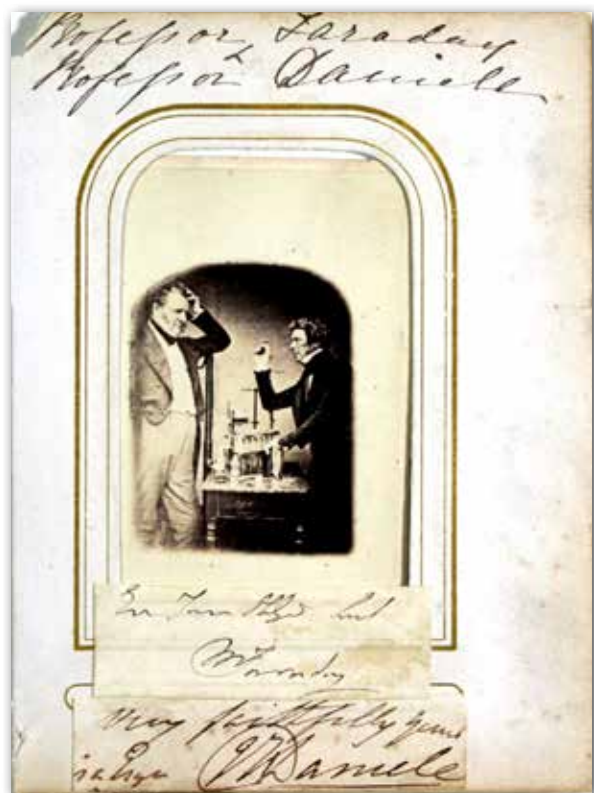


Figure 1. Carte-de-Visite in the author's collection.

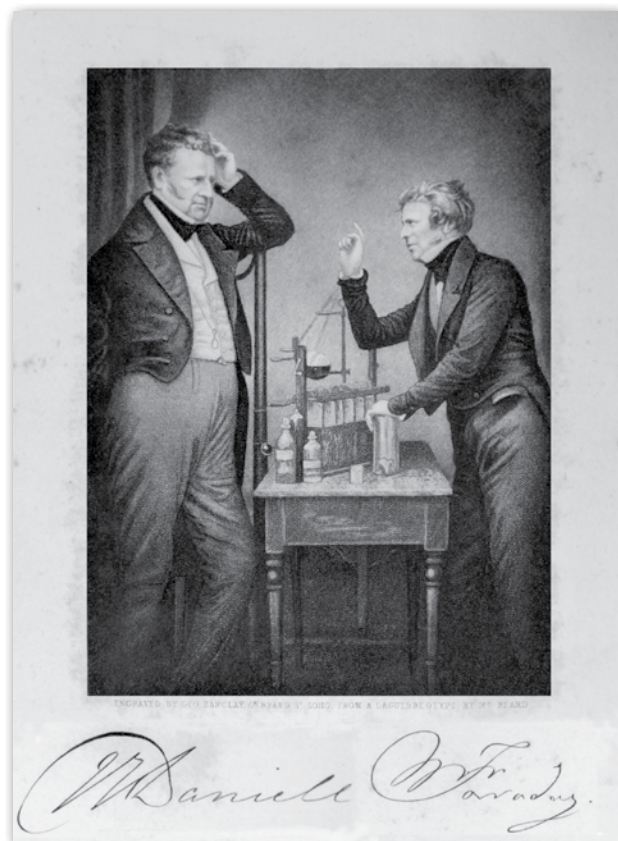


Figure 2. "Engraved by Geo. Barclay, Gerrard St. Soho. From a daguerrotype by Mr. Beard." Reproduced from Sketches of the Royal Society and Royal Society Club by Sir John Barrow, Bart., F.R.S. London: John Murray, 1849, facing page 85. [Science History Institute]

scientist Sir Humphry Davy. Faraday became famous in his own right, obtaining a law degree from Oxford and other professional awards, including membership in the Fellowship of the Royal Society and the role of Fullerian Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Faraday was a talented, multifaceted scientist known for his research into electricity, the electrochemistry needed to make batteries, and the related fields of electrolysis and electromagnetic induction that led to the invention of electric motors. He lived from 1791 to 1867, which fits logically within the era of cartes-de-visite. Faraday was infatuated with photography and frequently posed for portraits. Identified portraits of Faraday from this era match the individual seen in the photograph at the right, although this appears to be a younger man than most of the images from the 1860s.

A search for Professor Daniell yielded identification of another famous English scientist, also a member of the

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Fellowship of the Royal Society and, like Faraday, holding a law degree from Oxford. John Frederic Daniell was a chemist, physicist, and meteorologist who was also interested in electricity. Daniell was best known for his invention, the Daniell Cell, a battery that used copper vessel, copper sulfate and an immersed earthenware container with sulfuric acid and a zinc electrode to generate electricity. The Daniell Cell was a standard source of electricity for scientific research and telegraphy into the 1860s.

Known images of this English scientist look very like the individual on the left. But John Frederic Daniell lived between 1790 and 1845, which raises the following question: if the carte-de-visite was not invented until roughly ten years after Daniell's death, how could he appear in this image? The only conclusion is that the image must be a copy of an earlier photograph. As new photographic processes emerged, earlier images of note or commercial potential were copied in newer formats - with or without permission of the original photographer.

Research into the relationship between Faraday and Daniell yielded a series of letters between the two scientists in 1843 that provides evidence of their collaboration and interaction. Sadly, the two scraps of paper that have been attached to the album page offer little additional information. They appear to be signatures of the two famous scientists clipped from letters, with only a few manuscript notations that add little to our understanding of the story behind the photograph.

Using this initial data, my research uncovered several images of Faraday's laboratory. They show Faraday and



Figure 3. Another edition of the Barclay engraving as entered in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.



Figure 4. Beard's daguerrotype [Royal Institution Archival Collection]

Daniell in discussion, with scientific apparatus similar to that shown in the carte-de-visite. One image, an engraving of the two scientists for the Royal Society by George Barclay, appears to be reversed but otherwise identical to the carte-de-visite in pose and props. Another example of the engraving has a credit: "From a Daguerreotype by Mr. Beard." After the invention of the Daguerreotype, engravers began to work from photographs instead of life sketches. The daguerreotype provided unprecedented accuracy, but the process created a "mirror image," reversed from life. "The "Mr. Beard" on the credited engraving is Richard Beard, an English entrepreneur and early licensee of photographic processes, including the daguerreotype. Beginning around 1841, he produced small daguerreotype portraits in his studio, *The Polytechnic* on Regent Street, using a Wolcott camera. Although most of Beard's images were simple bust portraits, some sitters brought in collateral materials as props to create a customized setting for their portraits. In this case the props appear to be examples of the Daniell Cell.

Faraday heavily promoted his work and his own celebrity. This carte-de-visite photograph shows Faraday explaining the science of electricity to his less flamboyant colleague, Professor Daniell, using a pseudo-scientific laboratory set up for the portrait in Beard's Regent Street studio. The image was made by an unidentified photographer in the late 1850s or early 1860s by copying a daguerreotype of the two famous scientists, Michael Faraday and John Daniell, originally made by Richard Beard prior to Daniell's death on March 13, 1845.

**Jeremy Rowe**, a former Board member, is active in the Daguerreian Society and the Stereoscopic Association, and maintains a website focused on Arizona views, [www.vintagephoto.com](http://www.vintagephoto.com).



# Nation of Immigrants: Ephemera of the Journey and Beyond

BY MARGARET SALAZAR-PORZIO

The idea that the United States is a nation of immigrants is at the core of America's vision of itself. And the proclamation is objectively true. According to Paul Spickard's seminal *Almost All Aliens*, "more than 99 percent of the current U.S. population can at least theoretically trace its ancestry back to people who came here from somewhere else."<sup>1</sup> While many may share an immigrant lineage, there is considerable diversity amongst immigrants and their experiences. Over the course of a few hundred years, these many peoples—native born and newcomers alike—built a nation and struggled to define what it means to be American in an ever-changing and increasingly connected world.

The ephemera of U.S. immigration reflects this celebratory trope, the great diversity of American journeys, and the people who have populated the territory from before it was even called the United States. Part of this story are the conflicts that arose, race-making practices, and the many ways that groups adapted to their new lives and changed the social and political landscape. At the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, our permanent exhibition *Many Voices, One Nation*—which opened in June 2017 and will be on display for about 20 years—is about American cultural identity through the lens of immigration and migration. The exhibit features many kinds of ephemera to chronicle and present these histories to our visitors from across the globe. Documents of passage and settlement as well as those produced by, for, and about immigrants demonstrate change over time as demographics transformed, attitudes shifted, technologies developed, and laws related to immigration, race and ethnicity in the United States evolved.

Documents of passage and settlement reflect the experience of the journey itself. The embarkation card in figure 1, used by Camilla Gottlieb when she was liberated from the Theresienstadt concentration camp, tells the story of a journey but also the horror of the Holocaust and the



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

joy of being reunited with family. Camilla sailed for New York aboard the SS *Marine Perch* on June 17, 1946. In the following years many other Holocaust survivors came to the United States, and by 1952 more than 137,000 Jewish refugees had found a new life in this country, often using embarkation cards like this one.

Documents produced by, for, and about immigrants in America vary greatly. From pamphlets to help new migrants get settled in a new country to sheet music and Liberty Bonds loan posters, the early twentieth century marked an important moment in the nation's attitude toward immigrant communities. Immigrants from Great Britain and Northern Europe in particular were regarded as assimilable. These newcomers, who most resembled their predecessors, would contribute to the economy through the Americanization process that Israel Zangwill so famously described in his 1908 play, "The Melting Pot" (figure 2).

Following its dedication in 1886, the Statue of Liberty became a frequent image in the ephemera of immigration and remains a steadfast symbol even today. The Liberty Bonds loans poster from World War I (figure 3) invites

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viewers to imagine themselves as hopeful immigrants to Ellis Island, seeing the welcoming figure for the first time.

Ephemera also reflects shifting attitudes towards race, ethnicity and national identity. For example, the cover of *TIME* Magazine from the fall of 1993 (figure 4), features an appealing composite - a multiracial woman who represents “How Immigrants are Shaping the World’s First Multicultural Society” in the United States. At the time, this computer-generated rendering was regarded as revolutionary, projecting the future racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. as an attractive phenotypic mix of Anglo Saxon, Middle Eastern, African, Asian, Southern European, and Hispanic.<sup>2</sup>

The ephemera of immigration varies greatly based on when and where each document was created, and by whom. Our collecting at the National Museum of American History looks at the great diversity of people who now populate the United States, employing these two-dimensional artifacts to provide insight into our past. In particular, our ephemera collections demonstrate why different peoples journey to this country, the conflicts that arise between native-born and newcomers, and the many ways in which immigrants adapt to and change the social and political landscape. In short, this ephemera uniquely reflects the changing face of America and what it means to be an American in our ever-evolving world. Without the ephemera of everyday life preserved beyond its originally intended use, we would have a drastically diminished and less colorful understanding of our nation of immigrants.



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*. New York: NY, Routledge, 2007; 4.
- <sup>2</sup> To be exact, *Time* suggested the ratio of racial mixing was: “15% Anglo Saxon, 17.5% Middle Eastern, 17.5% African, 7.5% Asian, 35% Southern European, and 7.5% Hispanic.” *Time* magazine special issue, 18 November 1993. Post-1965 immigration to the United States changed the racial and ethnic composition of the nation. *Time* and other magazines illustrated these demographic shifts on their covers. From *Time Magazine* (Volume 142 Number 22); Margaret Salazar-Porzio, “New Americans, Continuing Debates, 1965–2014” in Salazar-Porzio, M. and J. Troyano, eds. *Many Voices, One Nation: A Material History of the Peopling of America*. Catalog for the Many Voices One Nation exhibit. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2017; 214-215.

**Margaret Salazar-Porzio** is a Curator in the Division of Home and Community Life at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History. This brief essay is based on her keynote presentation at the Ephemera 39 conference in 2019 (available to watch on YouTube).





# Ephemera in Archival Collections - Part 2

BY DALE SAUTER

## **Saving Future Advertising Materials and Ephemera**

The great importance of printed media has been proven over a long period. The 1893 article “History of Advertising,” noted that it had been 250 years since the first published advertisement appeared and that this format of media had “reached enormous proportions.” Furthermore, the emergence of a variety of advertising archives is clearly documented. Their establishment and the increased interest of use by researchers from multiple disciplines stands as yet another testament to the importance of saving printed advertisement materials and making them accessible.

However, the question of exactly how much advertising material is being saved in the current digital age and how that affects researchers is something information professionals need to consider. Of course there are still print advertisements via brochures, magazines and newspapers, but much advertising today is presented in a digital format. This leaves us uncertain about how much advertising materials (as well as any other digital records) there will be for researchers of the future.

Even in our current “green/hesitant to print” environment, a large amount of printed advertising and other ephemera continues to be produced. Much of this printed material can be found in local newspaper advertising supplements. These materials can offer insight into local news, events and topics, offering researchers small snapshots of the community’s economy, culture and demographics.

However, as can be assumed, these supplements were and are not always saved. For example, looking at the Library of Congress guidelines (2010) for state newspaper microfilming projects, criteria for selection to microfilm is fairly general in nature. These guidelines pose brief questions to consider for selection in the areas of research value, physical condition and completeness. As a result, past state newspaper projects were not, and could not, be totally consistent. Some newspaper’s advertising supplements were microfilmed and others were not.<sup>1</sup>

As we continue into the era of online access to these newspapers, we see again that procedures are not always consistent. Many of the online access newspapers are still somewhat limited regarding what is available to an online subscriber versus a print subscriber. However, one positive example involves an online newspaper provider that announced in a 2008 press release that they would begin including advertising supplements in their online versions. This was done by Lee Enterprises, Incorporated, a conglomerate that supplies local

online newspapers in 50 markets. Paul Farrell, Lee’s vice president for sales and marketing, commented that “Readers love advertising supplements in their newspaper, and in recent conversations, industry leaders universally emphasized how much they continue to rely on reprints as a vital part of their advertising programs. As a result, it became clear that we can capitalize even more on this key part of our newspapers.” Granted, this particular use of advertising material falls more into the category of “current, temporary” use by consumers than use for future researchers. However, the addition of these materials does acknowledge the desire of future researchers and makes it more possible that these materials will be around in the future, in electronic or printed form.<sup>2</sup>

This brings us to perhaps the largest problem in preserving electronic advertising materials and ephemera such as newspaper supplements. Given the high cost of digitization and access to digitized information, certain criteria and guidelines must be followed when deciding what is to be archived for academic research. In the case of online newspapers, access to advertising and ephemera originating with the printed versions of these publications is not available for the researcher.

## **Suggestions for Handling Advertising Materials and Other Ephemera**

Other advertising materials of possible importance may not be found through everyday sources such as newspapers. One example is material received via community mailing lists. Examples include grocery advertisements with prices and sales catalogs aimed specifically at the creator’s interests and buying habits. Additional examples include broadsides that advertise events or goods for sale, and broadsides of social protest and commentary. This information could be particularly important if it was produced within a small, isolated region or community.

Among the various mailed materials was an advertisement for “homemade” alcohol sent to Winborne during the Prohibition era. Though the flyer first caught my eye as an interesting piece of history, due to the era in which it was sent, it did not particularly stand out as an oddity. However, when I looked closer at Winborne’s correspondence, I came across an interesting letter from Winborne’s physician. In it, he prescribed Winborne a type of alcohol to treat a medical condition. Finding these two pieces of evidence and keeping them together broadened my understanding of Winborne’s life. Moreover, if by chance that detail in that one letter was

*continued on page 48*

missed by a researcher, the accompanying advertisement could furnish an enlightening clue.

Drawing upon personal experience, I can offer one instance where the importance of “mailing list” materials proved helpful in obtaining a better understanding of the creator. While processing the papers of Benjamin B. Winborne (1854-1919), a lawyer based in Hertford County, North Carolina, I was lucky to find extensive mailings to him targeted at his various interests and activities, which included politics, agriculture and dry goods.<sup>3</sup>

One other example in which advertising materials played a prominent role in a collection was my work processing the E.C. Winslow Records. These records document the horse and mule business, farm operations, land transactions, saw mill operation, and other business enterprises of Edward Cyrus (E.C.) Winslow (b. 1886) of Tarboro, Edgecombe County, North Carolina. The materials helped to further reveal the creator, as well as the time, place and culture in which he lived.<sup>4</sup>

Ironically, much of the advertising material still exists because of the Winslow’s obvious thrift and pragmatism. It seems Mr. Winslow re-purposed various documents, including one broadside used as a file folder for his business correspondence. In this case, the broadside happened to be a poster announcing a concert by the Chowan College Quartette at a local church. Included are the names of the performers, the date (no year) and the concert’s sponsor. Though slightly bent from its duties separating correspondence, it was in very nice condition for a broadside from the early 1920s.

Many other advertising materials, including vintage calendars featuring local businesses (several cut into pieces, but still repairable), were used to alphabetically and categorically separate the various files. One other item serving as a “separator” turned out to be an original poster advertising future auctions in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma by “Davis & Younger, Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Horses and Mules.” It seems that C.J. and A.T. Winslow (E.C.’s father and uncle) partnered in Kansas City, Kansas as mule wholesalers (Winslow Brothers, Inc.) and became financially successful. During this productive period, the Winslows had grown very close in both a personal and business sense with the owners of “Davis & Younger.”

Though E.C. spent most of his childhood in Kansas, he moved back to eastern North Carolina around 1913. However, there is much correspondence and many financial papers dating to the early and mid-20<sup>th</sup> century linking E.C. Winslow and the “Davis & Younger” owners, evidencing their solid connection personally and in trade. So, in addition to the written record, the auction poster (though relegated to its very practical and final use) serves as another affirmation of the deep connection between E.C. Winslow and his trading partners Davis & Younger back in Oklahoma.

Other materials worth noting were brought to my attention by the donor Jim Winslow, E.C. Winslow’s

grandson. Soon after the initial donation of the records, I made a visit to his house to pick up other items relevant to the collection. Due to my own interest in vintage advertising, I was immediately drawn to an original sign advertising his grandfather’s business hanging on the wall. Mr. Winslow told me he had many of those “leftovers” in both cardboard and metal versions and was kind enough to give me one of each. A few weeks later, while working on the records, I found (to my pleasant surprise!) an original August 1918 letter from the “Cross Press & Sign Co.” verifying E.C. Winslow’s order of four thousand signs just like the ones I had been given by his grandson. This discovery was very important in documenting the purchase and other details of the signs. However, given the number ordered by Winslow, I felt this was yet another indicator (along with correspondence and other papers) of the wide range of territory that E.C. Winslow’s business activity encompassed.

As noted above, there are many factors to consider when deciding what material to leave in an archival collection. However, drawing upon my own experience (including the example mentioned above) and research on this topic, in generally, I feel that advertising materials and other ephemera should remain in archival collections in the following circumstances:

- The material offers special insight into the creator himself/herself
- The material offers special insight into the culture and times during which the creator lived
- The material represents general and/or substantial public interest because of direct association with famous or historically significant people, places or events
- The material represents significant documentation of a still surviving agency or repository
- The material represents significant examples of a particular format or type
- The material represents significant examples of a particular aesthetic or artistic quality
- The material represents significant examples of a particularly unique or curious physical feature
- The material represents significant examples of value for use in exhibits

## A Survey of Other Repositories

For my final piece of research into the topic of advertising materials and other ephemera, I felt it important to get a sense of what related procedures are currently in place in archival repositories. To assist with this task, I employed *Qualtrics* survey software. The audience to which I chose to administer the September 2012 survey was the main public e-mail discussion list of The Society of American Archivists, the “Archives and Archivists (A&A) List.” This list is an open forum for all topics relating to archival theory and practice. The list is very active and receives comments from all over the United States and many other countries. In the end, twenty individuals responded.<sup>5</sup>



The survey consisted of 33 questions. Participants were told they could choose not to answer specific questions and could discontinue participation at any time. Participants were also given the option to answer anonymously. However, they were encouraged to identify their repository at the end of the survey. A total of eight repositories identified themselves.

The survey questions focused on three major areas:

- Basic Overview of the Repository
- General Practices and Procedures
- Practices and Procedures Related to Advertising Materials and Other Ephemera

The analysis below examines responses to those questions that were considered most applicable to this study.

### **Basic Overview of the Repository**

Looking at the basic overviews, exactly half of the respondents' type of repository was an academic research library, followed by 29 percent state-related, 14 percent private and 7 percent other. A full 86 percent of respondents possessed manuscripts, rare books and graphic collections. Eighty-six percent had ephemera in their collections. Regarding sizes of holdings, 54 percent had between 100,00 and 500,000 cubic feet, 38 percent had fewer than 100,000 and 8 percent had between 500,000 and one million cubic feet of materials.

In the breakdown of staff members, 79 percent had archivists, 71 percent had librarians, 71 percent had undergraduate workers, 64 percent had support staff, 50 percent had graduate assistants and 50 percent had other professionals (Museum Curator, Operations Coordinator, Manuscripts Cataloger and Conservator.) The number of service hours per week ranged from a high of 70 to a low of 26, with an average of 38 hours. Acquisition budgets ranged from a high of \$2,000,000 to a low of \$2,000, with an average of \$70,000.

### **General Practices and Procedures**

When asked if they had added any new collecting scopes since 2000, 64 percent answered no and 36 percent answered yes. The new collecting scopes included scientology, rhetoric, graphic arts, LGBT materials, comic books and materials related to film, television and radio. When asked if repositories had deaccessioned any significant collection since 2000, 71 percent answered no and 29 percent replied yes. Those that did deaccession materials provided the following reasons: department mandate, lack of space and duplicates. Respondents were also asked if they had recently implemented a more simplified approach (such as that advocated in Greene and Meissner's article "More Product, Less Process") in order to facilitate backlog reduction. 57 percent said "yes, for some processing", 21 percent said "yes, for all processing" and 21 percent replied no. Furthermore, of those respondents that implemented new approaches, 100 percent said that their new system did not affect the way they handled advertising materials and other ephemera.

When asked what, if any, encoding scheme respondents used for their finding aids, 93 percent said Encoded Archival Description (EAD), 21 percent answered HTML and 21 percent answered other. Respondents were also asked if their number of staff-creating finding aids had changed since 2000. 50 percent answered decreased, 29 percent said increased and 21 percent said no change. The number of staff members dedicated to processing materials ranged from 0 to 8, with an average of 3.46.

### **Practices and Procedures Related to Advertising Materials and Other Ephemera**

The last set of questions in the survey focused specifically on ways in which repositories handled advertising materials and other ephemera in their collections. To the question of what *types* of ephemera were in their collections, respondents included playbills (being the most popular), posters, flyers, postcards, broadsides, pamphlets and brochures. When asked whether there were any "weeding out" policies for ephemera and, more specifically advertising materials, answers were uniform across all repositories. Policies included keeping material that relates to the collection as a whole, keeping material that fits into the collecting scope and the context of the particular collection, maintaining established ephemera collections and weeding out more than two copies of an item.

Repositories were asked whether they treated advertising material any differently from other ephemera during processing. Eighty-six percent answered no and 14 percent answered yes. The one common comment among all was that they keep the material if was tied to the donor or creator in any way. Respondents were also asked if their current practices dealing with advertising materials served researchers as well. Eighty-six percent answered yes, and 14 percent, no. A majority of the specific comments from respondents were that more access could always be provided but that they were restricted by limited staff and current processing procedures.

Two questions asked survey respondents their direct opinions on the importance of advertising materials. The first: "what is the overall importance of advertising materials in archival collections in terms of revealing the creator and the culture of the period during which the creator produced the records at hand?" Forty-three percent answered somewhat important, 36 percent answered very important, 14 percent answered that it depends on the specific situation and 7 percent answered not important at all. The second: "what is the overall importance of advertising materials for use in an exhibit?" Fifty percent answered somewhat important, 29 percent answered that it depends on the specific situation and 21 percent answered very important.

### **Conclusion**

In many cases, it seems that within archival collections, ephemeral materials, and more specifically, advertising materials tend to receive less focus and attention by

the processor. And although archives literature doesn't address the topic of advertising materials in strict detail, normally grouping them with other related ephemeral items, there are many examples that promote the importance of advertising materials in better understanding the archive creator and the culture of the period.

At the same time, it appears that there is an increased interest in advertising materials, particularly for research by teachers, historians and scholars. By examining the history of the advertising industry and its effect on the surrounding culture, one finds that advertising materials and the messages they deliver often reflect the society at which they are aimed. Through the study of advertising materials, one is able to gain a more in-depth portrayal of the creator of an archive and the culture in which he or she lived.

Further evidence of this trend can be seen in the recent establishment of such repositories as The John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising and Marketing History in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Duke University. The increase in these types of repositories has helped widen the use of advertising materials by improving access to researchers. In addition, the growing digitization of many of these materials (like many other archival materials) has also greatly improved access.

Growing appreciation of advertising materials has led to the increased collecting of these and other ephemera. However, there still are many questions to consider when looking toward saving future materials in the current digital age of online catalogs, internet-based commercials, and other "virtual" advertising.

Some examples of materials to keep would be those that offer special insight into the creator and his or her culture, those tied to important people, places or events, materials that represent unique physical qualities, format or type, aesthetic or artistic quality, a unique physical feature, as well as those that may prove useful for exhibits.

From the online survey, I was able to get a general sense of how some other archival repositories feel about advertising materials and their general procedures for handling them. The majority of the repositories that responded were based in academic research libraries. An overwhelming majority (86 percent) said they had ephemeral materials in their collections. The majority of

respondents also had archivists, librarians, support staff and undergraduate student workers as part of their staff. A large majority felt the advertising materials and other ephemera were important items to keep for researchers.

Overall, I was pleasantly surprised by the reactions to the survey. Most of the respondents demonstrated an appreciation of advertising materials and ephemera in general and felt that their current practices with these materials served researchers well. In spite of budget and staff cutbacks, as many institutions have experienced in recent years, there still appear to be mechanisms in place to avoid "cutting corners" to the point where advertising materials and other ephemera are being lost for research.

### Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Newspaper & Current Periodical Reading Room. The Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/usnp/usnpselectp.html> (accessed January 3, 2014)
- <sup>2</sup> "Lee Enterprises Newspapers Showcases Advertising Supplements," Businesswire.com. <http://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20080204005926/en/Lee-Enterprises-Newspapers-Showcase-Advertising-Supplements#.VGO4B2N8FFo> (accessed January 3, 2014)
- <sup>3</sup> "Murfreesboro Historical Association Collection: Benjamin B. Winborne Papers,"
- <sup>4</sup> "E. C. Winslow Records," East Carolina University. <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/special/ead/findingaids/1174/> (accessed January 3, 2014)
- <sup>5</sup> Sauter, Dale. "The Role of Advertising Materials in Archives and Special Collections." Survey. *Archives and Archivists (A&A) List*, Society of American Archivists, Administered during September 2012.



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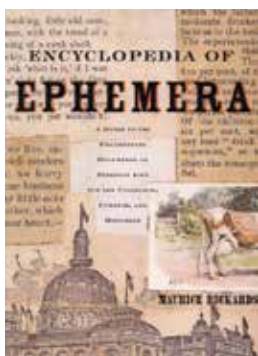
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